THE HISTORIE Of the REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND;

Containing five Books:

Together with some *TREATISES* conducing to the History.

John Knox

Published by Authority.

JEREM. 5. 1.

Run ye to and fro thorow the streets of Jerusalem, *and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can finde a man, if there be any executeth Judgement, that seeketh the Truth, and I will pardon it.*

2 COR. 13. 8.

For We can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.

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M DC XLIV.

To the Reader.

Christian Reader,

HEre I present unto thee a Piece, I dare promise, worthy of thy reading; wherein thou hast a true and plain Relation (without disguising) of many memorable Passages happened in the Church of God, and likewise some notable ones in the State of the Kingdom of Scotland, from the very first setling of State and Church in that Countrey. But namely, and chiefly, thou hast here related what principally passed in Church and State in this our Countrey, during the great Work of purging the Church from the Superstitions and Idolatry, and freeing both Church and State from the Tyranny and Slavery of Popery, untill the coming of King James, our late Soveraign, to the Crown of Scotland. Further, beside the true and faithfull Relation of many Occurrences that fell out in these dayes in Scotland, thou hast unfolded unto thee, and made plain, the strong Reasons, and necessery Causes that moved these men who are here named, although infirm and weake in themselves, to undergo the great Work of Reformation: With the solid Grounds upon which they went on with this weighty Businesse willingly and cheerfully, notwithstanding the great rubs and difficulties they met withall, through the help and assistance of God, who by them, mean Instruments, brought things to passe, in despight of the malice and stratagems of Sathan, with his agents, for the good of his People, and the setling of his Church in Purity and Liberty.

All these things are set down plainly and simply, in familiar and homely Language; Yet so, that they may be with ease apprehended and understood by any one. From what thou hast here, written in this Volume, although there were no other Writings in this kinde extant, thou mayest see easily, by what means the great Mystery of Iniquity, from the very first Rise, hath been set afoot, and constantly, ever since, hath been carried on; to wit, By cunning Devices, impudent Lyes, continued and crafty Plots, under specious Pretexts, and open Oppression, Tyranny, and Cruelties, within Scotland, till the yeer of Christ 1567. After which time, the enemies of God, and of his People, have not been sleeping, till this present, more then formerly. Wherefore, for thy good, Christian Reader, I have thought fit in this place to point at some main Occurrences from that time till now.

First then, the adversaries of Truth and Goodnesse, under the specious Pretext of restoring Queen Mary to her Liberty, and of re-establishing her in full Authority, and sole Power, did disquiet and trouble both Church and State in Scotland, both with open Force, and subtill Plots, for some yeers, that is, to the 1573 yeer. But finding that all their Undertakings, under this pretext, proved to be in vain, and without successe, and standing to their main Designe of undoing

Religion and Liberty, they bethought themselves of another way, in appearance more plausible, for compassing their wicked Intents; it was, To deal, by way of entreaty and request, with the chief Ministers of State and Church then, To have the Mother set at liberty, and to be joynt in Authority and Power with her Son. And, for the obtaining of this, was employed the credit of the French Court for the time, with all its skill and cunning; but to small purpose: For these rude fellows, who managed the publike Affairs then of State and Church, could not be corrupted with the French Complements. In this way the enemies continued, till the yeer 1577, *and did not then give over, notwithstanding their bad successe; but, according to their wonted and resolved custome, they went on with their Designe, betaking themselves to a new course; wherein, they had indeed more successe then in either of the former two: It was this; They did set awork certain men, who with fair words, and flattering tales, so craftily dealt with the young King, hardly yet twelve yeers of age, that they made him cast off, as a yoke, the counsell and service of those, who, ever since his Birth-day, had carefully laboured for the good of State and Church, with the preservation of his Authority, and safety of his Person: And so the inconsiderate young King, although of most nimble wit and knowing, above his yeers, under the shew of freedom, put himself in the power of those who wished no good to his Person and Authority, and as little to the Church and State, making no scruple to trouble both for their own ends, according to the Instructions of the Masters who set them awork. So, in very short time, they gave unto the young King such impressions (which did stick too much to him) that not onely he became averse from those who had been so usefull to the publike, and so serviceable to him, but also he suffered them to be persecuted, yea, some by death, and others by banishment.*

While the enemies were thus working businesse with us in Scotland, *they were not idle with our neighbours in* England; *for they were contriving and plotting, under colour of setting the imprisoned Queen at liberty: And were gone so far on in this way in both Kingdoms, that to stop the course and progresse of the enemies, both Countries thought it necessary to enter into a mutuall League and Covenant one with another, for the defence of the Reformed Religion, and Liberties of both Kingdoms, with the preservation of the Persons and Authorities of both Princes, King* James *and Queen* Elizabeth, *against the common enemy. This was done by the consent of both Princes, in the yeer* ~~1686.~~ 1586

After this, the enemy seeing the warinesse of both Kingdoms to be such, that in a short time he was not likely to advance the main Designe according to his minde, by craft and cunning leaveth off for a time to act the part of the Fox, and openly declares himself to be a ravishing Wolf: So the yeer 1588 *the Armado cometh against both Kingdoms, which God, in his mercy unto our fathers and us, brought to nought. About this time, and some yeers before, the agents of the enemy were very busie with King* James *to break with* England, *and to revenge the hard usage, and ill treatment of his Mother: But God did direct him so, for his own good, that he did give no consent to their evil counsell. Upon this refusall of the Kings, the agents of the common enemy do bestir themselves to trouble both King and Kingdom; which they did in a high measure, in the yeer* 1595. *This gave occasion then both to Prince and people to enter into Covenant for the defence of the Truth, and pure Doctrine of the Church, with the Reformed Discipline, and of the safety of the King and Kingdom; by which means, the proceedings of the enemies was stopped for a while.*

Now

Now the time drawing neer of the Kings coming to the Crown of England, *the watching enemy returns to work again, in another manner then he had done hitherto; which was this: By the mouths of some timerous and worldly men, he causeth to present unto the King the consideration of great difficulties that he was likely to finde, in his succeeding to the Crown of* England, *by two parties there, who were given out to be the Strength of the Kingdom; to wit, the profest* Papists, *and the* Prelaticall *men; therefore, to facilitate the businesse, they must be in some sort contented. For the satisfaction of the Prelates, the King, by degrees, must endeavour to bring again into* Scotland *Prelacy, with all its dependences; for no neglecter or contemner of the holy Order could be kindely received to reigne in* England: *and so this part of the advice was followed with all possible care and diligence. To content the Papists, they not onely must have given unto them under-hand hopes of connivence, and over seeing their practice; but also there must be a Letter written to the Pope, to assure his Holinesse of the Kings affection to the Catholike Cause. Thus both these parties were calmed so far, that the King came to the Crown of* England, Anno 1602, *without manifest opposition, albeit not without the grumbling and grudging of some. As for the stricter sort of Professors of the Reformed Religion, going under the nick-name of* Puritans, *no opposition or trouble to the Succession was feared from them, because the Principles upon which they go on, rising from the Word of God, are far other then those of worldlings, which flow from interest, and consequently, they needed not Atonement, or Propitiatory Sacrifice, to befriend the King. But the holy Father not finding reall performance by the King of what he looked for, remembers the King in good earnest of his promise not kept, by the Gun-powder Plot,* Anno 1605. *After which (by Gods mercy failing) men would have thought, that the Popish party should leave off all undertakings hereafter. But they follow their businesse more constantly then so; for no sooner one Plot fails, but incontinent they put another afoot; yea, they have severall Plots at one and the same time in hand, whereof it is likely that either one or other will take. Now this great Plot of the Gun-powder being come to nothing, they, as it were, go back for a time, to come forward in due season with another; and leaving for a while the open and devouring ravishing of the Wolf, they have recourse again to the cunning of the Fox.*

The next care then, after the calming in some measure the spirits of men, after so horrid a Treason, is to look about, and to studie by whom the affairs of these Dominions were managed: And finding, by serious inspection, That all affairs received great influence from the Court, after mature deliberation, they resolved to make friends there; which they did, by subtill insinuations, fair words, high promises, and some reall performances of good Offices; yea, when money was absolutely necessary, it was not spared. Thus, by degrees, having gotten friends at Court, in it they make a party next, for whose subsistence and increase, they employ all that they can. Now having power and credit at Court, more and clearly perceiving it to be the fountain from whence all preferment to Honour and benefit in Church and State did flow, they judged it fit for their purpose to make sure of some prime men both in Church and State, according to their minde; which was done as they desired. Thus having gained men chief in State and Church for their use, then they went to the corrupting of the Universities, being the Seminaries of all Liberall Education. This likewise they did effectuate; first, by the Over-seers connivence to loosenesse of life in young people; next, by the bad example of the Seniors

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the Juniors were invited to do mischief. Then the Teachers, by their bad instruction, did corrupt, namely, in Theologie, all sound Doctrine. And for this purpose, the earnest studie of the Old Testrment in the Originall Hebrew was cryed downe, as beseeming rather men of the Synagogue, then those of the Christian Schools. Likewise the Greek of the New Testament must not be read with diligence, for fear of spoyling the elegancy of the Greek Language, which is to be found in profane Authors. So they withdrew the Students from the studie of Scriptures in the Ori ginall, and recommended to them the reading of humane Writings, particularly in Theologie, the Books of the Ancients, which are commonly called Fathers. *Likewise was recommended unto young men the studie of the Sophistry of the Monks, as of* Thomas *and* Scotus *namely, with their Expositors. True it is, That if y ung men were well instructed in Theologie from the Scriptures, and taught the true Principles of Philosophie, in a setled course, by some judicious and diligent Professor, they might reade all these Books, and others in their kinde, with pleasure and benefit. But alas, young men not knowing the rudiments of Theologie, nor the first Elements of Philosophie, are let loose unto themselves, and so by reading these Books, having no sure ground to stick to, learn onely to doubt, and put Queries, yea, of the very Principles of all sound knowledge, both Divine and Humane. Thus being brought to waver and doubt, they are easily led, what by interest, what by weaknesse, to embrace a bad Opinion; or at least, to hold all uncertain, as the ancient* Scepticks, *not being able to resolve: Yea, doubting is come to that height, that, in the opinion of many, he is the bravest fellow, and wittiest, that can raise most Queries, answer them who will or can: And so* Wit *is hugely cryed up, which is but meer froth; and poor solid* Wisedom *is not so much as named, or thought on.*

Then those of the richer sort, having spent some time idly and loosely at the Universities, go beyond Sea, particularly to Italy, *forsooth, either upon their own trust, or, which is little better, if not worse, many of these who go along with young men, to advise and direct them, have as much need of one for their guide, as the young men themselves; having neither staidnesse, discretion, nor probity. So that if there were a just account cast up of all those who either have been bred in the Universities, or gone beyond Sea these many yeers, I will speak within compasse, That of twenty you shall hardly finde one who is improved in vertue by this Breeding, for the good of the Church and State, whereof they are members, and perhaps considerable too, if they were wise and good. At this present both Church and State findes this to be true, by wofull experience, namely, in the Clergie, Gentry, and Nobility.*

Now these evils have not been in England *alone, for* Scotland, *according to its proportion, in compasse of Bounds, numbers of people, provision of means, and in its distance from Court, hath its full share of all the evil: For first, the Schools of breeding young people at home were become very corrupt; and many in their travelling abroad, have either miscarried, or little benefited themselves: The fruit we have found, namely, in our corrupt Clergie, yea, and in some of our infatuated Gentry and Nobility: but blessed be God, things are now in a better posture and constitution there, then they have been formerly; God grant we may have occasion to say the l.ke of* England. *For Religion, sound knowledge, and true wisedome, with probity have been so neglected and contemned there, to the ignominy and reproach of Christianity, that in these times, there we have seen the dolefull effects of want of Religion, and of these other vertues. But to return to the Court.*

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The Popish party, although they had both power and credit at Court, yet they were not assured to go on so smoothly and speedily with the great Designe, so long as there were any of eminency there, of whom they could not be certain: So Prince Henry *was first wished to be out of the way, next, by untimely death was taken away, to the grief of many honest men. This conceived* Remora *being laid aside, they resolve to go on more freely in their Designe. But although they had gained much upon the affection of the King, yet they can suffer him to expresse the Notions of Religion and wisedom, both by word and writing: Yea, they will yeeld him to follow so far his former Principles, as to match his daughter to one of his Profession: so he marries the Lady* Elizabeth *to the Prince Elector Palatine, although it was not altogether so pleasing to some chief ones at Court then. These things passed, in the yeer* 1613. *who, although they would not stop the Marriage to go on, yet they managed the businesse so, that they hindered the Prince Elector Palatine to receive the advantages which in reason he should have had by vertue of it, as help and ayd at his need,* &c.

Here we must make a little step beyond Sea, and presently return back. Now then, we must know, That as the Popish party have been very busie in these our Dominions, in carrying on the Work of the great Designe of subjecting all to the Pope, directly, or indirectly; so in other places, where Idolatry and Tyranny had been cast off, they have not been sleeping nor idle, namely, in our neighbour Countreys; where, when they had made things up for a combustion of War, by their crafty forecasting divisions and corruptions in life and Doctrine of men of place, they kindled the fire; witnesse the businesse of Barnevel *in the Low Countreys, in the yeer* 1619. *And not long thereafter, the troubles raised in* France *against the Professors of the Truth; then in* Germany *likewise, having all things ready for a War, as they were thinking that the two Houses of* Saxe, *to wit, the Weymerian, and the now Electorall, was most fit and easie to be embroyled, by reason of the emulation of the Weymerian against the other, for the Electorall Dignity, taken from it, and given to the other: But conveniently for their purpose, the Elector* Palatine *being made King of* Bohemia, *the great agent of the Pope, the House of* Austria, *takes occasion to make War against him, leaving the House of* Saxe, *&c. Now to come home again.*

King James *by this time is turned about, and his affection so much cooled and turned from the Protestant party distressed, that for all help or supply to the Protestants of* France, *he sends complements by Embassadours, with fair promises. And for his son-in-Law, with other Protestants his adherents in* Germany, *he did little more; so senseless is he of the sufferings of* Jacob, *and unmindefull of his own interest, by suffering those in* France *and* Germany *to perish, who not onely did so much honour him, but they being preserved, made him the most redoubted and considerable Prince in Christendom. To speak nothing of his tye by nature unto his own children. Then, contradicting his own published Dictates, he must seek after a Popish wife for his son; and, to hasten the businesse, the young Prince must be sent into* Spain, *where he had two men by whom he was then advised; who, although they did not love one another, yet they did agree among themselves, To betray their old Master, with their Countrey, and their young Master in their company; whom they then counselled to embrace Popery, and by writing engage himself unto the Pope. This is upon Record. At last, the Prince cometh home without the wife, which was never really intended for him, howsoever*

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things were given out, notwithstanding all the pains of the young Prince, and the earnest sollicitude of the Father, with the compliance of both. If it had not been for the hatred to the Palatine House, and fear of its advancement to the succession of those Dominions, the Prince never had seen this Island again, but in a Map. Howsoever, King James *is glad to have his son safe returned: And at length, seeing clearly how he had been misled and gulled, bethinks himself how to amend his former mistakes and errours; but alas, it was too late: for as he was thus consulting with himself, death takes him away,* An. 1625. *not without suspition of wrong done unto him. The new King must have a Popish wife (according to the former intention) she cometh from* France, *and bringeth along with her, her strange gods. The Prelats had a main hand in this Popish Match, by actuall furtherance thereof, and by opening the way how the free exercise of Popery might be had, in favour of the Queen and her adherents, without breach of the Law of the Land.*

The same yeer of the death of the late King, and of the Marriage of our now Sovereign, there was an Expedition made against the Spaniard, without any reall intention to do harm, as appears by the slack performance of the War, and by the shamefull Peace made thereafter. The main drift of this undertaking was, first, To try how ready the people would be to endure Souldiers in the Countrey, which they had not seen for a long time, and how willing they would be to undergo a War, at the command of the corrupt Court, and uphold it with Supplies of men and moneys. Next, There must be an Expedition against France, *under pretext to help the then distressed Protestants there; which really was intended for the hastening of their ruine, and encrease of their desolation: and so it proved indeed, although the main and chief undertaker was prevented, by death, to see the effect of his intents. The other end of this undertaking was, To have Forces at command, both Horse and Foot, by Land, and a well-provided Navie at Sea, for the enslaving of the people to spirituall and temporall Bondage; which in all humane probability had not been difficile to effectuate then, such was the sheeppish sillinesse, and knavish basenesse of many men in these Dominions, of all ranks, conditions, and professions; as also the unpreparednesse of the wiser and better Patriots and Members of the Church, to withstand this mischief, if God in his mercy, by the unexpected death of the Court-ruler, and chief agent in the businesse, had not put in a* Remora *and lett: At which time, if men had returned unto God, amending their lives in private, and had expressed their true zeal then to the good of the Church and Countrey whereof they are members, according to their severall ranks and conditions, the designe of the common enemy had been fully dasht. But God in his wisedom hath been pleased to keep us yet a while longer under the rod of tryall, to see if we will return unto him at last. The Romish party, although astonished and surprised at the death of their Engine and main Instrument here among us, gives not over, but continues the great Designe, without intermission, albeit not with such speed as formerly; for those to whose care principally the businesse was committed, and in whose hands the managing of matters had fallen, by the death of the late* Fac totum, *were not so powerfull to obtain, without refusall, what they pleased, at the Kings hands; neither were they in such opinion and reputation with inferiours, to make them go on in the work so earnestly; wherefore the Queen must be brought now of necessity, to take upon her the main care, and to obtain from the King whatsoever may conduce and further the businesse, and take away*

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all letts and ſtops which may hinder the proceedings: Then, to employ all her credit abroad, for countenancing and advancing affairs: And next, by her authority to draw on inferiours to act their part with affection and ardour. Now all things being thus cunningly and carefully, by degrees, in few yeers, prepared and diſpoſed; for enſlaving Church and State, Prince and People, to Rome *again, it was thought fit, by the hotteſt of the party, to wit, the Jeſuites, to haſten the work openly, and delay no more time (the compaſſing of the Deſigne being conceived to be infallible) By this means they thought to ſhorten the buſineſſe, and to make themſelves ſo conſiderable, as to ſhare deeply in the Booty; of which they looked for but little, if things were ſtill lingred, and carryed on ſlowly. But how, and where to begin this new undertaking, was conſulted upon; and, after deliberation, the Scots muſt be begun at, the way is reſolved on, there muſt be a new Prayer-Book put upon theſe rude fellows, that they may ſay their Prayers in* modo & figura a la Romaine, *and not ſo rudely and irregularly as they were wont to do, in the Northern way. Then they muſt have high-Commiſſion Courts, Canons, and* Etcetera's: *Which things, if the Scots be ſo wiſe to accept, as doubtleſſe they will (reaſoned theſe men: but he that reckons without this hoſt, reckons twice) for their chief men of State are either actually at Court, or provided to places in the Countrey from Court, at leaſt they can do no buſineſſe of moment, without the favour of the Court. At this time the devout and religious Prelats, with the reſt of their good Clergie, are not onely in all earneſtneſſe bent for the work, according to their ſeverall places in the Church, but alſo they over-ſway all buſines in State. Wherefore, without difficulty, we will compaſſe our main Deſigne thorow all theſe Dominions (ſaid they.) And truely ſo they had, in all likelihood, as we may ſee by the woſull carriage of buſineſſe, and ſo ill managing ſo good a Cauſe in* England *ſince; But God had, in his mercy towards us all, ordained otherwiſe. And if the Scots (ſay they) ſhould be ſo mad as to refuſe the commands from the Court, and think upon reſiſtance, they ſhall be made obey the holy* Mandate *with a Vengeance, and ſay their prayers with a rod; for we ſhall over-run their Countrey ſpeedily, and ſubdue them, as poor, ſilly, ignorant fools, deſtitute of all means for War, to wit, wiſedom, with reſolution, not having breeding, and preſſed down with poverty, to undertake and undergo ſuch a buſineſſe as War; and money and Arms to go on in it; for the Soyl being barren, and the Havens bad, they cannot have the advantages of a fertile Countrey, furniſhed with good Harbours, and Commanders or Leaders, to manage a War, their Military men being abroad, who will not eaſily quit the honorable and beneficiall Employments they have in forreigne Countreys, and come home to ſuffer want, with loſſe of credit. But God, who laughs from above at the fooliſh Counſells of vain men, in this particular hath made us ſee, That he hath an over-ruling power over the affairs of men, making little and contemptible ones do great things, and bring to nothing the undertakings of the mighty and wiſe of this world.*

By this time the new Prayer-Book, deſigned at Rome, *and perfected at* London, *is ſent down into* Scotland. *After ſome little reluctancy, it is received by the Councell there, the major part whereof then were either Church-men, or their addicted friends. Then it is ſent to the Churches, to be put in uſe and practice: But unexpected and unlooked for, it is oppoſed by inferiour people; from whence the oppoſition riſeth to thoſe of higher ranks: whereupon Petitions are drawn up, and ſent to the King, to ſupplicate His Majeſty, in all due reſpect, to free the Church of* Scotland *from this new Prayer-Book, with the High-Commiſſion Courts, Canons,* Etcetera's.

To these Demands of the Scots no answer is given, but hot threatnings; after which, preparatives of War were made against the Scots: and because the King did not shew himself propense enough to the undertaking of War, nor the Queen forward enough to engage the King in this holy War, the Queen-Mother, who, for her known faithfulnesse to her husband, and for her care of her son, both late Kings of France, *must come to her Son-in-law (against his will) to help him with her best advice and counsell, and to better instruct her daughter how to carry her self with earnestnesse and addresse in the businesse.*

Things being thus disposed, there is an Expedition undertaken against the Scots, and followed to the Borders by the King present in person; but to small purpose; for the Scots came to the Borders duly prepared, notwithstanding their pre-conceived wants and indisposition, to sell their Religion and Liberty at a dear rate: which being perceived by the Court, the Scots Demands, formerly rejected, are granted, and a Peace concluded. Then some of the chief men of the Scots were invited to go to Court, for the time at Barwick; *who, upon certain advice of a Plot against them, were stopped by their friends, to trust themselves to the faith of the Court.*

After things in a kinde calmed there, the King, not suffered by his Counsell to go into Edinburgh *to settle things fully, he sends Deputies thither, and returns to* London. *At his return, the Scots Commissioners are imprisoned at* London, *against their Safe-Conduct; and the Agreement with the Scots is burnt publikely, by the hand of the Hang-man, and a new Expedition, with more cunning and strength then the former, is undertaken against the Scots: Whereof the Scots duely advertised, judging it not to be safe to play alwayes after-games, settle their Countrey, make sure the strong Holds, which they had delivered, in simplicity of heart, unto the King, at the late Agreement, and come into* England *with such an Army, that they made their enemies retire. Upon this point of necessity, the King assembled divers of the Nobles, by whom he is advised to call a Parliament; which is granted, although with difficulty. At the overture of the Parliament, having gained all the party possible, the King is made to demand assistance to repell the Scots from* England, *and chastise them; but to no purpose, wherefore the Parliament must pay for it; and to this purpose, the English Army afoot must be brought to* London, *under some pretext. This Plot failing, and discovered, the Scots must be tempted, under great offers, no lesse then the plunder of* London, *and the propriety of the adjacent Counties to their Countrey. The Scots not onely refused these great offers, but also give advice of them to the Parliament. Then the Scots must be hastened home, and the King must go into* Scotland, *under pretext to settle things there, but really, to make a party, viewing by the way the Scots Army; and to make sure of some men dis-affected to the Designe of the Court. These things not succeeding, to smooth a little the shamefull businesse, Titles of Honour, and Pensions are given to many.*

While the King is in Scotland, *the Rebellion riseth in* Ireland, *having its influence from the Court, whether by sealed Patents, or otherwise, I will not enquire now (more then of the Spanish Navie) but certain it is, it had its rise from Court. Some dayes after the Rebellion begun in* Ireland, *the King must return in all speed to* London, *under pretext to consult with the Parliament how to represse this odious Rebellion; but really, to be revenged of the Parliament, for not assisting against the Scots, and for punishing the main agents of the Scotish party, witnesse the faction*

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the Queen had made in the City, during the Kings abode in Scotland, *to divide the City and Parliament, and the demanding of the Members of the Houses, against all Law, upon accusation of Treason; whereof the chief and main point was, To have favourized the Scots Affairs in* England, *against expresse Acts of Oblivion of both Parliaments of* Scotland *and* England. *As for the repressing of the Rebellion in* Ireland, *it is so little taken to heart, that the King seldom goes to the House; and being there, speaks but little of the businesse. After a while, with much ado, the Popish Irish in Arms are declared Rebells, when they had ruined many families, and killed many of the innocent Protestants: But of the Kings Declaration there were but few Copies Printed, and of the few hardly any dispersed; when the Scots, before they had gathered any Head, were* Prelatically *excommunicated, and cursed thorow all the Parishes of* England, *and declared Rebells every where by printed Papers: Who, as they intended no ill, so, blessed be God, never men of War in a Countrey did lesse harm then the Scots did. Yea, which is more, all the good intentions of both Parliament and City, with the ready offers of the Scots for the speedy help of the poor Protestants against the bloody Butchers in* Ireland, *was delayed, deluded, yea, almost put off, by the Court, and the corrupt Members of both Houses, who since have shewed themselves openly what they are, in publike Affairs. But these Designes failing of apprehending the Members, and of dividing the City and Parliament, as was seen by the accompanying the Members to the Houses again, the King must leave* London.

Here before we proceed any further, we shall go a little back.

When the first undertaking was against the Scots, all things within these Dominions being disposed for the best furthering of the work, the holy Conclave of Rome *forecasting all chances: and fearing that* England *would not altogether be so forward to contribute much unto the destruction of* Scotland, *wherefore the King must be assured of some good friend abroad, and not far off, who may help in case of need: None is thought so fit as the Prince of* Orange, *being able to help with Moneys, Arms and Men for command: He must be gained, by offering him for his Son one of the Kings Daughters; who, notwithstanding his high minde, would have been glad of a lewer Match. Now at the first, the Prince of* Orange *did onely look to have the second Daughter in due time: But, to engage him further, he shall have the elder (not staying for her till she be nubile) and that presently, although she did little more then, then well discerne her right hand from her left. But this is not all; for the Mother must carry the Daughter to the Prince of* Orange, *to gain him more speedily, and make him more affectionate and sure to the Designes of our corrupted Court: So the Kings Daughter is sold, and made a Sacrifice for furtherance of the Catholike Cause, as his Grand-mother was sold to* France *to the same Designe, by the corrupt Court of* Scotland *for the time. What mischief this Marriage, and the Queens Voyage into* Holland *hath brought into this Countrey, and what stain she hath brought upon her self by it, we see all. And so many evils fell upon* Scotland, *after the sending the then young Queen into* France.

Here you shall observe the jugling knavery of our corrupt Court, who cry out against the Scots for taking Arms for the just defence of their Liberty and Religion, without any by-respect, as their whole proceedings to this instant do testifie, as guilty of the most horrid crime of Rebellion against Higher Powers, as they call it; yet the same corrupt Court makes the King give his Daughter unto him, who is

not onely a chief man, but a main Instrument to make War for the Liberty and Religion of the Countrey where he liveth, against the unjust oppression of their Sovereign; as his renowned Brother, and most vertuous Father did before him; and as he intends to make his Son after him, witnesse the reversion of his Place he hath obtained, unto him, from the States. If the King of Spain *by necessity hath been constrained to acknowledge the United Provinces free, it is nothing for the justice of their taking Arms to defend their Religion and Liberty: And if he had power, they would not be long free, witnesse the secret Plots to divide them, and over-reach them. Farther, he is very shie in his Writs, to call them Free, as every man knows.*

The Queen of Bohemia *must not onely be neglected, and seen lose all that she and hers can claim for their own, but she and hers must be serviceable to those who have undone them: To this end she must have People about her, namely, Court-Chaplains, to disguise businesse unto her, and so make her have a bad conception of those who are her best friends, to wit, the true Professors of the Truth, and good Patriots in these Dominions. Next, her eldest son, after a long and great neglect of yeelding him any help for the recovery of his own, is betrayed at our corrupt Court, when he is put in a way to do somewhat for his own restoring,* &c. *And after this, by the same Court, he is sollicited to take Arms here against the onely men, who really and constantly have expressed unto him and his, true affection; but they being stopped by the Court, could not effectuate much by their good will. He in wisdome refuseth to fight against his friends. Since he will not, his two next Brothers must be employed; the eldest whereof is released from prison to that effect: And so they hazard their lives, and spend their blood, to serve the party who hath undone their Fortunes, and now strives to undo their persons.*

The King having left London, *after he had been in severall places, retires to* Yorke, *where he begins to raise men against the Parliament. The Scots seeing this, send to him thither, to intreat him to lay aside all such intentions, and offer their service by way of Mediation betwixt him and the Parliament, to take away all known mistakes. The Scots Commissioners were not suffered to proceed any further then, in the businesse, and were sent back, beyond the expectation of men. After a long Pen-skirmishing on both sides, Armies are leavied, many men killed and taken at divers times on each side; yea, a set Battell fought, where numbers of men are slain.*

The Scots not being able any longer to see their Brethren in England *destroyed, and the Executioners of* Ireland *butchering man, woman and childe (the help that the innocents should have had from* England *being almost altogether diverted, by the Intestine War) and neither say nor do in the businesse, under safe-Conduct send to the King and Parliament Commissioners, to intercede for an Agreement: But they being arrived at Court, were neglected with their Commission, and not suffered to repair unto the Parliament: At last, they are dismissed, not without difficulty, and, having done nothing, return. Upon this, the Scots convene the States, to consult concerning their own safety, and the help of their friends: At this nick of time, when they received many fair promises from the Court; with a request to be quiet, a Plot of the Papists, set afoot by the Court, for embroyling the Countrey, is discovered; by the means whereof, they were incited to look more narrowly to themselves and their friends. Then the Parliament of* England *sends to the Scots for help. Upon this, a Covenant is made betwixt the two*

Nations

Nations, for the defence of the true Religion, and Liberty of the Countreys, with the Kings just Rights : and, after due preparation, the Scots having setled their own Countrey, enter into England *with a strong Army, to fight the Battells of the Lord; having for scope of their Expedition, The glory of God, and the good of his People, with the Honour of the King.*

Here we shall observe, in these our Countreys, in these last yeers, such Riddles of State and Church, as have hardly been heard of: A Protestant Prince makes one Protestant Nation fight against another, for the Protestant Religion, which have been thought to be of one and the same Doctrine, for the main : One Church thunders Curses against another : Then, a Prince misled, with the ayd of Papists and Atheists, spoyling and destroying the professors of the Truth, because they professe it, for the good and advancement of the Protestant Religion : Next, in a very short time, a Prince to have all his subjects declared Rebells : First, he is made declare the Scots; Then, he is constrained to declare the Irish : An Army gotten together in the Kings name, declares all those that did oppose them, Rebells : The Parliament declares all those who in the Kings name oppose them, Rebells and Traytors : Farther, under the Kings Authority, the named Rebells in England *by the King, maintain a War against the declared Rebells in* Ireland. *But the late carriage of things at Court, and by the Court-Instruments at home and abroad, hath solved the Riddle, namely, The Patent for the Rebellion in* Ireland, *The detaining of help ordained for the repressing of it, The Kings offer to go into* Ireland, *The Cessation, and bringing over of the Irish, and, The last-discovered Plot in* Scotland, *all other things laid aside, tell us cleerly, howsoever the Proclamations and Protestations going in the Kings name be soft and smooth as the voyce of* Jacob, *yet the hands are rough as of* Esau, *destroying, and seeking to destroy the true Religion, grounded in Gods Word, with the professors thereof, as also the lawfull Liberty of the Countrey, and bring all unto slavery. Let* Ireland *and* England *say, if this be not true; and* Scotland *likewise, according to its* genius, *speak truth.*

I shall close up all with two or three Instances of eminent men amongst the Papists Clergie, to shew clearly how they stand affected to the Protestants.

Cardinall Pool, *in an Oration to* Charles *the fifth, Emperour, saith,* You must leave off the War against the Turks, and hereafter make War against the Heretikes; *so names he the professors of the Truth : He adds the reason,* Because the Turks are lesse to be feared then the Heretikes. Paul Rodmek *in a Book expresse, tells us,* That the Heretikes must be put to death, slain, cut off, burnt, quartered, *&c.* Stapleton *the Jesuite tells us,* That the Heretikes are worse then the Turks, *in an Oration he made at* Doway. Campian *the Jesuite, in a Book of his, Printed in the yeer* 1583, *in* Trevers, *declares thus, in the name of his holy Order,* Our will is, That it come to the knowledge of every one, so far as it concerns our Society, That we all, dispersed in great numbers thorow the world, have made a League, and holy solemn Oath, That as long as there are any of us alive, that all our care and industry, all our deliberations and counsells, shall never cease to trouble your calm and safety. *That is to say,* We shall procure and pursue for ever your ruine, the whole destruction of your Religion, and of your Kingdom. *He speaks to the English.* Now it is long

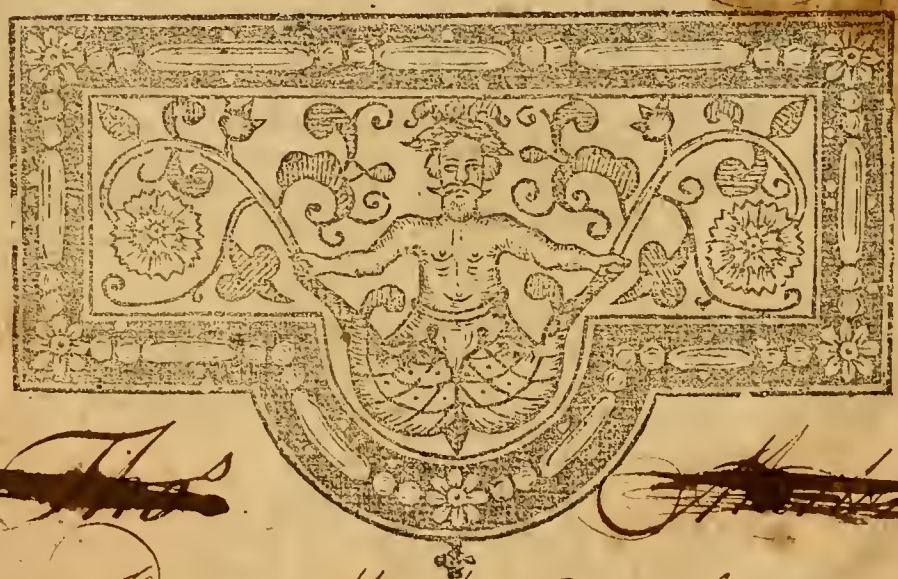
long ſince we have taken this reſolution, with the hazard of our lives: ſo that the buſineſſe being already well begun and advanced, it is impoſſible that the Engliſh can do any thing to ſtop our Deſigne, or ſurmount it.

Let theſe few Paſſages ſatisfie for this time. I wiſh that thou maiſt reap ſome benefit of what is written here for thy good.

So, praying for your happineſſe,

I reſt,

Yours, in the Lord, D. B.



THE

The LIFE OF JOHN KNOX.

JOHN KNOX *was borne in* Gifford, *neer* Hadington, *in* Lothian, *the yeer of Christ*, 1505. *of honest Parentage: His father was a brothers son of the House of* Ränferlie, *which is an ancient Family of Gentlemen in the West. When he left the Grammar Schoole in the Countrey, he was sent to the University of Saint* Andrews, *to studie under M.* John Mair, *who in those dayes was very famous for his Learning, which particularly did consist in the ergotie or disputative part of Philosophy, and in School-Divinity, wherein formerly, for many yeers together, almost all Learning was placed. In a very short time,* John Knox *became such a Proficient, that in this kinde of knowledge wherein his Master most excelled, he surpassed him; and being yet very young, was thought worthy of Degrees in the School: Moreover, before the time ordinarily allowed by the Canons, he entred in Church Orders. Thereafter, laying aside the idle Disputes and Sophistry of the School, he betook himself to the reading of the Ancients; namely, of* Augustine, *with whose Writings he was much taken, by reason of their plainnesse and solidity. Last of all, he betook himself to the earnest study of the holy Scriptures; wherein having found the Truth of God concerning the salvation of Mankinde fully revealed, he in good earnest did embrace it, and freely professed it; yea, made it his main work to make it known to all men, and believed by them; in which work he was very active and vigilant, at home and abroad, namely, at home. For the Cause of the Truth he suffered very much by Sea and by Land, in minde and in body; among forraigners, and amongst his own Countreymen, as ye may see in this History of the Church, which now here we present unto you: Which History, namely, so much of it, I mean, as formerly was published, hath gone commonly under his*

 name,

name, because he is the man of whom most is spoken thorowout the whole History, as being a most earnest and diligent agent in the businesse of Reformation in the Church: Next, because he hath penned with his own hand, or spoken by word of mouth, the most part of the most remarkable and most usefull things for Posterity in the History. Thirdly, the whole History is gathered out of his Papers and Manuscripts: And so ye see why it is generally received to be of John Knox. *But to return to his Life.*

He being constrained for a time to leave his Countrey, by reason of the Persecution raised in Scotland, *by the then Bishops, against the professors of the Truth, he came into* England, *where for some yeers he was busied, in preaching the Evangell of Christ, with a great deal of content and benefit to those that had the happinesse to hear him. His chief abode was in* Berwick, Newcastle, *and* London: *This was in the dayes of King* Edward *the sixth, with whom he was in great favour and esteem; By whom being offered a Bishopricke, he not onely refused and rejected it, but with a grave and severe speech declared, That the proud Title of Lordship, and that great State, was not to be suffered to be in the Church of God, as having* quid commune cum Antichristo; *that is, somewhat common with Antichrist. King* Edward *being dead, the persecution of* Mary *made him leave* England, *with many other godly Ministers, who went beyond Seas. First,* John Knox *went to* Frankford, *where for a time he preached the Gospel to the English Congregation there; From whence he wrote the Admonition to* England: *But being molested there, partly by open Papists, and partly by false Brethren, was constrained to retire: And from thence he went to* Geneva, *from whence he wrote his Letter to* Mary *Regent of* Scotland, *his Appeal to the Nobility of* Scotland, *and Admonition to the Commons of* Scotland. *From* Geneva, *after some yeers abode there, he was called home to his own Countrey, the yeer of Christ* 1559. *which was the* 54 *of his age, by the Noble-men, and others who had taken upon them the generall Reformation of the Church of* Scotland; *where, how soon that the reformed Church had any liberty, he was setled Minister at* Edinburgh, *where he continued exercising his Ministery to his dying day; but not without interruption, by reason of the Civill disorders that fell out in those dayes.*

Du-

During this his being at Edinburgh, *he Preached many excellent Sermons; whereof there be but few that were printed and conserved to Posterity, he not being willing to busie himself with the Presse: Yet some of them we have, as this, namely, which he Preached Aug.* 19, An. 1564. *and for which he was forbidden to Preach for a time: He, to make known to the world what ground there was to deal so with him, took the care to have this Sermon printed, as you will finde it at the end of this History.*

Here I cannot let slip a remarkable passage; which was this; Anno 1566. *the Earle of* Murray *was slain upon the Saturday: The morrow after,* John Knox *preached in* Edinburgh; *where, as he was reading the Papers wherein was written the names of those that desired the Prayers of the Church; he findes a paper with these words,* Take up the man whom ye accounted another god: *which he passed, without expressing any commotion, and went on with his Prayer and Sermon. At the end of the Sermon, he made moan for the losse that the Church and State of* Scotland *had, by the death of that vertuous man; and said, That as God in his mercy giveth good and wise Rulers, so taketh he them away from a people in his wrath. Then he added, There is one in this company that maketh the subject of his mirth this horrible murther, whereat all good men have occasion to be sorry: I tell him, That he shall die where there shall be none to lament him. He who had written the aforesaid words in the paper, was* Thomas Metellan, *a young Gentlemen of most rare parts, but youthfull, and bearing small affection to the Earle of* Murray; *who, when he heard this Commination of* John Knox, *went home to his lodging, and said to his sister, That* John Knox *was raving to speak of he knew not whom. His sister replyed, with tears in her eyes, If you had followed my advice, ye had not written these words; and withall told him, That none of* John Knox *his threatnings fell to the ground without effect. And so it fell out in this particular; For shortly thereafter the young Gentleman went beyond Seas to travell, and died in* Italy, *having no known man to assist him, much lesse to lament him. Towards the latter dayes of his age, his body became very infirm; and his voice so weake, that the people could not hear him, Preaching in the ordi- place, wherfore he made choice of another more commodious within*

the Town, reading to his auditors the history of the Passion, in which, he said, it was his desire to finish and close his Ministery. Thus he continued Preaching, though with much weakness, two moneths and more, after this retiring: And foreseeing that he was not to remain long with them, he was instant with the Counsell of the City to provide themselves of a worthy man to succeed in his Place. Master James Lauson, *who at that time professed Philosophy in the University of* Aberdene, *being commended for a good Preacher, Commissioners were directed from the Body of the Church of* Edinburgh, *and from Master* John Knox *in particular, to desire him to accept of the Charge. To the Letter that the Commissioners carried, after that he had set his hand, he added this Postscript,* Accelera mi frater, alioqui sero venies: *Make haste, Brother, otherwise ye shall come too late: Meaning, That if he made any stay, he should finde him dead and gone. These last words moved M.* Lauson *to take journey the morrow thereafter. When he was come to the Town, and had preached two severall times, to the good liking of the people, order was taken by the Rulers of the Church for his admission, and the day appointed; at which day* John Knox *himself would not onely be present, but also preach, though he could scarce walk on foot to the Chayre; which he did with such fervency of spirit, that at no time before was he heard to speak with such great power, and more content to the hearers: And in the end of the Sermon, calling God to witnesse, That he had walked in a good conscience amongst them, not seeking to please men, nor serving either his own, or other mens affections, but in all sincerity and truth preached the Gospel of Christ: With most grave and pithie words, he exhorted them to stand fast in the Faith they had received: And having conceived a zealous Prayer for the continuance of Gods blessing among them, and the multiplying of his Spirit upon the Preacher who was then to be admitted, he gave them his last fare-well. The people did convey him to his lodging, and could not be drawn from it, so loath were they to depart from him; and he the same day in the afternoon, was forced to take bed. During the time he lay (which was not long) he was much visited by all sorts of persons, to whom he spake most comfortably: Amongst others, to the Earle of* Morton, *who came to see him, he was heard say,* My Lord, God hath

hath given you many bleſſings ; he hath given you Wiſdom, Honour, high Birth, Riches, many good and great friends, and is now to prefer you to the Government of the Realme *(the Earle of* Marr, *late Regent, being newly dead)* In his Name I charge you, That ye will uſe theſe bleſſings better in times to come, then you have done in times paſt : In all your actions ſeek firſt the glory of God, The furtherance of his Goſpel, The maintenance of his Church and Miniſtery; and next, Be carefull of the King, to procure his good, and the welfare of the Realme. If you ſhall do this, God will be with you, and honour you : If otherwiſe ye do it not, he will deprive you of all theſe benefits, and your end ſhall be ſhame and ignominy. *Theſe ſpeeches, the Earle, about nine yeers after, at the time of his Execution, called to minde, ſaying, That* he had found them to be true, and him, therein, a Prophet.

A day or two before his death, he ſent for Maſter David Lindſay, *Maſter* James Lauſon, *and the Elders and Deacons of the Church, to whom he ſaid,* The time is approaching, for which I have long thirſted, wherein I ſhall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Chriſt for ever : And now, God is my witneſſe, whom I have ſerved with my ſpirit, in the Goſpel of his Son, That I have taught nothing but the true and ſolid Doctrine of the Goſpel ; and that the end I propoſed in all my Doctrine, was, To inſtruct the ignorant, To confirm the weak, To comfort the conſciences of thoſe that were humbled under the ſenſe of their ſins, and born down with the threatnings of Gods Judgements : Such as were proud and rebellious, I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame my too great rigour and ſeverity; But God knoweth, That in my heart I never hated the perſons of thoſe againſt whom I thundred Gods Judgements; I did onely hate their ſins, and laboured, according to my power, to gain them to Chriſt : That I did forbear none, of whatſoever condition ; I did it out of the fear of my God, who hath placed me in the Function of his Miniſtery, and I know will bring me to an account. Now, brethren, for your ſelves, I have no more to ſay, but to warn you, That

you take heed to the Flock over which God hath placed you Overſeers, which he hath redeemed by the Blood of his onely begotten Son. And you, Maſter *Lauſon*, fight a good fight, do the Work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing minde: And God from above bleſſe you, and the Church whereof you have charge: Againſt it (ſo long as it continueth in the Doctrine of the Truth) the gates of hell ſhall not prevail.

This ſpoken, and the Elders and the Deacons dimitted, he called the two Preachers unto him, and ſaid, There is one thing that grieveth me exceedingly; You have ſometimes ſeen the courage and conſtancy of the Laird of *Grange* in the cauſe of God; and that moſt unhappy man hath caſt himſelf away: I will pray you two to take the pains to go unto him, and ſay, from me, That unleſse he forſake that wicked courſe wherein he is entred, neither ſhall the Rock in which he confideth defend him, nor the carnall wiſedom of that man whom he counteth half a god (*this was young Lethington*) yeeld him help; but ſhamefully he ſhall be pulled out of that neſt, and his carkaſe hung before the Sun (*meaning the Caſtle he did keep againſt the Kings Authority: And ſo it fell out the yeer next following; for the Caſtle was taken, and he was publikely hanged, and his body hung before the Sun*) The ſoul of that man is dear unto me; and, if it be poſſible, I could fain have him to be ſaved. *They went, as he had deſired, and conferred a long ſpace with* Grange; *but with no perſwaſion could he be diverted from his courſe: Which being reported, he took moſt heavily. Yet* Grange; *at his death, did expreſſe ſerious repentance for his ſins.*

The next day, he gave order for making his Coffin wherein his body ſhould be laid; and was that day, as thorow all the time of his ſickneſſe, much in prayer, crying, Come, Lord Jeſu; Sweet Jeſu, into thy hands I commend my Spirit. *Being asked by thoſe that attended him, if his pains were great, he anſwered, That* he did not eſteem that a pain, which would be to him the end of all troubles, and beginning of eternall Joyes. *Oftentimes, after ſome deep meditations, he burſt forth in theſe words*; O ſerve the Lord in fear, and death ſhall not be troubleſome

unto

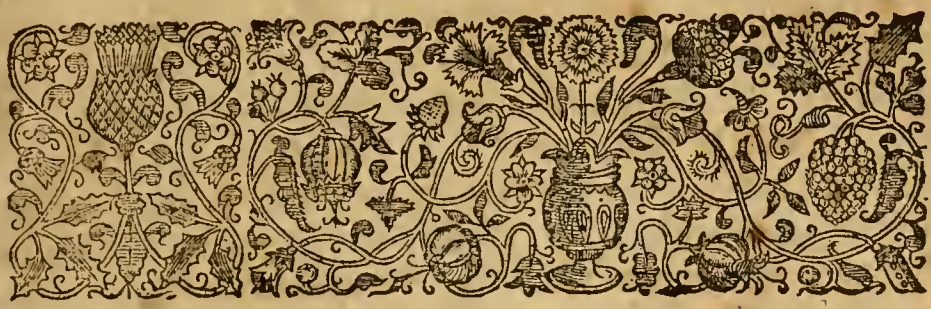
unto you: Blessed is the death of those that have part in the death of Jesus. *In the evening, which was the last of this wretched life, having slept some hours together, but with great unquietnesse, for he was heard to send forth many sighs and groans; one* Campbell, *and one* John Johnston, *which two waited very diligently upon him, asked, after he awaked*, How he did finde himselfe, and what it was that made him to mourn so heavily in his sleep? *To whom he answered*, In my life time I have oft been assaulted with Satan, and many times he hath cast in my teeth my sins, to bring me to despair; yet God gave me strength to overcome all his tentations: And now that subtill Serpent, who never ceases to tempt, hath taken another course, and seeks to perswade me, That all my labours in the Ministery, and the fidelity that I have shewn in that Service, hath merited heaven and immortality: But blessed be God, that brought to my minde these Scriptures, *What hast thou that thou hast not received?* And, *Not I, but the grace of God in me:* With which, he is gone away ashamed, and shall no more returne: And now I am sure my Battell is at an end; and that without pain of body, or trouble of spirit, I shall shortly change this mortall and miserable life, with that happy and immortall which shall never have an end. *After which discourse, a Prayer was said neer his bed where he lay: which being ended, it was asked, If he* heard the Prayer? *He answered*, Would to God that ye had heard it with such an ear and heart as I have done; *Adding*, Lord Jesu receive my Spirit. *With which words, without any motion of hands or feet, as one falling a sleep, rather then dying, he ended his life. He was a man endued with many excellent gifts, and with a very great measure of the Spirit: God raised him up to be a chief Instrument of the glorious Work of Reformation. The Court clawbacks and parasites, have been, and are displeased with his Doctrine touching the Authority of Princes and Civill Magistrates, although there was never man born, who did more heartily reverence Civill Authority, nor obey more willingly the lawfull commands thereof, than he: All his Doctrine concerning the Civill Authority, was, To correct the corruption brought in by the slavish flatterers, who, abusing the simplicity and debonaritie of*

those

those whom God has placed in Authority, maketh them inconsiderately to rebell wilfully and openly against God and his Son, and turn all things up-side down, and undo the poor people of God, for whose good and safety they are placed so high. Likewise were and are to this day the proud Prelats and idle belly-gods highly offended with his Doctrine concerning Church-Government, although he intended no other thing, but the pulling down of Antichristianisme fully, and casting all tyranny and Idlenesse out of the House of God. Never was a man more observant of the true and just Authority of the Church-Rulers, according to the Word of God, and practice of the purest Primitive times. He alwayes urged pressingly due Obedience by the people, to the faithfull Pastors and Elders of the Church. Although he was both learned and eloquent, yet did he not much apply his minde to compose Books for Posterity; for he was wont to say, That God had called him rather to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowfull, rebuke the sinners, and confirm the weak living in his time, then to make Books for ages to come. *Nevertheleſſe, he wrote severall good Pieces; for besides what we have spoken of already, namely, he left these, A learned Treatise against the blasphemous Anabaptists, Two Treatises against the Masse, One, of the Eucharist, Some Sermons upon* Genesis, *Some also upon the* Psalms, *An Exhortation to all afflicted Churches, An Advice in time of trouble, The first blast of the Trumpet, &c.*

He *died,* Anno Dom. 1572, *and of his age,* 62. *His body was interred at S.* Giles, *without the Church. To his Buriall assisted many men of all Ranks; among others, the Earle of* Morton, *who being neer to the grave, as the Corps was put in, said, by way of Epitaph,* Here lies the body of him, who, in his life time, never feared the face of man.

THE



THE PREFACE.

THe SCOTS, by the most judicious Writers, and by those who have most diligently studied their Antiquities, are acknowledged to be among the first who embraced the Faith of Christ: yea, they are said to be, by some, of the very first-fruits of the Gentiles: For in few yeers after the Ascension of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Apostles and Disciples being constrained to leave *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, by reason of the Persecutions raised against them by the Jews, according to the dispensation of the All-wise God, went up and down the world; and speaking to every People in their own Language, declared unto them the glad Tydings of Salvation in Christ Jesus. Those who came into our Northern Parts, to wit, into *Scotland*, and first made known unto our Fathers the Mysteries of Heaven, were of the disciples of *John* the Apostle.

Scoti ex auditoribus Joannis *Apostoli Christianismum edocti sunt.* Buch.Lib.5.

Some yeers thereafter, to wit, in the second Persecution raised against the Christians, many *Britons* Provincials of the Empire, professing the Name of Christ, left their own countrey, and went into *Scotland*, for shelter from the generall Massacre then executed thorowout the whole Empire, by that bloody Butcher *Domitian*; and to enjoy the freedom of the Gospel, which they knew to be received then in *Scotland*. Among these fugitive *Britons* there were sundry learned

Multi ex Britonibus Christiani sævitiam Domitiani *metuentes in Scotiam commigrarunt, è quibus complures doctrina & vitæ integritate clari in eâ subsisterunt.* Buch.Lib.4.

ed and pious men, who ſtayed in *Scotland* (the Perſecution ended) propagating the Faith of Chriſt there by their Preaching. This we have related unto us by the Hiſtorians of beſt truſt. We have not then from the Sea of *Rome* our firſt Inſtitution in the Chriſtian Faith; yea, we are ſo far from it, that, for many yeers together, we hardly had any communication with *Rome* at all. *Palladius* was the firſt, ſome yeers after the beginning of the fifth Age, who made our acquaintance with *Rome*; although the generall current of the Romiſh Writers give out, That the Goſpel was firſt planted amongſt us in *Scotland* by the means of *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome:* Yet *Baronius*, that renowned Chronologer, albeit he would fain have the Scots owe this Obligation unto *Rome*, diſclaimeth this opinion of his Party, as untrue, and diſagreeing with the beſt Antiquity.

Tertullian, who lived in the ſecond Age, and wrote Books divers yeers before the end thereof, and ſo was ſo neer the planting of the Chriſtian Faith amongſt the Nations, that in a manner he may be ſaid to have been an eye-witneſſe unto it, in his Book againſt the Jews, ſpeaking how the Light of the Goſpel was ſpread thorow the whole world, ſaith thus, *The Euangel was diffuſed into all the parts of the world, yea, into Britanie, and into that part of the Iſland whereunto the Roman Forces did never pierce.* By theſe laſt words of *Tertullian*, are meant the inhabitants of that part of the Iſland which lieth benorth the walls, firſt built by *Adrian*, then by *Antoninus Pius*, thirdly by *Severus*; and theſe were the Scots by name: For the Romans put walls betwixt them and the Scots Bowe-men, as our Poet expreſſeth it:

Euangelium fuit diffuſum in omnes orbis partes, etiam in Britanniam uſque, eamque inſulæ partem, ad quam Romanæ vires nunquam penetrárunt. Tert. lib. contra Judæos.

Roma ſagitti feris prætendit mænia Scotis.

Antoninus Pius *Britannos vicit, alio muro cæſpicio ſubmotis Barbaris ducto.* Jul. Cap. *Britanniam, muro per tranſverſam inſulam ducto, utrumque ad finem Oceani munivit.* Adrianus *murum primus ducit, qui Barbaros Romanóſque dividit,* Ælius Spartianus.

And *Claudian*, many hundred yeers before this our Poet, ſpeaking of the Legion which then was called from its Garriſon on the aforeſaid walls, ſaith thus, *The Legion came, which was placed before the utmoſt Britans, and which bridled the fierce Scot.*

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis, Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, id eſt, oppoſita Scotis, quæ eorum furorem a Britannis propelleret in extremo limite Britanniæ & Scotiæ, ut explicat Buchan. Lib. 1.

Lucius

Lucius Florus, many yeers before *Claudian*, who wrote towards the later end of the fourth Age, to wit, in the beginning of the second Age; and *Spartianus*, who alleadgeth *Florus*, writ towards the later end of the third Age. *Lucius Florus* the Poet (is the same with the Historian, who writ the short History of the Romans, as judgeth *Salmasius*) is brought in by *Ælius Spartianus*, in the History of the Life of *Adrian* the Emperor, saying these words, *I would not be* Cæsar, *to walk among the Britans, and suffer the Scots morning hoar Frosts.* The word *pruina*, which the Author useth, doth signifie so much; for it is *quasi* πρωΐνη *a* πρωΐ, morning. What *Florus*, in these words here alleadged, calleth in his Language *Scoticas pruinas*: *Claudian* calleth *Caledonias pruinas*, speaking of another Roman, in these words, *And he placed his Camp in the middle of the Caledonian morning hoar Frosts.* I know that commonly in *Spartian*, of whom we have these Verses of *Florus*, it is read, *Scythicas*, for *Scoticas*, but wrong, notwithstanding that the great Criticks have not corrected it: For how, I pray you, can *Adrian* be said to suffer *Scythicas pruinas*, who never was in the Countrie which then went under the name of *Scythia?* yea, the Romans had never any War with the *Scythes*; for albeit the *Scythes* heard of the Romans Arms, yet they never felt them: Besides, what sense had it been in *Florus* to say unto *Adrian*, That *he would not be* Cæsar, *to walk in Britany, and endure the morning hoary Frosts of Scythia?* For although the Romans heard say, That *Scythia* was a cold Countrey, yet they more perfectly knew *Scotland* to be cold, having been upon the place. Now it was very easie to those who copied Books of old, and hardly understood what they writ, to change one letter for another, namely, when two letters are so like one to another, as these two Vowels ʊ, O; for ʊ not being Initiall or Capitall, was written formerly without the draught under it, which hath been written for distinction sake, as we see it commonly now, thus ʏ. This change of these two Vowels, hath been found elsewhere then in this place of *Florus*, by the Criticks, in the same words; who seeing the name of the Sea upon the Coast of *Scotland* written *Scythicum*, presently mended it, and made it *Scoticum.*

Ego nolo Cæsar esse, ambulare per Britannos, & Scoticas pati pruinas.

Inque Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis.

Scythæ audiverunt, sed nunquam senserunt arma Romanorum.

Britannia & Scoticæ gentes Mosem *& Prophetas nondum cognoverant.*

Then *Erasmus* smelled out the same fault in *Jerome* his Epistle to *Ctesiphon*, against *Palladius*, and his disciple *Cælestius*, in these words, *Britannie and the Scots Nations had not then known* Moses *and the Prophets*. *Erasmus* finding *Scythicæ*, he changed it into *Scoticæ*.

Lucius Seneca, about an hundred yeers before *Florus*, that is, about fourty yeers after Christ, now 1600 yeers since, in his Satyre upon the death of *Claudius*, makes mention of the Scots in the composed word *Scoto-Brigantes*, as thus followeth; *He (i. e.* Claudius*) commanded the Britans beyond the known Seas, and the blue Scoto-Brigantes, to submit their necks to the Roman Chains.* This word above named hath puzzled many of the Criticks how to reade it, so that a right meaning or sense might be had of these lines, with the true measure of the Verse, some reading it one way, some another way; till at last, the learned *Joseph Scaliger* corrected it as you have it here, giving to the words a plain and easie sense, and keeping the law of the Verses, against which all others did faile: And to this Correction of *Scaliger* hath submitted many learned men: yet some, partly for envie against the Nation of whom is here spoken, partly for vanity, will stand out against the truth, because of the authority of this Correction, at whose great and most rare Learning they are offended, as the former are at any advantage that the Nation whom these words doth concern may have. The Scots are called *Cerulæi*, or *blue*, because they used much blue in their Garments; and so doth the old Scots to this day, witnesse their Plaids, whereof the best sort ordinarily hath the ground blue; as also their blue Caps.

Ille Britannos ultra noti littora ponti, & Cæruleos Scoto-Brigantes dare Romulcis colla catenis jussit.

In quibus Buchan. *lib.* 2. *Et* Salmasius *in* Plinium. *Ex coloribus maxime purpureo & Cerulæo delectantur prisci Scoti.*

Mamertinus in Panygyrico ait, Britones habuisse bella contra Scotos & Pictos, ante Jul. Cæs. Buchan. *lib.* 2. *Ejus partes habitatores sæpius a Britannis scriptoribus Britones quàm Britanni nominatur.* Buc. *l.* 2.

Mamertin, in his *Panegyrick* to *Maximinian*, tells us, That the Britans had War with the Scots and Picts, before *Julius Cæsar* entered into the Island. So, by these Testimonies, ye see how injurious they are unto the Scots, that will not have their name known, till many yeers, yea, some hundred yeers after the entry of the Romans into the Island.

The Romans having setled themselves in the Island, they divided the whole into two parts: Their part, or the South part,

part, they called *Britannia major* and ſuperiour ; and their Provincialls went moſt commonly under the name of *Britones*, although ſometimes under the name of *Britanni*, but not ſo oft : and they were ſub-divided into ſeverall Peoples. The other part of the Iſland without the Roman Province, that is, the northern part, was called *Britannia minor*, and inferiour : Now all the inhabitants of this northern part, who were in continuall Bickerings and Warre with the Romans and their Provincialls, were called *Scoti*, ſometime *Tranſmarins*, ſometime *Forreigners* ; and they did conſiſt of two chief Peoples, to wit, *Brigantes*, and *Picti*; which both were ſub-divided into ſeverall leſſer Peoples, of which we forbear to ſpeak at this time. So the name of *Scoti* was at firſt appellative, and given to more then to one People ; but in ſucceſſe of time, appropriated to one. And this is not ſingular in this name, for the proper names of divers Peoples at firſt hath been appellative, and thereafter appropriate to one alone : I will inſtance onely in one, for brevity ſake, which is this ; The name *Franck* or *French*, at firſt was common to all thoſe that ſtood out together for Franchiſe and Liberty againſt the Romans about the *Rhyne*, and other parts of *Germany* ; But at length it became peculiar unto one people, as we ſee it is at this day. Moreover, that the name of *Scoti* was appellative, and given to more then one people, you may cleerly ſee by the ordinary expreſſion of ancient Writers in the plurall number, thus, *Scotorum gentes*, *Scoticæ gentes* ; when otherwiſe all men ordinarily, both by word and writing, have ever uſed, and to this day uſe the ſingular number, ſpeaking of one people ; as *gens*, not *gentes* ; *populus*, not *populi* ; nation, not nations.

Nomen Scotus erat commune omnibus gentibus quæ excurſionibus loca populi Romana infeſtabant. Scal. *in* Euſe. *Sic vocat eos* Beda *modò tranſmarinos modò peregrinos Quod etiam notat* Buch. *Scoti dicuntur non ſolum Brigantes qui ex Hibern. in Britanniam tranſmiſerunt, ſed etiam indigenæ Britanni veri Picti, ſermone proſ. a Brigantibus diſcreti.* Scal.

As all the northern people of the main Land, or Continent, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, went anciently under the name of *Scythæ*, witneſſe *Strabo*, in theſe words, *The ancients commonly called the northern people* Scythes. And in another place he ſaith, *The ancients did call by one name of* Scythes *all the known places towards the North.* He means, in the Continent, or main Land. So the northern people of *Britannie*, which is another little world, were of old, and to this day are

Ἀπαυλᾶς μὲν δὴ τοὺς πρὸς Βόρρᾶς κοινῶς οἱ παλαιοὶ Σκυθᾶς ἐκάλουν. *Strab. lib.* II. Τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶς μέρη τὰ γνωριμωτάτα ἑνὶ ὀνόματι Σκυθᾶς ἐκάλουν.

are called *Scoti.* The two names *Scytha* and *Scotus* do ſignifie one and the ſame thing, to wit, an *Archer*, or *Bow-man*; in Latin, *Arcuarius*; in Greek, Τοξότης. The ancient Writers tell us, That the *Scythes* were much given to Archery, and to Hunting; ſo were anciently, and to this day are the old *Scots* Bow-men; In Hebrew, קשׁוּת *Keſhut*, from קֶשֶׁת *Keſhet*, Bow. And ſo you have the ſignification of *Scytha* and *Scotus*; which are truely one and the ſame, with little change, more in Latin then in Greek; for the one is written Σκυθὴς, ſo at firſt the other was written Σκυθὸς, which afterward they turned into Σκοτὸς. This is the true origine of the name *Scotus*: It comes neither then from the fabulous *Scota*, neither from the fooliſhly-invented Σκοτὸς, darkneſſe; For if the days be as long in ſummer, as the nights are in winter, Why ſhould the Countrey be called *Scotia*, from Σκοτὸς, rather then *Photia*, from φῶς, light? Alſo the *Britan* Writers uſe one and and the ſame word, when they ſpeak of *Scyth* and *Scot*, to wit, *y Scot*; as likewiſe the Low German calleth them both *Schutten:* From the Hebrew קֶשֶׁת *Keſhet*, we have the vulgar *ſchut* and *ſchot.* Now this Etymologie of *Scot*, as it is true, ſo it is eaſie, by the tranſpoſition of a letter; to wit, by putting ק behinde ש; which is ordinary, not onely in the derivation of words from one Language into another, but alſo obvious in one and the ſame Language, in common diſcourſe. Let this one Example ſatisfie for all, to be ſhort, Is not one and the ſame word both written and pronounced, according to the writing *thirty* and *thrity*, in our vulgar Tongue? As the names of *Scyth* and *Scot* do ſignifie one thing; ſo the people, in many things, may be ſaid to be like one another; as for Example; The *Scythes*, in the Continent, generally were of two kindes; to wit, *European*, and *Aſiatick:* So the Scots in *Britanie* were of two ſorts in generall; to wit, the *Brigantes*, and *Picti.* Next, the *Scyths* did not till the ground, but feeding cattell and ſheep, had a Cuſtome to remove from one place or ſolitude to another: Of old, ſo did all the Scots; and to this day, the ancient or *priſci* Scots do. The *Scythes* did live much upon milk, and ſo do our old Scots. The *Scythes*, not knowing the

Ἀπῶντες ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ νομάδες.

Strab.lib.11. *Hence they are* γαλακτοφάγοι.

the uſe of riches, did not deſire them: and ſo it is with many of our old Scots. The Scythes were never vanquiſhed by Forreigners: ſo the Scots were never utterly overthrown, although they have ſuffered very much by their enemies at ſeverall times. The Scythes were hard for toyling and War; ſo are our Scots, as is known to all, *&c.*

Scythæ ab alieno imperio aut intacti, aut invicti.

Σκυθαι πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀμαχοιεισι χαι ἀνίκητοι.

Sola manet invicta Britannia Scotis.

Gens laboribus & bellis aſpera.

We have ſaid, That the In-dwellers of the north part of the Iſland were named *Scoti*; and that by a generall Diviſion they were of two kindes, *Brigantes*, and *Picti*: Now we muſt enquire who are *Brigantes*, and who *Picti*; where they both lived, and from whence they came. And, to begin at *Picti*, They inhabited the Eaſt ſide of *Britannia minor*, which is the beſt: and, for the moſt part, they were of the ancient native *Britons*; of whom, ſundry of old, before the entry of the Romans into the Iſland, had drawn themſelves Northward, to have more elbow-room for their courſe of life, which was, To feed Cattell, and to hunt, removing from one place to another, whereunto largeneſſe of Bounds is required. Then others of the old *Britons* flying from the Tyranny of the Romans, upon grievance, went from time to time Northward, beyond the Limits of the Empire, to their ancient com-Patriots.

Next came in to theſe North *Britans*, at divers times, ſeverall Colonies of Northern people from beyond Sea. Hence it is, that ſome late Authors have written, That the inhabitants of the Eaſt ſide of *Britannia minor* came from *Scandie*. The North *Britans* having received theſe men come from beyond Sea, into their Society, and being joyned with them, made up a People, called the Romans and South *Britons Picti*, becauſe they continued the Cuſtom of painting their bodies, of old in uſe among many Nations: which cuſtome the South *Britons* left off, with other Rites, now become Provincialls of the Empire. The whole Iſland was firſt called *Albion*; of which we ſhall ſpeak anon, God willing.

Then Βρεταννία, *Britannia*, which ſignifieth a woody Countrey; for of old it was καταδρυμος, *Sylvis obſita*, covered with Woods, as *Strabo* terms it. And to this day, we ſee that part

part of the countrey opposite to the Continent, full of Woods and Inclosures. We finde in ancient Authors, the Peninsule of *Italy*, next *Sicilie*, whereof *Rhegium* was the Metropolis, called Βρετία and Βρετιαννία for the same reason, because it was καταδρυμος. So *Strabo* names it also. The Origine of the word is ברת *barat*, which signifieth severall kindes of trees, *Fir*, *Ash*, *Cedar*, *&c.*

Ρηγιον ἐστι μετρόπολις Βρεταυνίας. : *Vide Sal. pag. 321. in Plin.*

The *Picti* had divers people under them, whereof the chief were *Caledonii*; by whose name, sometimes all the Picts were named, although *Caledonii* properly were those of the Picts, who dwelt among the lesser hills; of which hills, some are called *Ocelli montes*, in vulgar language *Ochell hills*. The countrey of the *Caledonii* did begin at *Forth*, and went Northward beyond *Tay*, where their chief City was *Caledon*, now *Dunkell*, by a transposition. In this countrey were the Woods called *saltus Caledonius*, or *sylva Caledonia*. The rockie and hillie part of *Ætolia* in *Greece*, was called by the same name: and there was there a Town of this name, yea, and a Forrest, so much spoken of by the old Poets. True it is, That the second vowell is now and then changed, which makes no difference; for in words the consonants are mainly regarded. *Strabo*, *Lib.* 10. calleth the one and the other countrey ἀπειαν, καὶ πετρηεσσαν, hillie and stonie or rockie: the name cometh from גלאיתו *Galeætan*, which is as much as Βυνος Τραχυς, *tumulus asper*, a rough little hill.

Benorth the Limits of the Empire in this Island, all people, beside the Picts, were called *Brigantes*, which importeth as much as In-dwellers of Mountains, or high hills: So you have the *Brigantes* neer the Lake of *Constance*, in-dwelling Mountains. On the *Alps* in *Daulphine* you have *Brigantium Briançon*, the highest Town in *Europe*. The *Brigantes* of *Spain*, as those of *Ireland*, of old did inhabite Mountains; and so did our *Brigantes* in this Island mainly keep upon the Mountains. The name cometh from *Briga*, *Brica*, or *Bria*, as it is diversly written: It signifieth an high place, or Mountain: Our vulgar hath interpreted it *Bray*; hence we haply call our *Brigantes* Bray-

Bray-men, vvhom vve call othervvise High-landers, or High-land-men. *Strabo* tells us, That *bria*, amongst the *Thracians*, doth signifie a Tovvn, or City. And so the vvord *Bria* must needs come from the Hebrevv בירה *bira*, Tovvn or Palace, by the transposition of a letter; vvhich is ordinary in the derivation of vvords, as vve have said a little before. Here, for further proof of the transposition of a letter in a derivative vword, take this example onely, *Dumbarton*, for *Dumbriton*.

Causabon, in his Notes upon *Strabo*, tells us, from *Hesychius*, That *bria* signifieth a Village or Tovvn upon a hill: So *bria* signifieth not simply a Tovvn or Village, but such a one as is builded upon a hill. And truely, in the most ancient times, Tovvns or Villages vvere, for the most part, builded upon high places; as any man that hath taken the pains to remark, either by Histories, or by considering the places he may have seen, knovveth. So then *Brigantes* are men inhabiting the hills, or having their Tovvns, Cities, Villages upon the hills. Yea, in old times, vvhen they had not yet fixed their abode certain, they were wont to remove from hill to hill, as we have said formerly; and to this day some of our Highlanders do, within their own extent and limits.

Hesychius *explicat*, Βρεῖαν τὴν ἐπ' ἀκροῖς κώμην, *ubi lego* ἀκρῶς, *non* ἀγρῶς, *ut vulgò legitur.*

The *Brigantes* in the Continent namely, were so given anciently to take away goods from their enemies with a strong hand, that by successe of time, all those that openly did rob and plunder, were called *Brigantes*: And the French has from hence derived the verb, *Brigander*, to rob or plunder. Next, there is a kinde of Armour called *Brigantine*, the use and manner whereof is borrowed from the *Brigantes*; it is like a Male-Coat. Lastly, there is a kinde of Ship used at the Sea, called *Brigantine*, of the middle size, as being most proper for War at Sea. Thus much for the name of *Brigantes*.

The *Brigantes* of this Island came hither from *Ireland*, at divers times, and upon divers occasions. The *Brigantes* in *Ireland*, by *Ptolomie*, are placed well Southward: But those that are come after *Ptolomee*, I mean those of neerer Antiquity, have placed them more Northerly by many miles; as ye may see easily by looking upon *Ptolomee* his Maps; and *Ortelius* his

Vide sis Ptolomæi *Tabulam primam Europæ; Et* Ortelii *tertiam: quas conferas velim.*

his Maps of Geographie of the Ancients. So ye see that the *Brigantes*, at their first coming to *Ireland* from *Spain*; for thence they came, with many other inhabitants of that Island, dwelt in the South parts, but by degrees drew Northward, for conveniency to their wandring course of life, in keeping cattell, and hunting, and for freedom from the trouble of too neer neighbors: They went, by successe of time, so far North, till at length, having come to the part next unto *Britannie*, they came hither, and possessed themselves of the little Islands and hills next unto *Ireland*; and finding themselves fitted in this new-found Land for their purpose, according to their minde, they made their abode there, and drew dayly more and more company unto them, till at length they made up a great Body of people in *Britannie*, and by little and little came all along the West side of *Britannie*, keeping the hills, till they came to the River *Belisana*, that is, *Rhibet*, in *Lancashire*, and from thence went straight Eastward, till they came to the mouth of *Abus*, now *Humber*.

Scoto Brigantes *primò ex Hibernia in Ebudas insulas & Montana continentis his proxima venerunt sine certo Imperio: deinde accersiverunt* Fergusium *cum novis Colonis cum res eorum crevissent, quem in Regem sibi sumpserunt.*

The North *Britans* were glad to give them way, contenting themselves with the East side of *Britannia minor* (which indeed was, and is the best) and were glad also to have them for a Rampart against their enemies in the South, or in *majore Britannia*. The *Brigantes* were great enemies to the Romans, with whom they had divers Bickerings; but at last they were compelled to go Northward, and were hem'd in by the wall built by the Romans, betwixt the *fluve Tina*, now *Tyne* on the East side, and *Itrina*, now *Eden* in *Cumberland*, on the West side. Although they left the Countrey besouth this wall, yet the Romans continued there the names of *Brigantes*; yea, some of the *Brigantes*, allured by the bounty of the Soyl, did chuse rather to submit to the Roman yoke, then change their abode, although it was with thraldome. Then, after many various encounters with the Romans, they were yet constrained to yeeld more ground unto the Romans, who hedged in both them and the *Picts* northward with a Wall, betwixt *Bodotria*, or *Forth*, and *Glotta*, or *Clyde*. At last, the Romans, by cunning, raised jealousies betwixt the *Brigantes* and *Picts*, and so not onely withdraws the *Picts* from the friend-

Ab Hibernia Scotici generis fuere Brigantes qui circa Eboracum habitabant, magna & valida natio, ac totius insulæ latitudinem obtinebant. Buch.

friendſhip of the *Brigantes*, but makes them joyn with them, to overthrow the *Brigantes*; and taking occaſion of the *Brigantes* domeſtick troubles, fights with them; yea, at length, after a bloody well-fought Battell, defeats them, gives the beſt of the Lands they poſſeſt to the *Picts*, for their reward. After this the *Brigantes* were conſtrained, for the moſt part, (I mean of the better ſort) to retire thence, whereof ſome went to the next Iſles; ſome returned to *Ireland*, to their ancient *Patrie*; and ſome went to the North Countreys beyond Seas, and ſo they were for a time diſtreſſed, and in exile, till after divers attempts, they were reſtored again under the conduct of *Fergus* the ſecond. Here let us remember, That the whole Iſland *Britannie* was firſt named *Albion*, from *Albe*, or *Alpe*, which ſignifieth *hill*, or *high place*. This word *Albe*, or *Alpe*, cometh from *Albus*, white; and this from the Hebrew לבן *Laban*, *per metatheſin*, *Alban*, *Albus*; & Αλιφος in Greek; becauſe the high hills and mountains, yea, in the hot Countries, are frequently covered with Snow, and ſo appear white; witneſſe the high hills betwixt *France* and *Italy*, which, by reaſon of their highneſſe above other mountains, are named particularly *Alps*. The Iſland, when it had given unto it the name of *Britannia*, by little and little left off the old name of *Albon*, which continued in the North part of the Iſland, benorth the limits of the Empire; and ſo the whole Countrey beneath the *Humber* was called; and *Albion* in this ſecond ſenſe, in following times was called *Britannia minor*, as we have heard; but as the Romans did gain ground upon the in-dwellers of *Albion*, or *Britannia minor*; beating them Northward, they leſſened *Albion*, or *Britannia minor*, ſo far, till they brought them to keep North *Bodotria*, or *Forth*, and *Glotta*, or *Clyde*.

Britannia modò nomen totius inſulæ, modò partis ejus quæ Romanis faſcibus parebat eâque pars nunc Humbro, nunc vallo ad Tinam, nunc vallo ad Fortham finiebatur.

Johannes Forderus, in his 2 Book, 7 ch. of his *Scoti-Chronicon*, tells us, That *Albania*, that is, *Albion*, began for a time at *Humber*, then at *Tyne*, then at *Forth*.

Laſt of all, the Romans having by their cunning divided the *Brigantes* and *Picts*; and having drawn the *Picts* on their ſide againſt the *Brigantes*, *Albion* was taken for that part of *Britannia minor*, beyond *Clyde* and *Forth*, which did not belong to the *Picts*; that is, the Northweſt ſide of that hillie Continent, with the hillie Iſlands adjacent, where to this day dwelleth our Highlandmen, or Highlanders, who are the remnant

of the ancient *Brigantes*. That the ancient name of a whole great Countrey, as this Island is, should be conserved in one corner, or a little portion thereof, may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell you, That you have the like in our neighbour Countrey, of old called *Gaule*, now *France*; where the ancient name of *Gaule*, among the vulgar, is onely conserved in a little Countrey lying about *Sens*, of old, *Senones*: this little Countrey is called *Pays Gaulois*, and is divided in *Haute, & basse Gaule*. So it was judiciously said by the Historiographer, The name of the Isle *Albion* is derived from *Albe*, and remains in *Scotland*, as it were in its Native Soyl.

Nomen insulæ ab Albo *ductum Albion, in Scotia velut in natali solo hæret.* Buch.

Of *Alpe*, or *Albe*, signifying hill, or high place, you have the in-dwellers thereof sometimes named *Albani*, as in *Asia*, *Dalmatia*, *Italy*, and North *Britannia*; and their Countrey *Albania*, sometimes *Albici*, *Albigois* in *Languedock*, and their Countrey *Albium*, or *Albi*, in vulgar language, sometimes *Albini*, or *Alpini*, and *Albienses*, as the in-dwellers of our *Albion*, who to this day call themselves as they have done of old, &c. which name is one and the same with *Brigantes*. Here let us remark, That as the Provincialls or In-dwellers of *Britannia* superiour, subject to the Romans, are ordinarily called by the Writers *Britones*; so the others, benorth the Empire, have been called by the Writers *Britanni*, *peregrini*, *& transmarini*, strangers, and beyond-Sea-men, as if they had been of another Island. And truely, if it were not for the Strait betwixt the Rivers afore-named, which did serve for Border unto them, they were in another Island. Hence *England* is said to be *inter quatuor maria*.

In Albio sunt Brigantes Ptolomæ. Tacitus, & Seneca.

Ptolomeis, *Tacitus*, and *Seneca* tell us, That the *Brigantes* inhabited *Albion*, which when they writ, was that part of the Island beyond the Roman Empire. Therefore the *Brigantes* were then *Albini*, or *Albani*.

Brigantes circa Eboracum fuerunt Scotici generis, magna & valida natio. Buch.

Moreover, the *Brigantes* about *Eboracum*, now *Yorke*, were of the Scots, who came from *Ireland*, a great and mighty People.

John Fordon, in his *Scoti Chronicon*, writes, That the Scots came so far South as *Humber*, and possessed Lands there. Also the

the Isle of *Man* was for a long time under the Crown of *Scotland*; which Isle is as far South, as the Countrey about *Yorke*, although it be Westward, and in the Sea. And these were the *Brigantes* we now have spoken of. The *Brigantes*, at their first coming into *Albion*, came, as we have said, without any certain or setled way of Government: but being grown to a considerable number or Body, they sent into *Ireland* for *Fergus* the first, to be their King; whose (with a new Colonie) coming into *Albion*, is reckoned to be about *Alexander the Great* his time; that is, about three hundred yeers before the Birth of Christ.

Florente tum Imperio Romano Brigantes in Albium trajecerunt.

The *Brigantes*, alias, *Albini*, for a certain time, by some have been called *Dalreudini* (although this name did not last long) from the King *Reuda*, who brought into *Albion* the second remarkable Colony from *Ireland*, after *Fergus*, about 180 yeers before Christ; that is, about 220 yeers after *Fergus*, And *Dale*, which signifieth *Countrey* and *Province*, as is known to this day: There is a certain place in the West of *Scotland*, called to this very day *Ridsdale*.

Deind post aliquot ætates domo pulsi in Hibernam redierunt, unde majore cum numero duce Reuda in Albium reversi sunt. Quinte Caledonios iterum visure Britannos.

We have heard, That the people benorth the Roman Province, upon the East side, were originally *Britains*, whence they were called *Britanni Picti*; and somtimes *Britanni Caledonii*, from one of the chief people; sometimes simply *Picti*, or *Caledonii*. Also we have heard, That the people benorth the Province, on the West side, were come from *Ireland*, and called *Brigantes*, or *Album*; yea, for a time *Dalreudini*. Likewise we have heard, That all the people benorth the Empire, by a generall Appellation, were called *Scoti*, where they were all spoken of together: but when they were spoken of apart, those of the East were called *Scoto-britanni*: Those of the West were called *Scoto-brigantes*, as we have heard out of *Seneca*.

Moreover, by progresse of time, the Irish came to go under the name of Scots, with those of *Britannia minor*, or *Albion*, who from them had help, supply, and recruites, in their War against the Romans and Britans Provincialls. Thus naming the Irish by the name of Scots, began some hundred yeers after Christ; that is, towards the middle Ages. And

Hibernam nominatam Scotiam a mediæ ætatis scriptoribus observavit Ortelius *in Geographia.*

about that time *Ireland* was called by the name of *Scotia*, as *Abrahamus Ortelius* hath remarked, in these words; *I have observed Ireland to be named Scotia, by the Writers of the middle Age.* And so it hath been observed by the learned, That ancient Authors did never name *Ireland Scotia*; as you may see by those who have exactly reckoned up the old names of *Ireland*, out of the ancient and Classick Authors. So it was not said much amisse by one, That this naming of *Ireland* by the name of *Scotland*, was first about *Beda* his time, who lived in the beginning of the eighth Age. *Scaliger* tells us, That the word *Scot* is no Irish word, but *British*; that is not used in *Ireland*, but in *Britannia*: what is the origine and signification of the word, we have heard before.

Videsis Hermolaum Barbarum *in* Plinium, *&* Vadianum, *in* Solinum.

Scotus non est nomen Hibernicum, sed Britannicum.

As the Irish began to be called *Scots*, so the *Picts* left off to be so named; now withdrawing themselves from the *Brigantes*, or *Albini*, and striking in with their enemies the Irish, by the Writers were called *Scoti Hiberniensis*, and the *Albins* were called *Scoti Albienses*: And *Ireland* was called *Scotia major*, because *Albania* or *Albion* in those dayes, which they called *Scotia minor*, was of lesse extent. But this name of *Scots* was not for any long time given to the Irish; So that at length the name of *Scots* became peculiar to the *Albins* or *Brigantes* alone.

Lastly, the *Albins* having subdued the *Picts*, and made them no more a People, communicated into the Countrey, newly conquered by them, the name of *Scotia*, as one Countrey with *Albinia*; and so all the in-dwellers there, were called *Scots*, with the *Albins*, as one people with them, and so they are to this day.

Now the *Albins* or *Brigantes* being the onely Masters of *Britannia minor*, came to be called *Scoto-Britanni*; as the *Picts* had been of old, and are upon occasion called so to this day, to distinguish them from the South *Britons*, of whom, some are called *Cambro-britanni*, the rest, *Anglo-britanni*.

Although the ancient *Brigantes* were called by forreigners *Scoti*, namely; by the *Britons* Provincialls, and the Romans, yet they did never name themselves so, by this name *Scoti*; neither

neither do the High-landers to this day, in their own language call themſelves *Scots*, but *Albins*. So *Scaliger* had juſt reaſon to ſay, That *Scoti* was not an Iriſh name. As the *Hellenes* did never name themſelves *Greeks*, although they were ſo commonly called by the forreigners: And the *Miſraims* did not call themſelves *Egyptians*, although forreigners named them ſo.

The *Scots* now adayes are divided in Highland-men, and Lowland-men: The Highlanders are the true Progenie of the ancient *Brigantes*, or *Albins*, for the moſt part, I ſay, becauſe ſome are come in later times from other Countreys. And to this day our Highlanders, as the *Brigantes* of old, makes main uſe of their Bowes and Arrows, in their war, namely, when they are among the hills; ſo when they praiſe one for a Military man, they ſay, He is a good Bowe-man, and Bray-man; which two Epithites were expreſſed by the ancients in one compoſed word, *Scoto-Brigantes*.

The Lowland-men are made up of divers Nations; for a few of them are a little remnant of the ancient *Picts*; other few are deſcended from the ancient *Albins*: who leaving the hills, after the defeat of the *Picts*, did betake themſelves to the Low Countrey. Divers from the South parts of *Britannie*, had fled thither from the Tyranny of the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, as they did of old, from the Tyranny of the Romans. Then the Engliſh, being ſo oft in *Scotland* with their Armies, have left divers in the Countrey. Alſo Marriages, and other private occaſions, have drawn ſundry men from *England* into *Scotland*. Laſtly, ſundry of the Low-Countrie people are come from beyond Seas, as from *France*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Flanders*, *Ireland*, *&c.* of late dayes: So all being reckoned, they are but few in the Low Countrey come of the old *Albins*, *Brigantes*, or old *Picts*.

The Low-Countrey men calls the High-landers *Iriſh*, not ſo much for their ancient deſcent, as for their language, onely differing from the Iriſh by dialect; and for their wayes of living not much unlike: yet one main difference is to be ſeen in the activity of the Scots, and the lazineſſe of the Iriſh. On the other ſide, the Highlanders calls the Low-Countrey men

Saxons,

Saxons, not ſo much for their deſcent (although many of them are come from the Southern people, as we have ſaid, who are a Progenie of the *Saxons*) as for the language, which differeth onely by dialect from the language of the South, which acknowledgeth the *Saxon* language for its mother Tongue, and for the way of living not ſo different, ſave that the Scots are harder bred, and conſequently, more fitted for toyling at War namely, then the Engliſh are; for we ſee the Engliſh to have pain to toyle, and endure Wars, at the firſt going to the Field, by reaſon of their tender and ſoft breeding. The language of the South-*Britons* of old, was not much different from that of the *Gauls*, from whence they came into *Albion*; witneſſe *Tacitus*, in *Agricola* his Life: The *Gauls* then did ſpeak a corrupt Greek, for they are come of the *Greeks*. Beſides, many words of the old *Gaulois*, the phraſe and conſtruction; are to this day in the French language kept; which doth ſignifie, that of old the Greek was ſpoken in *Gaule*, although corrupt groſly by ignorant men without learning, who neither could reade nor write. Yet in the South parts of *Gaule*, neer the *Mediterranean* Sea, wherein the Greek Iſlands are, the Greeke was ſpoken and taught, at *Marſeilles* namely. The ancient language of the *Britons* ſuffred a great change by the Romans, and other forreigners, who brought in amongſt them their terms of Law, of divine Service, of War, and of Policie, with the names of divers Commodities, and the names of divers Trades.

In no Language are the Greek Authors ſo well turned, as in French.

When the *Saxons* and *Danes* came into the Land, they confined the remnant of the ancient *Britons* unto the Weſt Countrey, with their language, ſuch as it was left unto them by the Romans, and other forreigners of old, and with themſelves planted the language which is ſpoken in all *England* now adays, with ſome alteration and change. The firſt notable change happened by the *Normans*, in whoſe language the Law hath been adminiſtred, &c. The next change is from the *Latin*, in which language divine Service hath been for many yeers Officiated. Then the Engliſh language hath borrowed from all neighbour Nations many words, without any great change; ſo that the Engliſh language is ſaid to be the quint-

eſſence

essence of all neighbour Languages: From it the Scotish Tongue differs but in dialect, as we have said. The Highlanders Language, as hath been said likewise, is Irish, which of old was a corrupt Greek also; for the Irish came into *Ireland* from the North parts of *Spain*, who spake a corrupt Greek, as those of *Gaule* did; for the ancient in-dwellers of the North parts of *Spain* came also from the Greek Islands. So that of old, the Language of the ancient *Britons* was not altogether strange unto the *Brigantes*, or *Alpins*; yea, in this time wherein we live, notwithstanding the great changes that both the Languages have sustained by time, and Commerce of forreign Nations, they have many words which are one and the same, signifying the same thing.

Thus much I have written of the beginning, names, way of living, and Languages of *Scotland*, to make known to all, how unjust and injurious unto us are some modern Antiquaries of our neighbour Countreys; who first think they cannot prove their own people to be sufficiently ancient, except they take from their neighbour their just right of good Antiquity. Next, they conceive they cannot set forth fully enough the greatnesse of their own Countrey, except they make their neighbours no people at all, or at least, hardly considerable. Thirdly, they imagine, That they cannot extoll and magnifie the glory of their Countrey highly enough, unlesse they not onely depresse and extenuate their neighbours name, but also attribute unto themselves the advantages of their neighbours. But if these Antiquaries had considered with the eyes of men, That there is enough to be said for the credit of their own Countrey, without wronging others, they had not so stuffed their Books with mistaken and mis-applied Allegations of good ancient Authors, nor with Collection of fabulous and lying Monks tales, wherein some of them do fansie Learning mainly to consist. But of this enough.

For this place, I will only adde this: As the Scots, although they be not of the greatest people, yet they are truely one of the most ancient People in *Europe*; So I dare be bold to say, That God (to whose praise be it spoken) in his good-

neſſe towards them hath raiſed up of them, and amongſt them, ſo many excellent and vertuous men, in Church and State, in Piety and Learning, in Policy and War, at home and abroad, of old and of late, that few Nations, ancient or moderne, although of greater bounds, can compare with them; fewer equall them, and hardly any at all go beyond them in this; for which we praiſe God, who of the beſt things hath given us the beſt meaſure; and ſay with the Hiſtorian, *That the Land is more fertile of good men, then of good fruits.*

Terra virorum fortium quam frugum feracior

But now, ſince all former walls of ſeparation and diviſion, both ancient and moderne, Civill and Eccleſiaſticall, are in a great meaſure taken away by Gods bleſſing: and ſince in ſo many reſpects the Scots and Engliſh are ſo neer one unto another, as we have ſaid: But above all, ſince they both are members of the true Church and pure Spouſe of Chriſt Jeſus, to the upholding of whoſe Truth, and purging of it from uncleanneſſe they have newly bound themſelves together as one People, yea, as one man, Let them then, in Gods Name, laying aſide all excuſes, envies, jealouſies, and by-ends, as feeling members of one and the ſame Body, concur unanimouſly, with their mutuall and beſt endeavours, to ſettle the true Worſhip of God in all true purity, and quiet all things ſpeedily with wiſedom, to the good of the people, with due obedience to our lawfull Sovereign under God, as we are taught by the Law of God, the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, and the Municipall Laws of our ſeverall Countreys. But to return to the Church.

The Scots, although they received amongſt them the light of the Goſpel with the very firſt of the Gentiles, as we have ſaid, yet had they not the Evangel ſo univerſally profeſſed thorow the whole Countrey, till towards the firſt yeers of the third Age; that is, till *Donald* the firſt; who not onely profeſſed the Faith of Chriſt himſelf, with his Family, but did his beſt to caſt out Idolatry wholly from his Dominions, and to ſettle the Miniſtery of the Goſpel in every corner thereof: But this religious King could not bring

to

to paſſe this his good Deſigne fully, being diverted by continuall Wars againſt the Romans the whole courſe of his life.

After the death of *Donald*, till toward the later end of the third age; that is, to the Reign of *Crathilinth*, this work of totally putting down Idolatry, and ſetling the Goſpel every where in the Countrey, by the negligence of the following Princes, was at a ſtay. In this King *Crathilinth* his dayes fell out the ninth perſecution under *Aurelius*, and the tenth under *Dioclesian*, which gave occaſion to many Chriſtians from divers parts of the Empire, but namely from the South parts of *Britanie*, now another time to flie into *Scotland* for refuge, as they had done before under *Domitian*. Among thoſe fugitives who did then repair into *Scotland* for ſhelter from the generall maſſacre, were many excellent men in Piety and Learning, whom the King *Crathilinth* not onely kindely received, but alſo employed to ayd and help him and his Councell in the further ſetling of Chriſts Truth in his Kingdom, and in the totall extirpation of Idolatry out of it; which was ſo much the harder work, becauſe of the *Druides*, the principall falſe Prophets, and Idolatrous Prieſts in thoſe dayes; who not onely by their ſubtill hypocriſie, and ſenſe-pleaſing Divine Service, but alſo by a cunning forecaſt, having drawn into their hands the hearing and determining of Civill affairs, had ſo gained upon the ſpirits of the poor and ſimple people, that they could not imagine how to be without them, and live. The reſolute care and diligence of King *Crathilinth* and his Councell, with the help of thoſe pious and learned men, ſurpaſſeth all difficulties; and having put quite down the Groves and Altars under the Oaks, and, in a word, all Idoll Service, eſtabliſhed the pure Worſhip of the true God in every place of his Dominions, and filled up the rooms of thoſe falſe Prophets, with godly and learned Teachers of the people; which was done every where thorow the Kingdom, but particularly in the Iſlands, which thoſe pious men choſe for their principall abode, as being moſt fit for a retired life; and namely, in the Iſle of *Man* the King *Crathilinth* cauſed to build a

Church to the honour of our Saviour, which in following times, by corruptions, was called *Fanum Sodorense*, for *Soterense*, the word originall is, σωτῆρ. Hence the Town neer the Church was called *Sodora*, as Minster in our vulgar language, and Moustier in *French*, signifying a Town, in a secondary signification, neer a Church. Those godly men being setled as aforesaid, and having withdrawn themselves from the sollicitude of worldly affairs; did wholly give themselves to divine Service, that is, To instruct the ignorant, comfort the weak, administer the Sacraments to the people, and to train up Novices and Disciples, to do the same service in their due time. These men, for their single and retired life, were called μονάχοι, or Monks, by abbreviation; and for their travelling altogether in Gods Worship and Service, were called *Colidei*, or *Culdees*.

Culdei *vitam solitariam tanta sanctitatis opinione apud omnes vixerunt, ut vitâ functorum Cellæ in Templa quum mutarentur; & inde consuetudo apud posteros mansit, ut prisci Scoti Templa Cellas vocent.* Buch.

These *Culdees* were so given to the exercise of devotion, by the meditating the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, and by Prayers, that the very Cells whereinto they had inclosed and separated themselves from the world, after their death were reputed so many Temples or Chappels set aside for Divine Service; hence to this day *Cella* is taken for a Church among the ancient Scots, as you may see in these composed names, *Kelmarnoc*, *Marnoc* his Church, *Celpatric*, *Patrick* his Church.

Veteres Scotorum Episcopi e monasteriis electi, cum adhuc non honoris & lucri, sed sanctitatis & doctrinæ inter eos certamen esset, sine invidia & æmulatione partium ubicunque obvenerat occasio suum munus obibant, nullis adhuc regionibus definitis, cum nondum functio muneris ecclesiastici esset questuaria. Buch.

The *Culdees* thus setled, as we have seen, did chose out of themselves some eminent men, in piety, knowledge, and wisedom, to oversee the rest, and to keep them to the discharge of their duty towards the People, and towards the Disciples, with an orderly and discreet carriage of each one towards another, in their severall societies, and in their private. These Overseers or Superintendents chosen of themselves, and by themselves, did discharge the Duties of their Function, indifferently every where, thorowout the whole Kingdom, without restraining themselves to any certain place, or Lording over their Brethren, or any part of the Flock of Jesus Christ, not attributing unto themselves any particular distinct holy order from the rest, belonging

ing onely to them, and to be onely conferred by them. This way of instructing the People, and governing the Church by *Culdees*, did continue for many yeers, under Gods mercy; the Ministery of Gods Church, as yet, not being become a businesse of gain, and of worldly pomp and pride; So these *Culdees* and Overseers of others, had no other emulation, but of weldoing, nor striving, but to advance true Pietie and godly Learning. The Overseers or Superintendents of the *Culdees*, were commonly called by the Writers who writ of those dayes, *Scotorum Episcopi*, without any definition of place, or preeminence of one above another. But to return to *Crathilinth*, who till his dying day, which was about the 312. yeer, did constantly continue to advance the Kingdom of Christ, as likewise his successor *Fincormac*; under whose dayes the Gospel did flourish in Puritie and in Peace; he died about the yeer 358. After the death of *Fincormac*, both the Church and State of *Scotland* fell in great disorder and troubles, by domestick dissensions and factions for some yeers. The Roman Lieutenant *Maximus*, seeing the intestine troubles of *Scotland*, began to lay hold upon the occasion. First, he foments their divisions within them; next, not onely he withdraws under fair promises from the Scots their ancient Allies, the *Picts*, but also obtains help of the *Picts* to make Warre against the Scots, and so to defeat them, which he did effectuate indeed in a battell fought with much bloodshed on both sides, at the Water of *Dun*, in *Carrick*, wherein the King *Ewen* was killed (this defeat fell out about 380. in the yeer of Christ) the most part of the Nobilitie, and numbers of People of those that escaped, some fled into the West Isles, some into *Ireland*, and others to the Northern parts of *Germany* or *Scandia*; some submitted themselves to the will and discretion of the Conquerour, with the poor people that had not taken arms. Among those that fled away, was *Ethod* the Kings Brother, who went with sundry of the Nobilitie unto *Scandia*, where he and they stayed divers yeers, and from whence now and then they made secret attempts upon *Scotland*, with the help of their Bre-

thren, retired into the Iſlands and *Ireland*, but to ſmall effect.

Now as the face of the politique State of the Countrey was quite altered and undone, ſo the condition of the Church alſo was much diſordered, and the *Culdees* were conſtrained to withdraw, and ſeek ſhelter up and down, where they could finde any; namely, they returned into the Iſles, and into *Ireland*: At laſt the *Picts* perceiving by ſeverall attempts made by the exiled Scots, to return home, and re-eſtabliſh their State (although with little ſucceſſe, as we have ſaid) that the Scots were fully reſolved to beſtirre themſelves continually, till they were reſtored, and re-eſtabliſhed in their ancient Inheritances; the *Picts* themſelves being moved with the groaning miſeries of their neighbour poor people of *Scotland*, now under the Roman yoak, chiefly by their means; and taking to their conſideration, how fooliſhly they had ſuffered themſelves be ſo farre circumvented and deluded by the Romans, as to contribute to the ruine of their old friends; by whom, mainly in former times, they had withſtood the common enemy, did not onely comfort the poor oppreſſed remainers of the Scots at home, but alſo did invite theſe that were in exile to return, promiſing unto them the Lands which they had of theirs, and to help them with all their ſtrength and counſell, in the recovery of their whole State from the Roman Tyrants. The exiled Scots under the conduct of *Fergus* the ſecond, ſon to *Ethod*, beyond Sea, gathered all they could, both of their own people, and of their friends, from the places of their exile, namely, from *Scandie*, and from *Ireland* likewiſe, and came into *Scotland*, from whence they chaſed away the Romans, by ſtrong hand, with the help of the *Picts*, who made good their promiſe unto them, both in aſſiſting them in the action of Warre, and in reſtoring unto them the Land that they had been poſſeſſed with by the Romans. The Auxiliaries from *Ireland* ſtayed ſtill in *Scotland*, and had allowed unto them the Countrey of *Galloway* for their reward; and becauſe they were of the ancient *Brigants* of *Ireland*, ſome of the late Writers have ſaid,

That

That the *Brigantes* of *Albion* had their abode in *Galloway*. No ſooner is *Fergus* Crowned in the fatall Chair, and ſetled in his Kingdom, but he takes to his firſt care to reſtore the puritie of Divine Service, which had been eclipſed in theſe bounds for ſeverall yeers; and to this effect, he calls ſome of the diſperſed *Culdees* of his Country, whom he ſettles in their ancient abodes; namely, in the Iſle of *Iona*, where he furniſhed them with a Library of Books which he had gathered beyond Sea, as the Story tells us.

This return of *Fergus* into *Scotland*, ſon of *Ethod*, Brother to late *Ewen*, fell out about the yeer 420. The regaining by the Scots of their native Countrey, under the command of *Fergus* the ſecond, will not ſeem ſtrange unto them who have read what they did under the commands of *William Wallace*, and how under the conduct of *Robert Bruce*, they recovered their liberty from the thraldom wherewith they were then oppreſſed.

Ewen, ſon to *Fergus* the ſecond, by the counſell and ayd of his Grand-father by his Mother *Grame*; did not onely keep his Fathers ancient Kingdom, but alſo did enlarge the Limits thereof, having paſſed the next Wall of the *Romans*, which by *Grame* was pulled down in many places, hence it is called *Grames* Dyke; and he poſſeſſed himſelf, and the *Picts* with all the Lands lying an hundred miles Southward, that is, unto *Tyne*, and kept them till the entry of the *Saxons* into the Iſland. Next, he took unto his care not onely to ſeek out the *Culdees* fugitives, which had not yet returned, under his Father, but alſo he ſent for others into the neighbour Countrey of *Britaine*, and aſſigned unto them convenient places for their abode, with a moderate competency of means for their maintenance, that they ſhould be in no wayes burdenſome to the people, now looking to have ſome reſpite from their preſſures and grievances. And ſuch was the happineſſe of theſe dayes, that a very ſmall proportion did content the Church-men, ſetting wholly their mindes to the conſcionable diſcharge of their calling, which they did, Preaching Gods Word carefully, truely, and ſimply, in-

ſtructing

Scotia tunc temporis sanctissimorum fertilis virorum.

structing the people in the fear of God, and so gaining their souls to their Maker and Redeemer. By this their carriage, they gained very much respect among the people, who honoured them, as Fathers, Instructers, and Guiders to Heaven, under God; the vertuous civill Magistrate was the secondary cause of this good behaviour of Church-men, who by his authority kept them in order, and by his own example taught them to discharge their duty faithfully, and live discretly; But so soon as the civill Magistrate left them to themselves, then they neglecting their calling, set their minde upon ambition and avarice, and consequently upon all evill, thinking of nothing lesse, then of that they were called to.

Here we are to observe, That as the Scots did constantly withstand the ancient Romans, and kept themselves so free of their yoak, that they neither acknowledged their Authority, nor received any Law from them, although it was not without great struggling and hazard, yea, almost to their utter ruine, as it fell out under *Ewen* the first; but after some few yeers, the Scots under the conduct of *Fergus* the second, and *Ewen* the second, not onely regained what they had lost by the Romans and *Picts*, but also conquered a great deal of ground beyond their last Limits, as we have newly said. So the Scots in Church affairs, for many yeers together, had nothing to do with the Bishop of *Rome*, neither made they acknowledgement unto him in any way, neither did they receive any Laws from him; for as they had the Gospel planted among them, without his help, to wit, by the Disciples of Saint *John* the Apostle, so they kept themselves unto the Constitutions and Canons, setled by the same first Planters of the Gospel amongst them; but by successe of time, they became to be infected by their neighbour Nations, with the poyson of the Pelagian Heresie. *Celestine* then Bishop of *Rome*, takes occasion to send unto the *Britons*, a learned man called *Palladius*, to help the Orthodox *Britons* to convince the Heresie of *Pelagius*, then spreading it self amongst them, which was done accordingly.

Ewen

Ewen the second, King of Scots, hearing how the *Britons*, by the help of *Palladius*, had represſed the *Pelagianiſme*, being moſt deſirous to purge the Church of his Kingdom alſo, where this *Pelagian* errour had crept in, ſends for *Palladius*; who with ſmall difficulty aſſiſted the Orthodox, to diſabuſe thoſe who had been carryed away by *Pelagianiſme*, and thereafter in a very ſhort time, by ſubtill inſinuations, gained ſo far upon the well-meaning Scots, that they conſented to take new Governours of their Church, who were to have a Degree and Pre-eminence above their brethren, to wit, the Prelat-Biſhops. Hitherto the Church of *Scotland* had been governed by Monks and Prieſts, without any ſuch dignity or pomp. I call their new Governours, Prelat-Biſhops, to diſtinguiſh them from their former Overſeers and Superintendents of the *Culdees*, who are ſometime by Writers called Biſhops, as they were indeed; but they had no Pre-eminence or rank of Dignity above the reſt; neither were they of any diſtinct Order from the reſt of their Brethren. That at this time by *Palladius* was brought into *Scotland* theſe new kinde of Biſhops, it appears by the relations of the Authors following, thus.

Palladius is thought to be the firſt who made Biſhops (that is, of this new order) in *Scotland*; for till then the Churches were without Biſhops, governed by Monks; with leſſe vanity truely and outward pomp, but with greater ſimplicity and holineſſe.

Buc. *l.3. In* Eugen. *r Ceditur* Palladius *primos Epiſcopos in Scotia creaſſe, nam ad id uſque tempus Eccleſiæ abſque Epiſcopis per Monachos regebantur; minore quidem cum faſtu & externa pompa, ſed majore ſimplicitate & ſanctimonia.*

Before him, ſaith *Hector Boece*, *Palladius* was the firſt of all that did bear the holy Magiſtrature among the Scots, being made Biſhop by the great Pontif or Biſhop; for till then, by the ſuffrage of the people, the Biſhops were made of the Monks and *Culdees*.

Lib. 7. Cap. 28. Erat Palladius *primus omnium qui ſacrum inter Scotos egere Magiſtratum, a ſummo Pontifice Epiſcopus creatus, quum antea populi ſuffragiis ex Monachis.*

John Mair ſpeaks thus, *Before Palladius, by Prieſts and Monks, without Biſhops, the Scots were inſtructed in the faith.*

Lib. 2. cap. 2. Ante Palladium *per Sacerdotes & Monachos, ſine Epiſcopis, Scoti in fide erudiebantur.*

John Lesley saith this, *Among us* (Scots) *the Bishops were onely designed by the suffrage of Monks.*

Lib. 4. in Eugenio 2. *Apud nos non nisi Monachorum suffragiis Episcopi designabantur.*

John of *Fordon*, in his Scots Chronicle, saith, *Before the in-coming of* Palladius, *the Scots had for Teachers of the Faith, and Ministers of the Sacraments, Presbyters onely, or Monks, following the Rites or Customs of the Primitive Church.* Mark the later words; for according to this saying goes the judgment of the best Divines, who write the truth without any respect. Whose minde *John Semeca* declareth thus, *In the first Primitive Church the Office of Bishops and Priests was common to the one and the other; and both the names were common, and the Office common, to one and the other: But in the second Primitive Church, the names and the Offices began to be distinguished.*

Lib. 3. Cap. 8. Ante Palladii *adventum habebant Scoti fidei doctores, ac Sacramentorum administratores presbyteros solummodo, vel Monachos, ritus sequentes Ecclesiæ primitivæ.*

In glossa Decreti, Distinct. 93. Cap. Legimus. In prima primitiva Ecclesia commune erat Episcoporum & Sacerdotum officium, & nomina erant communia, & officia communia: sed in secunda primitiva Ecclesia cœperunt distingui & nomina & officia.

Baleus of the *Briton* writers, *Before* Palladius *the Scots had their Bishops and Ministers, according to the Ministerie of the sacred Word, chosen by the suffrage of the people, after the custom of those of* Asia: *But those things did not please the Romans, who hated the Asiaticks.*

Centur. 14. Cap. 6. Ante Palladium *Scoti habebant suos piscoposac Ministros ex Verbi divini Ministerio plebiũ suffragio electos, juxta morem Asianorum: sed hæc Romanis Asianorum osoribus non placebant.*

Baronius in his Annalls saith this, *The Scots gat their first Bishop from* Celestine *Pontif Roman.*

Ad annum 424. Scoti primum Episcopum a Celestino *acceperunt.*

Prosper in his Chronic. *The Pontif* Celestine *sendeth unto the Scots* Palladius *to be their Bishop.*

Ad annum 436. Ad Scotos Pontifex Celestinus Palladium *misit Episcopum.*

Item, *Unto the Scots then believing in Christ* Palladius *is ordained by Pope* Celestine, *and sent thither the first Bishop.*

Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papa Celestino Palladius, *& primus Episcopus mittitur.*

Beda, in the History of *England*, Palladius *was sent first Bishop unto the Scots, by* Celestine, *Pontif of the Roman Church.*

Lib. 1. Palladius *ad Scotos in Christum credentes a Pontifice Romanæ Ecclesiæ* Celestino *primus mittitur Episcopus.*

By

By these Authorities we see, That the Scots, before *Palladius*, had no Bishops at all; or at least, their Bishops were not of any distinct Order from other Priests and Culdees, by whom they were ordained, and of whom they were chosen, as we have touched before: and so they were not as those Bishops have been with us, in these later times.

Next, let us observe, That the Scots Bishops, since *Palladius*, must acknowledge themselves clients of the Roman Antichrist, seeing of him they have their beginning and dependance: although in words, yea, in some part of Doctrine they seem to disclaim him, yet in many parts they shew themselves to be of his Family, namely, in Government; for they, with him, Lord over the Inheritance of Christ, and, forsooth, take unto themselves the name of Lords Spirituall, as if they were Lords of the Spirits of men, contrary to Gods Word, wherein we are taught, That the Father and Maker of Spirits, is the onely Lord over them: or at least, Lords of Spirituall things, against the expresse words of the Apostles, who acknowledge themselves to be onely Ministers of the Spirit, and spirituall things, reputing it the greatest honour in the world to be so. And *Peter*, who after he had stiled himself no more then co-Presbyter with the rest of the Presbyters, he forbids them to Lord over the ~~flock~~ of Christ. Then, since in the first Primitive Church the Functions of Bishop, and Pastor, and Presbyter were undistinguished, and any one of the names indifferently denoted the Office, it must be confessed, That the change of Government which hath entred into the Church is not immediately from Christ and his Apostles, neither by Precept nor Example, but contrary to Christs Will and Intention, declared in his Word; and according to the inventions of men, serving to the exorbitant affections of avarice, ambition, and lust; to the satisfaction of which, they have domineered over the Flock of Christ, like tyrants, devoured the substance thereof, like ravening Wolves: yea, what is worse, they have not onely been negligent and carelesse to distribute unto the people the Word of God, but also with their might and power have hindered and stopped others to

Flock of

 make

make known unto Gods people the pure light of his Gospel, the ordinary means of salvation; and consequently, so farre as in them lieth, by thus starving the people of this heavenly Food, send them to hell. Such were these Spirituall Lords; who, as they have encroached upon the Spirituall Lordship of Christ Jesus over his Flock, and usurped his Authority; yea, and opposed it flatly, under the name of Spirituall Authority and Jurisdiction; so have they boldly and cunningly invaded the Prerogative of civill Magistrates, by their Courts and Regalities within the Dominions of Princes where they live: Yea, in sundry places they usurp the full Authority of Princes, and in others they flatly oppose it. And all this hath been done, not onely of old, by those who were called Romish Bishops, but also in our dayes by Bishops; who in some things make a shew that they disclaim their Father the *Pontif Roman*, whom in their heart they love and respect, as their actions do witnesse.

See the Breviate of the Prelats by *Huntley*. 1637.

Although by *Palladius* Prelacy was brought in the Church of *Scotland*, and by that means the Government was changed; and thereafter immediately by degrees other alterations crept into the Church, yet those times after *Palladius*, till the sixth Age, I mean, till *Augustine* theMonk, may be said to be golden times, and pure, in regard of the following dayes, wherein Church-men, without any restraint, abandoned themselves to ambition, avarice, and lust, neglecting altogether their Function; for in these fourth and fifth Ages they were many godly and learned men, who were diligent in discharging the true Duty of a Pastor, as *Colombe*, *Libthac*, *Ethernan*, *&c.* Then *Knitogerne*, who by nickname was called *Mongo*; because his Master *Servian* speaking unto him, used ordinarily this expression, *Mon ga*, which in corrupt French is as much to say, as *My boy*.

Palladius having brought into the Church of *Scotland* Hierarchie, as we have said, takes to his next care to provide for the maintenance of this new Degree and Order; which was obtained without great difficulty, both of Prince and people, under pretext of Piety; but with bad successe, as by the wofull experience of following times we have found.

These

Theſe new Biſhop-Prelats, having pretty well ſetled their own condition for maintenance, which although it did exceed much the allowance of former Ages to Churchmen, yet it was very moderate in regard of the following times: Next, they obtained great Lands and Revenues from Prince and People, for other Presbyters and Miniſters, who formerly had been very little burdenſome to the people; for by their own induſtry and work of their hands, did provide for themſelves, neceſſaries for the moſt part; by this means, the Prelats tie the other Presbyters and Miniſters to them, and ſecondarily bring in, by little and little, idleneſſe, and ſlackneſſe in diſcharging their calling, from whence are riſen all the evills we have ſeen ſince in the Church.

After the beginning of the fifth Age, to wit, 521. yeers, in this Iſland began (the old *Saturnalia* of *Rome*, which was firſt kept in honour of *Saturne*; but by the Succeſſors of *Julius Cæſar*, it was ordained to be kept, to the memory of him, and was called *Julia*) to be celebrated unto the honour of Chriſts Birth, in the later end of *December*. The occaſion was this, *Arthur* that renowned Prince wintering at *York* (whereof, he newly had made himſelf Maſter) with his Nobles, bethought himſelf with them, to paſſe ſome dayes in the dead of winter in good chear and mirth, which was done forthwith, as it is given out for devotion to Chriſt, although, that then true Devotion was very little regarded; for as theſe men did exceed the Romans during this Feaſt in Ryot and Licentiouſneſſe; So they continued the Feaſt double the time that the Ethnick Romans were wont to kept it; for the Romans kept it onely five dayes, but theſe kept it ten dayes with their new devotion; yea, thoſe of the richer ſort in time following have kept it fifteene dayes. Thus was the beginning of the prophane idleneſſe and ryot of Chriſtmas, now kept twelve dayes with fooliſh exceſſe and ryot. As theſe Chriſtmas keepers did miſtake the way of honouring Chriſts Birth, by this kinde of ſolemnity; ſo did they miſtake the time of his Birth; for the moſt exact Chronologers tells us, that Chriſt was born in *October*, and not in *December*.

The Scots retain ſtill the old name *Julia*, of this prepoſterous-holy-Feaſt, for they call it corruptly *Jul*: Although they never kept it of old, not being ſubject to the Romans.

Nunc in opprobrium Chriſtianorum hæc feſta celebrantur.

The French and Italians, in this, are nothing behinde with us; for beſide, That they ſhare with us in theſe *Saturnalia*, *Julia*, or Chriſtmas; They go beyond us in ryot and fooleries in their *Bacchanalia*, which they call *Carnaval* or *Mardigras* before Lent; which in old time was kept to the honour of *Bacchus*.

But the corruptions that were brought in our Church from *Rome* in the fourth and fifth Age, were nothing to what was brought in in the ſixth and ſeventh Age, for then was Religion turned upſide down, and ſo changed into Superſtitious Ceremonies, and Idolatry, authorized by falſe miracles, that there was hardly left any trace of true Religion among men in theſe dayes. *Palladius* was the firſt that acquainted us with *Rome*, as we have ſaid, and that brought in Prelacy amongſt us, a little after the beginning of the fourth Age, which he and his Succeſſors by degrees brought unto a great height, both in worldly pomp and means (for the times) by the inconſiderate, debonnarty of the Prince, and ſimplicitie of the people, but not without ſtruggling and reſiſtance, by pious and wiſe men, for many yeers; it was the work of Church-men, ſet a foot by *Palladius* ſo till the ſixth Age, that is, upon the matter, two hundred yeers, to raiſe themſelves to Power, and Authority, and Means, whereunto they came inſenſibly, ſo much the rather, becauſe they were ſparing for theſe dayes, to invert the main Doctrine of the true Religion. The People and Magiſtrate ſeeing their Religion remaining in its maine, were, without great difficulty, drawn over to give way unto the greatneſſe of the Church-men; But when theſe gallant fellows had wrought their own ends, they did ſhew plainly what was within their hearts; for then they declared themſelves to be enemies both to God and to Man, by their vitious lives, contrary to the Laws of God and man; Their falſe Doctrine, contrary to Gods Word; their

their Tyrannicall domineering over the people; and withdrawing themſelves from due obedience, unto the lawfull Magiſtrate. In a word, by directly oppoſing God, abuſing men to their utter ruine of ſoul and body, and ſetting up their own inventions for the Laws of God, and men; they were a bringing this height of iniquitie to paſſe, about the matter of two hundred yeers likewiſe, to wit, the ſixth and ſeventh Age, although the workers of iniquity did at laſt bring their miſchievous deſigne to an end, by the permiſſion of God, irritated againſt men for their ſins, who not adhearing unto him, were abandoned ſo, that they became a prey unto Satan and his inſtruments, to follow all iniquity; yet, ſuch was the mercy of God towards men in theſe moſt corrupt times, that the devill and his inſtruments went not ſo cleerly on with their wicked buſineſſe, but they had now and then, from time to time, remoraes and lets in it, by thoſe whom God raiſed up to bear witneſſe to his Trueth; and in theſe dayes, ſundry of the Scots Divines were very ſtout in the keeping of the ancient Tenets and Rites (which they had received from their firſt Apoſtles, Diſciples to Saint *John*, according to the Church of the Eaſt; Witneſſe the great ſtrugling they had about the keeping of *Paſche*, or *Eaſter*-day; for till then, the Scots had kept the day of *Paſche*, upon the fourteen day of the Moon, whatſoever day of the week it fell out on; the Romaniſts called thoſe that kept ſo this day, *quartadecimani*, and condemned them as Hereticks, and they kept the day conſtantly upon the next Sunday following, and not upon a working day; at laſt the Scots were conſtrained to yeeld in this, as in other Rites, unto *Rome*. *Culman*, and divers others Scotiſh men, did ſo ſtoutely oppoſe the Romaniſts in the point of *Eaſter*-day, and in other Tenets, that they choſe, it being given to their choice, either to ſubmit unto *Rome*, or to quit the ſetlings they had in the North of *England*, rather to loſe their Benefices, then to yeild. So ſtanding faſt to the Cuſtomes of the Scots Church, wherein they had been born and bred, they returned home to *Scotland*.

Colmannus & *complures alii, qui maluerunt optione data loco cedere, quam ritus Romanæ eccleſiæ recipere.*

About

About the end of the ſeventh Age, men from *Scotland*, given to ambition and avarice, went frequently to *Rome* for preferment in the Church; and ſeeing it lay much that way then, they did their beſt to advance the deſigne of the Romiſh Party, wherein all the skill of worldly men was employed, both in *Rome*, & among the Scots of that Party; many men went to and fro, between *Rome* and *Scotland*, to bring the Scots to a full obedience unto *Rome*, and conformitie; by name there was one *Boniface* ſent from *Rome* to *Scotland*, a main Agent for *Rome* in theſe affairs; but he was oppoſed openly, by ſeverall of the Scots *Culdees*, or Divines; namely, by *Clemens*, and *Samſon*, who told him freely, That he, and thoſe of his Party, ſtudied to bring men to the ſubjection of the Pope, and ſlavery of *Rome*, withdrawing them from obedience to Chriſt; and ſo in plain termes, they reproached to him, and to his-aſſiſtants; That they were corrupters of Chriſts Doctrine, eſtabliſhing a Sovereignty in the Biſhop of *Rome*, as the onely ſucceſſour of the Apoſtles, excluding other Biſhops; That they uſed and commanded Clericall tonſure; That they forbad Prieſts Marriage, extolling Celibat; That they cauſed Prayers to be made for the dead, and erected Images in the Churches; to be ſhort, That they had introduced in the Church many Tenets, Rites and Ceremonies, unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them. For the which, and the like, the ſaid *Clemens*, and thoſe that were conſtant to the Truth, with him were excommunicated at *Rome* as Hereticks, as you have in the third Volume of the *Concels*: although the true reaſons of their excommunication be not there ſet down.

In the eighth Age, the poor people were ſo blindly inſlaved and intoxicat with the Cup of *Rome*, that they thought it a truely holy Martyrdome to ſuffer for the intereſt of *Rome*; yet, although moſt men had left God, to worſhip the Beaſt, in theſe dayes God raiſed up ſundry great Lights in our Church, as *Alcuin*, *Rabanus Maurus* his Diſciple, *John Scot*, and *Claudius Clemens*. In this we ſhall remarke the conſtant goodneſſe of God towards his people, who

who made his Light ſhine in ſome meaſure thorow the greateſt and thickeſt darkneſſe, by raiſing up theſe men, who did bear witneſſe to the Truth, both by word and writing; ſo that God did not altogether leave off his people. The Biſhop of *Rome* cauſed to declare *Alcuin* (for his Book of the *Euchariſt*) many yeers after his death an Heretike. So *Rome* perſecutes the Saints of God, even after their death.

In the ninth Age, both Prince and People, by doleſull experience, did finde the idleneſſe, pride, ambition, avarice and ryot of Church-men, occaſioned by the indulgence of Prince and People; wherefore, at *Scone* under King *Conſtantine* the ſecond, there was had a convention of States for reforming the diſorders in the Church. In this Aſſembly it was ordained, That Church-men ſhould reſide upon their charge; have no medling with ſecular affairs; that they ſhould inſtruct the people diligently, and be good examples in their converſations; that they ſhould not keep Hawks, Hounds, and Horſes, for their pleaſure; that they ſhould carry no Weapons, nor be pleaders of civill Cauſes, but live contented with their own proviſions: in caſe of failing in the obſervance of theſe points; For the 1, time, they were to pay a *pecuniary mulct* or fine; for the 2, they were to be deprived from *Officio* and *Beneficio*. Thus you ſee, in theſe moſt blinde and confuſed times, That reſolute Princes and People did oppoſe manifeſtly the Popes omnipotency, and higheſt Sovereignty. In the later part of the ſame Age, King *Gregory* was moſt indulgent to Church-men; he was ſo farre from curbing and keeping them under, that he granted them many things they had not had before. Then in a convention of States holden at *Forſane*, it was ordained, That all Church-men ſhould be free of paying Taxes and Impoſt; from keeping watch, and going to warfare. *Item*, They ſhould be exempt from all Temporall judicature. *Item*, All Matrimoniall Cauſes were given over to the judgement of Church-men; as alſo Teſtaments, Legative Actions, and all things depending upon ſimple faith and promiſe. Likewiſe, the right of Tithes, with liberty to make Lawes,

Canons, and Conſtitutions; to try without the aſſiſtance of the temporall Judge, Heretikes, Blaſphemers, Perjured Perſons, Magicians, &c. Laſtly, it was ordained, That all Kings following, at their Coronation, ſhould ſwear, to maintain Church-men in theſe their Liberties and Priviledges.

In theſe dayes lived a Learned man, called *John Scot*, ſirnamed *Ærigiena*, becauſe he was born in the Town of *Aire*; he publiſhed a Treatiſe, *De corpore & ſanguine Domini in Sacramento*, wherein he maintained the opinion and doctrine of *Bertram*; whereby he offended highly the Sea of *Rome*.

In the tenth Age things grew worſe and worſe, The Church-men did ſo blinde the King *Conſtantine* the third, That they perſwaded him to quit the Royall Crown, and take the Clericall Tonſure of a Monk, which he did at Saint *Andrews*; There were ſome Prieſts in theſe dayes, who did ſtrive to have liberty to take lawfull Wives, but in vain. A little thereafter, there were new diſputes for Prieſts marriage; one *Bernet* a Scots Biſhop, ſtood much for that cauſe in a nationall Councell In this Age, although that avarice and ambition, had corrupted, and perverted Religion generally, yet there were conſtantly ſome godly men, who albeit they could not openly ſtop and oppoſe the torrent of theſe times, given to Idolatry and Superſtition, did inſtruct and teach the people, That Chriſt was the onely propitiation for ſin, and that Chriſts blood onely did waſh us from the guilt of ſin.

In the eleventh Age, *Malcome* gave away a part of the Crown Lands among his Nobles, for their good ſervice againſt the *Danes*; the Nobles in recompence thereof, did grant unto the Crown the ward of theſe Lands, with the benefit that was to ariſe by the marriage of the Heir. Untill the later part of this Age, the Biſhops of *Scotland*, although they had raiſed their Order unto a great power and riches, yet they were not diſtinguiſhed in Dioceſſes, ſo till then indifferently, wherefoever they came, they did Miniſtrate their Function, without lording over one particular

ticular place, or calling themſelves Lords of any place. The Dioceſſes wherein *Scotland* was divided at firſt, were theſe, Saint *Andrews*, *Glaſgo*, *Murray*, *Catnes*, *Murthlac*, or *Aberdene*. The Biſhops of *Rome* taking upon them in theſe dayes to be above Kings, and to conferre in matters of Honour, upon Kings, how, and where they pleaſed; and ſo by this means, to put a farther tye of Vaſſalage and ſubjection upon Princes. To this effect, in the yeer 1098. ordained King *Edgar* to be anointed with externall Oyl by the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, a rite, which till that day, had not been in uſe among our Kings: yet they were as much the anointed of the Lord before, as they have been ſince, and as any other Princes, who before them had this externall anointing from the Sea of *Rome*; although the Romiſh Writers do make a greater eſteem of theſe Kings anointed by them, then of others, becauſe they conceive them to be more their own. Here note by the way, That all Princes whatſoever in Scripture-Language, are ſaid to be the Anointed of the Lord; and ſo *Cyrus* was named, although he was never anointed with externall Oyl. Next, although the firſt Kings of *Iſrael* were anointed, as *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*, with ſome of the following Kings; namely; where there was any oppoſition feared of ſetling them in the Royall Throne; for further Confirmation were anointed. Read diligently the Hiſtory of the Kings, and you ſhall not finde that each one, or every one of them was anoynted externally, although they were all the Anoynted of the Lord. Next, you ſhall note, That the Oyl wherewith *Samuel* anoynted *Saul* and *David* (and ſo the Oyl wherewith other Kings were anoynted) was not an Oyl conſecrated, as that wherewith the High-Prieſt, *&c.* was anoynted, but common Oyl.

The reaſon of the Scripture-phraſe whereby all Princes are ſaid to be anoynted, is this: Anoynting, in firſt and moſt ancient times, was a ſigne of ſetting apart of a man for the Office of a King. Hence, by progreſſe of time, any man that was ſet aſide by Gods providence to execute the Office of a King, whether he came thereunto by Succeſſion,

or by choice, or by Conqueſt, was called the Anoynted of the Lord, becauſe they had the thing ſignified by Gods appointment, notwithſtanding they wanted the ſigne, to wit, the Oyntment.

Further we ſhall obſerve here, That not onely thoſe whom God hath ſet aſide to be Kings, be called the Anoynted of the Lord; but alſo the people whom he hath ſet aſide or apart for a peculiar end: So the Prophet, ſpeaking of the People of *Iſrael* in Gods Name, uſeth this expreſſion, *Touch not mine Anoynted: For their ſake I have reproved Kings.*

Moreover note, That as the people ſet aſide by God are ſaid to be his Anoynted, ſo they are alſo called, *A Royall Prieſthood, Kings and Prieſts.* Not that every one of the people is a King or a Prieſt, theſe being particular Callings, no more then they were anoynted; but becauſe they are ſet aſide by God as Prieſts, to offer daily unto him the Sacrifice of Righteouſneſſe, &c. And as Kings were anoynted with Oyl, to ſignifie their ſetting aſide for their peculiar Office; ſo every one of us, being anoynted in Baptiſme by the holy Spirit, is ſet aſide to do juſtice, *&c.* as a King, in our ſeverall ſtation.

Thus much have I, in few words, ſpoken of Kings anoynting, and how the people are ſaid to be anoynted, or to be Prieſts and Kings, becauſe in the beginning of the fifteenth Age, ſundry were condemned as hereticks, for ſaying, That every man is a Prieſt in ſome kinde; and that the anoynting of Kings is now needleſſe, being an invention of *Rome*, to ſubject Princes unto it.

Some yeers after the beginning of the twelfth Age, King *David*, beſide the Biſhopricks formerly erected, did erect the Biſhoprick of *Roſſe*, *Breachen*, *Dunkel*, and *Dumblane*. This debonaire Prince was ſo profuſe towards Church-men, that he gave them a good part of the ancient Patrimony of the Crown: So he and his Succeſſors were neceſſitated to lay Taxes and Impoſt upon the people, more then formerly, to the harm of the Common-wealth. In this alſo he wronged the Church: for the Clergie being rich and powerfull, left their Function, and gave themſelves over to all

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riot and idleneſſe. Till riches made Church-men lazie, this diſtinction in diſcharging the Duty of a Paſtor, or of the ſouls *per ſe, aut per alium*, was unknown. While riches did not ſo abound in the Church, Church-men kept more conſcience in the diſcharging of their places.

In this twelfth Age, the Scots, although they had Biſhops ever ſince *Palladius*, who for a long time did diſcharge the Function indifferently in every place where they came to: And although they had of later times diſtinguiſhed the limits of the bounds wherein they were to execute their Calling, by Dioceſſes; yet in that Age, I ſay, they were not come to that height, to have Primates, Metropolitans, and Arch-biſhops. Wherefore their neighbour, the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, having gained the conſent of the Pope, beſtirred himſelf very earneſtly, by the aſſiſtance of his King, to have the Scotiſh Biſhops acknowledge him for the Metropolitane; whereunto the ſtouteſt of the Scotiſh Clergie would not conſent; but they would depend immediately upon the Pope: and to this effect, Legats were ſent from *Rome* to *Scotland*; who being come hither, and ſeeing the reſolution of the Scotiſh Biſhops not to ſubmit to the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*; and finding their own benefit thereby, they did exempt and free the Scots Clergie, from the trouble of the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*. There was one *Gilbert* Biſhop of *Catnes* a great ſtrugler for this buſineſſe.

About the later end of this Age, ſundry Prieſts were put from their Office, becauſe they had taken Orders upon Sunday. In that time there was a Synod in *Perth* of Divines, ſuch as they were, who decreed, That Sunday ſhould be kept holy from all work, from Saturday at mid-day, or twelve of the clock, till Munday morning.

In the thirteenth Age, few yeers after the beginning thereof, divers kindes of Monks came into *Scotland*, formerly unknown to the Land; as *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, *Jacobins*, and ſundry other of that ſort of Locuſts. In this Age theſe Vermine of Monks did ſo multiply every where, that at a Councell at *Lyons* it was decreed, *That no more new Orders of Monks*

ſhould be admitted or tolerated. But how the Decree hath been kept, we ſee in our dayes.

Next, the Monks of ſeverall kindes gave themſelves ſo to Begging, that the people were much eaten up by them, and the poor his portion was withdrawn; which occaſioned a great murmure among the Commons. Upon this, there was a Decree made then, *That onely the Minorites, Prædicants, Carmelites, and Hermits of S.* Auguſtine, *ſhould have liberty to beg:* Whence they are called, The four Mendicants; *Les quatre Mendiants.*

Towards the end of this thirteenth Age fell out that great deſolation of the State of *Scotland*, occaſioned by the Controverſie for the Succeſſion of the Crown, betwixt *Baliol* and *Bruce*; *Baliol* being conſtrained by the States of *Scotland* to break the promiſe he had made to *Edward* of *England*, To ſubject the Crown of *Scotland* unto him, for judging the cauſe on his ſide. After much trouble and miſery of War, the State of *Scotland* receives *Robert Bruce*, come of the ſecond Branch, for King, recalling all the ſubjection and Allegiance that they had given to *Baliol*, becauſe of his unworthineſſe to Reign: who, beſide unfitneſſe to bear rule over a Military People, had baſely condeſcended to enſlave that Nation, to whom their Liberty hath been ſo dear to this day, that for it, and the purity of true Religion, which both, by Gods mercy, they now enjoy, they have willingly and cheerfully undergone all hazard of life and means; judging, That if they ſuffered theſe two twins, Liberty and Religion, either to be infringed, or taken from them, they had nothing left them, whereby they might be called men.

The remarkable Hiſtory of King *James* the firſt of *Scotland*, fitteth this purpoſe very well. The Paſſage is this: King *James* the firſt going into *France*, was taken by the Engliſh, and kept priſoner by them for many yeers. In that time the King of *England* goes to *France*, to make Warre; and at his arrivall there, he findes an Army of Scots ready to fight for the *Alliay* of *Scotland*, the French King, againſt the Engliſh. Upon this, the King of *England* moves King

James,

James, whom he had taken along with him, to write unto the Scots, and to charge them, upon their Allegiance, not to draw their Sword against the party where he their King was in person. The Scots answered, That they were sent into *France* to assist their *Alliays* against the common enemy. As for him who writ unto them, since he was a prisoner, and not a free man, they neither owed him Allegiance, nor would they give him any, so long as he was in prison; but if he were set at liberty, and were living among them, they would obey him according to the Laws of the Countrey; since the Crown was setled upon him by the consent of the States, and so they did; for these Kingdoms were governed in his name, without any communication with him, during the time of his imprisonment, which was very long; but when he went home, he was received and obeyed as King. From this Princes may learn, that although people do submit themselves to their Government; the resignation is not so full as to devest themselves of all power in such a way, That the Prince may dispose of them as he thinks right or wrong, he ordinarily being misled and kept captive, by those that are about him; who for the most part, have no regard to the publike good, nor to the credit and esteem of him, to whom in shew they professe themselves so addicted; the people have constantly reserved even unto themselves by the consent of all men, yea, of the greatest Court-parasites and Sycophants of Princes, that the Prince cannot, nor ought not to enslave or subject the people to any Forreign Power; and where Princes by Pusillanimitie and ill counsell, have essayed or attempted such a thing, they have smarted for it, witnesse *Baliol*, who not onely was excluded himself from the Crown, but also his Posterity; and it was setled upon the next Branch, to wit, *Robert Bruce*, with his descendents, where it continues to this day by Gods providence. Then since the people have reserved this power in themselves, to stop the Prince, to put them under any Forreign yoak or slavery; is it possible, That they have not reserved a power to right themselves from domestick, and intestine slavery,

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and miſery, ſlavery being ever one and the ſame ? For what is it to me by whom I ſuffer evil of one and the ſame kinde and degree, whether it be by a neighbour, or a ſtranger, a forreigner, or a con-citizen ? yea, when I ſuffer by him who ſhould be my friend, and ſtand for the ſame Freedom with me, my ſuffering is the greater.

To this purpoſe you have a memorable Paſſage of *William* the Norman ; who, although he had invaded *England* with the Sword, and by it had defeated him who did oppoſe him for the Crown, with all his adherents and party, and in conſequencie of this Victory, had committed many out-rages with a ſtrong hand ; yet the ſame *William* could never aſſure himſelf nor his Poſterity of the Allegeance of the People, till he had ſworn ſolemnly (according to the Rite of the times) for himſelf and his, To govern according to the good and approved Laws of the Land, as the beſt Kings before him had done.

Then the County of *Kent*, in its own name, and in the name of the whole Kingdom, declared, That neither *Kent*, nor any other of the Kingdom, was conquered, but in a peaceable way did ſubmit to *William* the Norman, upon Condition, and with Proviſo, That all their Liberties, and free Cuſtoms in uſe and practice, ſhould be kept. If this was not accompliſhed afterwards, it was ſillineſſe of the People that ſuffered themſelves to be abuſed, and the fault of miſled Princes, that did not keep their promiſe whereunto they were tyed : And ſundry, for the breach of this promiſe, have had occaſion to repent, when it hath been too late.

We ſhall adde one example more, which is, of *Henry* the eighth ; who, *anno* 1525, the ſeventeenth yeer of his Reign, by the advice of his Councell, put a Tax upon the people ; which the people did not onely refuſe to pay, but declared, That the thing was unjuſt and unlawfull. Withall, wherever they met thoſe whom the King had employed for the gathering the money, they uſed them ſo kindely, that they did never come twice to one place for the payment of the Tax. The King ſeeing this, he diſclaims the Impoſition of the Tax, and ſo do the Nobles that convened

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at *London*, by his Command, for that purpose, and layes all the fault upon ill counsell, namely, upon *Wolsey*. This was *Henry* constrained to do, notwithstanding his resolutenesse against all forreign enemy, chiefly the Pope, with his shavelings. By this instance, *Henry* acknowledged his power to be limited, and no wayes arbitrary: Against the doctrine of our now Cout-parasites.

Now if the People have this much power in them, as to stand for their Temporall Liberty, both against forreign and domestick slavery; far more may they, and ought they, to defend the Spirituall Freedom, which Christ, having purchased with his Blood, hath left them, as Members of his Church. But all this defence of Liberty and Religion ought to be made so, that it be without by-ends, sinistrous respects, of hatred, malice, ambition, *&c.* The onely scope and main drift being, To have Gods glory, in the Light of his Gospel, setled and maintained, The People at quiet, The Prince obeyed, in God, and for God (*i.e.*) according to the Law of God, Nature, Nations, and the Countrey or Kingdom, so far as possibly can be. This being lookt to carefully, there is no gap opened to Rebellion; which is a fighting against Gods Ordinance, and not the just and necessary opposing of the abuse and corrupting of the good Ordinance of God.

But here a Court-slave will say, If things be so, there is no absoluteneſſe in Monarchs and Princes?

To answer this, we must know what is to be meant by *absolute*, or *absolutenes*; whereof I finde two main significations. first, *absolute* signifieth perfect, and *absoluteneſſe* perfection; Hence we have in Latin this expression, *Perfectum est omnibus, numeris absolutum.* And in our vulgar Language we say, A thing is absolutely good, when it is perfectly good. Next, *absolute* signifieth free from tye or bond; which in Greek is ἀπολελυμένον. Now, say I, if you take *absolute* for perfect, that Prince or Magistrate is most absolute, that is most perfect, who governs most absolutely, or most perfectly. The absoluteneſſe or perfection of Government consists in its conformity to the perfect Rule which is written in the

Law of God, printed in the heart of man, received generally of all wise People, and in practice by all particular well-polished Common-wealths. Next, I say, if you take *absolute* for free from tye or bond, That no Prince nor Magistrate is free; for every Magistrate or Prince, as well as the private man, is bound to keep the Law of God, of Nature, *&c.* not onely in particular things, for his own singular carriage, but also in publike businesses, for the good and society of men, or of the people: for God hath given his Law, and Nature her Dictates to all, to the observance of which all men are tyed. Yea, farther, they are not onely bound in their severall Conditions, and tyed to the performance thereof in their own persons; but also are bound to further it with all their might, and take away all things that may lett and stop this performance, or deterre and withdraw men from it. Read *Levit.* 19. 17. where every man is commanded to rebuke his neighbour, and stop him from sinning. Read *Deut.* 17. 19, 20. where the King is commanded to have continually the Copie of the Law before him for his Rule and Guide. What is in 1 *Sam.* 8. 10. is what a King is likely to do, and not what he ought or should do. This is cleer; for in the place now named, in *Deuteronomy*, the King is told what he ought to do; but that he is said to do in *Samuel*, is contrary to the Ordinance of God. Confer the places, and you will easily see this truth. Next, a Prince is said to be absolute, that is, not in any kinde subaltern to another, and whose subjects acknowledge (under God) no other but him. Hence you may see, That the Popish Kings and Princes are not absolute; for, beside the great number of people within their Dominions who are immediate sworn vassalls to the Pope, I mean, the Shavelings; The Prince himself takes Oath, at his Reception, To uphold the over-ruling Government of the Pope, under the masked name of Spirituality; and the simple abused Prince shall have for a reward, to make up all, a little holy Oyl to anoynt him, and bear the Title of most Christian or Catholike Princes. Farther, I say, That the Prince, who although in some things hath cast off the yoke of this god upon

upon earth (for ſo is the Pope now and then called) but keeps up a part of his tyranny in the Church of God over his people, wants and loſes ſo much of his abſoluteneſſe, for this tye upon him from a forreign Prince, the Pope. But here the Pope ſheweth the height of his cunning; for he ſeeing that Princes are told frequently, That they are either abſolute, or ought to be ſuch, bethinks himſelf to keep up his ſuper-eminency above Princes, as his vaſſalls, and yet make the Princes finde an abſoluteneſſe; which he acts by his Emiſſaries, and their inferiour inſtruments, for their own private ends, whom he makes inculcate in the ears of Princes, That their abſoluteneſſe conſiſteth in doing with the Life, Liberty and Fortunes of the People, as ſeems good in their eyes, without any regard to the good of humane Society, which is the true End of all Government: But with this Proviſo, That thoſe who have relation to him immediately, be exempted: and theſe are not onely his ſhavelings, who are openly obedient to his commands and orders, *&c.* but alſo thoſe, yea, in Kingdoms where his name is in a kinde rejected, who keep up his tyrannicall Laws and Ordinances, as we have felt of late, namely, in theſe Dominions wherein we live, to our wofull experience; for they, to uphold and encreaſe their power, have caſt both Prince and People into great troubles, making the Prince believe, That without them he hath no being.

But to ſhew thee that Princes may uſe the people committed to their Charge like beaſts, and yet nevertheleſſe are not abſolute, caſt thy eyes in the neighbour Countreys onely upon the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Florence*; who, although they be Sovereigns in a kinde over the people, and deal moſt hardly with them, taking their Lives and Fortunes away at their pleaſure, yet they are not acknowledged to be abſolute Princes; for they are vaſſalls of the Empire, and their chief titles are to be Officers thereof: So the Duke of *Savoy* is qualified Vicar of the Empire, *&c.*

If you conſider the Prince, and people committed to his Charge, as having relation one to another, I ſay, they are both bound one to another by Duty; the Prince firſt bound

to rule and govern according to the Law of God, of Nature, of Nations, and Municipall Laws of the Countrey and the People is bound to obey him accordingly : but if the Prince command any thing againſt theſe, his commands are not to be obeyed, God being onely he, to whoſe commands Obedience is ſimply due, and to be given ; but to men, onely obedience with limitation, and in externall things, according to the Laws ſo oft above named, at the leaſt not againſt them, or oppoſite to them. The Chimæra, or rather Solæciſme in reaſon of paſſive Obedience, is not to be thought on among rationall men, it being the invention of Court-paraſites, a meer nothing, or *non ens*, for Obedience conſiſteth in action, as all other vertues do, and not in ſuffering. Farther, whoſoever, for not obeying a wicked command of a Superiour, ſuffereth, if he can ſtop it, or ſhun it, is an enemy to his own being, wherein he offends againſt nature ; for you ſee every naturall thing ſtriveth to conſerve it ſelf againſt what annoyeth it ; then he ſins againſt the Order of God, who in vain hath ordained us ſo many lawfull Means for the preſervation of our Being, if we ſuffer it to be deſtroyed, having power to help it. But then it will be demanded ; What, is there no abſoluteneſſe in humane Authority ? I anſwer, ſimple abſoluteneſſe there is none under God ; For all humane Authority is limited by the Laws aforeſaid, and extends no farther then externall things ; yet comparatively humane Authority is ſaid to be abſolute, when it is free from any Foreigne Superiour Power. So when *Henry* the eighth, having caſt off the Romiſh yoak, and putting down the vaſſallage of theſe his Dominions unto the Pope, cauſed divers Books to be written of the abſolute Empire or Authority of the Prince ; although, after the freeing himſelf from the Pope, he had not, nor did not pretend to have any more abſolute power over the people, then he had before ; but albeit this Prince did much for the regaining the abſolute Authority to the Crown again, in chaſing away the Romiſh Pontiff, yet, he did it not fully, in ſo farre as he kept ſtill the Romiſh Rites, and the Hierarchy, or

Read a Treatiſe, written in *Latine*, 1546. and dedicated to the King by *John Dickinſon*, *De Supremo & abſoluto Principis Imperio.*

Read *William Wraghton* his Treatiſe, called the *Romiſh Fox*, written in *Engliſh*, and dedicated to King *Henry*, 1543.

or Prelacy, wherein the Romiſh Fox lurking, hath kept himſelf in theſe Countreys unto this day ; and now having acted the Fox long enough, he is acting the Woolf by dedeſtroying the people of God; if the Succeſſors of King *Henry* had not kept in the Romiſh Superſtitious Rites and Hierarchy, they, and we all had had better times, then we have all taſted of. Although King *Henry* for his Vices, be blame worthy to all poſterity, yet I muſt ſay, in all humane appearance, That if the Prelat-Biſhops, to whom he truſted the reforming of the abuſes of the Church, had been as forward, as he was willing, there had been a better Reformation then was in his time, witneſſe this inſtance, *The People deſired freedome to read the Scripture, the then Biſhops refuſed this unto the People.* Whereupon the King was petitioned in the name of the People, the King grants their Petition; the Biſhops hearing of the Kings grant, thus limit it, not daring to deny it flatly, *That all Gentlemen ſhould have liberty to read the Scripture, ſince it was the Kings pleaſure*; but for others, the permiſſion was ſtopped: As if Yeomen and Tradeſmen, had not as much intereſt in Gods Word, as Gentlemen. Then remarke all thoſe that were put to death for the teſtimony of the Truth in *Henry* the eighth his dayes, were perſecuted by the Biſhops of the time, although the blame lieth upon the Prince; for albeit they had in compliance to the King renounced the Pope by word of mouth, yet in effect they kept up his tyranny, by his doctrine (with ſmall alteration changed) his Rites and Ceremonies, Canons and Laws, Prelacie or Hierarchie maintained: And ſeeing the King ſo oppoſite to the Pope, they condeſcended that the King ſhould bear the blaſphemous Title of the Pope, *Head of the Church*, although with reluctancy: and ſo it proved; for notwithſtanding all the Statutes that were made in favour of this Title taken from the Pope, and attributed to the King, the Biſhops with cunning and ſubtill proceedings, kept a foot the power of the Pope; and ſo ſoon as they ſaw the occaſion of Queen *Marie* her Reigne, they freely and eaſily brought all back again to *Rome*, without Maske or Limitation: and ever ſince,

their ſucceſſors, although by the courſe of affairs (they) have been obliged to diſclaim the Pope his authority, yea, and his doctrine in ſome meaſure; yet they, ever ſince, to this day, have expreſſed their inclinations, and done their endeavours to return thither again, as we all know by dolefull experience. But here it may be demanded, What drift or policie can it be in the Biſhops, to deſire to be ſubject to *Rome*, rather then to their Prince, and Laws of the Countrey? The anſwer is, The propenſitie of us all, to follow evill rather then good, is known, namely, When the evill hath the mask of worldly dignitie, pomp, power, and pleaſure, which hinders it to be ſeen in its own colours. Now the Biſhops and all the rabble of that corrupt Clergy, are given to Temporall, howſoever unlawfull advantages, as their ambition, avarice, and luſt, from the very beginning hath ſhewn; which exorbitant paſſions lead men headlong, without meaſure, when once way is given unto them, unleſſe they meet with ſome lett or ſtop, which is both leſſer and ſlower, when it is a farre off, namely, when it cometh from one who is poſſeſſed with the ſame diſtempers, and himſelf of the ſame order of men with the Delinquent; and ſo the Biſhops of this Iſland, had rather have to do with the Pope, then with the Prince.

Firſt, Becauſe of mutuall infirmity the Pope proveth more indulgent then any Prince.

Next, The Prince is too neer them, and ſo it is beſt for them to be ſo free of the Prince his Juriſdiction, that they may be able not onely to neglect him, but alſo to oppoſe him. For all, let that example of the *Canterbury*-prelat ſerve; who made the King for the time to hold the Stirrup when he gat up upon his horſe. The Story is known.

Read *Matthew Paris* in *Henry* the third.

I called a little before the Title of *Head of the Church*, uſed by the Pope, and then given to *Henry*, *blaſphemous*. To lay aſide all other things that may be alleadged againſt this Title, I ſhall onely ſay this; The Church is the Spouſe of Chriſt: No Spouſe can be ſaid to have any other Head, but him whoſe Spouſe ſhe is. Now if the Church ſhould acknowledge her ſelf to be the Spouſe of any other but of Chriſt,

Chriſt, ſhe were a profeſſed Whore and Adultereſſe. By no means then a Prince is to be called, *The Head of the Church* : For although the civill Magiſtrate is obliged, according to his rank and place, to ſee the Miniſters of the Church do the work of the Lord, truely, diligently, and carefully, and to make them do it according to the Will of God declared in his Word; yet for all this, he is nothing but a ſervant, overſeer, or graff, and not the *Head*, which is a Title belonging onely to Chriſt; wherefore, Princes or Magiſtrates, that by ſlaviſh flatterers had this Title given unto them at the firſt, had done well to reject it, as their Succeſſors, who have followed, had done well likewiſe, (according to God his Will) if they had not ſuffered this Title to have been continued unto them, namely, in the publike prayers, where the time-ſerving inconſiderate Miniſter prayeth, in the name of the Church, for her *Head*; if the *Head* of the Church needs to be prayed for, then the influences of the Head, upon the Church, will be but poor and weak, &c. But of this enough for this place.

Moreover, The flattering Preachers, unrequired in the publike prayers in the name of the Church, call the Prince forſooth, *The Breath of our Noſtrils*, taking for his ground, the words of *Jeremy*, in his Lamentations, *Chap.*4. *verſ.* 20. Which words, by the Current of the Ancients, and Septuagint, are to be underſtood of Chriſt Jeſus; True it is, The *Rabbins* have interpreted the words of one of the Kings of *Judah*, to wit, *Joſias*, or *Zedekias*; and hence ſome of the later Expoſitors have explained theſe words, *That firſt and literally they may be applyed to one of the Kings of* Judah, *who were all figures of Chriſt to come*, *but principally*, *and mainly the words are to be underſtood of Chriſt Jeſus*, *by the conſent of all*; So to attribute theſe words to any Prince earthly, cannot be without offence to Chriſt; For who can be ſaid properly, and well, *To be the Breath of our Noſtrils*, but he, who inſpireth into us life, that is God. In like manner, the inconſiderate Miniſters of the Goſpel, abuſing the Text of the eightieth *Pſalm*, which, by the conſent of all, is underſtood of Chriſt truely, and of *David*, as a figure of

of Christ to come, call the King, *The man of thy right hand*, this in no wayes, without Blasphemie, can be attributed unto any earthly Prince; for none is to be said a figure of Christ, as *David*, and his Successors were by a particular dispensation. But if misapplying, and mistaking of Texts of Scripture will do businesse, since Magistrates are said to be gods, you may as well call the Prince god, as the *Roman* Emperour was of old by some so called, and now the Pope, by his Court-parasites: which Titile of god, no Prince will suffer to be given unto him; Surely, as it is a very great crime, not to give due respect, reverence, and obedience unto him, whom God hath set over us for our good, according to his wise Ordinance; so on the other side, it is a huge sin to Idolize the Prince, making him a god, when he is but a weak, and infirme man, servant of God. This second fault is committed chiefly by the Sycophants and Parasites, who have no other Church, nor Chappell, but the Court, and make Petition to none, but to the King, whom to please, they wholly study, that they may catch somewhat to satisfie their inordinate desires. And the first is committed, namely, by their prelaticall Clergy, who withdraw from the Prince a great part of his due, when they study to exempt themselves from his Obedience, and take from him any inspection upon them, namely, concerning the discharge of their calling, although by Gods Ordinance it be a main part of his Office, to see God served, and worshipped, according to his Will revealed in his sacred Word.

Domino Deo qui nostri.

We have a little above seen, how that by the flattery of some Court-preachers, the custome is brought into the Church, to give unto the Prince, not onely swelling, but blasphemous Titles in the publike Prayer, that is made by the Minister in the name of the Church; but although, this be too great an evill, and requireth Reformation, yet the flattery of some Preachers hath not stayed here; for they, according to their custome, having addicted themselves to any one, whom they conceive may help them to preferment, stick not in the pulpit, where all relation should be

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laid aſide, ſave that of a Miniſter of Gods Word, to publiſh themſelves, yea, in their Prayers, to be varlets to this man, or that man; and, what is worſe yet, in the Prayer they call their Maſters and Lords Vertuous, Pious, and Religious, when it is known to all, That for the moſt part they have little Vertue, leſſe Piety, and no Religion at all. To have pointed at theſe things, ſhall ſuffice for this place. If any man will be contentious for theſe practices, I anſwer him, That the wel-Reformed Churches have no ſuch Cuſtoms; for among the other abuſes whereof they have been purged, by the care and diligence of the faithfull Vine-dreſſers, under Gods bleſſing, they have been pruned of this rotten Bud of ſlaviſh flattery, as a corruption much oppoſite and contrary to the dignity and power of the Goſpel. But let us return, after this long Digreſſion.

In theſe dayes (that is, in the thirteenth Age) lived *Michael Scot*, renowned for his Learning in Phyſick, Aſtronomy, *&c.* He is remembred by *Picus Mirandula*, and *Cornelius Agrippa*, very honourably. Alſo then lived *Thomas Lermouth*, commonly called, The *Rythmer*; whoſe Predictions are extant to this day: But no wiſe man can make any thing of them, more then of *Merlin* his Prophesies, who lived long before him; although ſundry have pleaſed their fanſies with idle Expoſitions of theſe two mens dreams.

Towards the end of this thirteenth Age, the good Roman Pontif *Boniface* the eight, making uſe of the havie moans and complaints that ſome of *Scotland*, namely, of the Biſhops and other Clergie-men, with their clients, made againſt King *Edward* of *England*, who then did cruelly afflict the Countrey, claims a right unto the Crown of *Scotland*, as reſigned unto him by the States: And upon this he writes an inſulting Letter, and full of threatnings, unto *Edward*, that he was ſo malapert as to do any wrong to his vaſſalls and ſubjects, where he had none, truely, ſave the Biſhops, and Shavelings, with their clients. Whether the Clergie did make this offer of ſubjection unto the Pope, or whether he did falſly invent this lye, we cannot tell, but it is betwixt the Pope and his ſhaved creatures; ſuch maſter, ſuch men. Let this

You may ſee Pope *Boniface* his Letter to King *Edward*, and to the Biſhop of *Canterbury* for the time, in *John Fordon* his *Scoti-Chronicon*.

teach us, how the Popes are, and have been, and will be ever conſtantly ready watching at all occaſions, to draw all things to their Croſſe. But this owning of the Scots by the Pope for his peculiar people did not laſt long; for in a very ſhort time thereafter, notwithſtanding the great ignorance of theſe dayes, the Scots ſhewed themſelves refractaries to his holy Orders; and he, in revenge, did thunder the fire-bolts of his Excommunication againſt theſe rude fellows, putting them to the Interdict, all to ſmall purpoſe; for by theſe Bolts they were but very little daſhed.

We have heard how that in former times the Church of *Scotland* was ſerved by Culdees, and they ruled by their Presbyteries or Elders, having a Moderator, or Prefect of themſelves, and of their own chuſing: This was for many yeers. When *Palladius* brought in Prelacie, a new holy Order, into the Church of *Scotland*, unknown to the preceding Ages, it was with this Reſtraint, That Biſhops ſhould be choſen by the Culdees, and of them: But when Biſhops had once gotten certain Dioceſſes and Limits alotted unto them, they ſet up a new Presbytery of their own, or Councell of Canons or Regulars, which they called Chapters; by whom they intended to be choſen in following times. The Culdees ſeeing this, did oppoſe it with their main ſtrength, namely, under King *David*, who did take up the buſineſſe thus (being carried away by the Prelats) That ſo many of the Culdees as would be Canons, ſhould have hand in the chuſing of the Biſhops. But the Biſhops, to elude this Ordinance of the Prince, obtained a Mandate from the Pope, That no Culdee ſhould be received in the Convent of Canons, but by the conſent of the Prior, and moſt part of the Canons. By theſe means the Culdees were kept out, and deprived of their voyce in chuſing of the Biſhop. In the time of the troubles of *Baliol* and *Bruce*, one *William Cumin*, Prefect of the Culdees, thinks it fit for to beſtir himſelf, to trie what he could regain upon the Canons; and ſo he oppoſeth the Election by the Canons of one *William Lamberton* to the Sea of S. *Andrews*: The buſineſſe being come to a great height, by Appeal was drawn

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to *Rome*, where, after much debate *pro forma*, time and moneys employed, the holy Father *Boniface* the eight pronounces sentence, in favour of his dear Clients the Canons; and so *Lamberton* is made Bishop, and consecrated by the Pope *Boniface*. This fact turned so to the disgrace of the *Culdees*, that after that time we reade no more of them; so the Name and Order by little and little came to be quite extinguished, about the beginning of the thirteenth age.

In the beginning of the fourteenth age, the Order of the Templers was put down, whether for their just demerits, or for private ends and hatred, we leave it to the Histories of these times, Pope *Clement* the fift by his Bull did cashier them, the Bull beginning thus, *Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen pro plenitudine potestatis dictum Ordinem reprobamus, &c.* After which all Christian Princes did cause them to be apprehended in their severall Dominions, and put them from their estates, which was then given to Hospitallers and Knights of Saint *John*, after they had stood about two hundred yeers, instituted by *Baldonin* King of *Jerusalem*, for defence of that Citie and Temple, and the safe conveying of all such as did travell thither: They are also called *Red friers*, because their Gownes were Red. In this fourteenth age did flourish the great Scholastick *Johannes*, called *Scotus* from his Nation, and *Duns* from the place of his Birth, for he was born in the Town of *Duns* in the *Mers*; he was a great Opposer of *Thomas* of *Aquin* his Doctrine; his Sectaries were called *Scotists*, his Epitaph was thus:

Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.

In the beginning of the fifteenth age there was a great Schisme in the Romish Church, Pope against Pope; yea, sometimes there were three Popes at one time fighting one against another, and excommunicating one another; this Schisme lasted about thirty yeers, and by the Councell of *Constance Martin* the fift was made Pope, and the rest defeated: There was one *John Fogo*, a Monke of *Milros*, who in *Scotland* defended the Election of *Martin* by the Councell, against *Benedict*, alias, *Peter de Lune*.

During this forenamed Schisme, many (taking occasion of the opennesse of the times) began boldly and freely to speak against the bad Doctrine, Government and Lives of the Church-men, and that not only in private discourse, but they also preached it publikely, as *John Wickliffe* in *England*, *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague* in *Bohemia*, who spoke before the people freely of the Tyrannie of the Government of the Clergie, the corruption of their Doctrine, and wickednesse of their lives. In those dayes also there were some in *Scotland*, who feared not to make known to the people the Truth of God, as namely *James Resby* and *Paul Craw* (among others) who suffered Martyrdom for the Truth. About this time the Carthusians were brought from *England* into *Scotland*, and had built unto them a Monasterie at *Perth*. In this Age the Universitie of Saint *Andrews* was set up, chiefly by the means of *Henry Wardlaw* Bishop of the place, that in some kinde the Schools of Learning might not bee altogether wanting, which formerly had flourished for so long a time among the *Culdees*, and of later yeers had quite decayed; this good did *Wardlaw*: As his Predecessor *William Trail* had built the Castle of the same City; So his Successour *James Kenedy* built the old Colledge likewise, called Saint *Salvator* his Colledge; *Patrick Grahame*, that came after him, was the man that brought into *Scotland* the Title of Primate, Metropolitane, and Archbishop, by Bull of *Sextus quartus*. From the first Preaching of the Gospel, till *Palladius*, the Church of *Scotland* was happy without Bishops. From *Palladius* to King *Malcolme* his days the Bishops had no distinct Dioceses or Parishes from King *Malcolme*: till *Patricke Grahame* they were without Archbishops; this Title and higher rank of Authoritie did not succeed well with *Grahame*, for the other Bishops could suffer no Superiour under the Pope, namely so neer them, hitherto having rejected all the pretentions of the Archbishop of *York*; The inferior Clergie also were afraid of the increase of the Authority of the Man whom they conceived austere and rigid, and so by the Faction of the corrupt Court and disordered Clergy, poor *Grahame* lost the Title he had procured, with the Benefice, and one *Shevez* got his spoyl; and what

what a ſweet Bird *Shevez* was, the Stories of that time doe ſufficienrly manifeſt.

Robert Blacater ſeeing the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* now a Metropolitane and Archbiſhop, obtains from *Alexander* the ſixt a Bull, whereby he is made Archbiſhop alſo, and hee had under him the Biſhops of *Galloway*, *Argyle* and *Iſles*; which new dignitie angred the Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, above the loſſe of his Vaſſals; for to have a Companion in equall dignity ſet up beſide him was hard; but he muſt digeſt the Pill, ſince the Pope will have it ſo.

Laſtly, *David Beaton* brought in the Title of Cardinall into *Scotland*, who hath beene the onely man that hath born that Title in this Countrey, and how it did ſpeed with him, the following Hiſtorie will tell you.

As in the beginning of the fifteenth age the Schiſme for the Papacie opened thorow Chriſtendom many mens mouthes, and buſied their Pennes to ſet forth the corruption of the Church, and the Vices of the Clergie; even ſo in the beginning of the ſixteenth age, thoſe that fought for the Biſhoprick of Saint *Andrews*, by their diſſention gave occaſion to many in *Scotland* to ſpeak in publike and private of the corruption of Church-mens Lives, Government and Doctrine in *Scotland*; which coming to the Popes ears, preſently he ſent unto the King, *James* the fourth, a Sword, with the Title of *Protector of the Faith*; as if all Chriſtian Princes were not in dutie bound to protect the Faith in Chriſt; but the Faith which the Pope would have the King to protect, was his erroneous Doctrine, and Tyrannicall Authoritie.

Some few yeers after this, *Henry* the eighth was declared by the Pope, *Defender of the Faith*, and had the Sword likewiſe. *James* the 4 of *Scotland* being dead, now by the corrupt Courtiers the yong inconſiderate King *James* was made beleeve, That the conferring of this new Title by the Pope, did bring unto him a great preheminence; yea, the Court Sycophants did not ſtick to call it, *A new Royaltie*, when in effect it was nothing elſe but a new note of his Vaſſallage to *Rome*; and by the accepting of the Sword he did engage himſelf to make warre for *Rome*; and ſo he did indeed, for ſundry men

after this, during his ſhort Reign, were perſecuted, and ſuffered death for the Truth of Chriſt. This is the ſecond remarkable Badge of ſlavery put upon our Princes by the Pope; the former was their Anointing by him, as wee have ſeen before.

Here be pleaſed with me to remark, That of all the Biſhops of *Scotland* before the Reformation, namely, ſince they were made Lords of certain places, and had particular Dioceſſes, you cannot finde one who had any care of the true Charge of Paſtor; for their whole ſtudie was, to raiſe their power, and to encreaſe their means for the upholding of their power: and, to effectuate this more eaſily and fully, they kept both Prince and people in dark ignorance of Gods Will and Word. But becauſe they muſt ſeem to do ſomwhat for the name ſake of Biſhops, they cauſed to build walls of Temples and Chappels, ſet up images and pictures richly dreſſed, to content the eyes, and brought into the Church Inſtruments of Muſick, and artificiall Singing with great skill, to content the ear; Alſo they brought in ſweet perfume and incenſe for the ſmell; ſo the moſt ſubtill ſenſes were thus ſatisfied. And, to make a ſhew to keep under the ſenſes which are more groſſe, there muſt be ſome kinde of Faſting enjoyned to the people, and chaſteneſſe to the Church-men. But how, and to what purpoſe theſe two laſt have been kept, all men know. But kept or not, all is one, all theſe Ordinances which the Biſhops ſet up for Religion, have been diſcovered by Gods mercy, to be not onely without Warant in Gods Word, but plainly contrary to the ſame. Of all the Biſhops of *Scotland* in time of Reformation, there was onely one or two who embraced the Truth, all the reſt were either profeſſed perſecutors of Gods Children, and open enemies of the Truth, or elſe they were given altogether ſo to ſatisfie their bellies and luſts, that they had no care of Religion; witneſſe *George Creichton* (in the name of all the reſt) Biſhop of *Dunkell*, who confeſſed truly, That he had lived a long time Biſhop, and never knew any thing of the Old or New Teſtament.

Impietie, Ignorance and Wickedneſſe came to ſuch height among

among the Church-men of all ranks, degrees and professions, that God being, after so long patience, in a manner vexed with them; did stirre up the people to chase them from the service of his House, and to put others in their places, as you will see in this following Historie, whereunto I referre you. And I shall close up this discourse with one or two passages, worthy to be known; whereby you may see the learning of the Church-Doctors in those dayes, and how they did imploy the knowledge they had to abuse the poor people. The first Passage is this: One *Richard Marshall* Prior of the *Blackefriers* at *Newcastle* in *England*, preached in Saint *Andrews*, That the *Pater-noster* should be said to God onely, and not to the Saints: The Doctors of Saint *Andrews* offended at it, made a *Gray frier*, called *Tottis*, preach against *Marshall* his Tenet; which hee did thus, (taking his Text out of the fift of Saint *Matthew*, *Blessed are the poore in spirit*) Seeing we say, *Good day, Father*, to any old man in the Street, we may call a Saint, *Pater*, who is older then any alive; And seeing they are in Heaven, we may say to any of them, *Our Father which art in heaven:* And seeing they are holy, we may say to any of them, *Hallowed be thy name:* And since they are in the Kingdom of Heaven, we may say, *Thy kingdom come:* And seeing their will is Gods Will, we may say to any of them, *Thy will be done.* But when the Gray Fryer preaching came to the fourth Petition, *Give us this day our dayly bread*, he was hissed at, and so was constrained not onely to leave off Preaching, but also to leave the City for shame. Yet among the Doctors then assembled, the Dispute continued about the *Pater*; for some would have it said to God *formaliter*, and to the Saints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, to the Saints *minus principaliter*; others, *primariò* to God, *secundariò* to the Saints; others would have it said to God taking it *strictè*, and to the Saints taking it *latè*: Notwithstanding all these Distinctions, the Doctors could not agree upon the businesse. A fellow, called *Tom*, servant to the Sub-Prior of Saint *Andrews*, one day perceiving his Master much troubled with some businesse, and as he conceived weighty; said to him, *Sir, what*

is

is the matter of this your trouble ? The Maſter anſwered, *We cannot agree about the ſaying of the* Pater. The fellow replied, *To whom ſhould it be ſaid, but to God alone ?* The Maſter anſwers again, *What ſhall we do then with the Saints ?* The fellow duplies, *Give them* Ave's *and* Credo's *enough, that may ſuffice them, and too well too.* If this was good Divinity, God knows. The ſecond paſſage likewiſe is very well worth the knowing, and to this purpoſe very fit, which fell out about the ſame time with the former, that is, about the firſt beginning of the Reformation. A little before the death of *George Wiſchard*, there came home from *Rome* a fellow charged with very many holy Reliques, and new things of great vertue, as he gave out; but the things were not to be had, nor any benefit by the ſight or touching of them, without moneys. Now upon a holy day, in a village neer *Hadington*, this Romiſh Pedler did open his pack, to try if he could vent any of his Wares among the Countrey people. Among other commodities, the good Merchant did ſhew unto the people there was a Bell of much value, by reaſon of its great vertue; which he gave out to be this, That if any two parties had any difference, which could not be otherwiſe decided but by Oath, the truth of the Oath was to be made known by this Bell: for (ſaid he) when any one ſweareth, laying his hand on this Bell, if he ſwear true, he ſhall after the Oath ſworn remove his hand eaſily from from the Bell, without any change to the Bell: But if he that ſweareth having his hand upon the Bell ſweareth falſly, his hand will ſtick to the Bell, and the Bell will rive aſunder. Now we muſt tell you, That already there was a rift in the Bell, which this Romipete did affirm had happened by a falſe Oath of one that had ſworn having his hand upon the Bell. At this tale the poor ſimple people were aſtoniſhed, and fell in admiration. But among them was one *Fermer*, who had ſome light of the Truth of God; he drawing neer the Romiſh Merchant, deſired to have the Bell in his hand, to ſee it neerly. This deſire was granted unto him. Then he takes the Bell, and looks on it, expreſſing great admiration at firſt; but immediately thereafter, he asked at the Romipete,

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if he would suffer him to swear in presence of the company, having his hand upon the Bell, for he had minde to take an Oath upon a weighty businesse. The man could not refuse him. Then said the Farmer to the company, Friends, before I swear, you see the rift that is already in the Bell, and how big it is, and that I have nothing upon my fingers to make them stick to the Bell. With this he sheweth them his hand open: then laying his hand upon the Bell, he did swear this; *I swear, in the presence of the living God, and before these good people, That the Pope of Rome is Antichrist, and that all the rabble of his Clergie, Cardinalls, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Monks, with the rest of the crew, are Locusts, come from hell, to delude the people, and to withdraw them from God: Moreover, I promise, They will return to hell.* Incontinent he lifted up his hand from the Bell before them all, and said, *See, friends, that I have lifted up my hand freely from the Bell, and look unto the rift in the Bell, it is one and the same, without change; this sheweth, according to the saying of this Merchant, That I have sworn truth.* Then this poor fellow went away, and never was more seen in *Scotland*, nor any other of his kinde, who brought Reliques, or other like toyes from *Rome*.

Many more of this kinde might be alleadged, but let these suffice, to demonstrate the miserable ignorance from which God in his mercy hath delivered us; To whom be praise and glory, for this and all other benefits.

With this I end the Preface, that you may come to the History it self.

Patricke

1553. PAtrick *Hamilton* was three and twenty yeers of Age when he ſuffered. After his death, his brother German *James Hamilton* of *Levinſton* was accuſed likewiſe ; but the King did cauſe to convey him ſecretly out of the way. Alſo *Katherine Hamilton*, his ſiſter, was accuſed, and being queſtioned upon Works ; ſhe anſwered, That *none was ſaved by his works.* Then *John Spencer* ſpake to her of the works of *congruo* and *condigno* ; to which ſhe anſwered, *Work here, work there ; what kinde of working is all this ? no works can ſave me, but Chriſt's.* At this, the King, being preſent, laughed, and after conveyed her away ſecretly. One *Henry Foreſt*, a Monk of the Order of *Benet* and *Collet*, as they ſpoke then, was alſo accuſed of hereſie ; but without ſufficient proof. Then he was ſent to *Walter Ange*, (whom *Buchanan*, in his Satyre againſt the Gray Friers, called *Langius*) to be confeſſed : *Langius* having asked him, by way of confeſſion, *What he thought of* Patrick Hamilton ? He anſwered, That *he was a good man*, *and that his Articles were to be maintained.* *Lange* diſcovers this ſimple mans confeſſion ; and this confeſſion being taken for a ſufficient proof, the poor man was condemned to be burnt, and ſo he was, immediately after they had degraded him, according to their Cuſtom. As they were leading him to the Execution-place, he complained of the Fryer who had betrayed him, and ſaid, *Let no man truſt the falſe Fryers, after me ; they are deſpiſers of God, and deceivers of men.* They burnt him at the North Style of the Abbey Church in Saint *Andrews*, that the Hereticks of *Angus* might ſee the fire.

1558. One *Andrew Oliphant* accuſed with heat *Walter Mill*, an ancient man, and formerly a Prieſt, and ſaid to him, being at his devotion, *Riſe up, Sir Walter.* He anſwered, when he had ended his prayer, *My name is Walter : I have been too long one of the Popes Knights* (for all Prieſts are Sirs.) *Andrew Oliphant* ſaid to him, *Thou keepeſt my Lords too long here, therefore haſte.* He anſwered, *I muſt obey God before men.*

Being

Being questioned by *Oliphant* concerning Priests Marriage, he answered, *It was Gods Ordinance, That every man that had not the gift of chastity, should marry: but you abhor it, vowing chastity, which you cannot keep, but take other mens wives and daughters.* Then, being asked if there were not seven Sacraments, he answered, *Let me have two, take you the rest to your selves.* Being asked about the Masse, he answered, *A Lord sendeth, and calleth many to his dinner; and when all is ready, he causeth ring the Bell, the guests come into the hall; but he turning his back upon them, eateth all himself: And so do you.* Then he added, *The Scripture is not to be understood carnally; Christ hath put an end to all carnall Sacrifices, by offering once for all his body upon the Crosse.* Many other Queries were put to him, to which he answered stoutly. Being desired to recant, he told them, That he was corn, and not chaff. *I will*, said he, *neither be blown by the winde, nor bruised with the Flail, but I will abide both: I will not recant the Truth.* Being commanded to go to the stake by *Oliphant*, he answered, *By the Law of God I am forbidden to put hand on my self, therefore put thou me to it with thy hands, and then thou shalt see my resolution.* After he had said his Prayer, he gat leave, with difficulty, to speak to the people standing by: In his Speech he told them, *That although he was a great sinner, yet it was for Gods Truth, contained in his Word of the Old and New Testament, that he suffred, and that God, in the abundance of his mercy towards him, did honour him so far, as to make him seal his Truth with his life, among other of his Servants.* He added, *Dear friends, as you would escape eternall death, be no more seduced with lies of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Priests, Monks, Friers, and the rest of the Antichristian rabble, but onely trust in God.* This was the last man that died for Religion in *Scotland*: And by his death was given the very dead blow to Popery; for by his death the people of all ranks and conditions were so moved, that they made open profession of the Truth, without any more dallying; and presently was, upon this occasion, made a Covenant or Bond of mutuall defence, To defend one another by Arms, against the Tyranny of the Bishops, and their Parties.

Errata.

Errata.

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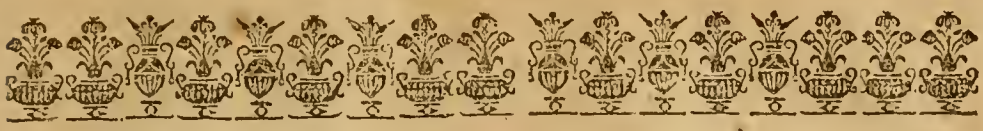
THE



Anno

THE HISTORIE OF THE REFORMATION Within the Realme of SCOTLAND, from the yeer 1422. Till the 20. day of *August*. 1567.

THE FIRST BOOK.

IN the Records of *Glasgow* is found mention of one whose name was *James Resby*, an Englishman by Birth, Scholler to *Wickliff*; He was accused as an Heretike, by one *Lawrence Lindors* in *Scotland*, and burnt for having said, That the Pope was not the Vicar of Christ, and that a man of wicked life was not to be acknowledged for Pope. This fell out, *Anno* 1422. Farther our Chronicles make mention, That in the dayes of King *James* the first, about the yeer of God 1431. was deprehended in the University of Saint *Andrewes*, one named *Paul Craw*, a *Boheme*, who was accused of Heresie, before such as then were called Doctors of Theologie. His accusation consisted principally, That he followed *John Hus* and *Wickliff*, in the opinion of the Sacrament; Who denied that the substance of Bread and Wine were changed by vertue of any words; Or that Confession should be made to Priests; or yet Prayers to Saints departed: While that God gave him grace to resist them, and not to consent to their impiety; He was committed to the secular Judge (for our Bishops following *Pilate*, who both did condemne, and also wash his hands) who condemned him to the fire, in the which he was consumed in the said City of Saint *Andrews*, about the time afore written. And to declare themselves to be the generation of Satan, who from the beginning hath been enemy to the Truth, and he that desireth the same to be hid from the knowledge of men, They put a ball of Brasse in his mouth, to the end he should not give Confession of his Faith to the people; neither yet that they should understand the defence which he had against their unjust accusation and condemnation. Both these godly men *Resby* and *Craw*, suffered Martyrdome for Christ his Truth, by *Henry Ward-law*, Bishop of Saint *Andrewes*, whom the Prelates place amongst their Worthies.

Robert the third. 1422.

James the first. 1431.

Paul Craw burnt with a ball of Brasse in his mouth.

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James 4. 1494.

But that their wicked practise did not greatly advance their Kingdom of darknesse, neither yet was it able utterly to extinguish the Trueth; for albeit, that in the dayes of King *James* the second and third, we finde small question of Religion moved within this Realm; yet in the time of King *James* the fourth, in the sixth yeer of his Reign, and in the twenty two yeer of his age, which was in the yeer of God 1494. were summoned before the King and his great Counsell, by *Robert Blacater*, called, Archibishop of *Glasgow*: The number of thirty persons remaining, some in *Kyle Stewart*, some in *Kingstyle*, and some in *Cunninghame*: Among whom were *George Campbell* of *Cesnok*, *Adam Reade* of *Barskyning*, *John Campbell* of *Newmyls*, *Andrew Schaw* of *Polkemac*, *Helene Chalmer*, Lady *Pokellie*, *Isabelle Chambers*, Lady *Stairs*.

30 Persons accused.

The Professors of the Truth at the first beginning of the Reformation were called in our Iland *Lollards* from one godly man in this Iland named *Lollard*, who was one of the first Teachers of the Trueth: what other names they had elsewhere, see the History of the *Albigois*, *Lib.*1. *cap.*3. Where you may see what accusations, and calumnies was made against these poor people. Conferre this 4. Article with the 16. Article.

These were called the Lollards of *Kyle*, they were accused of the Articles following, as we have received them out of the Register of *Glasgow*.

1. *First, That Images are not to be had* in the Kyrk, *nor to be worshipped.*

2. *That the Reliques of Saints are not to be worshipped.*

3. *That Laws & Ordinances of men, vary from time to time, and that by the Pope.*

4. That it is not lawfull to fight *for the Faith, nor to defend the Faith by the* Sword, if we be not driven to it by necessity, *which is above all Law.*

5. *That Christ gave power to Peter,* as also to the other Apostles, *and not to the Pope his pretended Successour, to binde and loose within the Kyrk.*

6. *That Christ ordained no Priests to consecrate as they do in the Romish Church, these many yeers.*

7. *That after the Consecration in the Masse, there remains Bread, and that there is not the naturall Body of Christ.*

8. *That Tythes ought not to be given to Ecclesiasticall men, as they were then called,* to wit, *wholly*, but a part to the poor, widow, or orphans, & other pious uses.

9. *That Christ at his coming hath taken away power from Kings to judge.* This Article we doubt not to be the venomous accusation of the enemies, whose practise hath ever been to make the doctrine of Jesus Christ suspect to Kings and Rulers: As if God thereby would deprive them of their Royall Seats; While on the contrary nothing confirms the power of Magistrates more then doth Gods Truth. But to the Articles.

10. *That every faithfull man and women is a Priest,* in that sence that they are called by the Apostle Saint *John*, *Apoc.*1.6. 5. 10. 20. 6.

The Pope did bethink himself at last to subject Princes unto him, by this tye of invented unction.

11. *That the Unction of Kings, ceased at the coming of Christ*; and truely it was but late since Kings were anointed, *namely in* Scotland, *for* Edgar *was the first anointed King in* Scotland, about the yeer 1100.

12. *That the Pope is not the successour of* Peter, *but where he said, Go behinde me Satan.*

13. *That the Pope deceives the people by his Buls, and his Indulgences.*

14. *That the Masse profiteth not the souls, who in those dayes were said to be in Purgatory.*

15. *That the Pope and the Bishops deceive the people by their Pardons.*

16. *That Indulgences ought not to be granted to fight against the Saracens.*

17. *That the Pope exalts himself against God, and above God.*

18. *That the Pope cannot remit the pains of Purgatory.*

19. *That the blessings of the Bishops (of dumb Dogs they should have been stiled) are of no value.*

20. *That*

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20. *That the Excommunication of the Kyrk is not to be feared*, if there be no true cause for it.

21. *That in no case it is lawfull to swear*, to wit, idly, rashly, and in vain.

22. *That Priests may have wives, according to the constitution of the Law*, and of the Primitive Christian Church.

23. *That true Christians receive the body of Jesus Christ every day by Faith.*

24. *That after Matrimony be contracted, and consummate, the Kyrk may make no Divorcement.*

25. *That Excommunication bindes not*, if unjust.

26. *That the Pope forgives not sins, but onely God.*

27. *That Faith should not be given to Miracles*, to such namely as the Romish were then, and are to this day.

28. *That we should not pray to the glorious Virgin* Mary, *but to God onely*, since he onely hears us, and can help us.

29. *That we are no more bound to pray in the Kyrk then in other places* *.

30. *That we are not bound to beleeve all that Doctors of the Kirk have written.*

31. *That such as worship the Sacrament in the Kyrk* (we suppose the Sacrament of the Altar) *commits Idolatry.*

32. *That the Pope is the head of the Kirk of Antichrist.*

33. *That the Pope and his Ministers are murtherers of souls.*

34. *That they which are called Princes and Prelates in the Church, are Theeves, and Robbers.*

By these Articles which God of his mercifull providence caused the enemies of his truth to keep in their registers, may appear how mercifully God hath looked upon this Realm, retaining within it some spark of his lyght, even in the time of greatest darknesse. Neither ought any man to wonder, albeit that some things be obscurely, and some things doubtfully spoken. But rather ought all faithfull to magnifie Gods mercy, who without publike Doctrine gave so great light. And further, we ought to consider that seeing that the enemies of Jesus Christ gathered the foresaid Articles, thereupon to accuse the persons aforesaid, that they would deprave the meaning of Gods servants so far as they could; as we doubt not but they have done, in the heads of Excommunication*, Swearing*, and of Matrimony*: In the which it is no doubt but the servants of God did damne the abuse only, and not the right Ordinance of God: for who knows not that the Excommunication in these dayes was altogether abused? That Swearing aboundeth without punishment or remorse of conscience: And that Divorcements was made, for such causes as worldly men had invented. But to our History. Albeit that the accusation of the Bishop and of his Complices was very grievous, yet God so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the Kings heart to gentlenesse (for divers of them were his great familiars) and partly by giving bold and godly answers to their Accusators, that the enemies in the end were frustrate of their purpose. For while the Bishop in mockage said to *Adam Reade* of *Barskeiming*; *Reade*, beleeve ye that God is in heaven? He answered; Not as I do the Sacraments seven: Whereat the Bishop thinking to have triumphed, said; Sir, lo; he denies that God is in heaven? Whereat the King wondring, said; *Adam Reade!* What say ye? The other answered; Pleaseth your Majesty to hear the end betwixt the churle and me: and therewith he turned to the Bishop and said; I neither think nor beleeve;

* *Although the Temple be set a part for divine service, yet we are not so tied to the place as the Jews were, yea, not so much as the Romanists would have us to be, according to that of S. Joh. 21. 22. 23 for wherefoever 2 or 3 are gathered together in my Name, I am in the midst of you.*

* *Witnesse the Princes and people, that the Pope put to the Interdict without cause, to say nothing of private persons.*

* *So that many do think it a liberty of Religion to swear and curse.*

* *Witnesse the divorce of* Mary Stuart, *daughter to* James 2 *from her lawfull husband* Tho. Boyde, *and married to* James Hamilton. *Also of* Mary, *mother to* James 5 *who married after* K. Jam. *the fourths death*, Archibald Douglas *Earle of* Angus, *& was divorced from him, and married to* Henry Stuart, *Lord* Meffen.

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as thou thinkest that God is in heaven; but I am most assured, that he is not onely in heaven, but also in the earth: But thou and thy faction declare by your works, that either ye think there is no God at all, or else that he is so set up in heaven, that he regards not what is done upon the earth: for if thou firmly beleevedst that God were in the heaven, thou shouldest not make thy self check-mate to the King, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to his Apostles, which was, To Preach his Gospel, and not to play the proud Prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day: And now, Sir, said he to the King, judge ye, whether the Bishop or I beleeve best that God is in heaven. While the Bishop and his band could not well revenge themselves, and while many taunts were given them in their teeth. The King willing to put an end to further reasoning, said to the said *Adam Reade*; Wilt thou burn thy bill? He answered; Sir, the Bishop and ye will. With these and the like scoffs, the Bishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance, that the greatest part of accusation was turned to laughter. After that Diet, we finde almost no question for matters of Religion, the space neer of thirty yeers; for not long after, to wit, in the yeer of God 1500. the said Bishop *Blaktar* departed this life, going in his superstitious devotion to *Jerusalem*: Unto whom succeeded Master *James Betone*, son to the Laird of *Balfor* in *Fife*, who was more carefull of the world, then he was to Preach Christ, or yet to advance any Religion, but for the fashion onely, and as he sought the world it fled him not: For it was well known that at once he was Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, *Aberbrothe*, *Kylwinning*, and Chancellour of *Scotland*: For after the unhappy field of *Flowdonne*, in the which perished King *James* the fourth, with the greatest part of the Nobility of the Realm, the said *Betonne* with the rest of the Prelates, had the whole Regiment of the Realm. And by reason thereof held and travelled to hold the truth of God in thraldome and bondage, till that it pleased God of his great mercy in the yeer of God 1527. to raise up his servant Master *Patrick Hammilton*, at whom our History doth begin: Of whose progenie, life, and erudition, because men of fame and renown have in divers works written; we omit all curious repetition, sending such as would know further of him then we write to *Francis Lambert*, *John Frith*, and to that notable work lately set forth by *John Fox*, English man, of the lives and deaths of Martyrs within this Isle in this our age.

Adam Reade, his bold and godly answer.

Note.

1500.

1513.

1527. Brothers son to *James Hamilton* Earle of *Arran* and sisters son to *John Stuart* Duke of *Althai*.

This servant of God Master *Patrick Hamilton*, being in his youth provided to reasonable honours and living (he was intituled Abbot of *Fern*) as one hating the world and the vanitie thereof, left *Scotland*, and passed to the Schools in *Germany*; for then the fame of the Universitie of *Wittenberg* was greatly divulgate in all Countreys: where by Gods providence he became familar with those lights and notable servants of Christ Jesus of that time, *Martin Luther*, *Philip Melancthon*, and the said *Francis Lambert*, did so grow and advance in godly knowledge, joyned with fervencie and integrity of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeal of Gods glory did so eat him up, that he could not long continue to remain there, but returned to his countrey where the bright beams of the true light, which by Gods grace was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth, as well in publike as in secret; for he was (besides his godly knowledge) well learned in

in Phylosophie, he abhorred Sophistrie, and would that the Text of *Aristotle* should have been better understood, and more used in the Schools than then it was; for Sophistrie had corrupted all, as well in Divinitie, as in humanitie. In short processe of time, the fame of his reasons and Doctrine troubled the Clergie, and came to the ears of Bishop *James Betonne*, of whom before we have made mention, who being a conjured enemy to Christ Jesus, and one that long hath had the whole regiment of this Realm, bare impatiently that any trouble should be made to the Kingdom of darknesse, whereof within this Realm he was the head. And therefore he so travelled with the said Master *Patrike* that he gat him to Saint *Andrews*, where after the conference of divers dayes he had his freedom and liberty. The said Bishop and his bloody Butchers, called Doctours, seemed to approve his Doctrine, and to grant that many things craved Reformation in the Ecclesiasticall regiment. And amongst the rest, there was one that secretly consented with him almost in all things, named, Frier *Alexander Campbell*, a man of good wit and learning, but yet corrupt by the world, as after we will hear: when the Bishops and Clergie had fully understood the minde and judgement of the said Master *Patrick*, and fearing that by him their kingdom should be endamaged, they travailed with the King, who then was young, and altogether addict to their commandment, that he should passe in Pilgrimage to Saint *Dothesse* in *Rosse*, to the end that no intercession should be made for the life of the innocent servant of God, who suspecting no such cruelty as in their hearts was conceived, remained still, (a lambe amongst the wolves) till that upon a night he was intercepted in his chamber, and by the Bishops Band was caried to the Castle, where that night he was kept, and upon the morrow after brought forth to Judgement, he was condemned to die by fire for the testimony of Gods Truth. The Articles for the which he suffered, were but of Pilgrimage, Purgatory, prayer to Saints, and for the dead, and such trifles. Albeit that matters of greater importance had been in question, as his Treatise which in the end we have added, may witnesse. Now that the condemnation of the said M. *Patrike* should have greater Authority, they caused the same to be subscribed by all those of any estimation that with them were present; and to make their number great, they took the subscription of children, if they were of the Nobility; for the Earle of *Cassilles*, which last deceased in *France*, then being but twelve or thirteene yeers of age, was compelled to subscribe his death, as himself did confesse. Immediately after dinner the fire was prepared before the old Colledge, and he led to the place of Execution, and yet men supposed that all was done but to give nnto him terrour, and to have caused him to have recanted, and have become recreant to those bloodie beasts; but God for his own glory, for the comfort of his servant, and for manifestation of their beastly tyrannie, had otherwise decreed; for he so strengthned his faithfull Witnesse, that neither the love of life, nor yet the fear of that cruell death, could move him a jote to swerve from the truth once professed. At the place of execution, he gave to his servant who had been chamberlain to him of a long time, his Gown, his Coat, Bonnet, and such like garments, saying, These will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee; after this, of me thou canst receive no commoditie, except the example of my death,

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A Dominican Frier.

Note how Church men rules the good nature of the Prince.

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death, which I pray thee bear in minde, for albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearfull before men, yet is it the entrance unto eternall life, which none shall possesse that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation. The innocent servant of God being bound to the stake, in the midst of some coales, some timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a traine of powder was made, and set on fire, which gave to the blessed Martyr of God, a blaise, and scorched his left hand and that side of his face, but neither kindled the wood nor yet the coales, and so remained the appointed to death in torment, till that men ran to the Castle again for more Powder, and fire wood more able to take fire, which at last being kindled, with loud voice, cried; *Lord Jesus receive my spirit: How long shall darknesse overwhelm this Realme? And how long wilt thou suffer this tyrannie of men?* The fire was slow, and therefore was his torment the more: But most of all was he grieved by certain wicked men, amongst whom *Campbel* the black Frier (of whom we spake before) was principall, who continually cryed, *Convert Heretick, Call upon our Lady*, say, *Salve Regina, &c.* To whom he answered, *Depart, and trouble me not, thou messenger of Satan.* But while that the aforesaid Frier still raored, one thing in great vehemence he said unto him; *Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and the contrary to me thou hast confessed; I appeale thee before the tribunall seat of Christ Jesus.* After which, and other words, which well could not be understood nor marked because of the tumult, and vehemencie of the fire. The witnesse of Jesus Christ gate victory, after long sufferance, the last of February, in the yeere of God 1527. The said Frier departed this life within few dayes after; in what estate, we referre to the manifestation of the generall Day. But it was plainly known, that he died in *Glasgow* in a phrenzie, and as one despaired.

Frier *Campbell* apostate.

Now that all men may understand what was the singular erudition, and godly knowledge of the said M. *Patrike Hamilton*, we have inserted this his little pithie Work, containing his Assertions and Determinations, concerning the Law, the Office of the same; concerning Faith, and the true Fruits thereof; first by the said Master *Patrike* collected in Latine, and after translated into vulgar Language.

Of the Law.

THe Law is a Doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evill, as the Commandments here contained do specifie.

The ten Commandments.

THou shalt worship but one God. 2. Thou shalt make thee no Image to worship it. 3. Thou shalt not swear by his Name in vain. 4. Hold the Sabbath day holy. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. 6. Thou shalt not kill. 7. Thou shalt not commit adultery. 8. Thou shalt not steal. 9. Thou shalt bear no false witnesse. 10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

Maior. Deut. 6. Matth. 12.

He that loveth God and his neighbour, keepeth all the Commandments of God. *Love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy minde: this is the first and great Commandment. The second is like unto this, Love thy neighbour as thy self; in these two Commandments hang all the Law and Prophets.* He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour: *If any man say, I love God, and yet hateth his neighbour, he is a lyer: He that loveth not his brother*

Minor. 1. Joh. 4.

whom

whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? He that loveth his neighbour as himselfe, keepeth the whole Commandments of God. *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets. He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the Law; Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witnesse against thy neighbour, Thou shalt not desire*, and so forth: If there be any other Commandment, all are comprehended under this saying, *Love thy neighbour as thy self.* He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the Commandments of God, *Rom.* 13. *Gal.* 5. *He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour*, 1 Joh. 4. *Ergo*, He that loveth God, keepeth all his Commandments. He that hath the faith, loveth God; *My Father loveth you, because ye love me, and believe that I came of God.* He that hath the faith, keepeth all the Commandments of God; he that hath the faith, loveth God, and he that loveth God, keepeth all the Commandments of God. *Ergo*, He that hath faith, keepeth all the Commandments of God. He that keepeth one Commandment, keepeth them all. For without faith it is impossible to keep any of the Commandments of God; and he that hath faith, keepeth all the Commandments of God. *Ergo*, He that keepeth one Commandment of God, keepeth them all.

Anno

Conclusio. Matth 7. Rom. 13.

Galat 5.

Maior. Rom. 13. *Minor.*

Joh. 19.

Conclusio.

Christ is the end and fulfilling of the Law to every one that believeth Rom. 10 14.

He that keepeth not all the Commandments of God, he keepeth none of them; he that keepeth one of the Commandments of God, he keepeth all: *Ergo*, He that keepeth not all the Commandments, he keepeth none of them. It is not in our power without grace to keep any of Gods Commandments. Without grace it is impossible to keep one of Gods Commandments, and grace is not in our power. *Ergo*, It is not in our power to keep any of the Commandments of God. Even so may you reason concerning the holy Ghost and faith. The Law was given us to shew us our sin. *By the Law cometh the knowledge of sin; I knew not what sin meant, but through the Law. I knew not what lust had meant, except the Law had said, Thou shalt not lust.* Without the Law sin was dead, that is, It moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the Law. The Law biddeth us do that which is impossible for us; for it bids us keep all the Commandments of God, and yet it is not in our power to keep any of them. *Ergo*, It biddeth us do that which is impossible for us. Thou wilt say, Wherefore doth God command us that which is impossible for us? I answer, To make thee know, That thou art but evill, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand; and that thou maist seek remedy at at some other: For the Law doth nothing but command thee.

Rom. 3. Rom. 7.

Of the Gospel.

THe Gospel is as much to say in our Tongue, as good Tydings, like as every one of these Sentences be.

Christ is the Saviour of the world.
Christ is our Saviour.
Christ died for us.
Christ died for our sins.
Christ offered himself for us.
Christ bare our sins upon his back.
Christ bought us with his Blood.

Gospel, *quasi* Godspel, that is Gods word, but ordinarily it is taken from that part which we call Evangel, that is, Good tidings, otherwise, Gospel, *quasi* Goodspel, that is, Good words, and so, Good tidings.

Christ

Anno

Christ washt us with his Blood.
Christ came into the world to save sinners.
Christ came into this world to take away our sins.
Christ was the Price that was given for us and our sins.
Christ was made Debtor for our sins.
Christ hath paid our Debt, for he died for us.
Christ hath made satisfaction for us, and for our sins.
Christ is our Righteousnesse.
Christ is our Wisedom.
Christ is our Sanctification.
Christ is our Redemption.
Christ is our Satisfaction.
Christ is our Goodnesse.
Christ hath pacified the Father of Heaven.
Christ is Ours, and all His.
Christ hath delivered us from the Law, from the devill, and hell.
The Father of heaven hath forgiven us for Christs sake.
Or any such other as declare unto us the mercies of God.

The nature of the Law, and of the Gospel.

The Law { Sheweth us our sin. / Sheweth us our condemnation. / Is the word of ire. / Is the word of despair. / Is the word of displeasure.

The Gospel { Sheweth us a remedy for it. / Sheweth us our Redemption. / Is the Word of Grace. / Is the Word of Comfort. / Is the Word of Peace.

A Disputation betwixt the Law and the Gospel.

The Law saith, { Pay thy Debt. / Thou art a desperate sinner. / Thou shalt die.

The Gospel saith, { Christ hath paid it. / Thy sins are forgiven thee. / Be of good comfort, thou art saved.

The Law saith, { Make amends for thy sin. / The Father of heaven is wrath with thee. / Where is thy righteousnesse, goodnesse and satisfaction? / Thou art bound and obliged unto me, the devil and hell.

The Gospel saith, { Christ hath made it for thee. / Christ hath pacified him with his Blood. / Christ is thy righteousnesse, goodnesse, & satisfaction. / Christ hath delivered thee from them all.

Of Faith.

FAith is to believe God, like as *Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousnesse.* He that believed God, believed his Word. To believe in him, is to believe his Word, and accompt it true that he speaketh: he

Gen. 15. Rom. 5.

he that believeth not Gods Word, he compteth him false, and a lyar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfill his Word, and so he denieth both the might of God, and himself. Faith is the gift of God: Every good thing is the gift of God. Faith is good; *Ergo*, Faith is the gift of God; The gift of God is not in our power: Faith is the gift of God, *Ergo*, Faith is not in our power. Without faith it is impossible to please God; all that cometh not of faith, is sin; for without faith, can no man please God. Besides that, he that lacketh faith, he trusteth not God; he that trusteth not God, trusteth not in his Word; he that trusteth not in his Word, holdeth him false, and a lyar; he that holdeth him false and a lyar, he believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God: O how can a man, being of this fashion, please God! No manner of wayes, yea suppose he did all the works of man and Angel.

Anno

Jam. 1.

Rom. 14.

Heb. 11.

All that is done in faith, pleaseth God. Right is the Word of God, and all his works in faith: Lord thine eyes look to faith; that is as much to say, as, Lord thou delightest in faith: God loveth him that believeth in him, how can they then displease him? He who hath faith, is just and good, and a good tree bringeth forth good fruit; *Ergo*, all that is done in faith, pleaseth God. Moreover, he that hath faith, beleeveth God; he that believeth God, believeth his Word; he that believeth his Word, wotteth well that he is true and faithfull; and cannot lie; but knoweth well that he both may and will fulfill his Word. How can he then displease him? For thou canst do no greater honour unto God, than to count him true. Thou wilt then say, That theft, murder, adultery, and all vices please God: No verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit. He that hath faith, wotteth well that he pleaseth God; for all that is done in faith, pleaseth God; faith is a surenesse: *Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and a certainty of things which are not seen: The same spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God.* Moreover, he that hath the faith, wotteth well that God will fulfill his Word: *Ergo*, faith is a surenesse.

Heb. 11.

Rom. 8.

Rom. 4.

A man justified by faith.

ABraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousnesse; we suppose therefore that a man is justified (saith the Apostle) without the works of the Law. He that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted unto him for righteousnesse. The just man liveth by faith, *Abac. 2. Rom. 1.* We know that a man that is justified, is not justified by the works of the Law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law.

Rom. 4.

Abac. 2.

Rom. 1.

Of the faith of Christ.

THe faith of Christ is, To believe in him, that is, To believe in his Word, and to believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evill. Thou wilt ask me, What Word? I answer, The Gospel: he that believeth in Christ, shall be saved. He that believeth the son, hath everlasting life; *Verily verily I say unto you, He that believeth in me, hath everlasting life. This I write unto you, that believing in the Name of the Son of God, ye may know that ye have eternall life. Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou believest, but happy are they that have not seen, and yet believe in me.* All the

Joh. 6.

1 Joh. 5.

Anno

Act. 10. Rom. 10. Joh. 3. Gal. 3. Matth. 19. Joh 9. Joh. 20. Mark 16. Matth. 28.

Prophets to him bear witnesse, That whosoever believeth in him, shall have remission of their sins. *What must I do that I may be saved?* the Apostle answereth, *Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ*, and thou shalt be saved. If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe in thine heart, That God raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be safe. He that believeth not in Christ, shall be condemned. He that believeth not the son, shall never see life, but the ire of God abideth upon him. The holy Ghost shal reprove the world of sin, *because* (saith Christ) *they believe not in me.* They that believe in Jesus Christ, are sons of God. Ye are all the sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ. He that believeth in Christ the son of God, is safe. *Peter* said, *Thou art Christ the son of the living God.* Jesus answered and said unto him, *Happy art thou, Simon the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened unto thee that, but my father which is in heaven.* We have believed and known that thou art Christ, the son of the living God. I believe that thou art Christ the son of the living God, which should come into the world. These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God, and that in believing ye might have life. I believe that Jesus is the son of the living God. He that believeth God, believeth the Gospel. He that believeth God, believeth his Word, and the Gospel is his Word. Therefore he that believeth God, believeth his Gospel. As Christ is the Saviour of the world, Christ is our Saviour; Christ bought us with his Blood, Christ washed us with his Blood, Christ offered himself for us, Christ bare our sins upon his back. He that believeth not the Gospel, believeth not God; he that believeth not Gods Word, believeth not himself; and the Gospel is Gods Word. *Ergo,* He that believeth not the Gospel, believeth not God himself. And consequently, they that believe not, as is above written, and such other, believe not God. He that believeth the Gospel shall be saved; *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature, he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned.*

A Comparison betwixt Faith and Incredulity.

Faith { Is the root of all good,
Maketh God and man friends,
Bringeth God and man together.

Incredulity { Is the root of all evill,
Maketh them deadly foes,
Bringeth them asunder.

All that proceedeth from Faith, pleaseth God.
All that proceedeth from Incredulity, displeaseth God.
Faith onely maketh a man good and righteous,
Incredulity maketh him unjust and evill.

Faith onely maketh a man { The Member of Christ,
The Inheritor of heaven.
The Servant of God.

Faith

Anno

Faith
- sheweth God to be a sweet Father.
- holdeth stiffe by the word of God.
- counteth God to be true.
- knoweth God.
- loveth God and his neighbour.
- onely saveth.
- extolleth God and his works.

Incredulitie
- maketh man a member of the devill.
- maketh him inheritour of hell.
- maketh him the servant of the devill.
- maketh God a terrible Judge.
- causeth man wander here and there.
- maketh him false and a liar.
- knoweth him not.
- loveth neither God nor neighbour.
- onely condemneth.
- extolleth flesh and her own deeds.

Of Hope.

HOpe is a trustie looking for of things that are promised to come unto us, as we hope the everlasting joy which Christ hath promised unto all that beleeve in him, we should put our hope and trust in God onely, and in no other thing. It is good to trust in God, and not in man. He that trusteth in his own heart, he is a fool; *It is good to trust in God, and not in Princes: They shall be like unto Images that make them; and all that trust in them: He that trusteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly: Cursed be he that trusteth in man: Bid the rich men of this world that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God: It is hard for them that trust in money to enter into the kingdom of God.* Moreover, we should trust in him surely, that can help us, yea we should trust in him onely. Well is him that trusteth in God, and wo to them that trust him not. Well is the man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust: He that trusteth in him shall understand the truth. *They shall all rejoyce that trust in thee, they shall all ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them.*

Psal. 118.

1. Tim. 6.

Of Charitie.

CHaritie is the love of thy neighbour: The rule of Charity is, To do as thou wouldest were done unto thee; for Charitie esteemeth all alike, the rich and the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankfull and unthankfull, the kinsman and stranger.

This is to be understood of circumstance of worldly men, and not of them of God for the neerer that men draw to God, we are bound the more to love them.

A comparison betwixt Faith, Hope, and Charitie.

FAith cometh of the word of God: Hope, cometh of Faith; And Charity springeth of them both: Faith beleeves the word; Hope trusteth after that which is promised by the word; and Charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladnesse that is within her self. Faith looketh to God and his word: Hope looketh unto his gift and reward: Charity looketh unto her neighbours profit; Faith receiveth

Anno God. Hope receiveth his reward: Charity looketh unto her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward. Faith pertaineth to God onely; Hope to his reward; and Charity to her neighbour.

of good Works.

Galat. 3. NO manner of works make us righteous: We beleeve that a man shall be justified without works. No man is justified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ; and we beleeve in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the Faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law. If righteousnesse come by the Law, then Christ died in vain: That no man is justified by the Law, it is manifest, for a righteous man liveth by his Faith; but the Law is not of Faith. Moreover, since Christ the maker of heaven and earth, and all that therein is, behoved to die for us: We are compelled to grant, that we were so far drowned in sins, that neither the deeds, nor all the creatnres that ever God made or might make, might help us out of them: *Ergo*, No deeds nor works can make us righteous: No works make us unrighteous; for if any work made us unrighteous, then the contrary works would make us righteous. But it is proved that no works can make us righteous; *Ergo*, No works make us unrighteous.

Works make us neither good nor evil.

IT is proved that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous. *Ergo*, No works neither make us good nor evil; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil, another. Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man. But a good man maketh good works, and an evil man evil works; good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil. But a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works, for an evil tree cannot bear good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit. A good man is good before he do good works, and an evil man is evil before he do evil works; for the tree is good before it bear good fruit, and evil before it bear evil fruit. Every man is either good or evil; either make the tree good, and the fruit good also; or else make the tree evil; and the fruit likewise evil. Every mans work is either good or evil; for all fruit is either good or evil. Either make the tree good, and the fruit also, or else make
Matth. 12. the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil. A good man is known by his
Matth. 7. works, for a good man doth good works, and an evil, evil works: Ye shall know them by their fruits: for a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree. *Beware of false Prophets which come unto you in sheeps cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruit.*

None of our works either save us nor condemne us.

IT is proved that no works make us either righteous or unrighteous, good or evil: but first we are good, before that we do good works and evil, before

before we do evil works. *Ergo,* No work either saveth us nor condemneth us. Thou wilt say, Then maketh it no matter what we do? I answer thee; Yes. For if thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wanteſt Faith: If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and haſt Faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: So that man is good before he do good works, and evil before he do evil works. The man is the tree; the works are the fruit. Faith maketh the good tree; Incredulity the evil tree: Such a tree such a fruit, such man works. For all that is done in Faith pleaſeth God, and are good works: And all that is done without Faith diſpleaſeth God, and are evil works. Whoſoever thinketh to be ſaved by his works, denieth that Chriſt is our Saviour, and that Chriſt died for him; and finally all things that belongeth to Chriſt. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightſt ſave thy ſelf with thy works? Or to what end ſhould he have died for thee, if any works of thine might have ſaved thee? What, is this to ſay Chriſt died for thee? Is it not that thou ſhouldſt have died perpetually, and that Chriſt to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetuall death into his own death? for thou madeſt the fault, and he ſuffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee, before ever thou waſt born, when thou hadſt done neither good nor evil. Now ſince he hath paid thy debt, thou dieſt not, no thou canſt not, but ſhouldeſt have been damned, if his death were not. But ſince he was puniſhed for thee thou ſhalt not be puniſhed. Finally, he hath delivered thee from condemnation, and deſireth nothing of thee, but that thou ſhouldeſt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in minde; and that thou wouldeſt help others for his ſake both in word and deed, even as he hath helped thee, for nought, and without reward. O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodneſſe and gentleneſſe towards us? he is a good and a gentle Lord, and he doth all things for nought. Let us, I beſeech you, follow his footſteps, whom all the world ought to praiſe and worſhip. Amen.

Anno

Note.

Note.

Note.

He that thinketh to be ſaved by his works, calleth himſelfe Chriſt.

FOr he calleth himſelfe a Saviour, which appertaineth to Chriſt onely. What is a Saviour? But he that ſaveth. And thou ſayeſt, I ſave my ſelfe, which is as much to ſay, as, I am Chriſt; for Chriſt is onely the Saviour of the world. We ſhould do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven or remiſſion of ſins through them. For whoſoever beleeveth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remiſſion of ſins through works, he beleeveth not to get that for Chriſts ſake. And they who beleeve that their ſins are not forgiven them; and that they ſhall not be ſaved for Chriſts ſake, they beleeve not the Goſpel; for the Goſpel ſaith, Thou ſhalt be ſaved for Chriſts ſake; Sins are forgiven you for Chriſts ſake. He that beleeveth not the Goſpel, beleeveth not God: And conſequently, they that beleeve to be ſaved by their works, or to get remiſſion of ſins by their own deeds, beleeve not God, but account him a liar, and ſo utterly deny him to be God. Thou wilt ſay, Shall we then do no good works? I ſay not ſo: But I ſay, we ſhould do no good works, to the intent to get the kingdom of heaven, or remiſſion of ſins; for if we beleeve to get the inheritance of heaven

Quare.
Anſwer.

Anno

through good works, then we beleeve not to get it through the promise of God. Or if we think to get remission of our sins, by good works, we believe not that they are forgiven us by Christ, and so we count God a liar; for God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Sons sake. You say, It is not so, but I will gain it through mine own works. So I condemn not good works, but I condemn the false trust in any works, for all then works that a man putteth confidence in, are therewith intoxicate or impoysoned, and become evil. Wherefore do good works, but beware thou do them not to get any good through them, for if thou do, thou receivest the good, not as the gift of God, but as debt unto thee, and makest thy self fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing from him for nought. What needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder heart will give us all things that we need, then we take it of him. So that if we want any thing, let us blame our selves. Presse not then to the inheritance of heaven, through presumption of thy good works; for if thou doest, thou counteest thy self holy and equall unto him, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; And so shalt thou fall as *Lucifer* fell from heaven for his pride. Thus ends M. *Patricks* Articles. And so we return to our History. When those cruell wolves had (as they supposed) clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case then they were before; for then within S. *Andrews*, yea, almost within the whole Realm (who heard of that fact) there was none found who began not to inquire, wherefore M. *Patrike Hamilton* was burnt, and when his Articles were rehearsed, Question was holden, if such Articles were necessary to be beleeved, under the pain of damnation. And so within short space, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity, insomuch that the University of S. *Andrews* and S. *Leonards* Colledge, principally by the labours of Master *Gawin Logy*, the Novises of the Abbey, and by the sub-Prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to espie the vanity of the received Superstition; yea, within few yeers after began both black and gray Friers publikely to Preach against the pride and idle life of Bishops, and against the abuses of the whole Ecclesiasticall estate; amongst whom was one called *Will. Arithe*, who in a Sermon preached in *Dundie*, spake somewhat more liberally against the licentious life of the Bishops, then they could well bear. He spake further against the abuse of curfing and of Miracles. The Bishop of *Brechain*, having his Parasites and Jack-men in the Towne, buffeted the Frier, and called him Hereticke. The Frier impatient of the injury received, past to S. *Andrews*, and did communicate the heads of his Sermon with Master *John Mair*, whose word then was holden as an Oracle, in matters of Religion; and being assured of him, that such Doctrine might well be defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no Heresie. There was one day appointed to the said Frier, to make repetition of the same Sermon: and advertisement was given to all such as was offended at the former, to be present. And so in the Parish Church of S. *Andrews* upon the day appointed, appeared the said Frier, and had amongst his Auditors, M. *John Mair*, M. *George Lockart*, the Abbot of *Cambuskeneth*, M. *Patricke Hepburn* Prior of Saint *Andrews*, with all the Doctours, and Masters of the Universities.

1. Note.

Note.

Here you see verified, *Cinis Martyrum, semen Ecclesiæ.*

M. *Gawyn Logy.*

Munks Preach Bishops devices

M. *John Mair*, whose History of *Scotland* we have, &c. He wrote upon the 4 Evangelists, &c.

The

Anno

Arithe his Sermon.

The theme of his Sermon was; *Verity is the strongest of all things.* His discourse of cursing was, That if it were warily used, it were the most fearfull thing upon the face of the earth; for it were the very separation of man from God; but that it should not be used rashly, and for every light cause, but onely against open and incorrigible sinners: but now, said he, the avarice of Priests, and the ignorance of their Office, hath caused it altogether to be vile-provided. For the Priest (saith he) whose Duty and Office is to pray for the people, standeth up on Sunday, and cryeth, *Anne* has lost her Spindle; there is a Flail stollen behinde the barne; The goodwife on the other side of the gate hath lost a horne spoon; Gods curse and mine I give to them that knoweth of thy goods, and restoreth them not. How the people mocked their cursing, he further told a merry tale, How after a Sermon that he made at *Dumfermeling*, he came to a house where gossips were drinking their Sundayes penny; and he being drie, asked drink; Yes Father (said one of the gossips) ye shall have drinke, but ye must first resolve one doubt which is risen among us, to wit, What servant will serve a man best at least expences? The good Angel, said I, who is mans keeper, who maketh good service without expences. Tush, said the gossip, we mean no such high matters; we mean, What honest man will do greatest service for least expences. And while I was musing (said the Frier) what that should mean, she said, *I see, father, that the greatest Clerks are not the wisest men.* Know ye not how the Bishops and their Officials serve us husbandmen, Will they not give to us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last for a yeare, to curse all that look over our ditch, and that keeps our Corne better nor the sleeping boy that will have three shillings of Fee, a shirt, and a pair of shooes in the yeer. And therefore if their cursing do any thing, we hold the Bishops the cheapest servants in that behalf, that are within the Realme. As concerning Miracles, he declared what deligence the ancients took to try true miracles from false. But now, said he, the greedinesse of Priests not onely receive false miracles, but also they cherish and hire knaves for that purpose, that their Chappels may be the better renowned, and Offerings may be augmented. And thereupon are many Chappels founded, as that if our Lady were mightier, and that she took more pleasure in one place than in another; As of late dayes our Lady of *Karsgreng* hath hopped from one green hillock to another: But honest men of Saint *Andrewes* (said he) if ye love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or else send them in good honest company; for if ye knew what miracles were wrought there, ye would neither thank God nor our Lady. And thus he meerly tanted their Priests of whoredome and adultery used at such devotion.

False Miracles.

Another Article was judged more hard; for he alleadged the common Law, That the Civill Magistrate might correct the Church-men, and deprive them of their Benefices for open vices. Another day the same Frier made another Sermon of the Abbot of *Unreason*, unto whom, and whose Laws, he compareth Prelats of that age; for they were subject to no Laws, no more than was the Abbot of *Unreason.* And among other things, he told such a merry jest: There was, said he, a Prelate, or at least a Prelats Peere, a true servant to the King of Love, who upon a night after Sup-

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Supper, asked of his Gentlemen, by the faith that they ought to the king of Love, that they truely declare how many sundry women every one of them had, and how many of them were mens wives. One answered, He had lien with five, and two of them were married. The other answered, I have had seven, and three of them are married. It came last to my Lord Abbot himself, who making it very nice for a little space, gave in the end a plain confession, and said, I am the youngest man, and yet have had the round dozen, and seven of them are mens wives. Now said the Frier, This god and king of Love, to whom our Prelates do homage, is the master devill of hell, from whom such fruits and works do proceed. This Frier was known by his proper tokens to have been Prior *Patrike Hepburne*, now Bishop of *Murray*, who to this day hath continued in the profession that he hath made to his god and king of love.

It was supposed, notwithstanding this kinde of preaching, that this Frier remained Papist in his heart: For the other Friers fearing to lose the *Benediction* of the Bishops, to wit, Their *Malt and their Meale*, and their other appointed Pensions, caused the said Frier to flie to *England*, where for defence of the people and Papistry, he was cast into prison at King *Henries* commandment. But so it pleased God to open the mouth of *Balaams* own Asse to cry out against the vitious lives of the Clergie of that age.

Shortly after this, new consultation was taken there that some should be burnt; for men began liberally to speak. A merry Gentleman named *John Lindsey*, familiar to Bishop *James Betonne*, standing by when consultation was had, said, My Lord, If ye burne any more, except ye follow my counsell, ye will utterly destroy your selves; if ye will burne them, let them be burnt in hollow Cellars; for the smoke of Master *Patrike Hammilton* hath infected as many as it blew upon. Thus it pleased God that they should be tanted in their own face. But here followeth the most merry of all: One *Alexander Furrour*, who had been imprisoned seven yeers in the Tower of *London*, Sir *John Dungwaill* (according to the charity of Church-men) entertained his wife, and wasted the poor mans substance; for the which cause at his returning, he spake more liberally of Priests, then they could bear: And so was he declared to be accused for heresie, and called to his answer to Saint *Andrewes*, he leapt up merrily upon the Scaffold, and casting a gambade, said, Where are the rest of the Players? Master *Andrew Olyphant* offended therewith, said, It shall be no Play to you, Sir, before ye depart, and so began to reade his Accusation; the first Article whereof was, *That he despised the Masse.* His answer was, *I heare more Masses in eight dayes, than three Bishops there sitting say in a yeare.* Accused secondly of *the contempt of the Sacraments. The Priests*, said he, *were the most common contemners of Sacraments, and specially of Matrimony.* And that he witnessed by many of the Priests there present, and named the mans wife with whom they had medled, and especially Sir *Iohn Dungwaill*, who had seven yeers together abused his own wife, and consumed his substance; and said, because I complain of such injuries, I am here summoned and accused as one that is worthy to be burnt: For Gods sake, said he, will ye take wives of your own, that I and others whom ye have abused, may be revenged upon you. Then Bishop *Gawin Dumbar*, named the old Bishop of *Aberdein*, thinking to justifie himself

Alexander Furrour his Examination before the Bishops.

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ſelf before the people, ſaid, Carle, thou ſhalt not know my wife. The ſaid *Alexander* anſwered, My Lord, ye are too old, but with the grace of God I ſhall drink with your daughter or I depart; and thereat was ſmiling of the beſt, and loud laughter of ſome, for the Biſhop had a daughter married with *Andrew Balfour* in that Town. Then the Biſhop bade away with the carle. But he anſwered, Nay, I will not depart this hour, for I have more to ſpeak againſt the vices of Prieſts, than I can expreſſe this whole day. And ſo after divers purpoſes, they commanded him to burn his Bill. And he demanding the cauſe, they ſaid, Becauſe ye have ſpoken theſe Articles whereof ye are accuſed. His anſwer was, The great devill beare them away that firſt and laſt ſaid them; and ſo he took the Bill, and chawing it, he ſpat it in Maſter *Andrew Olyphants* face, ſaying, Now burn it or drown it, whether ye wil, ye hear no more of me. But I muſt have ſomewhat of every one of you, to begin my pack againe, which a Prieſt and my wife, a Prieſts whore, have ſpent. And ſo every Prelat and rich Prieſt, glad to be quit of his evill, gave him ſomewhat, and ſo departed he, for he underſtood nothing of Religion. But ſo fearfull it was then to ſpeak any thing againſt Prieſts, that the leaſt word ſpoken againſt them, yea, albeit it was ſpoken in a mans ſleep, was judged Hereſie, and that was practiſed upon *Richard Carmichell*, yet living in *Fyfe*, who being young, and Singer in the Chappel Royal of *Sterelin*, happened in his ſleep to ſay, The devill take away the Prieſts, for they are a greedy pack. He therefore accuſed by Sir *George Clapperton*, Dean of the ſaid Chappel, was compelled forthwith to burne his Bill. But God ſhortly after raiſed up againſt them ſtronger Champions: For *Alexander Seton*, a black Frier, of good learning and eſtimation, began to blame the corrupt doctrine of Papiſtry. For the ſpace of a whole Lent, he taught the Commandment onely, ever beating in the ears of his auditors, That the Law of God had of many yeers not been truely taught: for mens Tradition had obſcured the purity of it. Theſe were his accuſtomed Propoſitions; 1. Chriſt Jeſus is the end and perfection of the Law. 2. There is no ſin, where Gods Law is not violated. 3. To ſatisfie for ſins, lies not in mans power; but the remiſſion thereof cometh by unfained Repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father mercifull in Jeſus Chriſt his Son. While oftentimes he puts his auditors in minde of this and the like Heads; he maketh no mention of Purgatory, Pardons, Pilgrimage, prayer to Saints, nor of ſuch trifles. The dumb Doctors, and the reſt of that forſworne rabble began to ſuſpect him, and yet ſaid they nothing publikely, till Lent was ended. And he paſſed to *Dundie*: And then one in his abſence, hired to that purpoſe, openly condemned the whole Doctrine that before he had taught. Which coming to the ears of the ſaid Frier *Alexander*, then being in *Dundie*, without delay he returned to Saint *Andrewes*, cauſed immediately to toll the Bell, and to give ſignification that he would preach, as that he did indeed, in the which Sermon he affirmeth (and that more plainly than at any other time) whatſoever in all his whole Sermons he had taught before, the whole Lent paſt; adding, That within *Scotland* there were no true Biſhops, if that Biſhops ſhould be known by ſuch notes and vertues as S. *Paul* requires in Biſhops. This delation flew with wings to the Biſhops ears, who without

Alexander Seton, a black Frier.

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out further delay sent for the said Friar *Alexander*, who began sharply to accuse that he had so slanderously spoken of the dignitie of Bishops, as to say, That it behoved a Bishop to be a Preacher, or else he were but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own bellie. The man being witty, and minding that which was his most assured defence, said, My Lord, The reporters of such things are manifest liars. Whereat the Bishop rejoyced, and said, Your answer pleaseth me well; I never could think of you that ye would be so foolish as to affirm such things: Where are the knaves that have brought me this tale? Who comparing and affirming the same that they did before, he still replyed, That they were liers. But while the witnesses were multiplied, and men were brought to attention, he turned him to the Bishop, and said, My Lord, ye may hear and consider, what ears these Asses have, who cannot discern betwixt *Paul*, *Esay*, *Zachary*, and *Malachy*, and Frier *Alexander Seton*. In very deed, My Lord, I said, That *Paul* saith, It behoveth a Bishop to be a Teacher; *Esay* said, That they that fed not the flock are dumb dogs; and *Zachary* saith, They are idle Pastors: I of mine own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced: At whom, my Lord, if ye be not offended, justly ye cannot be offended at me. And so yet again, my Lord, I say, That they are manifest liars that reported unto you that I said, That ye and others that preach not, are no Bishops, but belly-gods. Albeit after that the Bishop was highly offended, as well at the scoffe and bitter mock, as at the bold liberty of that learned man, yet durst he not hazard for that present, to execute his malice conceived. For nought only feareth he the learning, and bold spirit of the man, but also the favour that he had, as well of the people, as of the Prince, King *James* the fifth, with whom he had good credite, for he was at that time his Confessor, and had exhorted him to the fear of God, to the meditation of Gods Law, and unto purity of life. But the said Bishop, with his complices, foreseeing what danger might come to their estate, if such familiarity should continue betwixt the Prince and a man so learned, and so repugning to their affections, laboureth by all means to make the said Frier *Alexander* odious unto the King, and easily found the means by the gray Friers (who by their hypocrisie deceived many) to traduce the innocent as an Heretick. This accusation was easily believed of the young Prince; who being much given to the lusts of the flesh, abhorred all counsell that repugned thereto. And because he did remember what a terrour the admonitions of the said *Alexander* was unto his blinded conscience, without resistance he subscribed to their accusation, affirming that he knew more then they did in that matter. For he understood well enough that he smelled of the new Doctrine, by such things as he had shewed to him under Confession. And therefore he promised that he should follow the counsell of the Bishops in punishing of him, and of all others of that Sect. These things understood by the said *Alexander*, as well by the information of his friends and familiars, as by the strange countenance of the King unto him; provideth the next way to avoid the fury of a misled Prince, and so in his habit he departeth the Realme; and coming to *Berwicke*, wrote back again to the King his Complaint and Admonition;

Note.

James the fifth.

Note.

nition; The very Tenour and Copy whereof followeth, and is this. Anno

Alexander Seton his Letter.

MOst gracious Soveraigne Lord, under the Lord and King of all, of whom onely thy Highnesse and Majestie hast power and authority, to exercise Justice within this thy Realme, under God, who is King and Lord of all Realms, and thy Majestie, and all mortall kings are but onely servants unto that onely immortall Prince, Christ Jesus, &c. It is not, I wot, unknowne to thy gracious Highnesse; how that thy Majesties sometime servant and Orator (and ever shall be to my lives end) is departed out of thy Realm; unto the next adjacent of *England*; nevertheleſſe, I believe the cause of my departing is unknown to thy gracious Majesty: Which onely is, Because the Bishops and Church-men of thy Realm have had heretofore such authority upon thy subjects, that apparently they were rather King, and thou the subject; which unjust Regiment is of it self false, and contrary to holy Scripture, and Gods Law. Then thou art the King and Master, and they thy subjects, which is very true, and testified expresly by the Word of God. And also because they will give no man of any degree or state (whom they often call Hereticks) audience, time, nor place to speak and have defence, which is against all Law, both the old Law (called the Law of *Moses*) and the new Law of the Gospel. So that if I might have had audience and place to speak, and have shewed my just defence, conformable to the Law of God, I should never have fled to any other Realm; suppose it should have cost me my life. But because I believed that I should have no audience, nor place to answer (they are so great with thy Majestie) I departed not doubting, but moved of God, unto a better time; that God illuminate thy Majestie, even to give every man audience (as thou shouldst and mayst, and is bound by the Law of God) who are accused to the death. And to certifie thy Highnesse that these are no vain words, but of deed and effect, here I offer me to thy Majestie to come in thy Realme again, so that thy Majestie will give me audience, and hear what I have for me of the Law of God: and cause any Bishop or Abbot, Friar or Secular, which is most cunning (some of them cannot reade their Mattins, who are made Judges of Heresie) to impugne me by the Law of God; and if my part be found wrong, thy Majestie being present and Judge, I refuse no pain worthy or condigne for my fault. And if that I convince them by the Law of God, and that they have nothing to lay to my charge, but the law of man, and their own inventions to uphold their own glory and pridefull life, and daily scourging of thy poor subjects; I refer my self to thy Majestie as Judge; Whether he hath the victory that holds him at the Law of God, which cannot fail, or be false, or they that holds them at the Law of man, which is very oft plain contrary, and against the Law of God; and therefore of necessity false, and full of lies. For all things that is contrary to the veritie (which is Christ and his Law) is of necessity a lie. And to witnesse that this comes of all my heart, I shall remain at *Berwike* while I get thy Majesties answer, and shall without fail return, having thy hand write, that I may have audience, & place to speak. No more I desire of thee, whereof if I had been sure, I should never

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have departed; and that thou mayst know the truth thereof, if fear of the justnesse of my Cause, or dread of persecution for the same, had moved me to depart, I could not so pleasantly revert, onely distrust was the cause of my departing. Pardon me to say that which lieth to thy Majesties charge. Thou art bound by the Law of God (suppose they falsly lie, saying it pertaineth not to thy Majestie to intermeddle with such matters) to cause every man in any case accused of his life, to have their just defence & their accusers produced conform to their own law. They blinde thy Matie eyes, that knows nothing of thy law: but if I prove not this out of their own law, I offer me to the death. Thy Matie therefore by experience, may daily learn (seeing they neither fear the King of Heaven, as their lives testifie, neither thee their Naturall Prince, as their usurped power in their actions shews) why thy Highnes should be no longer blinded. Thou maist consider that they pretend nothing else, but onely the maintenance and upholding of their barded mules, augmenting of their insatiable avarice, and continuall overthrowing and swallowing up thy poore subjects; neither preaching nor teaching out of the Law of God (as they should) the rude ignorant people, but contend who may be most high, most rich, and neerest thy Majesty; to put thy Temporal Lords and Lieges out of thy counsell and favour, who should be, and are most tender servants to thy Majesty in all time of need, to the defence of thee and thy Crown: And where they desire thy Majesty to to put out thy Temporal Lords and Lieges, because they despise their vitious life, What else intend they, but onely thy death and destruction, as thou maist easily perceive: suppose they colour their false intent and minde with the pursuit of heresie; for when thy Barons are put downe, What art thou but the king of Land, and not of men, and then of necessity must be guided by them: and there (no doubt) where a blinde man is guide, must be a fall in the mire. Therefore let thy Majesty take boldnes and authority, which thou hast of God, and suffer not their cruell persecution to proceed, without audience given to him that is accused, and just place of defence: and then, no doubt, thou shalt have thy subjects hearts, and all that they can or may do in time of need, tranquility, justice, and policy, and finally, the Kingdom of the heavens. May it please you to give one Copy of this to the Clergie, and keep the Original, and thy Majestie shall have experience, if I go against one word that I have spoken. I shall daily make my hearty devotion for thy Majestie, and for the prosperity and welfare of thy body and soul. I doubt not but thy gracious Highnesse will give answer to this Letter, unto the Presenter of it unto thy Highnesse. At *Berwike*, by thy Highnesse servant and Orator. *Sic subscribitur*, *Alexander Seton.*

This Letter was delivered to the Kings own hands, and of many read; but what could greatly avail, where the pride and corruption of Prelats commanded what they pleased; and the flattery of Courtiers fostered the unadvised Prince in all dissoluteness, by which means they made him obsequious unto them. From the death of that constant Witnesse of Jesus Christ; M. *Patrike Hammilton*, God disclosing the wickedness of the wicked, as before we have heard. There was one *Forrest* of *Linlytquow* taken, who

There was another Frier *Forrest* hanged in *Smithfield.* 1538.

who after long imprisonment in the said Tower of S. *Andrews* was adjudged to the fire, by the said Bishop *James Betonne* and his Doctors, for no other crime, but because he had a new Testament in English. Further of that History we have not, except that he died constantly, and with great patience at S. *Andrews*. After whose death the flame of Persecution ceased, till the death of M. *Norman Gurlaw*, the space of ten yeeres, or thereabout, not that the bloody beasts ceased by all means to suppresse the lyght of God, and to trouble such as in any sort were suspected to abhorre their corruption; but because the Realme in these times was troubled with intestine and cruell warres, in the which much blood was shed; first at *Melrosse*, betwixt the *Dowglas* and *Balclench*, in the yeere of God 1526. the 24. day of July: Next at *Lynlythcow*, betwixt the *Hamiltons* and the Earle of *Lenox*, who was sisters son to the Earle of *Arran*, where the said Earle with many others lost his life, the thirteenth day of September, in the same yeere: And last, betwixt the King himself and the foresaid *Dowglas*, whom he banished the Realme, and held him in exile during his whole dayes. By reason of these, we say, and of other troubles, the Bishops and their bloody bands could not finde the time so favourable unto them as they required, to execute their Tyrannie.

Anno

Note.

For 10 yeers the persecution ceaseth.

In this middle time, so did the wisedome of God provide, that *Henry* the eight, King of *England*, did abolish from his Realme the name and authority of the Pope of *Rome*, commanded the Bible to be read in *English*, suppressed the Abbeys and other places of Idolatry, with their Idols, which gave great hope to divers Realmes, that some godly Reformation should thereof have ensued: And therefore from this our Countrey did divers learned men, and others that lived in feare of Persecution, repaire to that Realme, where albeit they found not such purity as they wished (and therefore divers of them sought other countreys) yet they escaped the tyrannie of mercilesse men, and were reserved to better times, that they might fructifie within his Church in divers places and parts, and in divers vocations. *Alexander Setonne* remained in *England*, and publikely (with great praise and comfort of many) taught the Gospel in all sincerity certain yeers. And albeit the craftinesse of *Gardner* Bishop of *Winchester* and of others, circumvented the said *Alexander*, so that they caused him at *Pauls* Crosse, to affirme certaine things that repugned to his former Doctrine: yet it is no doubt but that God potently had assisted him in all his life, and that also in his death (which shortly after followed) he found the mercy of his God, whereupon he ever exhorted all men to depend. *Alexander Alæsius*, Master *John Fyfe*, and that famous man Doctor *Machabeus* departed unto Dutchland, where by Gods providence they were distributed to severall places. *Makdowell* for his singular prudence, besides his Learning and Godlinesse, was elected borrow-Master in one of their steads. *Alæsius* was appointed to the Universitie of *Lipsia*, and so was Master *John Fyfe*, where for their honest behaviour and great erudition they were holden in admiration with all the godly. And in what honour, credit, and estimation Doctour *Machabeus* was, with *Christian*, king of *Denmark*, *Cawpmanhowen* and famous men of divers nations can testifie. This did God provide for his servants, and did frustrate the expe-

1534.
1538.

The civil troubles give some rest to Gods flock for a time.

Note.

Macdowel.

Alæsius.

John Fyfe.

Machabeus.

Note.

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ctation of these bloody beasts, who by the death of one (he meanes M. *Patrick Hamilton*) in whom the lyght of God did clearly shine, intended to have suppressed Christs Trueth for ever within this Realme, but the contrary had God decreed: for his death was the cause (as is said) that many did awake from the deadly sleep of ignorance; and so did Jesus Christ the onely true Lyght shine unto many, for the way taken of one. And albeit that these notable men did never after (M. *John Fyfe* onely excepted) comfort their countrey with their bodily presence, yet made he them fructifie in his Church, and raised them up Lyghts out of darknesse, to the praise of his own mercy, and to the just condemnation of them that then ruled; To wit, of the King, Counsell, and Nobility, yea, of the whole people, who suffered such notable personages without crimes, counted to be unjustly persecuted, and so exiled; others were after even so dealt withall, but of them we shall speak in their own place.

No sooner gate the Bishops opportunity (which alwayes they sought) but so soon renewed they the battell against Jesus Christ. For the aforesaid leprous Bishop in the yeere of God 1534. caused to be summoned Sir *William Kyrk*, *Adam Dayis*, *Henry Kernes*, *John Stewart* of *Leyth*, with divers others, such as Master *William Johnston* Advocate, Master *Henry Henderson*, Schoole-master of *Edenburgh*, of whom some compeered in the Abbey Kyrk of *Halyrud-house*, and so abjured, and publikely burnt their Bills: others compeered not, and therefore was exiled. But in judgement were produced two, to wit, *David Straton*, a Gentleman, and Master *Norman Gowrlay*, a man of reasonable erudition, of whom we may shortly speak. In Master *Norman* appeared knowledge, albeit joyned with weaknesse; But in *David Straton* could onely be espied for the first, a hatred against the pride and avaritiousnesse of Priests, for the cause of his delation was, he had made to himselfe one Fish-boat to go to the sea; The Bishop of *Murray*, then being Prior of Saint *Andrews*, and his agents, urged him for the tythe thereof; His answer was; If they would have tythe of that which his servants wan in the sea, it were but reason that they should come and receive it where they got the stocke, and so as it was constantly affirmed, he caused his servants to cast the tenth fish in the sea again: Processe of cursing was laid against him for not paying such tythes, which when he contemned, he was summoned to answer for *Heresie*. It troubled him vehemently, and therefore he began to frequent the company of such as were godly; for before he had been a man very stubborne, and one that despised all reading (chiefly of those things that were godly) but miraculously, as it were, he appeareth to be changed, for he delighteth in nothing but in hearing of reading (for himselfe could not reade) and was a vehement exhorter of all men to concord and quietnesse, and the contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of the Laird of *Dun Areskin*, whom God in those daies had marvellously illuminated: upon a day as the Laird of *Lawriston* that yet liveth, then being a young man, was reading unto him in the New Testament, in a certain quiet place in the fields, as God had appointed, he chanced to read these Sentences of our Master Jesus Christ; *He that denieth me before men, or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the presence of my Father,*

1534. This yeere was Lawes made against the Reformation, the Pope having sent to *Scotland* a Legat the yeere before. 6 Accused for Heresie.

Note.

and

and before his Angels. At which words, he suddenly being as one revived, cast himselfe upon his knees, and extending both hand and visage constantly to the heaven a reasonable time, at length he burst forth in these words; *O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me: but Lord, for thy mercies sake, let me never deny thee, nor thy Trueth, for fear of death or corporall paine.* The issue declared that his prayer was not vain; for when he with the aforesaid Master *Norman*, was produced in judgement in the Abbey of *Halyrud-House*, the King himselfe (all clad in red) being present, great labour was made, that the said *David Straton* should have recanted, and burnt his Bill: But he ever standing at his defence, alleadging that he had not offended, in the end was adjudged to the fire, and then when he perceived the danger, asked grace at the King (which he would willingly have granted unto him) the Bishops proudly answered, That the Kings hands were bound in that case, and that he had no grace to give, to such as by their Law were condemned. And so was he with the said Master *Norman*, after dinner, upon the seven and twentieth day of August, in the yeere of our Lord 1534. aforesaid, led to a place besides the *roode of greene side:* and there they two were both hanged and burnt, according to the mercy of the Papisticall Church. To that same diet were summoned as before we have said, others of whom some escaped into *England*, and so for that present escaped the death. This their tyranny, notwithstanding, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increase within this Realme, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in those dangerous dayes was used to the comfort of many; but chiefly by Merchants and Mariners, who frequenting other countreys, heard the true Doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the Papisticall Religion openly rebuked: Amongst whom were those of *Dondie* and *Lieth* principals, against whom was made a very strait inquisition, by *David Beton*, cruell Cardinall. And divers were compelled to abjure and burne their Bills, some in Saint *Andrews*, and some at *Edinburgh*. About the same time, Captaine *John Borthwick* Provost of *Lithcow*, was burnt in figure, but by Gods providence escaped their furie. And this was done for a spectacle, and triumph to *Mary* of *Lorraine*, lately arrived from *France*, as wife to *James* the fifth King of Scots: what plagues she brought with her, and how they yet continue, such as are not blinde may manifestly see. The rage of these bloody beasts proceeded so farre, that the Kings Court it selfe escaped not that danger; for in it divers were suspected, and some accused. And yet ever did some lyght burst out in the midst of darknesse; for the trueth of Christ Jesus entred even into the Cloisters as well of Friars and Monks as of Channons. *John Lyn*, a gray Frier, left his hypocriticall habit, and the den of those murtherers, the gray Friers. A black Frier, called Frier *Killor*, set forth the History of Christs passion in forme of a Play, which he both Preached and practised openly in *Sterlin*, the King himselfe being present upon a Good-Friday in the Morning, in the which all things were so lively expressed, that the very simple people understood and confessed, That as the Priests and obstinate Pharisees perswaded the people to refuse Christ Jesus, and caused *Pilate* to condemne him;

Anno

2 Gentlemen *Straton* and *Gowrley* burnt.

See how the Bishops did intrench upon the good disposition of the King, and his Soveraigne.

1534.

Burning of the Bill was a signe of recantation.

1537.

Lesly writes this done, 1540. *John Berthwick* fled into *England*, from whence *Henry* sent him into *Germany* to the Protestant Princes.

So

Anno

So did the Bishops, and men called Religious, blinde the people, and perswade Princes and Judges to persecute such as professe Christ Jesus his blessed Gospel. This plain speaking so inflamed the hearts of all that bare the Beasts mark, that they ceased not, till the said Friar *Killor*, and with him Frier *Beaverege*, Sir *Duncane Symson*, *Robert Forester* Gentleman, and Deane *Thomas Forrat*, Channon regular, and Vicar of *Dolour*, a man of upright life, who altogether were cruelly murthered in one fire upon the Castle hill the last of February, in the yeere of our Lord 1538. This cruelty was used by the aforesaid Cardinall, the Chancellour, the Bishop of *Glasgow*, and the incestuous Bishop of *Dumblane*. After that this cruelty was used in *Edinburgh* upon the Castle hill, to the effect that the rest of the Bishops might shew themselves no lesse fervent to suppresse the lyght of God, then he of S. *Andrews* was, were apprehended two of the Diocesse of *Glasgow*; The one named *Jeronimus Russell*, a gray Frier, a young man, of a meeke nature, quicke spirit, and good Learning; And one *Alexander Kennedie*, who passed not eighteen yeers of age, one of excellent wit in vulgar Poesie. To assist the Bishop of *Glasgow* in that cruell judgement, or at least to dip his hands in the blood of the Saints of God, were sent Master *John Lawder*, Master *Andrew Olyphant*, and Frier *Meitman*, servants of Satan, apt for that purpose; The day appointed to the cruelty approached; The two poore Saints of God were presented before those bloody butchers, grievous were the crimes that were laid to their charge: *Kennedie* at the first was faint, and gladly would have recanted: but while the place of repentance was denied unto him, the spirit of God, which is the spirit of all comfort, began to work in him; yea, the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in visage, as in tongue and word, for his countenance began to be cheerfull, and with a joyfull voice upon his knees he said; *O eternall God, how wonderfull is that love and mercy that thou beareſt unto mankinde, and unto me the most caitife and miserable wretch above all others; For, even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ my oncly Saviour, and so have cast my self into everlasting damnation; Thou by thine own hand hast pulled me from the very bottome of hell, and made me to feele that heavenly comfort, which takes from me that ungodly feare wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defie death, do what ye please; I praise my God, I am ready.* The godly and learned *Jeronimus*, railed upon by these godlesse Tyrants, answered; *This is your houre, and power of darknesse; Now sit ye as Judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day shall come, when our innocencie shall appeare, and that ye shall see your own blindnesse, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfill the measure of your iniquity.* While that these servants of God thus behaved themselves, a variance ariseth betwixt the Bishop and the beasts that came from the Cardinall; For the Bishop said, *I thinke it better to spare these men, then to put them to death:* Whereat the idiot Doctors offended, said, *What will ye do my Lord? will ye condemne all that my Lord Cardinall and the other Bishops and we have done? If so ye do, ye shew your selfe enemy to the Church and us, and so we will repute you, be ye assured.* At which words, the faithlesse man afraid, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the desire of the wicked. The meeke and gentle *Jeronimus Russell* comforted

Foure burnt.

1538.

1539.

Ieremie Russell.

Alex. Kennedie.

Kennedie his thanks to God.

His speech to the Judges.

Note.

comforted the other with many comfortable ſentences, oft ſaying unto him, *Brother, fear not, more mighty is he that is in us, than he that is in the world: the pain that we ſhall ſuffer is ſhort, and ſhall be light; but our joy and conſolation ſhall nevea have end: and therefore let us contend to enter in, unto our Maſter and Saviour, by the ſame ſtrait way which he hath taken before us: Death cannot deſtroy us, for it is deſtroyed already by him for whoſe ſake we ſuffer.* With theſe and the like comfortable ſentences they paſſed to the place of execution, and conſtantly triumphed over death and Sathan, even in the midſt of the flaming fire. And thus did thoſe cruell beaſts intend nothing but murther in all the quarters of this Realme: for ſo far had they blinded and corrupted the inconſiderate Prince, that he gave himſelf to obey the tyrannie of thoſe bloodie beaſts: and he made a ſolemne Vow, That none ſhould be ſpared that was ſuſpect of Hereſie, yea, although it were his own ſon. To preſſe and puſh him forward in this his fury, he lacked not flatters enow; for many of his Minions were penſioners to Prieſts: Amongſt whom, *Oliver Synclare*, yet remaining enemy to God, was principall. And yet did not God ceaſe to give that blinded Prince documents that ſome ſudden puniſhment was to fall upon him, if he did not repent, and amend his life; and that his own mouth did confeſſe: For after that Sir *James Hamilton* was beheaded (juſtly or unjuſtly we diſpute not) this Viſion came unto him, as to his familiars himſelf did declare) the ſaid Sir *James* appeared unto him, having in his hands a drawn ſword, with the which he ſtroke from the King both the arms, ſaying to him theſe words, *Take that, till thou receive a finall payment for all thy impiety.* This Viſion with ſorrowful countenance, he ſhewed on the morrow, and ſhortly thereafter died his two ſons, both within the ſpace of 24 hours, yea, ſome ſay within the ſpace of ſix hours. In his own preſence *George Steill*, his greateſt flatterer, and greateſt enemy to God that was in his Court, dropped off his horſe, and died not ſaying one word that ſame day, that in audience of many, the ſaid *George* had refuſed his portion of Chriſts Kingdom, if the prayers of the Virgin *Mary* ſhould not bring him thereto. How terrible a Viſion the ſaid Prince ſaw lying in *Lintlightow* that night that *Thomas Scot*, Juſtice Clerk, died in *Edinburgh*, men of good credite can yet report: For afraid at midnight, or after, he called aloud for Torches, and raiſed all that lay beſide him in the Pallace, and told that *Thomas Scot* was dead; for he had been at him with a company of devills, and had ſaid unto him theſe words; *O wo to the day that ever I knew thee or thy ſervice; for ſerving of thee, againſt God, againſt his ſervants, and againſt Juſtice, I am adjudged to endleſſe torment.* How terrible voyces the ſaid *Thomas Scot* pronounced before his death, men of all eſtates heard; and ſome that yet live can witneſſe his voice ever was, *Juſto Dei judicio condemnatus ſum*; that is, I am condemned by Gods juſt Judgement. He was moſt oppreſſed for the delation and falſe accuſation of ſuch as profeſſed Chriſts Evangel, as M. *Thomas Mairioribanckes*, and M. *Heus Rig*, then advocates, did confeſſe to M. *Henry Balnaves*, who from the ſaid *Thomas Scot* came to him, as he and M. *Thomas Ballenden* were ſitting in Saint *Giles* Church, and asked him forgiveneſſe of the ſaid *Thomas*. None of theſe terrible forewarnings could either change or alter the heart of the infortunate and miſled Prince, but

Anno

Sir *James Hamilton* ſaid, That God had juſtly brought him to that, becauſe he had offended often, to gain the King's favour, by unjuſt ways. *Note.*

Anno

still he did proceed in his accustomed wayes. For in the midst of these evils, he caused to put hands on that notable man M. *George Buchanan*, to whom for his singular erudition and honest behaviour, was committed the charge to instruct some of his naturall children: But by the mercifull providence of God he escaped (albeit with great difficulty) the rage of those that sought his life; and remaines alive to this day in the yeere of God 1566. to the glory of God, to the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of those that delight in letters and vertue. That singular Worke of *Davids* Psalms, in Latin Meeter and Poesie, besides many others, can witnesse the rare graces of God given to that man, which that Prince by instigation of the gray-Friers and of his other flatterers, would altogether have devoured, if God had not provided remedy to his servant by escaping (the keepers being asleep he went out at the window) This cruelty and persecution, notwithstanding the monsters and hypocrites, the gray-Friers, day by day came farther in contempt, for not onely did the learned espie and detest their abominable hypocrisie, but also men in whom no such graces or gifts were thought to have been, began plainly to paint the same forth to the people. As this Ryme which here we have inserted for the same purpose, made by *Alexander* Earle of *Glevearne* to this day 1566 alive can witnesse, intituled, *An Epistle directed from the holy Hermite of* Larites, *to his Brethren the gray-Friers.*

George Buchanan by the Kings command, then angry with the Friers, did write this Satyre against them, who thereafter having made their peace with the King, would not be appeased with *George Buchanan* whom the king gave over to their importunity and so he was put in prison.

The Earle of *Gleaverne* his verse upon the Gray Friers.

I Thomas *Hermite in Larite*
Saint Francis *brother heartily greete,*
Beseeching you with firme intent
To be watchfull and diligent
For thir Lutherans rissen of new
Our ordour dayly doth pursew
These smacks do set their whole intent
To read this Engls' new Testament
And sayth we have them cleane desceivd
Therefore in haste they must be stopped
Our stately hypocrisie they pryse
And do blaspheme us on this wise
Saying that we are heretiks
And false loud lying Matin tykes
Cummerers and quellers of Christs Kyrk
Such lasie scemlers that will not wirk
But idlely our living winnes
Devouring Wolfs into Sheepe-skinnes
Hurkland with huids into our neck
With Judas *minde to* Jowcke *and* Bek
Seeking Gods people to devore
The overthrowers of Gods glore
Professors of hypocrisie.
Doctors in Idolatrie
Fishears with the feynds nette
The upclosers of heaven gate

Cancard

Anno

Cancard corrupters of the Creede
Hemlock sowers among good seed
To throw in brambles that do men twist
The hye way kennand them from Christ
Monsters with the Beasts marke
Dogs that never stintes to barke
Church men that are to Christ unkend
A sect that Sathans selfe has send
Lurking in holes lyke trator todes
Maintainers of Idolles and false godes
Fantastike fooles and frenzie flatterers
To turne from the trueth the very teachers
For to declare their whole sentence
Would much cumber your conscience
To say your fayth it is so stark
Your cord and loose cote and sark
Ye lippin may you bring to salvation
And quyte excludes Christ his passion
I dread this doctrine and it last
Shall either gar us worke or fast
Therefore with speede we must provide
And not our profit overslide
I schaip my selfe within short while
To curse our Ladie in Argyle
And there some craftie wyse to worke
Till that we builded have one Kyrk
Since miracles made by your advice
The kitterells thought they had but lyce.
The two parts to us they will bring
But orderly to dresse this thing
Aghaist I purpose for to cause gang
By counsayll of Frear Walter Lang
Which shall make certaine demonstrations
To help us in our procurations
Your holy ordor to decore
That practise he provd once before
Betwixt Kyrkcadie *and* Kinggorne
But Lymmers *made thereat such skorne*
And to his fame made such digression
Since syn he heard not the Kings confession
Though at that time he came with speede
I pray you take good will as deede
And some among your selves receave
As one worth many of the leave
What I obtaine you through his art
Reason wold ye had your part
Your order handles no money
But for other casualtie

Anno

As beefe, meale butter and cheese
Or what else you have that you please
Send your brethren and habete
As now not els but valete
Be Thomas *your brother at command*
A Culrune kethed through many a land.

After God had given unto that mis-informed Prince sufficient documents, that his warring against his blessed Gospel should not prosperously succeed. He raised up against him Warres as he did of old against divers Princes that would not hear his vôice, in the which he lost himself, as we shall hereafter heare.

The occasion of the Warre was this, HENRY *the eighth*, *King of* England, *had a great desire to have spoken with our King, and in that point travelled so long, till that he gat a full promise made to his Ambassadour*, *Lord* William Howard: *The place of meeting was appointed* Yorke, *which the King of* England *kept with such solemnitie and preparations*, *as never for such a purpose was seene in* England *before. Great brute of that journey*, *and some preparation for the same was made in* Scotland: *But in the end*, *by persuasion of the Cardinall* David Beton, *and by others of his faction*, *that journey was stayed, and the Kings promise falsified.* Whereupon were sharp Letters of reproach sent unto the King, and also unto his counsell. King *Henry* frustrate returneth to *London*, and after his indignation declared, began to fortifie with men his frontiers toward *Scotland*. There was sent to the borders, Sir *Robert Bowes*, the Earle of *Angus*, and his brother, Sir *George Dowglas*. Upon what other trifling questions (as for the debetable land and such) the Warre brake up, we omit to write. The principall occasion was the falsifying of the promises before made. Our King perceiving that Warre would rise, asked the Prelats and Churchmen, what support they would make to the sustaining of the same: for rather would he yet satisfie the desire of his Uncle, then he would hazard warre where he saw not his force able to resist. They promised mountains of gold (as Satan their father did to Christ Jesus if he would worship him) for rather would they have gone to hell, then he should have met with King *Henry*, for then thought they, *Farewell our Kingdom of Abbots, Monks, &c. And farewell*, thought the Cardinall, *his credit and glory in* France. In the end, they promised fifty thousand crowns by yeere, to be well paid so long as the Warre lasted: and further, That their servants and other that appertained to them, and were exempted from common service, should nevertheless serve in time of necessity. These vain promises lifted up in pride the heart of the unhappy king, and so begins the Warre. The Realme was Quartered, and men were laid in *Jedburgh* and *Kelso*: All men (fools we mean) bragged of victory, and in very deed the beginning gave us a faire shaw: For at the first Warden Reade which was made on Saint *Bartholomewes* day, in the yeere of our Lord, 1542. was the Warden Sir *Robert Bowes*, his brother *Richard Bowes* Captaine of *Norhame*, Sir *William Mamebery* Knight, a Bastard Sonne of the Earle of *Angus*, and *James Dowglas* of *Parkhead*, then Rebels, with a great number of Borderers Souldiers and Gentlemen taken:

The Churchmen ingage the King to warre against his Uncle.

The

The Reade was termed *Halderig*. The Earle of *Angus* and Sir *George* his brother, did narrowly escape. Our Papists and Prelats, proud of this victory, encouraged the King, so that there was nothing heard, but *All is ours: They be but Hereticks, if we be a thousand and they ten thousand, they dare not fight*; France *shall enter into one part, and we the other, and so shall* England *be conquest within a yeere.* If any man was seene to smile at such vanitie, he was no more but a Traytour and an Hereticke. And yet by these meanes men had greater liberty then they had before; as concerning their conscience, for then ceased the persecution. The Warre continued till midde September: And then was sent down the old Duke of *Norfolke*, with such an Army as a hundred yeeres before had not come into *Scotland*. They were in gathering their Forces, and setting forward of their Preparations and Munitions, which were exceeding great, till midde October and after. And then they Marched from *Barwick* and tended to the wast, ever holding *Tweid* upon their own side, and never camped from that River the space of a mile, during the whole time they continued in *Scotland*, which was ten or twelve dayes. Forces were sent up and down to *Smallame*, *Stichell*, and such places neere about, but many snappers they gat, some Corn they burnt, besides that which the great host consumed, but small bootie they carried away. The King assembled his Forces at *Fallowe* (for he was advertised that they had promised to come to *Edinburgh*) and tooke the Musters all at an houre, two dayes before *Hallowe* even. There were found with him eighteen thousand able men: Upon the Borders that awaited upon the English Army, were ten thousand good men with the Earle of *Huntlie*, Lords *Erskin*, *Seton*, and *Hume*. These were judged men aneuh to hazard Battell, albeit the other were esteemed fourty thousand. While the King lay at *Fallowe*, abiding upon the *Gunes*, and upon advertisement from the Army. The Lords began to remember how the King had been long abused by his flatterers, and principally by the Pensioners of the Prelats. It was then concluded that they would make some new remembrance of *Lauder brig*, to see if that would for a season somewhat help the state of their Country. But because the Lords could not agree among themselves upon the persons that deserved punishment (for every man favoured his friend) the whole escaped, and the purpose was opened to the King, and by him to the courtiers, who till they came to *Edinburgh* stood in no little fear: but that was suddenly forgot, as we shall after hear. While time is thus protracted, the *English* army, for want of victuals (as was bruted) retired over *Tweid* in the night, and so begin to skale & sunder; wherof the King advertised, desired the Lords and Barons to assist him to follow them into *England*; whose answer was with one consent, *That to defend his person and Realme, they would hazard life; and whatsoever they had: But to invade* England, *neither had they so just Title as they desired, neither yet could they be able to do any thing to the hurt of* England, *considering that they had long before beene absent from their houses, their provision was spent, their horses wearied, and that which was greatest of all, the time of the yeere did utterly reclaime.* This their answer seemed to satisfie the King: for he in words praised their prudent foresight and wise counsell. But the essay made to his Courtiers, and that bold

Anno

Halderig Read.

England called Hereticke, because it renounced the Pope.

Note.

Allhallow tyde.

Fallow Reade.

Note.

The Lords answer to the Kings desire.

Anno

repulse of his desires given to him in his owne face, so wounded his high stomacke (for long had he run e as himselfe listed) that he decreeth a notable revenge, which no doubt he had not failed to have executed, if God by his owne hand had not cut the dayes of his lyfe. He returnes to *Edinburgh*, the Nobility, Barons, Gentlemen, and Commons, to their habitations. And this was the second and third dayes of November.

Without longer delay at the palace of *Halyrud-house* was a new councell assembled, a councell we meane of his abusers, wherein were accusations layd against the most part of the Nobilitie; *Some were Hereticks*; *Some favourers of* England; *Some friends to the* Dowglas: and so could there be none faithfull to the King in their opinion. The Cardinall and Prelats cast fagotts in the fire with all their force, and finding the King wholly addicted to their devotion, delivered unto him a schroll, containing the names of such as they in their inquisition had convict for Hereticks. For this was the order of Justice which these holy Fathers kept in condemning of innocent men; Whosoever would accuse any of Heresie, he was heard, no respect nor consideration had, what minde the accuser bare to the person accused; Whosoever was produced for witnesse, were admitted, how suspitious and infamous so ever they were; if two or three had proved any point that by their Law was holden Heresie, that was an Hereticke: There rested no more but a day to be affixed to his condemnation, and to the execution of their corrupt sentence: What man could be innocent where such Judges were partie, the world may this day consider. True it is; by false Judgement and false Witnesses have innocents been oppressed from the beginning. But this freedome to shed innocent blood got never the Devill but in the Kingdome of Antichrist, *That the innocent should die, and neither know accuser, nor yet the witnesse that testifieth against him.* But how shall the Antichrist be knowne, if he shall not be contrarious to God the Father, and his Sonne Christ Jesus, in Law, Life, and Doctrine. But this we omit. The same schroll had the Cardinall and Prelats once presented to the king before, at that time when he returned from the Navigation about the Isles, in the yeere 1534. But then it was refused by the prudent and stout councell of the Laird of *Grainge*, who opened cleerely to the King the practices of the Prelats, and the danger that thereof might ensue: Which considered by the King (for being out of his passion he was tractable) gave this answer in the palace of *Halyrud-house* to the Cardinall and Prelats, after that they had uttered their malice, and shewed what profit might arise to the Crowne, if he would follow their councell: *Packe you Juglers, get you to your charges, and reforme your owne lives; and be not instruments of discord betwixt my Nobilitie and me; Or else, I vow to God, I shall reforme you, not as the King of* Denmarke *by imprisonment doeth, neither yet as the King of* England *doth by hanging and heading: but I shall reproove you by sharpe punishments, if ever I heare such motion of you againe.* The Prelats dashed and astonished with this answer, ceased for a season to attempt any further by rigour against the Nobility. But now being informed of all proceedings by their Pensioners, *Oliver Sincler*, *Rosse* Laird of *Cragie* and others, who were to them faithfull in all things: they conclude to hazard once again their

Note.

Note.

Note.

An answer worthy of a Prince. By this answer you may see how good this Prince had bin if the Churchmen and flatterers had not abused him.

their former ſute: which was no ſooner proponed, but as ſoone it was accepted, with no ſmall regreate, by the Kings own mouth, that he had ſo long deſpiſed their counſell: *For* (ſaid he) *now I plainely ſee your words to be true; The Nobility neither deſire my honour nor countenance, for they would not ride a mile for my pleaſure to follow mine enemies: Will ye therefore finde me the meanes how that I may have a roade made into* England *without their knowledge and conſent, that it may be knowne to be mine owne reade, and I ſhall binde me to your counſell for ever.* There were gratulations and clapping of hands; there were promiſes of diligence, cloſeneſſe, and fidelity among them. Finally, concluſion was taken that the Weſt borders of *England*, which was moſt empty of men and Garriſon, ſhould be invaded. The Kings own Banner ſhould be theirs, *Oliver* the great Minion ſhould be Generall-Lieutenant, but no man ſhould be privie (except the counſell that was then preſent) of the enterpriſe, till the very day and execution thereof. The Biſhops gladly tooke the charge of that device. Letters were ſent to ſuch as they would charge, To meet the King at the day and place appointed: The Cardinall with the Earle of *Arran* was directed to go to *Hadington*, to make a ſhew againſt the Eaſt Border, when the others were in readineſſe to invade the Weſt: And thus neither lacked counſell, practiſe, cloſeneſſe, nor diligence, to ſet forward that Enterpriſe; and ſo among theſe conſulters there was no doubt of any good ſucceſſe. And ſo was the ſcroell thankfully received by the king himſelfe, and put into his owne pocket, where it remained to the day of his death, and then was found. In it were contained more then an hundred landed men, beſides other of meaner degree: Among whom was the Earle of *Arran*, notwithſtanding his ſiding with the current of the Court, and his neerneſſe in blood to the King. It was bruted that this roade was deviſed by the Lord *Maxwell*, but the certaintie thereof we have not. The night before the day appointed to the Enterpriſe, the King was found at *Lochmabane*. To him comes companies from all quarters, as they were appointed, no man knowing of another (for no generall Proclamations paſt, but privie Letters) neither yet did the multitude know any thing of the purpoſe till after midnight when that the trumpet blew. And commanded all men to march forward, and to follow the King (who was conſtantly ſuppoſed to have been in the hoſt) guides were appointed to conduct them towards *England*, as both faithfully and cloſely they did; upon the point of day they approached to the enemies ground, and ſo paſſed the water without any great reſiſtance made unto them. The forward goeth foorth, feare riſes, herſhip might have been ſeen on every ſide. The unprovided people were altogether amazed, for bright day appearing, they ſaw an army of ten thouſand men: Their Beacons on every ſide, ſend flames of fire unto the heaven: To them it was more then a wonder that ſuch a multitude could have been aſſembled and conveyed, no knowledge thereof coming to any of their Wardens. For ſupport they looked not, and ſo at the firſt they utterly deſpaired, and yet began they to aſſemble together, ten in one company, twenty in another, and ſo as the Fray proceeded their Troopes increaſed, but to no number (for *Carlile* fearing to have been aſſaulted, ſuffered no man to iſſue out of their gates) and

Anno

Abuſed Prince by Prelats.

So the evil adviſed Prince gave himſelfe over to the falſe Prop ets, I meane, the Prelats.

The Reade of Holway maſſe by *Oliver* Sinclar.

Anno

and so the greatest number that ever appeared or approached before the discomfiture past not three or four hundreth men, and yet they made hot skirmishing, as in their own ground, in such feats as they are most expert, about ten hours: When fires were kindled, and almost slackned on every side, *Oliver* thought time to shew his glory, and so incontinent was displayed the Kings Banner, and he upholden by two Spears, lift up upon mens shoulders there with sound of Trumpet was proclaimed Generall Lieutenant, and all men commanded to obey him, as the Kings own Person, under all highest pains. There was preseut the Lord *Maxwell*, Warden, to whom the regiment of things in absence of the King properly appertaineth. He heard and saw all, but thought more than he spake: There were also present the Earls of *Glencarne* and *Cassels*, with the Lord *Flemyng*, and many other Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen of *Lothaine*, *Fife*, *Angus*, and *Mearnes*. In this Mountain did the skirmishing grow hotter than it was before, shouters were heard on every side; some Scottish-men were stricken down, some not knowing the ground, were mired, and lost their horses: Some English Horse of purpose were let loose, to provoke greedie and imprudent men to presse at them, as many did, but found no advantage. While such disorder rises more and more in the Army, every man cried aloud, My Lord Lievtenant, What will ye do? Charge was given that all men should light, and go to array in order, for they would fight: Others cried, Against whom will ye fight? yonder men will fight none other wayes than ye see them do, if ye will stand here while the morrow. New purpose was taken, That the Footmen (they had there with them certain Bands of Souldiers) should safely retire towards *Scotland*, and the Horse-men should take their Horse again, and so follow in order. Great was the noyse and confusion that was heard, while that every man calleth his own sluggards; the day was neer spent, and that was the cause of the greatest fear. The Lord *Maxwell* perceiving what would be the end of such beginnings, stood upon his feet with his friends, who being admonished to take his horse, and provide for himself, answered, *Nay, I will rather abide here the chance that it shall please God to send me, than to go home, and there be hanged*; and so he remained upon his foot, and was taken while the multitude fled, and tooke the greater shame. The enemies perceiving the disorder, increased in courage. Before they shouted, but then they stroke; they shot Spears, and dagged Arrows where the Companies were thickest; some encounters were made, but nothing availeth, the Souldiers cast from them their Pikes and Culverings, and other Weapons fencible; the Horse-men left their Spears, and so without judgement all men fled. The Sea was filling, and so the water made great stop; but the fear was such, as happy was he that might get a taker: Such as passed the water, and escaped that danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the slimy mosse; the entry thereof was pleasing enough, but as they proceeded, all that took that way, either lost their horse, or else themselves and horse both. To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture without cause, hath seldome beene seen; for it is said, That where the men were not sufficient to take the Bands of prisoners; Some ran to houses, and rendered themselves to women:

Wharton was then Warden in these parts.

Stratagcme.

Note.

women. Stout *Oliver* was without ſtroke taken fleeing full manfully. And ſo was his glory (ſtinking and fooliſh proudneſſe we ſhould call it) ſuddenly turned to confuſion and ſhame. In that diſcomfiture were taken the two Earls aforeſaid, the Lords *Fleming*, *Somerwell*, and *Olyphant*, and many other Barons and Gentlemen, beſides the great multitude of ſervants. Worldly men ſay, That all this come but by miſorder and fortune, as they term it: But whoſoever hath the leaſt ſpark of the knowledge of God, may as evidently ſee the work of his hand in this diſcomfiture, as ever was ſeen in any of the Battells left to us in Regiſter by the holy Ghoſt: For what more evident Declaration have we that God fought againſt *Benhadad*, King of *Aram*, when he was diſcomfited at *Samaria*, than now we have, that God fought with his own Arm againſt *Scotland* in this former diſcomfiture? There did two hundred and thirty perſons in the Skirmiſh, with ſeven thouſand following them in the great Battell, put to flight the ſaid *Benhadad*, with thirty Kings in his Company. But here there is in this ſhamefull diſcomfiture of *Scotland*, very few more than three hundreth men, without knowledge of any Backe or Battell to follow, put to flight ten thouſand men, without reſiſtance made. There did every man recounter his marrow, till that the two hundred and thirty ſlew ſuch as matched them: But here, without ſlaughter, the multitude fled. There had thoſe of *Samaria* the Prophet of God to comfort, to inſtruct, and to promiſe Victory unto them: But *England* in that purſuit had nothing, but as God ſecretly wrought by his providence in the men that knew nothing of his working, neither yet of the cauſe thereof, more then the wall that fell upon the reſt of *Benhadads* Army knew what it did. And therefore yet again we ſay, That ſuch as in that ſudden dejection beholds not the hand of God fighting againſt pride, for freedome of his own little Flock injuſtly perſecuted, doth willingly and malicioſly obſcure the glory of God; but the end thereof is yet more notable. The certain knowledge of the diſcomfiture coming to the Kings ears (who waited upon news at *Lochmaban*) he was ſtricken with a ſudden fear and aſtoniſhment, ſo that ſcarcely could he ſpeak, or had purpoſe with any man: The night conſtrained him to remain where he was; and ſo went to bed, but roſe without reſt, or quiet ſleep: His continuall complaint was, *O fled Oliver, is Oliver taken? O fled Oliver:* And theſe words in his melancholly, and as it were carried in a Trance, repeated he from time to time to the very hour of death. Upon the morn, which was Saint *Katherines* day, returned he to *Edinburgh*, and ſo did the Cardinall from *Hadington*. But the one being aſhamed of the other, the brute of their communication came not to publike audience. The King made Inventory of his Treaſure, of all his Jewels, and other ſubſtance. And thereafter aſhamed to look any man in the face, ſecretly departed to *Fife*, and coming to *Hallzairdes*, was humanely received of the Lady of *Grange*, an ancient and godly Matron (the Laird at his coming was abſent.) In his company was onely with him *William Kirkaldy*, now Laird of *Grange*, and ſome other that waited upon his Chamber. The Lady at Supper, perceiving him penſive, beganne to comfort him, and willeth him to take the Work of God in good part.

Anno

Note.

Oliver compared to *Benhadad* againſt *Samaria.* 2 King. 20.

300 men put to flight 10000

Others ſay, at *Carlaverock*, near by the place where the defeat was given, called *Solway Moſſe.*

Anno

The King foretelleth his own death.

part: *My portion*, said he, *of this world is short, for I will not be with you fifteen dayes.* His servants repairing unto him, asked where he would have provision made for Christmas, which then approached: he answered with a disdainfull countenance, *I cannot tell, chuse you the place; but this I can tell you, Or Christmas day you will be masterlesse, and the Realme without a King.* Because of his displeasure, no man durst make contradiction unto him. So after that he had visited the Castle of *Carny*, pertaining to the Earle of *Crawfurde*, where the said Earles daughter, one of his Mistresses was, he returned to *Falkland*, and took bed. And albeit there appeared unto him no signes of death, yet he constantly affirmed, Before such a day, *I shall be dead.* In this mean time was the Queen upon the point of her delivery in *Lynlitquow*, who was delivered the 8 of *December*, in the yeere of God, 1542 yeeres, of *Mary*, that then was born, and now doth raigne for a scourge to this Realme, as the progresse of her whole life has to this day declared. The certainty that a daughter was born unto him coming to his ears, he turned from such as spake with him, and said, *The devill go with it, it will end as it began; it came from a woman, and it will end with a woman.* From *Mary*, daughter to *Robert Bruse*, married to *Walter Stuart*, he feared that his daughter should be married to one of another Name and Family; but you see by Gods providence, the Crown remains in one and the same Family and Name to this day, notwithstanding the many Plots of the pretenders to the Crowne both at home and abroad. After that he spake not many words that were sensible, but ever harped on his old song, *Fie, fled Oliver, is Oliver taken, all is lost.* In this mean time, in his great extremity, comes the Cardinall (a fit comforter for a desperate man) he cries in his eare; *Take order, Sir, with your Realme, who shall rule during the minority of your daughter: ye have knowne my service, What will ye have done? Shall there not be four Regents chosen? And shall not I be principall of them?* Whatsoever the King answered, Documents were taken, That so it should be, as my Lord Cardinall thought expedient. As many affirme, a dead mans hand was made to subscribe one blank, that they might write above what it pleased them best; the Cardinall having hired one *Henry Balfour*, a Priest, to make a false Testament; which was done accordingly, but in vain. This finished, the Cardinall posted to the Queen, lately before delivered, as is said. At the first sight of the Cardinall, she said, *Welcome, my Lord, is not the King dead?* What moved her so to conjecture, divers men are of divers judgements. Many whisper that of old *his* patte *was in the pot*, and that the suspition thereof caused him to be inhibite the Queens company. Howsoever it was before, it is plain, That after the Kings death, and during the Cardinalls life, whosoever guided the Court, he gate his secret businesse sped, of that gracious Lady, either by day or by night. Howsoever the tidings liked her, she mended with as great expedition of that daughter, as ever she did before of any son she bare. The time of her Purification was sooner than the Leviticall Law appoints: but she was no Jew, and therefore in that she offended not. The noyse of the death of King *James* divulgate, who departed this life the 13 day of *December*, in the yeere of God 1542 aforesaid, the hearts of men began to be disclosed. All men lamented that the Realme was left without

Reginæ Nativitas.

Mark the Queens mourning for the King.

Others stick not to say, That the King was hastned away by a Potion.

Levit. 12.

Regis exitus.

without a male to ſucceed. Yet ſome rejoyced that ſuch an enemy to Gods Truth was taken away. He was called of ſome, A good poore mans King: of others he was termed, A murtherer of the Nobility; and one that had decreed their whole deſtruction. Some praiſed him for the repreſſing of theft and oppreſſion; others diſpraiſed him for being much given to women. The Prelats and Clergie feared a change in the Kings minde, as he had expreſſed himſelf ſome few yeers before. And thus men ſpake even as their affection led them, and yet none ſpake altogether beſides the truth; for part of theſe aforeſaid were ſo manifeſt, that as the vertues could not be denied, ſo could not the vices by any craft be cloked. Yet to ſpeak truth of him, his vices may juſtly be attributed to the times, and his breeding, and not any wickedneſſe in his nature; for he gave many expreſſions of a good nature, namely, in his ſobriety and juſtice, &c. The queſtion of Government was thorow this Realme univerſally moved. The Cardinall proclaimed the Kings laſt Will, and therein were expreſſed four Protectors or Regents, of whom himſelf was the firſt and principall, and with him were joyned the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argyle*, and *Murhay*: this was done on Munday, at the Market Croſſe of *Edinburgh*. But the Munday following took the whole Regents remiſſion for their uſurpation: for by the ſtout and wiſe counſell of the Laird of *Grange*, did the Earle of *Arran*, then ſo neer to the Crown, cauſe aſſemble the Nobility of the Realme, and required the equity of their judgements in that his juſt ſuit to the Government of this Realm, during the minority of her to whom he pretended to ſucceed, failing of her, and of her lawfull ſucceſſion. His friends convened, the Nobility aſſembled, the day of deciſion is appointed; the Cardinall and his faction oppoſes them, and are againſt the Government of one man, and eſpecially of any called *Hammilton*: For *who knowes not* (ſaid the Cardinall) *that the Hammiltons are cruell murtherers, oppreſſors of innocents, proud, avaritious, double, and falſe, and finally, the peſtilence in this Common-wealth?* Whereto the Earl anſwered, *Defraud me not of my right, and call me what ye pleaſe: whatſoever my friends have been, yet unto this day hath no man cauſe to complain upon me, neither yet am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evill doing, but by Gods grace ſhall be as forward to correct their enormities, as any within the Realme can reaſonably require of me; And therefore yet again, my Lords, in Gods Name, I crave that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my juſt Title, before ye have experience of my Government.* At theſe words, were all that feared God, or loved honeſty ſo moved, that with one voyce they cryed, *That Petition is moſt juſt; and unleſſe ye will do againſt Gods Juſtice and Equity, it cannot be denied.* And ſo in deſpight of the Cardinall, and his ſuborned Faction, was he declared Governour, and with publike Proclamation ſo denounced to the people. The Kings Pallace, Treaſure, Jewels, Garments, Horſe, and Plate was delivered unto him by the Officers that had the former charge; and he honoured, feared, and obeyed, more heartily than ever any King was before, ſo long as he abode at God. The cauſe of the great favour that was born unto him, was; That it was bruted that he favoured Gods Word; and becauſe it was well knowne that he was one appointed to have been perſecuted, as the Scroll found in the

Anno

Divers Characters of the late King ariſe *poſt funera virtus*

Character of the Hamiltons.

Note the reaſons why the Earle of *Arran* was thus favoured by the Country.

Anno Kings pocket after his death did witnesse. These two things, together with an opinion that men had of his simplicity, bowed the hears of many unto him in the beginning; who after, with dolour of hearts, were compelled to change their opinions: but hereof we will after speak. The variety of matters that occurred, we omit, such as the order taken for keeping of the young Queen; of the provision for the mother; the calling home of the *Douglas*, and other, such as appertain to a Universal History of the time. For, as before we have said, we minde onely to follow the progresse of the Religion, and of the matters that cannot be severed from the same.

1543 The Earle of *Arran* thus being established in the Government; godly men repaired unto him, exhorted him to call to minde for what end God had exalted him to be Governour, out of what danger he had delivered him, he being in the bloody Scroll, as we saw before; and what expectation all men of honesty had of him, because they saw him a soft man, they conceited goodnesse of him. At their instant suit, more than of his own motion, was *Thomas Guilliame*, a black Frier, called to be Preacher. The man was of sound judgement, of reasonable letters (as for that age) and of a prompt and good utterance. His Doctrine was wholsome, without great vehemency against superstition. Preached also sometime *John Rough*, (who after for the verity of Christ Jesus suffered in *England*) albeit not so learned, yet more simple, and more vehement against all impiety. The Doctrine of these two provoked against them and against the Governour also, the hatred of all such as more favoured darknesse than light; and their own interest, more than God. The gray Friers (and amongst the rest Frier *Scot*, who before had given himself forth for the greatest Professor of Christ Jesus within *Scotland*, and under that colour had disclosed, and so endangered many.) These slaves of Sathan rowped as they had been Ravens; yea rather they yelled and roared as devills in hell; *Heresie, heresie, Guilliame and Rough will carry the Governour to the devill.* The Towne of *Edinburgh*, for the most part, was devoured in superstition. *Edward Hope*, young *William Adamson*, *Sibilla Lyndsay*, *Patrike Lyndsay*, *Francis Aikman*; And in the Cannongate, *John Mackaw*, and *Nivian Browne*, with few others, had the burit of knowledge in these dayes. One *Wilson*, servant to the Bishop of *Dunckell*, who neither knew new Testament nor the old, made a despightfull railing Ballad, against the Preachers, and against the Governour, for the which he narrowly escaped hanging. The Cardinall moved both heaven and hell to trouble the Governour to stay the Preaching: but yet was the Battell stoutly fought for a season; for he was taken and put first in *Dalkeyt*, after in *Seaton*. But at length, by Bribes given to the said Lord *Seaton*, and to the old Laird of *Lethington*, he was restored to Saint *Andrewes*, from whence he wrought all mischief, as we shall after heare. The PARLIAMENT approached which was before *EASTER*, there began question of the abolishing of certaine Tyrannicall ACTS made before, at the Devotion of the Prelates, for the maintaining of their Kingdome of Darkenesse.

Note Frier *Scot*.

The Cardinal taken.

To

To wit, *That under paine of Heresie, no man should reade any part of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, neither yet any Tractate or Exposition of any place of Scripture*: Such Articles began to come in question we say: And men began to enquire, If it were not lawfull to men that understood no *Latine*, to use the word of their Salvation in the Tongue they understood, as it was for the *Latine* men to have it in *Latine*, *Grecians* or *Hebrews* to have it in their Tongues. It was answered, That the Church, he means the Prelats, first had forbidden all Tongues but the three, *viz. Hebrew, Greek*, and *Latine*. But men demanded, when that Inhibition was given, and what Counsell had ordained it; considering that in the dayes of *Chrysostome*, he complained, That the people used the *Psalmes* and other holy Books in their owne Tongues: And if ye will say they were *Greeks*, and understood the *Greek* Tongue; We answere; That Christ Jesus commanded his word to be Preached to all Nations; now if it ought to be Preached to all Nations, it must be Preached in the Tongue they understand. Then if it be lawfull to Preach, and heare it Preached in all Tongues; Why should it not be lawfull to reade it, and hear it read in all Tongues? to the end that the people may *try the spirits*, according to the commandment of the Apostle. Beaten with these and other Reasons, they denied not but it might be read in the Uulgar Tongue, provided if the Translation were true. It was demanded, What could be reprehended in it? And when much searching was made, nothing could be found: But that *Love* say they was put in the place of *Charity*: When the Question was asked, What difference was betwixt the one and the other; and if they understood the nature of the *Greek* term ἀγάπη, they were dumb. Reasoned for the party of the seculars, The L. *Ruthwen*, father to him that prudently gave counsell to take just punishment upon that knave *David*, for that he abused the unhappy K. *Henry Stuart*, in mo cases then one, a stout and a discreet man in the cause of God, and M. *Henry Balneves*, an old professour. For the part of the Clergy, one *Hay*, Dean of *Lastarrik*, and certain old Bishops with him. The conclusion was, The Commissioners of *Broughes*, and a part of the Nobility, required of the Parliament, that it might be Enacted, *That it should be lawfull to every man to use the benefit of the Translation which then they had of the Old and New Testament, together with the benefit of other Treatises containing wholsome Doctrine, untill such time as the Prelats and other Church-men should give and set forth unto them a Translation more correct*. The Clergie hereto long repugned. But in the end convinced by Reasons, and by multitude of voyces in their contrary, they also condescended; And so by Act of Parliament it was made free to all men and women to read the Scriptures in their owne Uulgar Tongue, and so were all Acts made to the contrary abolished.

Anno

1543. An Act of Parliament for reading of the Scripture.

This was no small Victorie of CHRIST JESUS, fighting against the conjured enemies of his Veritie; No small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read, The Lords Prayer; The ten Commandments; nor, The Articles of their Faith in the Uulgar Tongue, but they should have been accused of Heresie. Then might have beene seene the *Bible* lying almost upon every Gentlemans Table. The New Testament was borne about

Anno

Note the hypocrisie of worldlings.

in many mens hands. We grant that some (alas) prophaned that blessed Word, for some that perchance had never read ten Sentences in it had it most common in their hand, they would chop their familiars on the cheeke with it, and say, This hath lyne under my beds feet these ten yeers. Others would glory, O how oft have I been in danger for this Booke, how secretly have I stollen from my wife at midnight to reade upon it. And this was done we say of many to make cowrt, and curry favour thereby: For all men esteemed the Governour to have been one of the most fervent Protestants that was in *Europe*. Albeit we say that many abused that libertie, granted of God miraculously, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wonderously increase, and God gave his holy spirit to simple men in great abundance: Then were set forth works in our owne Tongue, besides those that came from *England*, that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyrannie, and abuses of that *Romane Antichrist*. The fame of our Governour was spread in divers countreys, and many praised God for him. King *Henry* the eight sent unto him his Ambassadour M. *Radulph Saidlair*, who lay in *Edinburgh* a great part of the Summer, his Commission and Negotiation was to contract a perpetuall amitie betwixt *England* and *Scotland*. The occasion whereof God had so offered, that to many men it appeared that from heaven he had declared his good pleasure in that behalfe. For to King *Henry*, of *Jane Seymer* (after the death of Queene *Katherine*, and of all others that might have made his Marriage suspect) was given a sonne, *Edward* the sixth of blessed memory, elder some yeeres then our Mistresse; and unto us was left a Queene, as before we have heard. This wonderfull providence of God caused men of greatest judgement to enter into disputation with themselves, Whether that with good conscience any man might repugne to the desires of the King of *England*, considering that thereby all occasion of Warre might be cut off, and great commodity might ensue to this Realme. The offers of King *Henry* was so large, and his demands so reasonable, that all that loved quietnesse were content therewith. There were sent from the Parliament to King *Henry* in Commission, Sir *James Lermont*, and M. *Henry Balnevis*, who long remaining in *England*, so travailed, that all things concerning the Marriage betwixt *Edward* the sixth and *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was agreed upon, except the time of her deliverance to the custody of *English-men*. Upon the finall conclusion of the which head, were added to the former Commissioners, *William* Earle of *Glencarne*, and Sir *George Dowglas*, to whom was given ample Commission and good Instructions. In *Scotland* remained M. *Radulph Saidlaire*: advertisements past so frequently betwixt, yea, the hands of our Lords liberally were anointed, besides other commodities promised, and of some received, for divers Prisoners taken at *Solway mosse*, were sent home free upon promise of their fidelity, which as it was kept, the issue will witnesse. But in the end so well were all once content, (the Cardinall, the Queene, and the faction of *France* ever excepted) that solemnely in the Abbey of *Hallyrud-house* was the Contract of Marriage made, betwixt the persons aforesaid, together with all the Clauses and Conditions requisite for the faithfull observation thereof, read in publike audience, subscribed,

So long as men follow God, they are blessed

Nothing could be said against the lawfulnesse of *Edwards* birth. *Katharine* of *Spaine* and *Anne Bullen* being dead before his mother was married to his father.

Note well.

Anno

ſcribed, ſealed, approoved, and allowed of the Governour for his part, Nobilitie and Lords for their parts, and that nothing ſhould lacke that might fortifie the matter was Chriſts Body ſacred (as Papiſts terme it) broken betwixt the ſaid Governour and M. *Saidlar* Ambaſſadour, and received of them both, as a ſigne and token of the unitie of their mindes, immediately to keepe that contract in all points, as they looked of Chriſt Jeſus to be ſaved, and after to be reputed men unworthy of credit before the world. The Papiſts raged againſt the Governour, and againſt the Lords that had conſented and abode faſt to the Contract, and to confound all as after follows. But upon the returning of the aforeſaid Ambaſſadours from *England*, pacification was made for that time, for by the judgements of eight perſons for either partie choſen, to judge whether that any thing was done by the ſaid Ambaſſadours in the Contracting of that Marriage, which to do, they had not ſufficient power from the Counſell and Parliament. It was found that all things were done according to their Commiſſion, and that ſo they ſhould ſtand. And ſo were the Seales of *England* and *Scotland* interchanged. Maſter *James Fowles*, then Clerke of the Regiſter, received the great Seale of *England*: And Maſter *Saidlare* received the great Seale of *Scotland*. The heads of the Contract we paſſe by. Theſe things newly ratified, the Merchants made preparation to Saile, and to their Traffique, which by the troubles of Warres had ſome yeeres been hindered. From *Edinburgh* were fraughted twelve Ships richly laden, according to the wares in *Scotland*: From other Townes and Ports departed other, who all arrived upon the coaſts of *England* toward the South, to wit, in *Yarmouth*; and without any great neceſſity entred not onely Roads, but alſo within Ports and places of commandment, and where that Ships might be arreſted. And becauſe of the late contracted amitie and gentle entertainement that they found at the firſt, they made no great diſpatch: But being (as they ſuppoſed) in ſecurity, in merrineſſe they ſpent the time, abiding upon the winde. In this meane time arrived from *France* to *Scotland* the Abbot of *Paiſlay* (called now of late *John Hamilton*, baſtard brother to the Governour, whom yet many eſteemed ſonne to the old Biſhop of *Dumkelden*, called *Crichton* (and with him M. *David Panter*, who after was made Biſhop of *Roſſe*. The brute of the learning of theſe two, and their honeſt life, and of their fervencie and uprightneſſe in Religion was ſuch, that great hope there was that their preſence ſhould be comfortable to the Church of God. For it was conſtantly affirmed of ſome, that without delay, the one or the other would go to the Pulpit, and truely Preach Jeſus Chriſt. But few dayes diſcloſed their hypocriſie. For what terrours, what promiſes, or what enchaunting boxes they brought from *France*, the common people knew not. But ſhortly after, it was ſeene that Frier *Guilliame* was inhibited to Preach, and ſo departed into *England*: *John Rough* to *Kylle* (a receptacle of Gods ſervants of old.) The men of counſell, judgement, and godlineſſe that had travailed to promote the Governour, and that gave him faithfull counſell in all doubtfull matters, were either craftily conveyed from him; or elſe by threatning to be hanged were compelled to leave him. Of the one number was the Laird of *Grange* aforeſaid, M. *Henry Balneaver*,

The Queenes marriage the, ſecond time ratified.

He was before ſometimes called *Cunningham*, ſometimes *Cobwan*, ſo uncertaine was it who was his father.

Anno

Balueves, M. *Thomas Ballenden*, and Sir *David Lindesay* of the Mount: Men by whose labours he was promoted to honour, and by whose councell he so used himselfe at the beginning, that the obedience given to him was nothing inferiour to that obedience that any King of *Scotland* of many yeeres had before him, yea, in this it did surmount the common obedience, in that it proceeded from love of those vertues that was supposed to have beene in him. Of the number of these that were threatned, were M. *Michael Durham*, M. *David Borthiuke*, *David Forresse*, and *David Bothwell*: who counselled him to have in company with him, men fearing God, and not to nourish wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his surname: This counsell understood by the aforesaid Abbot, and by the *Hamiltons* (who then repaired to the Court, as Ravens to the Carrion) in plaine words it was said, *My Lord Governour nor his friends will never be at quietnesse, till a dozen of these knaves that abuse his Grace be hanged.* These words were spoken in his own presence, and in the presence of some of them that had better deserved, then to have beene so used: the speaker was allowed for his plain and bold speaking. And so the wicked counsell followed, honest and godly men left the Court and him, in the hands of such as by their wicked counsell led him so far from God, that he falsified his promise, dipt his hands in the blood of the Saints of God, and brought this Commonwealth to the very point of utter ruine. And these were the first fruits of the Abbot of *Paisley* his counterfeit Godlinesse and Learning: But hereof we will heare more. All honest and godly men banished from the Court, the Abbot and his counsell beginneth to lay before the inconstant Governour, the dangers that might ensue the alteration and change of Religion. The power of the King of *France*, the commodity that might come to him and his house, by retaining the ancient League with *France*, and the great danger that he brought upon himselfe, if in one jote he suffereth the authority of the Pope to be violated or called in doubt within this Realme: Considering that thereupon onely stood the security of his pretended right to the succession of the Crowne of this Realme: For by Gods word could not be good the divorcement of his father from *Eliz. Hume*, sister to the Lord *Hume*, his lawfull wife, and consequently his marriage with *Beton*, Neece to *James Beton*, Bishop of S. *Andrews* (*Elizabeth Hume* being alive) must be null, and he declared Bastard. *Caiphas* spake Prophesie, and yet wist not what he spake: For at that time there was hardly any man that truely feared God that minded any such thing, but with their whole force would have fortified him in the place that God had given unto him, and would never have called in question things done in time of darknesse. But this head we passe by till God declare his will therein. Another practise was used: As for the Cardinall, he being set at libertie (as before we have heard) ceased not to traffique with such of the Nobility as he might draw to his faction, or corrupt by any meanes, to raise a partie against the said Governour, and against such as stood fast at the Contract of Marriage and Peace with *England*. And so assembled at *Lynlytquow*, the said Cardinall, the Earles *Argyle*, *Huntlie*, *Bothwell*, the Bishops and their bands. And thereafter they passed to *Strevelin*, and took with

Note.

Note.

with them both the Queenes, the mother and the daughter; and threatned the deposition of the said Governour, as *Inobedient to their holy Mother the Church* (so terme they that harlot of *Babylon, Rome*) The inconstant man, not thorowly grounded upon God, left (by his owne fault) destitute of all good counsell, and having the wicked ever blowing in his eare, *What will you do? you will destroy your selfe and your house both for ever.* The unhappy man (we say) beaten with these temptations, rendred himselfe to the appetites of the wicked; for he quietly stole away from the Lords that were with him in the Palace of *Halyrud-house*, past to *Sterlin*, subjected himselfe to the Cardinall and to his Councell, received absolution, renounced the profession of Christ Jesus his holy Gospel, and violated his Oath that before he had made, for the observation of the Contract and League made with *England*. At that time was our Queene crowned, and a promise made to *France*. The certainty hereof coming to King *Henry*, our *Scottish* Ships were stayed, the Sailes taken from the Rigs, and the Merchants and Mariners were commanded to sure custody. New Commission was sent to Master *Radulph Saidler* (who then still remained in *Scotland*) to demand the cause of that sudden alteration, and to travell by all meanes possible, that the Governour might be called back to his former godly purpose, and that he would not do so foolishly, and dishonestly, yea, so cruelly and unmercifully to the Realme of *Scotland*: that he would not onely lose the commodities offered, and that were presently to be received: But that also that he would put it to the hazard of fire and sword, and other inconveniences that might ensue the war that was to follow upon the violation of his Faith. But nothing could availe. The devil kept fast the grype that he got, yea all the dayes of his government: For the Cardinall got his eldest son in pledge, whom he kept in the Castle of S. *Andrews*, while the day that Gods hand punished his pride. King *Henry* perceiving that all hope of the Governours repentance was lost, called back his Ambassadours, and that with fearfull threatnings as *Edinburgh* after felt: Denounced War, made our Ships prises, and Merchants and Mariners lawfull prisoners, which to the Broughes of *Scotland* was no small hership. But thereat did the Cardinall and Priests laugh, and jestingly he said, *When we shall conquer* England *the Merchants shall be recompensed.* The Summer and the Harvest passed over without any notable thing: For the Cardinall and Abbot of *Paisley* parted the prey amongst them; The abused Governour bare the name onely. In the beginning of Winter came the Earle of *Lenox* to *Scotland*, sent from *France* in hatred of the Governour, whom the King (by the Cardinals advice) promised to pronounce Bastard, and so to make the said Earle Governour; First, because he himselfe was borne by *Beton*, his fathers lawfull wife, *Elizabeth Humes* being yet alive; Next, because his Grandfather was borne by *Mary Stuart* to *James Hamilton*, when her lawfull husband *Thomas Boyd* was yet alive. So the Earle of *Lenox* did not onely pretend to be lawfully next to the Crowne, as the late King *James* the fifth did often declare, That if he died without heire male, he would settle the Crowne upon him, but also lawfull heire of the Earledome of *Arran*, as being descended from *Margaret Hamilton*, borne to *Mary Stuart* and

Anno

This is the Prelats language.

The Governour violated his faith, refused God, and took absolution of the devil, renouncing his Religion in the gray Friers.

All this was then said by the Cardinall, *Penes authorem fides esto.*

Anno

James Hamilton, after the death of *Thomas Boyd* her former husband (now by this time the inconstant Earle of *Arran* had given himselfe wholly to the Cardinall) The Cardinall farther put the E. of *Lenox* in vain hope that the Queen Dowager should marry him. He brought with him some money and more he after received at the hands of *Labrosse*. But at length perceiving himselfe frustrate of all expectation that he had, either by *France*, or yet by the promise of the Cardinall; he concludeth to leave *France*, and to seek the favour of *England*: And so began to draw a faction against the Governour, and in hatred of the others inconstancy many favoured him in the beginning: For there assembled at Christmas in the Town of *Ayre*, the Earles of *Angus*, *Glencarne*, *Cassilles*; The Lord *Maxwell*, The Laird of *Dumlanrig*; The Sheriffe of *Ayre*, *Campbell*; with all the force that they and the Lords that remained constant at the opinion of *England* might make; and after Christmas they came to light. The Governour and Cardinall with their forces kept *Edinburgh* (for they were slackly pursued, Men excused the Earle of *Lenox* in that behalfe, and laid the blame upon some that had no will of the *Stewards* Regiment. Howsoever it was, such an appointment was made, that the said Earle of *Lenox* was disappointed of his purpose, and narrowly escaped, and first gat him to *Glasgow*, and after to *Dumbartane*. Sir *George Dowglas* was delivered to be kept as pledge. The Earle his brother was in the Lent after taken at the siege of *Glasgow*. It was bruted, that both the brethren, and others with them had lost their heads, if by the providence of God the *English* Armie had not arrived in time. After that the Cardinall had gotten the Governour wholly addict to his devotion, and had obtained his intent above a part of his enemies: He began to practise, how that such as he feared, and therefore deadly hated, should be set by the eares, one against another (for in that thought the carnall man put his greatest securitie) The Lord *Ruthwen* he hated, by reason of his knowledge of Gods Word. The Lord *Gray* he feared, because at that time he used the company of such as professed godlinesse, and bare small favour to the Cardinall. Now thus reasoned the worldly wise man; If I can put enmity betwixt these two, I shall be rid of a great number of unfriends; For the most part of the Countrey will either assist the one or the other, and so will they be otherwise occupied, then to watch for my displeasure. He finds the means without long processe; for he labours with *John Chartarous* (a man of stout courage and many friends) to accept the Provostrie of S. *Johnston*, which he purchased to him by donation of the Governour, with a charge to the said Towne, to obey him as their lawfull Provost: Whereat not onely the said Lord *Ruthwen*, but also the Towne being offended, gave a negative answer; alleadging that such intrusion of men to office was hurtfull to their priviledge and freedom: which granted unto them free election of their Provost from yeere to yeere, at a certain time appointed, which they could not nor would not anticipate. Hereat the said *John*, offended, said, That he would take that office by force, if they would not grant it unto him of benevolence. And so departed and communed the matter with the Lord *Gray*, with *Norman Leslie*, and with others his friends, whom he easily perswaded to assist him in that pursuit. Because he appeareth to have the Governours right, and

Note the device of the wicked to set men by the eares.

and had not onely a charge to the Towne, as is said, but also he purchased Letters to besiege it, and to take it by strong hand, if any resistance were made unto him. Such letters, we say, made many to favour his action. The other made for defence, and so took the Master of *Ruthuen*, (the Lord that after departed into *England*) the maintenance of the town, having in his company the Laird of *Montcreif*, and other friends adjacent. The said *Iohn* prepared for the pursuit, and upon Saint *Magdalens* day in the morning, *anno* 1543. approached with his Forces (the Lord *Grey* tooke upon him the principall charge. It was appointed, that *Norman Lesley*, with his friends, should have come by Ship with Munition and Ordnance, as they were in readinesse. But because the Tyde served not so soon as they would: the other thinking himself of sufficient force for all that were in the Towne, entred in by the Bridge, where they found no resistance, till that the former part was entered a pretty space within the *Fish-Gate*; And then the said Master of *Ruthuen* with his Company stoutly recountred them, and so rudely repulsed the foremost, that such as were behinde gave back. The place of the retreat was so strait, that men that durst not fight, could not flie at their pleasure (for the most part of my Lord *Grayes* friends were upon the Bridge) and so the slaughter was great; for there fell by the edge of the Sword threescore men*. The Cardinall had rather that the mishap had fallen on the other part: but howsoever it was, he thought that such trouble was his comfort, and advantage. The knowledge whereof came to the ears of the party discomfited, and was unto them no small grief. For as many of them entred into that action for his pleasure, so thought they to have had Fortification and assistance; whereof finding themselves frustrate, they began to look more narrowly to themselves, and did not so attend upon the Cardinals devotion, as they had wont to do before: and so was a new jealousie engendered among them; for whosoever would not play the good servant unto him, was reputed his enemy. The Cardinall drew the Governour to *Dundie*; for he understood that the Earle of *Rothesse*, and Master *Henry Balnaveis* were with the Lord *Gray* in the Castle of *Huntley*. The Governour sent and commanded the said Earle and Lord, with the foresaid Master *Henry* to come unto him to *Dundie*, and appointed the next day, at ten of the clock before noon; which hour they decreed to keep, and for that purpose assembled their folks at *Balgavie*, or thereby. The Cardinal advertised of their number (they were no more than 300 men) thought it not good that they should joyn with the Towne; for he feared his owne estate, and so he perswaded the Governour to passe forth of *Dundie* before nine hours, and to take the straight way to S. *Iohnston*: which perceived by the foresaid Lords, they began to fear that they were come to pursue them, and so put themselves in order, and array, and marched forward of purpose to have bidden the uttermost. But the crafty fox foreseeing that in fighting stood not his security, ran to his last refuge, that is, To manifest Treason, and so consultation was taken how that the force of the others might be broken. And at the first were sent the Laird of *Grange*, and the Provost of S. *Andrews* (knowing nothing of the Treason) to ask why they molested my Lord Governour in his journey. Whereto they

Anno

1543

Note.

* And many trod under foot died.

Note.

As they went to *Dundie*, they said they were going to burne the readers of the new Testament; and that they would stick to the old; for *Luther* said they had made the new.

Anno

they answered, That they meant nothing lesse, for they came at his Graces Commandment, to have kept the houre in *Dundie* appointed by him; which because they saw prevented, and knowing the Cardinall to be their friend, they could not but suspect their unprovided coming forth of the Towne, and therefore they put themselves in order, not to invade, but to defend, in case they were invaded. This answer reported, was sent to the Bishop of Saint *Audrewes*, the Abbot of *Paisley*, Master *David Panter*, the Lairds of *Balcleuch* and *Coldinknowes*, to desire certain of the other company to talk with them; which they easily obtained (for they suspected no treason.) After long communication, it was demanded, If that the Earle and Lord, and Master *Henry* aforesaid, would not be content to talk with the Governour, provided that the Cardinall and his company were on the place: They answered, That the Governour might command them in all things lawfull. But they had no will to be in the Cardinals mercy. Fair promises enow were made for their security. Then was the Cardinall and his Band commanded to depart, as that he did, according to the purpose taken. The Governour remained, and a certain number with him: To whom came without company, the said Earle, Lord, and M. *Henry*. After many fair words given to them all, to wit, That he would have them agreed with the Cardinall, and that he would have Master *Henry Balnaves* the worker and instrument thereof, he drew them forwards with them towards Saint *Iohnston*, whereto the Cardinall was ridden. They began to suspect (albeit it was too late) and therefore they desired to have returned to their folks, for putting order unto them: But it was answered, They should send back from the town, but they must needs go forward with my Lord Governour: and so, partly by flattery, and partly by force, they were compelled to obey; and as soon as they were in the Towne, they were apprehended, and on the morrow sent all three to the *Black Nesse*, where they remained as it pleased the Cardinals graceless Grace, and that was till the Band of *Manred*, and of service, set some of them at liberty. And thus the Cardinal with his craft perswaded on every side; so that the Scots Proverb was true in him, *So long rinnes the Fox, as he fute hes*. Whether it was at this journey, or at another, that that bloody butcher executed his cruelty upon the innocent persons in S. *Iohnston*, we cannot affirme: neither yet therein study we to be curious, but rather we travell to expresse the verity, whensoever it was done, than scrupulously and exactly to appoint times; which yet we omit not, when the certainty occurres. The verity of that cruell fact is this; At S. *Pauls* day, before the first burning of *Edinburgh*, came to S. *Iohnston* the Governour and Cardinall, and there upon envious delation, were a great number of honest men and women called before the Cardinall, and accused of heresie. And albeit they could be convinced of nothing, but onely of suspition that they had eaten a Goose upon *Friday*, four men were adjudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned; which cruell and most unjust sentence, was without mercy put in execution: the husband was hanged, and the wife, having a sucking babe upon her breast, was drowned. *O Lord, the Land is not yet purged from such beastly cruelty, neither hath thy just vengeance yet stricken all that were criminall of their*

Note.

A woman, and her childe put to death because she prayed not to the Virgin *Mary*.

Men put to death for eating a Goose upon Friday.

their blood. But the day approacheth when that the punishment of that cruelty, and of others, will evidently appears. The names of the men that were hanged, were, *James Hunter*, *William Lambe*, *William Anderson*, *James Ruvalt*, Burgesse of Saint *Johnston*. At that same time were banished, Sir *Henry Eldar*, *Iohn Eldar*, *Walter Piper*, *Laurence Pullar*, with divers others, whose names come not to our knowledge. That sworn enemy to Christ Jesus, and unto all in whom any spark of knowledge appeared, had about that time in prison divers; amongst whom was *Iohn Roger*, a black Frier, godly and learned, one that had fruitfully preached Christ Jesus, to the comfort of many in *Angus* and *Mearnes*, whom that bloody man caused to murther in the ground of the Sea Tower in S. *Andrews*, and then caused to cast him over the wall, spreading a false brute, That the said *Iohn* seeking to flie, had broken his own neck. This ceased not Sathan by all means to maintaine his kingdome of Darknesse, and to suppresse the light of Christs Gospel. But mighty is he against whom they fight: for when the wicked were in greatest security, then began God to show his anger. For the third day of *May*, in the yeer of our Lord 1544 yeers, without knowledge of any man in *Scotland*, (we mean of such as should have had the care of the Realme) was seen a great Navy of Ships arriving towards the *Fyrth*. The Posts came to the Governour and Cardinall (who both were in *Edinburgh*) what multitude of Ships were seen, and what course they took. This was on the Saturday before noon. Question was had, What should they mean? Some said, It is no doubt but they are English-men, and we fear that they will land. The Cardinall skipped, and said, It is the Island flote, they are come to make a shew, and to put us in fear. I shall lodge all the men of Warre in mine eye, that shall land in *Scotland*. Still sitteth the Cardinall at his dinner, eating as though there had been no danger appearing. Men assembled to gaze upon the Ships, some to the Castle hill, some to the mountains, and other places eminent. But there was no question, With what Forces shall we resist, if we be invaded. Soon after six of the clock at night, were arrived, and had cast Ankor in the Road of *Leith*, more than two hundred Sail. Shortly after, the Admirall shot a flott Boat, which from *Granton hills*, till by East *Leith*, sounded the deep, and so returned to her Ship. Hereof were divers opinions; men of judgement foresaw what it meant, but no credit was given to any that would say, They minded to land, and so passed every man to his rest, as if the Ships had been a guard for their defence. Upon the point of day upon Sunday the fourth of *May*, addresse they for landing, and they ordered the Ships so, that a Galley or two laid their snouts to the hills: the small Ships, called Pinnaces and light Horse-men, approached as neer as they could. The great Ships discharged their Souldiers into the smaller Vessels, and they by Boats set upon dry Land before ten of the clock, 10000 men, as was judged, and more. The Governour and Cardinall seeing then the thing that they could not, or at least they would not believe before, after they had made a brag to fight, fled as fast as horse could carry them; so that after, they approached not within twenty miles of the danger. The Earle of *Angus*, and Sir *George Dowglas* were that night freed of Ward (they

Anno

Iohn Roger, a black Frier, murthered.

1544.

The English Army arrived in *Scotland*.

Note.

Anno

(they were in *Blackneſſe*) The ſaid Sir *George* in merrineſſe, ſaid, *I thanke King* Henry, *and my gentle Maſters of England.* The Engliſh Army betwixt one and two of the clock entered into *Leith*, found the Tables covered, the dinners prepared, ſuch abundance of wine and victualls, beſides the other ſubſtance, that the like riches within the like bounds was not to be found neither in *Scotland* nor *England.* Upon Munday the fifth of *May*, came to them from *Barwick* and the borders, two thouſand Horſe-men, who being ſomewhat repoſed, the Army upon the Wedneſday marched toward the Town of *Edinburgh*, ſpoiled and burnt the ſame, and ſo did they the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*. The Horſe-men took the Houſe of *Craigmiller*, and gat great ſpoils therein; for it being judged the ſtrongeſt Houſe neer the Towne, after the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and all men ſought to ſave their moveables therein. But the ſtoutneſſe of the Laird gave it over, without ſhot of Hackebut, and for his reward was cauſed to march upon his feet to *London*: He is now Captain of *Dumbar*, and Provoſt of *Edinburgh*. The Engliſh-men ſeing no reſiſtance, hurled by force of men Cannons upon the ſtreet, to the Butter trone, and above, and hazarded a ſhot againſt the fore-entry of the Caſtle; but that was to their own pains; For they lying without Trench or Gabion, were expoſed to the force of the whole Ordnance of the ſaid Caſtle, which ſhot, and that not all in vain, for the Wheel and Axletree of one of the Engliſh Cannons was broken, and ſome of their men ſlain, and ſo they left with ſmall honour, that enterpriſe taken rather of raſhneſſe, than of any adviſed counſell. When the moſt part of the day they had ſpoiled and burnt, towards the night they returned to *Leith*, and upon the morrow returned to *Edinburgh*, and executed the reſt of Gods judgements for that time. And ſo when they had conſumed both the Towns, they laded the Ships with the ſpoiles thereof, and they by Land returned to *Barwick*, uſing the Countrey, for the moſt part, at their own pleaſure. This was a part of the puniſhment which God took upon the Realm for the infidelity of the Governour, and for the violation of his ſolemne Oath. But this was not the end; for the Realme was divided into two factions; the one favoured *France*, the other the League lately contracted with *England*: The one did in no things credit thorowly the other, ſo that the Countrey was in extreme calamity: for to the Engliſh-men were delivered divers Strengths, ſuch as *Carelaverock*, *Lochmaben*, and *Langham*: the moſt part of the Borderers were confederate with *England*: And albeit at *Ancrome mure* in *February*, in the yeer of God 1544. was Sir *Rafe Ewers*, with many other Engliſh-men ſlain, and the yeere after were ſome of the ſaid ſtrengths recovered, yet was it not without great loſſe and detriment of the Common-wealth: For in the month of *Ianuary*, in the yeer of God 1545. *Monſieur de Lorge*, with Bands of men of War, came from *France*, for a deſtruction to *Scotland*: For upon their brag was an Army raiſed; forwards they go towards *Warke*, even in the midſt of harveſt. The Cardinalls Banner was that day diſplayed, and all his Files were charged to be under it many had before promiſed, but at the point it was left ſo bare, that with ſhame it was ſhut up into the pock againe, and they after a ſhew returned with more ſhame to the Realm, then hurt

Edinburgh burnt and ſpoiled by the Engliſh.

Note.

1544.

Lorge cometh to Scotland.

1545.

to

to their enemies. The black book of *Hamilton* maketh mention of great vassallage done at that time by the Governour and the *French*: but such as with their eyes saw the whole progresse, knew that to be a lye, *and do repute it amongst the veniall sinnes of that race, which is to speak the best of themselves they can.* That winter following so nurtured the French-men, that they learned to eat (yea to beg) cakes (which at their entrie they scorned) without jesting; they were so miserably used, that few returned into *France* again with their lives. The Cardinall then had almost fortified the Castle of S. *Andrews*, which he made so strong in his opinion, that he regarded neither *England* nor *France*. The Earle of *Lenox*, as is said, disappointed of all things in *Scotland*, passed into *England*, where he was received of King *Henry* into protection, who gave him to wife Lady *Margaret Dewglas*, of whom was borne *Henry*, sometime husband to our Queen and Mistresse. While the inconstant Governour was sometimes dejected, and sometimes raised up againe by the Abbot of *Paislay* (who before was called, *Chaster then any maiden*) began to shew himselfe; for after he had taken by craft the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbar*, he took also possession of his enemies wife, the Lady *Stanehouse*. The woman is and hath been famous, and is called, Lady *Gilton*: her Ladyship was holden alwayes in poverty. But how many wives and virgins he hath had since, and that in common, the world knoweth, albeit not all, and his bastard birds bear some witnesse. Such is the example of holinesse, that the flock may receive of the Papisticall Bishops. In the midst of all the calamities that came upon this Realme, after the defection of the Governor from Christ Jesus, came into *Scotland* that blessed Martyr of God M. *George Wischarde*, in company of the Commissioners before mentioned in the yeere of our Lord 1544. a man of such graces, as before him was never heard within this Realme; yea, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithstanding this great light of God that since his dayes hath shined unto us: he was not onely singularly learned, as well in all Godly knowledge, as in all honest humane Science: but also he was so clearely illuminated with the spirit of Prophesie, that he saw not onely things pertaining to himselfe, but also such things as some Townes, and the whole Realme afterward felt, which he forespake not in secret, but in the audience of many, as in their own places shall be declared. The beginning of his Doctrine was in *Mount Rosse*, therefrom he departed to *Dundie*, where with great admiration of all that heard him, he taught the Epistle to the *Romanes*: till that by procurement of the Cardinall, *Robert Myle*, then one of the principall men in *Dundie*, and a man that of old had professed knowledge, and for the same had suffered trouble, gave, in the Queenes and Governours name, Inhibition to the said Master *George*, that he should trouble their Towne no more, for they would not suffer it: And this was said to him being in the publike place; which heard, he mused a pretie space, with his eyes bent unto the heaven. And thereafter looking sorrowfully to the speaker, and unto the people, he sayd, God is witnesse that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort: yea, your trouble is more dolourous unto me, then it is unto your selves: But I am assured, that to refuse Gods word and to chase from you his

Anno

Note. The character of *Hamilton*.

Note.

George Wischarde

Note a false brother.

Anno

his messenger shall not preserve you from trouble, but it shall bring you into it: For God shall send unto you messengers who will not be afraid of burning, nor yet for banishment. I have offered unto you the word of Salvation, and with the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you. Now ye your selves refuse me, and therefore must I leave my Innocencie to be declared by my God, *if it be long prosperous with you, I am not led with the Spirit of Truth.* But if trouble unlooked for apprehend you, acknowledge the cause, and turne to God. For he is merciful, but if ye turne not at the first, he will visit you with fire and sword. These words pronounced, he came downe from the Preaching place. In the Church present was the Lord *Marshall*, and divers noble men, who would have had the said M. *George* to have remained, or else to have gone with them into the Countrey. But for no request would he either tarry in the towne or on that side of *Tay* any longer. But with possible expedition past to the West-land, where he began to offer Gods word, which was of many gladly received, till that the Bishop of *Glasgow, Dumbar*, by instigation of the Cardinall, came with his gatherings to the Towne of *Ayre* to make resistance to the said M. *George*, and did first take the Church. The Earle of *Glencarne* being thereof advertised, repaired with his friends to the Towne with diligence, and so did divers Gentlemen of *Kyle* (amongst whom was the Laird of *Lefnoreise*, a man far different from him that now liveth, in the yeere of our Lord 1566. in manners and Religion) of whom to this day yet many live, and have declared themselves alwayes zealous and bold in the cause of God, as after will be heard. When all were assembled, conclusion was taken that they would have the Church. Whereto the said M. *George* utterly repugned, saying, *Let him alone, his Sermon will not much hurt; Let us go to the Market Crosse:* And so they did, where he made so notable a Sermon, that the very enemies themselves were confounded. The Bishop Preached to his Jackmen, and to some old *Bosses* of the Towne: The sum of all his Sermon was, *They say we should Preach; Why not? Better late thrive, then never thrive: Hold us still for your Bishop; and we shall provide better the next time.* This was the beginning and the end of the Bishops Sermon: Who with haste departed the Towne, but returned not to fulfill his promise. The said M. *George* remained with the Gentlemen in *Kyle*; till that he gat sure knowledge of the estate of *Dundie*. He Preached commonly at the Church of *Gastonne*, and used much in the *Barre*. He was required to come to the Church of *Machlyne*, and so he did: But the Sheriffe of *Ayre* caused to man the Church, for preservation of a Tabernacle that was there beautifull to the eye. The persons that held the Church was *George Campbell* of *Mongarswood*, that yet liveth *Anno* 1566. *Mungo Campbell* of *Brounsyde*, *George Rid* in *Dandilling* the Laird of *Tempilland*.

M. Wishard his words in Dundie.

The Bishops Sermon.

Some zealous of the Parish, amongst whom was *Hugh Campbell* of *Kingarcleuch*, offended that they should be debarred their Parish Church, concluded by force to enter. But the said M. *George* withdrew the said *Hugh*, and said unto him, *Brother; Christ Jesus is as mighty upon the fields as in the Church; And I finde that he himselfe after Preached in the Desert, at the sea side, and other places judged prophane then, he did in the Temple of* Jerusalem.

It

It is the word of Peace that God sends by me: The blood of no man shall be shed this day for the Preaching of it. And so withdrawing the whole people, he came to a ditch in a More-edge, upon the South-west side of *Machlyne*, upon the which he ascended: The whole multitude stood and sate about him (God gave the day pleasant and hot) he continued in Preaching more then three houres: In that Sermon God wrought so wonderfully with him, that one of the most wicked men that was in that countrey, named *Larence Ranckin*, Laird of *Sheld*, was converted. The teares ran from his eyes in such abundance, that all men wondered; His conversion was without hypocrisie, for his life and conversation witnessed it in all times to come. While this faithfull servant of God was thus occupied in *Kyle*, word rose, that the Plague of Pestilence rose in *Dundie*, which began foure dayes after that the said M. *George* was inhibited Preaching, and was so vehement, that it passed almost credibility, to hear how many departed every foure and twenty houres. The certainty understood, the said Master *George* tooke his leave of *Kyle*, and that with the regrate of many. But no request could make him to remain; His reason was, *They are now in trouble, and they need comfort: Perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnifie and reverence that word which before (for the feare of men) they set at light price.* Coming unto *Dundie*, the joy of the faithfull was exceeding great. He delayed no time, but even upon the morrow gave signification that he would Preach. And because the most part were either sick, or else were in company with those that were sick, he choosd the head of the East port of the Towne for his Preaching place, and so the whole stood or sat within, the sick and suspected without the Port or gate. The Text upon the which his first Sermon was made, he took from the hundred and seventh Psalme; The Sentence thereof, *He sent his Word and healed them*; And therewith joyned these words, *It is neither herbe nor plaister, O Lord, but thy Word healeth all.* In which Sermon he most comfortably did entreat of the dignity & utility of Gods word, the punishment that comes for the contempt of the same; the promptitude of Gods mercy to such as truly turn to him; yea, the great happinesse of them whom God taketh from this misery, even in his own gentle visitation, which the malice of man can neither mend nor pair. By the which Sermon he so raised up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy that should depart, then such as should remain behinde. Considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times. He spared not to visit them that lay in the very extremity. He comforted them as he could, being such a multitude; He caused minister all things necessary to those that could use meat or drink, and in that point was the Town wonderous beneficiall; for the poore was no more neglected then was the rich. While he was spending his life to comfort the afflicted, the Devill ceased not to stir up his owne son the Cardinall again, who corrupted by money a desperate Priest, named Sir *John Weighton*, to slay the said M. *George*, who looked not to himselfe in all things so circumspectly as worldly men would have used. And upon a day the Sermon ended and the people departing; no man suspecting danger, and therefore not heeding the said M. *George*; The Priest that was corrupted stood

Anno

Note.

Note M. *Wischarde* his zeal to gain soules

Anno

A Priest appointed by the Cardinall to stab M. *George Wischarde.*

waiting at the foot of the steps, his gowne loose, and his dagger drawne in his hand under his gowne. The said Master *George*, as that he was most sharpe of eye and judgement, marked him, and as he came neere, he said; *My friend, what would you do?* And therewith he clapped his hand upon the Priests hand wherein the dagger was, which he took from him. The Priest abashed fell down at his feet, and openly confessed the verity as it was. The noise rising, and coming to the eares of the sicke. They cryed, *Deliver the traytor to us, or else we will take him by force*; And so they burst in at the gate: But M. *George* took him in his armes, and said, *Whosoever troubles him shall trouble me, for he hath hurt me in nothing, but he hath done great comfort to you and me*, to wit, *he hath let us to understand what we may feare, in times to come we will watch better*: And so he appeased both the one part and the other, and saved the life of him that sought his. When the Plague was so ceased that almost there was none sicke, he tooke his leave of them, and said, *That God had almost put an end to that battell.* He found himselfe called to another place. The Gentlemen of the West had written unto him that he should meet them at *Edinburgh*; for they would require Disputation of the Bishops, and that he should be publikely heard, whereto he willingly agreed. But first he passed to *Montrosse* to salute the Church there, where he remained, occupied sometimes in Preaching, but most part in secret Meditation: In the which he was so earnest, that night and day he would continue in it, while he was so occupied with his God, the Cardinall drew a secret draught for his slaughter; He caused to write unto him a Letter, as it had been from his most familiar friend, the Laird of *Kinneir*, desiring him with all possible diligence to come unto him, for he was stricken with a sudden sicknesse. In the mean time had the traitor provided 60 men with Jacks and Spears to lie in wait within a mile and halfe to the town of *Montrosse* for his dispatch. The Letter coming to his hand, he made haste at first (for the boy had brought a horse) and so with some honest men he passed forth of the Town, but suddenly he stayed, and musing a space, returned back, whereat they wondring, he said, *I will not go, I am forbidden of God, I am assured there is treason*; *Let some of you*, saith he, *go to yonder place, and tell me what ye finde.* Diligence made; They found the Treason as it was, which being shewn with expedition to M. *George*, he answered, *I know that I shall end my life in that blood-thirstie mans hands, but it will not be on this manner.* The time approaching that he had appointed to meet the Gentlemen at *Edinburgh*, he tooke his leave at *Montrosse*, and sore against the judgement of the Laird of *Dune*, entred on his journey, and so returned to *Dundie*. But remained not, but passed to the house of a faithfull brother named *James Watson*, who dwelt in *Inner-Gowrie*, distant from the said Towne two miles, and that night (as information was given to us, by *William Spadin* and *John Watson*, both men of good credit) before day he passed forth into a yard, the said *William* & *John* followed privily, and tooke heed what he did, when he had gone up and down in an alley a reasonable space, with many sobs and deep grones, he fell upon his knees, and sitting thereon, his grones increased. And from his knees he fell upon his face. And then the persons aforenamed, heard weeping, and as it were, an indigest sound of prayers, in the which he continued

The second attempt of the Cardinall for the killing of M. *George Wischarde.*

Note the spirit of Prophesie.

continued neer an hour, and after began to be quiet, and so arose, and came into his bed. They that waited upon him came before, as if they had bin ignorant, till that he came in, and then began they to demand where he had been: But that night he would answer nothing. Upon the morrow they urged him again; and while that he dissembled, they said, M. *George*, Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw you both upon your knees, and upon your face. With dejected visage, he said, I had rather ye had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable for you; for I was scarce well occupied. When they instantly urged him to let them know some comfort, he said, I will tell you, That I am assured that my travell is neer an end, and therefore call to God with me, that now I shrinke not when the battell waxes most hot. And while that they weeped and said, *That was small comfort unto them*; he answered, *God shall send you comfort after me. This Realme shall be illuminated with the light of Christs Gospel, as cleerly as ever any Realme since the dayes of the Apostles. The House of God shall be builded in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemy imagine in the contrary) the very Kepstone*, meaning, That it should once be brought to the full perfection. Neither (said he) shall this be long to: there shall not many suffer after me, till that the glory of God shall evidently appeare, and shall once triumph in despight of Sathan. But alas, if the people shall be after unthankfull, then fearfull and terrible shall the plagues be that shall follow. And with these words he marched forwards in his journey towards S. *Johnston*, and so to *Fyfe*, and then to *Leyth*, where he arrived; and hearing no word of those that appointed to meet him, to wit, The Earle of *Cassels*, and the Gentlemen of *Kyle* and *Cuninghame*, he kept himself secret a day or two. But beginning to wax sorrowfull in spirit, and being demanded of the cause, of such as were not in his company before, he said, What differ I from a dead man, except that I eat and drinke? To this time God hath used my labours to the instruction of others, and unto the disclosing of darknesse, and now I lurke as a man that were ashamed, and durst not shew himself before men. By these and the like words, they that heard him understood that his desire was to preach, and therefore said, Most comfortable it was unto us to hear you; but because we know the danger wherein ye stand, we dare not desire you. But dare ye and others hear (said he) and then let my God provide for me as best pleaseth him. Finally, it was concluded, That the next Sunday he should preach in *Leith*, as he did, and took the Text, *The Parable of the sower that went forth to sow seed*, *Matth.* 13. And this was upon the fifteenth day before Christmas. The Sermon ended, the Gentlemen of *Lowthan*, who then were earnest Professors of Christ Jesus, thought not expedient that he should remain in *Leith*, because that the Governour and Cardinall were shortly to come to *Edinburgh*, and therefore they took him with them, and kept him sometimes in *Brunston*, sometimes in *Langnidrie*, and sometimes in *Ormeston*. For these three diligently waited upon him. The Sunday following, he preached in the Church of *Innereske*, besides *Musselburgh*, both before and at after noon, where there was a great confluence of people, amongst whom was Sir *George Dowglas*, who after the Sermon said

Anno

Prophesie spoken by Master *George Wishart* of the Church of *Scotland*.

Note the resolution of a Preacher.

Anno

said publikely, *I know that my Lord Governour. and my Lord Cardinall shall hear that I have been at this preaching* (for they were then at *Edinburgh*) *Say unto them, That I will avow it, and will not onely maintain the Doctrine that I have heard, but also the person of the Teacher, to the uttermost of my power.* Which words greatly rejoyced the people, and the Gentlemen then present. One thing notable in that Sermon we cannot passe by: Amongst others, there came two gray Friers, and standing in the entry of the Church door, they made some whispering to such as came in: which perceived, the Preacher said to the people that stood neer them, *I heartily pray you to make room to those two men, it may be that they be come to learne.* And unto them he said, *Come neer* (for they stood in the very entry of the door) *for I assure you ye shall hear the Word of verity, which shall either seal in you this same day your salvation or condemnation.* And so proceeded he in Doctrine, supposing they would have been quiet: But when he perceived them still to trouble the people that stood neer them (for vehement was he against the false worshipping of God) he turned unto them the second time, and with an irefull countenance said, *O Sergeants of Sathan, and deceivers of the souls of men, Will ye neither heare Gods Truth, nor suffer others to heare it; Depart, and take this for your portion, God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisie within this Realme; ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate.* This Sentence he pronounced with great vehemency in the midst of the Sermon: And turning to the people, he said, *You wicked men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger.* And so he returned to his matter, and proceeded to the end. The dayes travell was ended, he came to *Langindrie*, and the two next Sundays preached in *Tranent*, with the like grace, and like confluence of people. In all his Sermons after his departure from *Augus*, he forespake the shortnesse of the time that he had to travell, and of his death, the day whereof approached neerer than any would believe. In the latter end of those dayes that are called the holy dayes of *Christmas*, past he, by consent of the Gentlemen, to *Hadington*, where it was supposed the greatest confluence of people should be, both by reason of the Towne, and of the Countrey adjacent. The first day before noon, the auditors were reasonable, and yet nothing in comparison of that which used to be in that Church. But the afternoon, and the next day following before noon, the auditory was so slender, that many wondred. The cause was judged to have been, That the Earle *Bothwell*, who in those bounds used to have great credit and obedience, by procurement of the Cardinall, had given inhibition, as well unto the Towne, as unto the Countrey, that they should not hear him, under the pain of his displeasure. The first night he lay within the Towne, with *David Forrest*, now called the Generall, a man that long professed the truth, and upon whom many in that time depended. The second night he lay in *Lethington*, the Laird whereof was ever civill, albeit not perswaded in Religion. The day following, before the said M. *George* past to the Sermon, there came to him a boy, with a Letter from the *Westland*; which received and read, he called for *John Knox*, who had waited upon him carefully from the time he came to *Louthaine*, with whom he began to enter into purpose, That he wearied of the

Two gray Friers.

the world, for he perceiveth that men began to be weary of God. The cause of his complaint was; The Gentlemen of the West had written unto him, That they could not keep the meeting at *Edinburgh*. The said *Jo. Knox* wondering that he desired to keep any purpose before Sermon (for that was not his accustomed use before) said, *Sir, the time of Sermon approacheth, I will leave you for the present to your meditation.* And so he took the Bill containing the purpose aforesaid, and left him: the said Master *George* walked up and down behinde the high Altar more than half an houre. His weary countenance and visage declared the grief and alteration of his minde. At last he passeth to the Pulpit; but the Auditory was small, he should have begun to have treated of the second Table of the Law: but thereof in that Sermon spake he very little. He began on this manner: *O Lord, How long shall it be that thy holy Word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their owne salvation? I have heard of thee, Hadington, That in thee would have been, at any vaine Clarke Play, two or three thousand people; and now to hear the Messenger of the Eternall God, of all the Towne or Parish, cannot be numbred one hundred persons: Sore and fearfull shall the plagues be, that shall ensue upon of this thy contempt, with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued: Yea, thou Hadington in speciall, strangers shall possesse thee, and you the present inhabitants shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because ye have not knowne, nor will not know the time of Gods mercifull visitation.* In such vehemency and threatning continued that servant of God, neer an hour and an half; in the which he declared all the plagues that ensued as plainly, as after our eyes saw them performed. In the end he said, *I have forgotten my self, and the matter that I should have treated of: But let these my last words concerning publike Preaching remain in your mindes, till that God send you new comfort.* Thereafter he made a short Paraphrase upon the second Table, with an Exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and unto the works of mercy, and so ended, as it were making his last Testament, as the issue declared fully. The Spirit of Truth and of true Judgement were both in his heart and mouth: for that same night was he apprehended before midnight, in the house of *Ormeston*, by the Earle *Bothwell*, made for money butcher to the Cardinall. The manner of his taking was thus: Departing from the towne of *Hadington*, he took his good-night, as it were, for ever, of all his acquaintance, especially from *Hewe Dowglas* of *Langindrie*. *Iohn Knox* pressing to have gone with the said Master *George*, he said, *Nay, returne to your children, and God blesse you; one is sufficient for one Sacrifice.* And so the said *Iohn Knox* albeit unwillingly obeyed, and returned with *Hewe Dowglas* of *Langindrie*, Master *George* having to accompany him the Laird of *Ormeston*, *Iohn Sandelandes* of *Calder* younger, the Laird of *Brounston*, and others, with their servants, passed upon foot (for it was a vehement Frost) to *Ormeston*. After supper he held comfortable purpose of Gods chosen children, and merrily said, *Me thinke that I desire earnestly to sleep:* And therewith he said, *Shall we sing a Psalme?* And so he appointed the One and fiftieth Psalme, which was put in Scottish Meeter, and began thus, *Have mercy on me new good Lord after thy great mercy, &c.* Which being ended, he past to his Chamber, and sooner then

Anno

Vengeance against *Hadington*.

Master *Wischarde* taken at *Ormeston*.

Note.

He means Gods people.

Anno

then his common diet, was to passe to bed with these words, *And grant quiet rest.* Before midnight the place was beset about, that none could escape to make advertisement. The Earle *Bothwell* came and called for the Laird, and declared the purpose, and said, That it was but in vain to make him to hold his house, for the Governour and the Cardinall with all their power were coming (and indeed the Cardinall was at *Elphinston*, not a mile distant from *Ormeston*) But if he would deliver the man to him, he would promise upon his Honour, That he should be safe, and that it should passe the power of the Cardinall to do him any harme or hurt. Allured with these words, and taking counsell with the said Master *George*, (who at the first word said, *Open the gates, the blessed will of my God be done.*) They received in the Earle *Bothwell* himself, with some Gentlemen with him: To whom Master *George* said, *I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my Lord, receiveth me this night, in the presence of these noble men: For now I am assured, That for your Honours sake, ye will suffer nothing any wayes to be done to me, but by the order of Law. I am not ignorant that all their Law is nothing but corruption, and a cloake to shed the blood of the Saints. But yet I lesse fear to die openly, than secretly to be murthered.* The said Earle *Bothwell* answered, *I shall not onely preserve your body from all violence that shall be purposed against you against order of Law, but also I promise here in the presence of these Gentlemen, That neither shall the Governour nor the Cardinall have their will of you, But I shall retaine you in mine owne hands, and in mine owne house, till that either I shall make you free, or else restore you in the same place where I receive you.* The Lairds aforesaid, said, *My Lord, If ye will do as you have spoken, and as we thinke your Lordship will do, then do we here promise unto your Lordship, That not onely we our selves shall serve you all the dayes of our life, but also we shall procure the whole professors within* Lothan *to do the same. And upon either the preservation of this our brother, or upon his delivery againe to our hands, we being reasonably advertised to receive him, That we, in the name and behalfe of our friends, shall deliver to your Lordship, or any sufficient man that shall deliver to us againe this servant of God, our Band of Manred in manner requisite.* And thus promise made in the presence of God, and hands stricken upon both the parties for observation of the promise, the said Master *George* was delivered to the hands of the said Earle *Bothwell*; who immediately departing with him, came to *Elphinston*, where the Cardinall was. Who knowing that *Calder Younger*, and *Brunston*, were with *Johan Cocburne* Laird of *Ormeston*, sent back with expedition to apprehend them also. The noyse of Horse-men being heard, the servants gave advertisement, That more then departed, or was there before, were returned. And while that they dispute what should be the motive, the Cardinalls Garrison had seized both the outer and inner Close. They called for the Laird, and for the Laird of *Calder*, who presenting themselves, demanded what their COMMISSION was. To bring you two, and the Laird of *Brounestoun* to my Lord GOVERNOUR. They were nothing content (as they had no cause) and yet they made

The Lord *Bothwells* promise.

M *Georges* words to the Earl *Bothwell*.

made faire countenance, and intreated the Gentlemen to drinke, and to baite their horses, till that they might put themselves in readinesse to ride with them. In this meane time *Brounston* conveyed himselfe first secretly, and then by speed of foot to *Ormiston* wood, and from thence to *Dundallon*, and so escaped that danger; the other two were put into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where the one, to wit, *Calder Younger*, remained untill his baud of *Manred* to the Cardinall, was the meanes of his deliverance: And the other, to wit, *Ormiston*, freed himselfe by leaping off the wall of the Castle, betwixt ten of the clock and eleven before noon: And so breaking Ward, he escaped prison, which he unjustly suffered. The servant of God M. *George Wischarde*, was carried first to *Edinburgh*, thereafter brought backe, for fashion sake, to the house of *Hailles* againe, which was the principall place that then the Earle *Bothwell* had in *Lothiane*. But as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they him: For the Cardinall gave gold, and that largely; and the Queen, with whom the said Earle was then in the Glunders, promised him favour in all his lawfull suites to women: if he would deliver the said M. *George*, to be kept in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. He made some resistance at the first, by reason of his promise. But an effeminate man cannot long withstand the assaults of a gracious Queene, and so was the servant of God transported to *Edinburgh*, where the Cardinall then had a convention of Prelats, wherein somewhat was said of redressing the abuses of the Church, and reforming the lives of the Clergie, but it tooke no effect. M. *Wischarde* remained but few dayes in *Edinburgh*: For that bloodie woolfe the *Cardinall*, ever thirsting after the blood of the servant of God, so travelled with the abused *Governour*, that he was content that Gods servant should be delivered to the power of that Tyrannie. And so small inversion being made, *Pilate* obeyed the petition of *Caiaphas*, and of his fellows, and adjudged *Christ* to be crucified. The Cardinall seeing it was forbidden by the Canon Law to Priests to sit as Judges upon life and death, although the crime were Heresie, sent to the Governour, desiring him to name some Lay-Judge to pronounce Sentence against M. *Wischarde*. The Governour had freely condescended to the Cardinalls request, without delay, if *David Hamilton* of *Preston*, a godly and wise man, had not remonstrated unto him, That he could expect no better end then *Saul*, since he persecuted the Saints of God, for that Truth which he professed once with such a shew of earnestnesse; the profession thereof, being the onely cause of his advancement to that high degree wherein he was: The Governour moved at this Speech of *David Hamiltons*, answered the Cardinall; That he would not meddle with the blood of that good man; and told him, That his blood should be on him, for he himselfe would be free of it. At this the Cardinall was angry; and said he would proceed, and that he had sent to the Governour of meere civility, without any need. And so the servant of God, delivered to the hand of that proud and mercilesse Tyrannie, triumph was made by the Priests. The godly lamented, and accused the foolishnesse of the Governour: For by the retaining of the said M. *George*, he might have caused Protestants and Papists (rather proud Romanists) to have served; The one, to the end the life of their

Anno

Preacher

Anno 1546.

Preacher might have been saved; The other, for feare that he should have set him at liberty again, to the confusion of the Bishops. *But where God is left (as he had plainely renounced him before) what can counsell or judgement availe?* How the servant of God was dealt withall; and what he did from the day that he entred within the sea Tower of S. *Andrews*, which was in the end of January, in the yeere of God 1546. unto the first of March the same yeere when he suffered, we cannot certainly tell, except we understand he wrote somewhat in prison, but that was suppressed by the enemies. The *Cardinall* delayed no time, but caused all *Bishops*, yea, all the Clergie that had any preheminence, to be called to S. *Andrews*, against the seven and twentieth day of February; that consultation might be had in that question; which in his minde was no lesse resolved, then Christs death was in the minde of *Caiaphas*. But that the rest should bear the like burden with him, he would that they should before the world subscribe whatsoever he did. In that day was wrought a wonder, not unlike that which was at the accusation and death of Jesus Christ, when *Pilate* and *Herod*, who before were enemies, were made friends, by consenting of them both to Christs condemnation; differs nothing, except that *Pilate* and *Herod* were brethren under their father the *Devill*, in the estate called *Temporall*; And these two of whom we are about to speake, were brethren (sons of the same father the *Devill*) in the estate *Ecclesiasticall*. If we interlace merrynesse with earnest matters, pardon us good Reader, for the fact is so notable that it deserveth long remembrance.

Note.

The proud Cardinall, and the glorious foole *Dumbar*.

The Cardinall was knowne proud; and *Dumbar* Archbishop of *Glasgow* was knowne a glorious foole: And yet because sometimes he was called the Kings Master, he was Chancellour of *Scotland*. The Cardinall cometh even the same yeere, in the end of harvest before to *Glasgow*, upon what purpose we omit. But while they remaine together, the one in the Towne, the other in the Castle; Question riseth for bearing of their Crosses. The Cardinall alleadged, That by reason of his Cardinalship, and that he was *Legatus natus*, and Primate within *Scotland*, in the kingdome of *Antichrist*; The one should have the preheminence, and that his Crosse should not onely go before, but that also it should onely be borne wheresoever he was. Good *Gukstone Glakstone*, the aforesaid *Archbishop*, lacked no reasons, as he thought, for maintenance of his glory. He was an Archbishop in his owne Diocesse, and in his owne Cathedrall Seat and Church, and therefore ought to give place to no man. The power of the Cardinall was but begged from *Rome*, and appertaineth but to his own person, and not to his Bishoprick, for it might be, that his successour should not be Cardinall; but his dignity was annexed with his office, and did appertaine to all that ever should be Bishops of *Glasgow*. Howsoever these doubts were resolved by the Doctors of Divinity of both the Prelats, yet the decision was as ye shall heare; Comming forth (or going in, all is one) at the Queere doore of *Glasgow* Church, begins striving for state betwixt the Crosse-bearers, so that from glouming they came to shouldring, and so from shouldring they go to buffets, and from dry blowe neffaling; and then for charities sake, they cry, *Dispersit dedit pauperibus*, and essay which of the Crosses was finest mettall; which staffe

A question worthy of such two Prelats.

staffe was strongest, and which Crosse-bearer could best defend his Masters preheminence; and that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground go both their Crosses. And then began no little fray, but yet a merry game, for rockets were rent, tippets were torne, crowns were knapped, and side gowns might have been seen wantonly to wagge from the one wall to the other: Many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity, and therefore could not buckle other by the brises, as bold men would have done. But fie on the Jackmen, that did not their duty: For had the one part of them recountred the other, then had all gone right; but the Sanctuary we suppose saved the lives of many. How merrily so ever this be written, it was bitter mirth to the Cardinall and his court. It was more then irregularity, yea, it might well have been judged *læse majesté* to the son of perdition, the Popes own person; and yet the other in his folly, as proud as a Peacocke, would let the Cardinall know, that he was a Bishop, when the other but *Beton*, before he gat the Abbey of *Aberbroth*. This ennity was judged mortall, and without all hope of reconciliation. But the blood of the innocent servant of God, buried in oblivion all that bragging and boast. For the Archbishop of *Glasgow* was the first unto whom the Cardinall wrote, signifying unto him what was done, and earnestly craving of him, that he would assist with his presence and counsell, how that such an enemy to their estate might be suppressed. And thereto was not the other slow, but kept time appointed; sat next to the Cardinall, waited and subscribed first in ranke; and lay over the East block-house with the said Cardinall, till the Martyr of God was consumed with fire: for this we may note, That all these beasts consented in heart to the slaughter of that Innocent. So did they approve it with their presence, having the whole ordnance of the Castle of S. *Andrews*, bent towards the place of execution, which was neere to the Castle, ready to have shot, if any would have made defence or rescue to Gods servant. The manner of his Accusation, Processe, and Answers followeth, as we have received from certaine Records, which we relate truely; as neere as possibly we can.

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Upon the last of February was sent to the prison where the servant of God lay, the *Deane* of the Towne, by the commandment of the *Cardinall* and his wicked counsell, and there summoned the said Master *George*, that he should on the morrow following appeare before the Judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and Hereticall Doctrine. To whom the said Master *George* answered; What needeth (said he) the Cardinall to summon me to answer for my Doctrine openly before him, under whose power and Dominion I am thus straightly bound in irons? May not he compell me to answer, of his extort power? Or beleeveth he that I am unprovided to render account of my Doctrine? To manifest your selves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keepe your old Ceremonies and Constitutions made by men. Upon the next morrow the Lord Cardinall caused his servants to addresse themselves in their most warlike array, with Jack, Knapscall, Splent, Spear, & Axe, more seemly for the war then for the Preaching of the true word of God. And when these armed Champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the

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Bishops into the Abbey-church, incontinently they sent for M. *George*, who was conveyed unto the said Church by the Captaine of the Castle, and the number of an hundred men, addressed in manner aforesaid, like a Lamb led they him to the sacrifice. As he entred in at the Abbey-Church doore, there was a poore man lying vexed with great infirmities, asking of his almes, to whom he flung his purse, and when he came before the Cardinall, by and by the Sub-prior of the Abbey, called Deane *John Winrame*, stood up in the Pulpit, and made a Sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of *Matth.* 13. Whose Sermon was divided into foure parts. The first was, A short and briefe declaration of the Evangelist. The second, of the interpretation of the good seed: And because he called the Word of God the good seed, and Heresie the evil seed; he declared what Heresie was, and how it should be knowne. He defined it on this manner; *Heresie is a false Opinion, defended with Pertinacie, clearely repugning the Word of God.* The third part of his Sermon was, The cause of Heresie within that realm, and all other realms. The cause of Heresie (said he) is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens soules: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to winne again the false Teachers of Heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is, the word of God: and not onely to win again, but also to overcome, as saith *Paul* to *Timothy*, *A bishop must be faultlesse, as becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but harberous, one that loved goodnesse, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true Word of Doctrine. That he may be able with wholsome learning, and to impugne that which they say against him.* The fourth part of his Sermon was, how Heresies should be knowne; Heresies (quoth he) be knowne on this manner; As the Gold-smith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfit, by the touch-stone; So likewise may we know Heresie by the undoubted Touch-stone, that is, The true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God. At the last he added, That Hereticks should be put down in this present life. To which Proposition, the Gospel he treated of appeareth not to repugne, *Let them both grow to the harvest.* The harvest is the end of the world, nevertheless he affirmed, That they should be put down by the civill Magistrate, and Law. And when he ended his Sermon, incontinent they caused M. *George* to ascend into the Pulpit, there to heare his Accusation and Articles, for right against him stood one of the fat flock, a monster, *John Lawder*, a Priest, laden full of cursings, written in paper of the which he took out a roule, both long, and also full of outrages, threatnings, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent M. *George*, so many cruell and abominable words, and hit him so spitefully with the Popes thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance. When that this fat sow had read thorowout all his lying menaces, his face running down with sweat, and froathing at the mouth like a boare: He spate at M. *Georges* face, saying, *What answers thou to these sayings? Thou runagate, traitour, theefe, which we have*

Who was a learned man and heartily favoured the pure Religion, in secret.

Bona heresis definitio, &c.

Note the cause of Heresie.

The Proofe of Heresie.

have duely proved by sufficient witnesse against thee. Master *George* hearing this, sate downe upon his knees in the Pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his Prayer, sweetly and Christianly, he answered unto them all in this manner: Anno

Master *George* his ORATION.

MAny and horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable for to heare, have ye spoken here this day, which not onely to teach, but also to thinke, I thought it ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to heare me, that ye may know what were my Sayings, and the manner of my Doctrine. This my Petition (my Lords) I desire to be heard for three causes. The first is, Because through preaching of the Word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye heare me teaching truely the pure and sincere Word of God, without any dissimulation. The second reason is, Because that your health springeth of the Word of God, for he worketh all things by his Word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing, if ye should stop your eares from me, teaching truely the Word of God. The third reason is, Because your Doctrine speaketh forth many pestilentious, blasphemous, and abominable words, not coming by the inspiration of God, but of the devill, on no lesse perill than my life. It is just therefore and reasonable for your discretions, *to know what my words and Doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this Realme, that I perish not unjustly, to the great perils of your selves. Wherefore both for the glory of God, your owne health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your discretions to heare me, and in the meane time I shall recite my Doctrine, without any colour.* 1. 2. 3.

First and chiefly, since the time that I came into this Realme, I taught nothing but the ten Commandments of God, the twelve Articles of the Faith, *and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother Tongue. Moreover, in* Dundie *I taught the Epistle of Saint* Paul *to the* Romanes. *And I shall shew* your discretions *faithfully what fashion and manner I used, when I taught without any humane dread. So that* your discretions *give me your eares benevolent and attentive.* Suddenly then, with a loud voyce cryed the accuser, the fat sow, *Thou Hereticke, Runnagate, Trayter, and Thief, It was not lawfull for thee to preach; thou hast taken the power at thine owne hand, without any authority of the Church. We forthinke that thou hast been a Preacher so long.* Then said the whole Congregation of the Prelats, with their complices, these words; *If we give him license to Preach, he is so crafty, and in holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will perswade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us.* M. *George* seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed to an indifferent and equall Judge. To whom the accuser, *Iohn Lawder* aforesaid, with hoggish voyce answered, *Is not my Lord Cardinall the second person within this Realme, Chancellor of* Scotland, *Archbishop of Saint* Andrewes, *Bishop of* Merepose, *Commendator of* Arbroth, Legatus natus, Legatus a Latere. And so reciting as many Titles of his unworthy Honours as would have laden a Ship, much sooner an Asse: Is not he (quoth *Iohn Lawder*) an equall JUDGE apparently to thee. Whom other desirest thou to be thy JUDGE? Note. Note.

Anno To whom this humble man answered, saying, *I refuse not my Lord Cardinall, but I desire the Word of God to be my Judge, the Temporall estate with some of your Lordships mine auditors, because I am here my Lord Governours prisoner.* Whereupon the pridefull and scornfull people that stood by, mocked him saying, *Such man, such Iudge*, speaking seditious and reproachfull words against the Governour, and other of the Nobles, meaning them also to be hereticks. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given sentence upon M. *George*, and that without further Processe, had not certain men there councelled my Lord Cardinall to reade againe the Articles, and to heare his answers thereupon, that the people might not complaine of his wrongfull condemnation. And shortly for to declare. These were the Articles following, with his Answers, as far they would give him leave to speak. For when he intended to mitigate their leasings, and shew the manner of his Doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another Article.

The first Article.

Thou false Hereticke, Runnagate, Traytor, and Thief, Deceiver of the people, despisest the Church, and in like case contemnes my Lord Governours Authority. And this we know of surety, That when thou preachedst in Dundie, *and was charged by my Lord Governours Authority to desist; nevertheless thou wouldest not obey, but persevered in the same: And therefore the Bishop of* Breachen *cursed thee, and delivered thee into the Devils hand, and gave thee then Commandment, That thou shouldest preach no more; yet notwithstanding thou didst continue obstinately.*

The Answer.

My Lords, I have read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, That it is not lawfull, for the threats and menaces of men, to desist from the preaching of the Gospel: Therefore it is written, We *shall rather obey God than men.* I have also read the Prophet *Malachie*; *I shall curse your blessings, and blesse your cursings, saith the Lord.* Believing firmly, That he would turn your cursings into blessings.

The second Article.

Thou false heretick didst say, That a Priest standing at the Altar saying Masse, was like a Fox wagging his taile in July.

The Answer.

My Lords, I said not so. These were my sayings, The moving of the body outward, without inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an Ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a secret searcher of mens hearts. Therefore who will truely adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him. Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another Article.

The third Article.

Thou false hereticke Preachest against the Sacraments, saying, That there are not seven Sacraments.

The

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The Answer.

My Lords, It is not so by your pleasures, I taught never of the number of the Sacraments, whether there were seven or eleven: so many as are instituted by Christ, and are showne to us by the Gospel, I professe openly. Except it be the Word of God, I dare affirme nothing.

The fourth Article.

Thou false hereticke hast openly taught, That Auricular Confession is not a blessed Sacrament, and thou saist, That we should onely confesse us to God, and to no Priest.

The Answer:

My Lords, I say, That Auricular Confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the Gospel, truely it cannot be a Sacrament. Of the Confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture, as when *David* saith, *I thought that I would acknowledge mine iniquity against my self unto the Lord, and he forgave the trespasses of my sins.* Here confessing signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people on this manner, I reproved no manner of Confession: And farther, Saint *Iames* saith, *Acknowledge your sins one to another, and so let you have peace among your selves.* Here the Apostle meaneth nothing of Auricular Confession, but that we should acknowledge and confesse our selves to be sinners before our brethren, and before the world, and not to esteeme our selves, as the Gray Friers do, thinking themselves already purged. When that he had said these words, the horned Bishops and their complices cryed and gyrned with their teeth, saying, *See ye not what colours he hath in his speech, that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion?*

Note.

Note.

The fifth Article.

Thou false heretick didst say openly, That it was necessary for every man to know and understand his Baptisme; which is contrary to Generall Councels, and the Estates of holy Church.

The Answer.

My Lords, I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make Merchandise with any French-men, or any other unknowne stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the French-man or stranger. So likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the Infant unto God in Baptisme. Then said M. *Peter Chaplin*, That he had the devill within him, and the spirit of terrour. Then answered him a childe, saying, *The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speake.*

The sixth Article.

Thou false Hereticke, Traytor, and Thiefe, thou said, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but a piece of bread baken upon the ashes, and no other thing else;

Anno *else; and all that is there done, is but a superstitious Rite, against the Commandment of God.*

The Answer.

Oh Lord God! so manifest lyes and blasphemies, the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the Sacrament of the Altar (my Lords) I never taught any thing against the Scripture, the which I shall (by Gods grace) make manifest this day, I being ready therefore to suffer death. The lawfull use of the Sacrament is most acceptable unto God. But the great abuse of it, is very detestable unto him: But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly shew your Lordships. I once chanced to meet with a *Iew*, when I was sayling upon the water of *Rhene*; I did enquire of him, What was the cause of his pertinacie, that he did not believe that the true *Messias* was come, considering that they had seen all the Prophesies which were spoken of him, to be fulfilled: Moreover, the Prophesies taken away, and the Scepter of *Iuda*. By many other testimonies of the Scripture I witnessed to him, and proved that the *Messias* was come, the which they called *Iesus of Nazareth?* This *Iew* answered again unto me, When *Messias* cometh, he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the Law which was given unto our Fathers, as ye do; for why? We see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you, yet you are not moved with pity towards them: But amongst us *Iewes*, though we be poor, there are no beggers found. Secondarily, It is forbidden by the Law to fain any kinde of Imagery, of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the Sea under the earth, but one God onely to honour. But your Sanctuaries and Churches are full of Idolls. Thirdly, a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, ye adore and worship, and say that it is your God. I have rehearsed here but the sayings of a *Iew*, which I never affirmed to be true. Then the Bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the ground; and what he meaned in this matter further, they would not hear.

Note.

The seventh Article.

Thou false hereticke didst say, That extreme Unction was not a Sacrament.

The Answer.

My Lords, forsooth I never taught of extreme Unction, in my Doctrine, whether it was a Sacrament or no.

The eighth Article.

Thou false hereticke didst say, That holy water is not so good as Wash, and such like. Thou contemnest conjuring, and sayest, That holy Churches cursing availeth not.

The Answer.

My Lords, as for holy water, what strength it is of, I taught never in my Doctrine. Conjurings and Exorcisms, if they were conformable to the Word of God, I would commend them; but in as much as they are not conformable to the Commandment and Word of God, I reprove them.

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The ninth Article.

Thou false Hereticke and runagate, hast said, That every man is a Priest; and likewise thou sayest, That the Pope hath no more power then another man.

The Answer.

My Lords, I taught nothing but the Word of God, I remember that I have read in some places of S. *John*, and S. *Peter*, of the which one saith, *He hath made us kings and priests.* The other saith, *He hath made us the kingly Priesthood.* Wherefore I have affirmed, Any man understanding and perfit in the Word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, to have his power given him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the vertue of the Word of God, the which word is called, *The power of God*, as witnesseth S. *Paul*, evidently enough. And againe I say, Any unlearned man, and not exercised in the Word of God, nor yet constant in his Faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of; I say, he hath no power to binde or to loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument by the which he bindeth and looseth, that is to say, *The Word of God.* After that he had said these words, all the Bishops laughed, and mocked him: When that he beheld their laughing; Laugh ye (said he) my Lords? Though that these my sayings do seem scornfull, and worthy of derision to your Lordships; nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value; because that they stand not onely upon my life, but also upon the honour and glory of God. In the meane time many godly men, beholding the woodnesse and great cruelty of the Bishops, and the invincible patience of the said M. *George*, did greatly mourne and lament.

Note this against the legality of the Bishops.

The tenth Article.

Thou false Hereticke saidst, That a man had no free-will, but is like to the Stoicks, *which say, That it is not in mans will to do any thing, but that all desire and concupiscence cometh of God, of whatsoever kinde it be of.*

The Answer.

My Lords I said not so, truely, I say, That as many as beleeve in Christ firmely, unto them is given liberty conformable to the saying of S. *John*, *If the Sonne make you free, then shall you verily be free:* Of the contrary, as many as beleeve not in Christ Jesus, they are bond-servants of sin: *He that sinneth, is bound to sin.*

The eleventh Article.

Thou false Hereticke sayest, It is as lawfull to eat flesh upon Friday, as on Sunday.

The Answer.

Pleaseth it your Lordships, I have read in the Epistles of S. *Paul*, That *who is cleane, unto him all things are cleane:* Of the contrary, *to the filthy men all things are uncleane.* A faithfull man, cleane and holy, sanctifieth by the Word, the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable

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able unto God. So that a creature cannot sanctifie any impure and unfaithfull man. But to the faithfull man all things are sanctified by the prayer of the word of God. After these sayings of M. *George*, then said the Bishops with their complices; What needed we any witnesse against him, hath he not here openly spoken blasphemie?

The twelfth Article.

Thou false Hereticke doest say, That we should not pray unto Saints, but to God onely; Say whether thou hast said this or no, say shortly.

The Answer.

For the weaknesse and infirmity of the hearers, he said, without doubt plainely, That Saints should not be honoured, nor called upon. My Lords (said he) there are two things worthy of note. The one is certaine, and the other uncertain. It is found plainely and certain in Scriptures, That we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first Commandment, *Thou shalt onely worship and honour thy Lord God with all thine heart.* But as for praying to, and honouring of Saints, there is great doubt amongst many, whether they heare or no the invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my Doctrine, That they should leave the unsure way, and follow the way which was taught us by our Master Christ. He is onely our Mediatour, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the doore by the which we must enter in: He that entreth not in by this doore, but climeth another way, is a thiefe and a murderer. He is the veritie and life: he that goeth out of the way, there is no doubt he shall fall into the mire: Yea, verily he is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my Doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily that which I have heard and read in the Word of God, I taught openly and in no corners, and now ye shall witnesse the same, if your Lordships will heare me: Except it stand by the Word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirme any thing. These sayings he rehearsed divers times.

Note.

The thirteenth Article.

Thou false Hereticke hast Preached plainely, That there is no Purgatory, and that it is a fained thing, for any man after this life to be punished in Purgatory.

The Answer.

My Lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore; Without expresse witnesse and testimony of Scriptures, I dare affirme nothing. I have oft, and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a terme found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereto. Therefore I was afraid ever to teach of that thing which I could not finde in Scripture. Then said he to M. *John Lawder*, his accuser; If you have any testimony of the Scripture, by the which you may prove any such place, shew it now before this auditory. But that dolt had not a word to say for himselfe, but was as dumbe as a Beetle in that matter.

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The fourteenth Article.

Thou false Hereticke hast taught plainly against the Vows of Monks, Friers, Nuns, and Priests, saying, That whosoever was bound to such like Vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damnation. Moreover, That it was lawfull for Priests to marry wives, and not to live sole.

The Answer.

Of this, my Lords, I have read in the Gospel, That there are three kinde of chaste men, some are gelded from their mothers womb: some are gelded by men, and some have gelded themselves for the kingdom of heavens sake; Verily, I say, these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the Gospel, have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my tongue, to what inconveniences they have vowed themselves. When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines then one wife.

The fifteenth Article.

Thou false Hereticke, and runnagate sayest, That thou wilt not obey our Generall or Provincial Counsells.

The Answer.

My Lords, what your generall Counsells are, I know not, I was never exercised in them; but to the pure Word of God, I gave my labours. Read here your generall Counsells, or else give me a book, wherein they are contained, that I may read them: if they be agreeable with the Word of God, I will not disagree. Then the ravening Wolves turned unto madnesse, and said; Wherefore let we him speak any farther? Read forth the rest of the Articles, and stay not upon them. Amongst those cruell Tygers, there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called *John Scot*, standing behinde *John Lawders* backe, hasting him to reade the rest of the Articles, and not to tarry upon his wittie and godly answers; For we may not abide them (quoth he) no more then the devil may abide the signe of the Crosse, when it is named. This was Friar Scot.

The sixteenth Article.

Thou Hereticke sayest, That it is vain to build to the honour of God costly Churches, seeing that God remaineth not in Churches made by mens hands, nor yet can God be in little space, as betwixt the Priests hands.

The Answer.

My Lords, *Salomon* saith, *If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much lesse this house which I have builded.* And *Job* consented to the same sentence, saying, Seeing that he is higher then the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him; he is deeper then the hell, then how shalt thou know him, he is longer then the earth, and broader then the sea, so that God cannot be comprehended in one place, who is infinite.

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Note.

These sayings notwithstanding, I said never that Churches should be destroyed: But of the contrary I affirmed ever, That Churches should be maintained and upholden, that the people should be assembled in them to hear the Word of God Preached. Moreover, wheresoever is the true Preaching of the Word of God, and the lawfull use of the Sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himselfe: So that both these sayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended in any one place: And wheresoever are two or three gathered in his Name, there is he present in the midst of them. Then said he to his accuser, If thou thinkest any otherwise; Then I say, Shew forth thy reasons before this auditory. Then he without all reason was dumbe, and could not answer a word.

The seventeenth Article.

Thou false Hereticke contemnest fasting, and sayest thou shouldest not fast.

The Answer.

My Lords, I finde that fasting is commanded in the Scripture, therefore I were a slanderer of the Gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so onely, but I have learned by experience, that Fasting is good for the health and conservation of the body. But God onely knoweth who fasteth the true Fast.

The eighteenth Article.

Thou false Hereticke hast Preached openly, saying, That the soules of men shall sleepe to the latter day of judgement, and shall not obtaine life immortall untill the last day.

The Answer.

God full of mercy and goodnesse forgive them that say such things of me. I wot, and know surely by the Word of God, that he who hath begun to have the Faith of Jesus Christ, and to beleeve firmely in him; I know surely, I say, that the soule of that man, shall never sleepe, but ever shall live an immortall life, the which life from day to day is renewed in Grace, and augmented, nor yet shall ever perish, or have an end, but shall ever live immortall with Christ the head. To the which life, all that beleeve in him shall come, and rest in eternall glory. Amen.

WHen that the Bishops with their complices had accused this innocent man, in manner and forme aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an Hereticke, not having respect to his godly answers, and true reasons which he alleadged, nor yet to their own consciences; Thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the sayings of Jesus Christ, in the Gospel of Saint *John* the 16. Chapter; *They shall excommunicate you, yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall thinke that he hath done to God good service.*

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The Prayer of Master *George Wischarde.*

O Immortall God, how long shalt thou suffer the rage and great crudelitie of the ungodly, to exercise their fury upon thy servants which doe further thy Word in this world, seeing they desire to do the contrary; That is, to choke and destroy thy true Doctrine and Veritie, by the which thou hast shewed thee unto the world which was all drowned in blindnesse and misknowledge of thy Name. O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer for thy Names sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life; which is but a shadow, as thou hast shewed to us by thy Prophets and Apostles. But yet we desire thee (mercifull Father) that thou wouldst conserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to heare thy Word, and to be thy true servants in this present life.

Then by and by they caused the common people to remove, whose desire was always to hear that Innocent man speak. Then the sons of darknesse pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the Judgement of God. When all this was done and said, the Cardinall causeth his tormentors to passe again with the meek Lambe unto the Castle, untill such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Castle, then there came two *fiends*, two gray-Friers, Frier *Scot* and his mate, saying, Sir, you must make your confession unto us. He answered, I will make no confession: Go fetch me yonder man that preached unto us this day, and I will conferre with him. Then they sent for the *Sub-prior* of the Abbey, who came to him with all diligence. And conferred with him a pretty while, at last burst forth in teares, but so soon as he was able to speak, he asked him, If he would receive the Communion; Master *Wischarde* answered, He would most willingly, if he could have it according to Christs institution under both kindes. The Sub-prior went to the Cardinall and his Prelats, he told them, That Master *Wischarde* was an innocent man; which he said, not to intercede for his life; but to make known the innocency of the man unto all men, as it was known to God. At these words the Cardinall was angry, and said to the Sub-Prior, Long agoe we knew what you were; Then the Sub-Prior demanded, Whether they would suffer M. *Wischarde* to receive the Communion or no; They answered, No. A while after M. *Wischarde* had ended with the Sub-Prior, the Captaine of the Castle, with some other friends, came to him, and asked him; If he would break fast with them; He answered, Most willingly, for I know you to be most honest and godly men; So all being ready, he desired them to sit downe, and heare him a while with patience; Then he discoursed to them about halfe an houre concerning the Lords Supper, his Sufferings and Death for us; He exhorteth them to love one another, laying aside all rancor, envie, and vengeance, as perfect members of Christ, who intercedes continually for us to God the Father. After this he gave thanks, and blessing the Bread and Wine, he took the Bread and brake it, and gave to every one of it, bidding each of them, *Remember that Christ had died for them, and feed on it spiritually*; So taking the Cup, he bade them, *Remember that Christs blood was*

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shed for them, &c. And after he gave thanks and prayed for them. When he had done, he told them, That he would neither eat nor drink more in this life; and so retired to his Chamber. Immediately after came to him (sent from the Cardinall) two executioners; one brought him a coat of Linnen died black, and put it upon him; The other brought some baggs full of Powder, which they tied to severall parts of his body: Thus having dressed him, they brought him to an outer Roome, neere to the gate of the Castle; Then the fire was made ready, and the Stake at the West port of the Castle, neere to the Priory. Over against the place of execution, the Castle Windows were hung with rich hangings and Velvet Cushions, laid for the Cardinall and Prelats, who from thence did feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The Cardinall dreading that Master *George* should have been taken away by his friends; Before had commanded to bend all the ordnance of the Castle right against the place of execution; and commanded all his Gunners to be ready, and stand beside their Gunnes, unto such time as he was burnt. All this being done, they bound Master *George* his hands behinde his backe, and with sound of Trumpet, led him forth with the Souldiers, from the Castle, to the place of their cruell and wicked execution. As he came forth of the Castle gate, there met him certain beggars, asking of him almes for Gods sake; To whom he answered, I want my hands, wherewith I was wont to give you almes; But the mercifull Lord, of his benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both unto your bodies and soules. Then afterward met him two false *Fiends*, (I should say Friers) saying, M. *George*, pray to your Lady, that she may be a Mediatrix for you to her Sonne: To whom he answered meekly; Cease, tempt me not, I intreat you. After this he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chaine of iron about his middle.

When that he came to the fire he sat downe upon his knees, and rose againe; And thrice he said these words; *O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me: Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands.* When he had made this Prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words, having obtained leave to speak a little: I beseech you Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended at the Word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye see already prepared for me. But I exhort you that ye love the Word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the Words sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, shew my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off to learne the word of God which I taught them, after the grace given unto me, for no persecutions nor troubles in this world, which last not: And shew unto them that my Doctrine was no wives fables, after the constitutions made by men; And if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten greater thanks by men. But for the Words sake and true Gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and minde. For this cause I was sent, That I should suffer this fire for Christs

sake.

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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 unto you for the Words ſake; and not to fear them that ſlay the body, and have no power afterward to ſlay the ſoul. Some have ſaid of me, That I taught that the ſoul of man ſhould ſleep untill 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. Then he prayed for them which accuſed him, ſaying, *I beſeech the Father of heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or elſe of any evil minde forged lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart: I beſeech Chriſt forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.* And laſt of all, he ſaid to the people on this manner; I beſeech you brethren and ſiſters to exhort your *Prelats* to the learning of the Word of God, that they may be aſhamed to do evil, and learn to do good; And if they will not convert themſelves from their wicked errour, there ſhall haſtily come upon them the wrath of God, which they ſhall not eſchew. Many faithfull words ſaid he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruell torments which were then prepared for him. Then the Executioner that was his tormentor, ſate down upon his knees, and ſaid, *Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death.* To whom he anſwered, Come hither to me: When he was come to him, he kiſſed his cheek, and ſaid, Lo here is a token that I forgive thee, my heart, do thy Office: And then by and by the Trumpet ſounding, he was tyed to the ſtake, and the fire kindled. The Captain of the Caſtle, for the love he bore to M. *Wiſcharde*, drew ſo neer to the fire, that the flame thereof did him harme; he wiſhed M. *Wiſcharde* to be of good courage, and to beg from God the forgiveneſſe of his ſins; to whom M. *Wiſcharde* anſwered thus; *This fire torments my body, but no wayes abates my ſpirit.* Then M. *Wiſcharde* looking towards the Cardinall, ſaid, *He who in ſuch ſtate, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few dayes ſhall be hanged out at the ſame window, to be ſeen with as much ignominy, as he now leaneth there in pride.* Then with this, the Executioner drawing the Cord, ſtopt his breath; preſently after, the fire being great, he was conſumed to powder. The Prelats would not ſuffer any prayers to be made for him, according to their Cuſtome. After the death of Maſter *Wiſcharde*, the Cardinall was cryed up by his flatterers, and all the rabble of the corrupt Clergie, as the onely Defender of the Catholike Church, and puniſher of hereticks, negleting the authority of the ſluggiſh Governour: And it was ſaid by them, *That if the great Prelates of latter dayes, both at home and abroad, had been ſo ſtout and zealous of the credit of the Catholike Church, they had not onely ſuppreſſed all hereticks, but alſo kept under the Lay-men, who were ſo froward and ſtubborne.* On the other ſide, when that the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they could not withhold from piteous mourning, and complaining of the innocent lambs ſlaughter. After the death of this bleſſed Martyr of God, began the people in plaine ſpeaking, to damne and deteſt the cruelty that was uſed; yea, men of great birth and eſtimation and honour at open tables avowed, That the blood of the ſaid Maſter *George* ſhould be revenged, or elſe it ſhould coſt life for life: and

Anno that in a short time they should be like hogs kept for slaughter, by this vitious Priest, and wicked Monster, which neither minded God, nor cared for man. Amongst those that spake against the Cardinalls cruelty, *John Lesley*, brother to the Earle of *Rothes* was chief, with his Cozen *Norman Lesley*, who had been a great follower of the Cardinall; and very active for him but a little before, fell so foule with him, that they came to high reproaches one with another. The occasion of their falling out was a private businesse, wherein *Norman Lesley* said he was wronged by the Cardinall: On the other side, the Cardinall said he was not with respect used by *Norman Lesley* his inferiour. The said *John Lesley* in all companies spared not to say, That that same dagger (shewing forth his dagger) and that same hand should be put in the Cardinalls breast. These brutes came to the Cardinalls ears: but he thought himselfe stout enough for all *Scotland*: For in *Babylon*, that is, in his new *Block-House*, he was sure, as he thought; and upon the fields he was able to match all his enemies: And to speak the truth, the most part of the Nobility of *Scotland* had either given unto him their Bands of *Manred*, or else were in confederacy, and promised amity with him, and so he gave his bastard eldest daughter in Marriage to the Earl of *Crawford* his eldest son and heir, and caused the Wedding to be celebrate with such State, as if she had been a Princes lawfull daughter. He onely feared them in whose hands God did deliver him, and for them he laid his nets so secretly (as that he made a full compt) that their feet could not escape, as we shall after hear. And something of his former practices we may recompt. After *Easter* he came to *Edinburgh*, to hold the Seingnye (as the Papists termed then their unhappy Assembly of *Baals* shaven sort) It was bruted that something was purposed against him at that day by the Earle of *Angus* and his friends, whom he mortally feared, and whose destruction he sought; but it failed, and so returned he to his strength; yea, to his god and onely comfort, as well in heaven as in earth; and there he remained without all fear of death, promising to himself no lesse pleasure then did the rich man of whom mention is made by our Master in the Gospel; for he did not onely say, Eat and be glad, my soul, for thou hast great riches laid up in store for many dayes; but he said, *Tush, a figge for the fooles, and a button for the bragging of heretickes, and their assistance in* Scotland: *Is not my Lord Governour mine? witnesse his eldest son in pledge at my table. Have I not the Queen at my owne devotion* (he meant of the mother *Mary* that now
1566 1566 raigns) *Is not* France *my friend, and I am friend to* France? *What danger should I feare?* And thus in vanity the carnall Cardinall delighted himself a little before his death. But yet he had devised to have cut off such as he thought might trouble him: For he had appointed the whole Gentlemen of *Fyfe* to have met him at *Falkland* the Munday; but he was slain upon the Saturday before. His treasonable purpose was not understood, and it was this; That *Norman Lesley*, Sheriff of *Fyfe*, and apparent heir to his Father the Earl of *Rothes*, the foresaid *John Lesley*, Father brother to *Norman*; the Lairds of *Grange*, elder and younger; Sir *James Learmond* of *Darsie*, and Provost of Saint *Andrewes*; and the faithfull Laird of *Rath*, should either have been slain, or else taken, and after to have beene

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used

used at his pleasure. This enterprise was disclosed after his slaughter; partly by Letters and Memorialls found in his chamber, but plainly affirmed by such as were of the counsell. Many purposes were devised, how that wicked man might have been taken away; But all faileth, till Friday the twenty eighth of *May*, *anno* 1546. when the aforesaid *Norman* came at night to Saint *Andrewes*, *William Kirkaldie* of *Grange* younger, was in the Towne before, waiting upon the purpose. Last came *John Lesley* as aforesaid, who was most suspected: What conclusion they took that night, it was not knowne, but by the issue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the 29 of *May*, were they in sundry Companies in the Abbey Church-yard, not far distant from the Castle: First, the Gates being open, and the draw-Bridge letten downe, for receiving of Lime and Stones, and other things necessary for building (for *Babilon* was almost finished) First, we say, assayed *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grange* younger, and with him six persons, and getting entry, held purpose with the Porter, If my Lord was walking; who answered, No: (and so it was indeed, for he had been busie at his compts with Mistris *Marion Ogilbie* that night, who was espied to depart from him by the privie Posterne that morning; and therefore quietnesse, after the rules of Physick, and a morning sleep, was requisite (for my Lord.) While the said *William* and the Porter talketh, and his servants made them to look the work and workmen, approached *Norman Lesley* with his company: and because they were in great number, they easily gat entrie. They addresse to the midst of the Court: and immediately came *John Lesley*, somewhat rudely, and four persons with him: The Porter fearing, would have drawne the Bridge; but the said *John* being entred thereon, stayed it, and leapt in: And while the Porter made him for defence, his head was broken, the Keyes taken from him, and he cast into the ditch, and so the place was seized. The shout ariseth; the work-men, to the number of more then a hundred, ran off the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the Wicket Gate. The first thing that ever was done, *William Kirkaldie* took the Guard of the privy Posterne, fearing lest the Fox should have escaped. Then go the rest to the Gentlemens Chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more then fifty persons to the Gate: The number that enterprised and did this, was but sixteen persons. The Cardinall wakened with the shouts, asked from his window, What meant that noyse? It was answered, That *Norman Lesley* had taken his Castle: Which understood, he ran to the Posterne; but perceiving the passage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his Chamber, took his two handed sword, and caused his Chamberlain to cast Chests and other impediments to the doore. In this mean time came *John Lesley* unto it, and bids open. The Cardinall asking, Who calls; he answered, My name is *Lesley*. He demanded, I that *Norman*? The other saith, Nay, my name is *John*. I will have *Norman*, saith the Cardinall, for he is my friend. Content your self with such as are here, for other you shall have none. There were with the said *John*, *James Melvene*, a man familiarly acquainted with Master *George Wischarde*, and *Peter Carmichaelle*, a stout Gentleman. In this mean time, while they force at the door, the Cardi-

Anno 1546.

How the Cardiall was occupied the night before that in the morning he was slain.

Anno

The Cardinals demand.

Cardinall hides a box of gold under coales that were laid in a secret corner. At length he asketh, *Will ye save my life?* The said *John* answered, *It may be that we will. Nay* (saith the Cardinall) *Swear unto me by Gods wounds, and I will open you.* Then answered the said *John, It that was said, is unsaid*; and so cryed, *Fire, fire,* (for the doore was very strong) and so was brought a chimley full of burning coales, which perceived, the Cardinall or his Chamberlain (it is uncertain) opened the doore, and the Cardinall sat down in a chaire, and cryed, *I am a Priest, I am a Priest, ye will not slay me.* The said *John Leslie* (according to his former Vows) stroke him first once or twice, and so did the said *Peter*. But *James Melvin* (a man of nature most gentle and most modest) perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and said, *This work and judgement of God (although it be secret) ought to be done with greater gravity.* And presenting unto him the point of the sword, said, *Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God M.* George Wischarde, *which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here before my God, I protest, That neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to strike thee; But onely because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy Gospel.* And so he stroke him twice or thrice thorow with a stog sword: And so he fell, never word heard out of his mouth, but *I am a Priest, fie, fie, all is gone.*

The Cardinals confession.

The fact and words of *James Melvin.*

The Cardinals last words.

While they were thus busied with the Cardinall, the fray rose in the Town, the Provost assembles the Commonalty, and comes to the house side, crying, *What have ye done with my Lord Cardinall? Where is my Lord Cardinall? Have ye slain my Lord Cardinall?* They that were within answered gently; *Best it were for you to return to your own houses, for the man ye call the Cardinall hath received his reward, and in his own person will trouble the world no more.* But then more inragedly they cry, *We shall never depart till that we see him.* And so was he brought to the East block-house head, and shewed dead over the wall, to the faithlesse multitude, which would not beleeve before they saw, and so they departed without *Requiem æternam, & requiescat in pace,* sung for his soule. Now because the weather was hot (for it was in May, as ye have heard) and his funerals could not suddenly be prepared, it was thought best to keep him from stinking to give him great salt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the sea Tower (a place where many of Gods children had been imprisoned before) to await what exequies his brethren the Bishops would prepare for him. These things we write merrily, but we would that the Reader should observe Gods just judgements, and how that he can deprehend the worldly wise in their own wisdom, make their table to be a snare to trap their own feet, and their own purposed strength to be their own destruction. These are the works of our God, whereby he would admonish the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their crueltie, what strength soever they make in the contrary. But such is the blindnesse of man (as *David* saith) that the posterity doth ever follow the footsteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety. For how little

Advertisement to the Reader.

little differs the cruelty of that bastard, that yet is called Bishop of S. *Andrews*, from the cruelty of the former we will after heare. Anno

The death of this aforesaid Tyrant, as it was pleasing to some, to wit, to those who had received the Reformation of Religion, for they were mightily afraid of him; and also to sundry Romanists whom he kept under as slaves; so on the other side it was dolorous to the Priests, dolorous to the Governour, dolorous to the Queene Dowager: for in him perished faithfulnesse to *France*, and the comfort to all Gentle-women, and especially to wanton widows: His death must be revenged. To the Court again repaires the Earle of *Angus*, and his brother Sir *George*; labour is made for the Abbacie of *Arbroth*, and a grant was once made of the same (in memory whereof *George Dowglas*, bastard sonne to the said Earle, is yet called *Postulant.*) But it was more proper (think the *Hamiltons*) for the Governours itching, then for reward to the *Dowglasses*; And yet in hope thereof, the said Earle, and Sir *George* his brother, were the first that voted, that the Castle of S. *Andrews* should be besieged: Divers Gentlemen of *Fyfe* went into the Castle, and abode there with the *Leslies* during the first siege; and *John Rough* was Preacher to them. The Bishop, to declare the zeale that he had to revenge the death of him that was his predecessour (and for his riches he would not have had him living againe) still blew the coles. And first he made summons, then he denounced accursed, at last rebels, not onely the first enterprisers, but all such also as after did accompany them. And last of all a siege was concluded, which began in the end of August (for the 23 day thereof departed the Souldiers from *Edinburgh*) and continued neer to the end of January. At what time, because they had no other hope of winning of it, but by hunger, and thereof also they despaired, for they within had broken through the East wall, and made a plaine passage by an iron gate to the sea, which greatly relieved the besieged, and abased the besiegers; for then they saw that they could not stop them of victuals, unlesse that they should be masters of the sea, and that they clearly understood they could not be; for the English Ships had once been there, and had brought *William Kirkcaldie* from *London*, and with much difficultie (because the said gate was not then prepared) and some losse of men, had rendered him to the Castle againe; and had taken with them to the Court of *England*, *John Leslie*, and Master *Henry Balnaves*, for perfecting of all Contracts betwixt them and King *Henry*, who promised to take them into his protection; upon condition onely that they should keep the Governours son, my Lord of *Arrane*, and stand friends to the Contract of Marriage, whereof before we have made mention. These things clearly understood (we say) by the Governour and his Counsell, the Priests and the shaven sort; they concluded to make an appointment, to the end, that under Truce, they might either get the Castle betrayed, or else some principall men of the company taken atunawares. In which dressing was the Abbot of *Dunfermeling* principall; and for that purpose had the Laird of *Monquhanie* (who was most familiar with those of the Castle) laboured with foot and hand, and proceeded so in his traffique, that from entring in day light, at his pleasure, he gat licence to come in in the night, whensoever it pleased him. But God had not appointed so many

Note.

The Bishop of S *Andrews* was glad, and yet made himselfe to be angry at the slaughter of the Cardinall.

Upon what conditions King *Henry* took the castle of S. *Andrews* into his protection.

The first siege lasted from August to January.

Anno

many to be betrayed, albeit that he would that they should be punished, and that justly, as hereafter we shall heare.

The Heads of the coloured appointment were;

1. *That they should keep the Castle of S.* Andrews *still, while that the Governour and the authority of* Scotland *should get unto them a sufficient absolution from the Pope* Antichrist of Rome, *for the slaughter of the Cardinall aforesaid.*

2. *That they should deliver pledges for the deliverie of that house, as soone as the aforesaid absolution was delivered unto them.*

3. *That they, their friends, familiars and servants, and others to them pertaining, should never be pursued in Law, by authority, for the slaughter aforesaid. But that they should enjoy commodities, spirituall or temporall, whatsoever they possessed before the said slaughter, even as if it had never beene committed. That they of the Castle should keep the Earle of* Arran *so long as their Pledges were kept.*

And such like Articles liberall enough, *for they never minded to keep word of them, as the issue did declare. John Rough* left the Castle, seeing he could do little good upon those that were within, so addicted were they to their evil wayes; he went into *England* to Preach Gods Word there.

The appointment made, all the godly were glad, for some hope they had that thereby Gods Word should somewhat bud, as indeed so it did: For *John Rough* (who soon after the Cardinals slaughter entred within the Castle and had continued in it during the whole siege) having left the Castle, because he could do little good upon those that were with him; so addicted were they to their evil wayes, began to Preach in the city of S. *Andrews.* And albeit he was not the most learned, yet was his doctrine without corruption, and therefore well liked of the people. At the Easter after *Anno* 1547. came to the Castle of S. *Andrews, John Knox*, who wearied of removing from place to place, by reason of the persecution that came upon him by the Bishop of S. *Andrews*, was determined to have left *Scotland*, and to have visited the Schools of *Germany* (of *England* then he had no pleasure, by reason that although the Popes name was suppressed, yet his laws & corruptions remained in full vigor.) But because he had the care of some Gentlemens children, whom certain yeers he had nourished in godlinesse. Their fathers solicited him to go to S. *Andrews*, that himselfe might have the benefit of the Castle, and their children the benefit of his Doctrine. And so (we say) came he the time aforesaid to the said place; and having in his company *Francis Dowglas* of *Langnidrie*, *George* his brother, and *Alexander Cokburne*, eldest son then to the Laird of *Ormeston*, began to exercise them, after his accustomed manner. Besides the *Grammar* and other books of humane Learning, he read unto them a Catechisme, account whereof he caused them give publikely in the Parish Church of S. *Andrews*. He read moreover unto them the Gospel of *John*, proceeding where he left at his departure from *Langnidrie*, where before his residence was, and that Lecture he read in the Chappell within the Castle at a certain houre. They of the place, but specially M. *Hen. Balnaves* & *John Rough* Preacher, perceiving the manner of his Doctrine, began earnestly to travell with him, that he would take the Function of Preacher upon him: but he refused, alleadging that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning, that he would do

1547. *John Knox* goes into the Castle of S. *Andrews.*

do nothing without a lawfull vocation. Whereupon they privily amongst themselves advising, having with them in counsel Sir *David Lindsay* of the *Mount* *, they concluded that they would give a charge to the said *John*, and that publikely, by the mouth of the Preacher. And so upon a certain day, a Sermon of the Eelection of Ministers, what power the Congregation (how small soever that it was, passing the number of two or three) had above any man, namely, in the time of need, as that was, in whom they supposed, and espied the gifts of God to be; and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to heare the voyce of such as desire to be instructed. These & other heads (we say) declared the said *John Rough* Preacher, directed by his words to the said *John Knox*, saying, *Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit that I speak unto you that which I have in charge even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the Name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy Vocation, but as ye tender the glory of God, the encrease of Christs Kingdom, The edification of your Brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, That ye take upon you the publike office and Charge of Preaching, even as ye looke to avoyd Gods heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his Graces upon you.* And in the end he said to those that were present, *Was not this your Charge to me? And do ye not approve this Vocation?* They answered, *It is, and we approve it.* Whereat the said M. *Iohn* abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his Chamber: His countenance and behaviour, from that day, till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the publike place of Preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any signe of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, for many dayes together. The necessity that caused him to enter in the publike Place, besides the Vocation aforesaid, was Dean *Iohn Annan* (a rotten Papist) had long troubled *Iohn Rough* in his Preaching. The said *Iohn Knox* had fortified the Doctrine of the Preacher by his Pen, and had beaten the said Dean *Iohn* from all defences, that he was compelled to flie to his last refuge; that is, To the authority of the Church, which Authority, said he, damned all Lutherans and Heretickes, and therefore he needed no further disputation. *Iohn Knox* answered, *Before we hold our selves, or that ye can prove us sufficiently convinced, we must define the Church by the right notes given to us in Gods Scripture, of the true Church: we must discerne the Immaculate Spouse of Iesus Christ, from the mother of Confusion, Spirituall* Babilon; *lest that imprudently we embrace a Harlot, instead of the chaste Spouse; yea, to speake it in plain words, Lest that we submit our selves to Sathan, thinking that we submit our selves to Iesus Christ: For as for your Romane Church, as it is now corrupted, and the Authority thereof, wherein stands the hope of your Victory, I no more doubt but that it is the Synagogue of Sathan; and the Head thereof, called the Pope, to be that man of Sin of whom the Apostle speaketh, then that I doubt that* JESUS CHRIST *suffered by the procurement of the visible Church of* Jerusalem. *Yea, I offer my self by word or writing, to prove the Romane Church this day farther to degenerate from the purity which*

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* *Sir David Lindsay* King of Armes then, who fore the time had good light both in Divine and Humane knowledge, as his works tell us.

The first Vocation by name of *Iohn Knox*.

Dean Iohn Annan.

The offer of *Iohn Knox* first and last unto the Papists.

Anno

was in the dayes of the Apostles, then was the Church of the Jewes from the Ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of JESUS CHRIST. These words were spoken in the open audience of the Parish Church of Saint *Andrewes*, after the said Dean *John* had spoken what it pleased him, and had refused to dispute. The people hearing the offer, cryed with one consent, *We cannot all reade your writings, but we can all hear your Preaching: Therefore we require you in the Name of God, That ye let us heare the approbation of that which ye have affirmed: For if it be true, we have beene miserably deceived.* And so the next Sunday was appointed to the said *John*, to expresse his minde in the publike Preaching place: Which day approaching, the said *John* took the Text written in *Daniel*, the seventh Chapter, beginning thus; *And another King shall rise after them, and he shall be unlike unto the first, and he shall subdue three Kings, and shall speak words against the most High, and shall consume the Saints of the most High, and thinke that he can change Times and Lawes: And they shall be given unto his hands untill a time, and times, and dividing of times, &c.* In the beginning of his Sermon, he shewed the great love of God towards his Church, whom he pleased to forewarne of dangers to come, so many yeers before they come to passe. He briefly treated of the state of the Israelites, who then were in bondage in *Babylon*, for the most part, and made a short discourse of the four Empires, The *Babylonian*, The *Persian*, That of the *Greekes*, And the fourth of the *Romanes*; in the destruction whereof, rose up that last Beast, which he affirmed to be the Romane Church; for to none other power that ever hath yet beene, do all the notes that God hath shewed to the Prophet appertain, except to it alone; And unto it they do so properly appertaine, that such as are not more then blinde, may cleerly see them. But before he began to open the corruptions of *Papistrie*, he defined the true Church, shewed the true notes of it, whereupon it was built, why it was the Pillar of Verity, and why it could not erre; to wit, *Because it heard the voyce of the onely Pastor*, JESUS CHRIST, *would not heare a stranger, neither would be carried with every winde of Doctrine.* Every one of these heads sufficiently declared, he entred to the contrary; and upon the notes given in his Text, he shewed that the Spirit of God in the new Testament gave to this King other new names; to wit, *The man of sin*, The *Antichrist*, The *Whore of Babilon*. He shewed, That this *man of sin*, or *Antichrist*, was not to be restrained to the person of any one man onely, no more then by the fourth Beast, was to be understood the person of any one *Emperour*. But by such names the Spirit of God would forewarne his chosen of a body and a multitude, having a wicked head, which should not onely be sinfull himself, but also should be occasion of sin, to all that should be subject unto him (as Christ Jesus is the cause of Justice to all the Members of his Body) and is called the *Antichrist*, that is to say, One contrary to Christ, because that he is contrary to him in *Life*, *Doctrine*, *Lawes*, *and Subjects*. And there began to decipher the lives of divers *Popes*, and the lives of all the *Shavelings* for the most part: Their Doctrine and Lawes, he plainly proved to repugne directly to the Doctrine and Lawes of God the Father, and of Christ

The first publike preaching of *John Knox*, made in the Parish Church of S. *Andrewes*.

1.

2.

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Christ Jesus his Son. This he proved by conferring the Doctrine of Justification expressed in the Scriptures, which teach that man is *justified by Faith onely*; *That the blood of Iesus Christ purgeth us from all our sinnes.* And the Doctrine of the Papists, which attribute Justification to the works of the Law, yea, to the works of mens inventions, as Pilgrimage, Pardons, and other such baggage. That the Papisticall lawes repugned to the Lawes of the Gospel, he proved, by the Lawes made of observation of dayes, abstaining from meats, and from Marriage, which Christ Jesus made free; and the forbidding whereof, Saint *Paul* calleth the *doctrine of devils.* In handling the notes of that Beast given in the Text, he willed men to consider if these notes (*There shall another rise, unlike to the other, having a mouth speaking great things and blasphemous*) could be applyed unto any other, but to the Pope, and his kingdome: For if these (said he) be not great words and blasphemous, *The Head of the Church, most holy, most blessed, that cannot erre; That can make right of wrong, and wrong of right; That of nothing can make somewhat; And that had all verity in the Shrine of his breast; yea, That had power of all, and none power of him.* Nay, not to say, That *he doth wrong, although he draw ten thousand Millions of souls with himself to hell.* If these (said he) and many other, easie to be showne in his own *Cannon-Law*, be not great and blasphemous words, and such as never mortall men spake before, let the world judge. And yet (said he) is there one most evident of all, to wit, *Iohn* in his Revelation sayes, That the Merchandise of that Babylonian Harlot, *among other things, shall be the bodies and souls of men.* Now let very Papists themselves judge, If any before them, took upon them power to relax the pains of them that were in Purgatory, as they affirme to the people that daily they do, by the merits of their Masse, and of their other trifles. In the end he said, If any here (and there were present Master *Iohn Maire*, the University, the Sub-Prior, and many Cannons, with some Friers of both the Orders) that will say, That I have alleadged Scripture, Doctor, or History, otherwise then it is written, let them come unto me with sufficient witnesse, and by conference I shall let them see, not onely the Originall where my Testimonies are written, but I shall prove, That the Writers meant as I have spoken. Of this Sermon, which was the first that ever *Iohn Knox* made in publike, was divers brutes: Some said, He not onely hewes the branches of Papistry, but he strikes at the root also, to destroy the whole. Others said, If the Doctors, and *Magistri nostri*, defend not now the Pope and his Authority, which in their own presence is so manifestly impugned, *the devill may have my part of him, and of his Lawes both.* Others said, Master *George Wischarde* spake never so plainly, and yet he was burnt, even so will he be. In the end others said, The Tyranny of the Cardinall made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of Gods servant made his cause the worse. And therefore we would counsell you and them to provide better defences then fire and sword; for it may be that else ye will be disappointed; men now have other eyes then they had then. This answer gave the Laird of *Nydrie*, a man fervent and upright in Religion. The bastard Bishop, who yet was not execrated (consecrated they

Contra Dei Spiritum ad Galat. cap. 2. vers. 17. & 11.

Note.

The great words which Antichrist speaketh.

Iohn Knox had been disciple in his first yeers to *Iohn Maire*,

Note.

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the Sub-Prior of S. *Andrews*, who (*Sede vacante*) was Vicar Generall, That he wondered that he suffered such Hereticall and Schismaticall Doctrine to be taught, and not to oppose himselfe to the same. Upon this rebuke, was a convention of gray-Friers, and black-Fiends appointed, with the said Sub-Prior Deane *John Winrame*, in S. *Leonards* Yard, whereunto was first called *John Rough*, and certain Articles read to him. And thereafter was *John Knox* called for. The cause of their convention, and why that they were called, is expounded. And the Articles were read, which were these.

1. *No mortall man can be the head of the Church.*
2. *The Pope is an Antichrist, and so is no member of Christs mysticall body.*
3. *Man may neither make nor devise a Religion that is acceptable to God, but man is bound to observe and keep the Religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.*
4. *The Sacraments of the New Testament, ought to be ministred as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by his Apostles, nothing ought to be added unto them, nothing ought to be diminished from them.*
5. *The Masse is abominable Idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a prophanation of the Lords Supper.*
6. *There is no Purgatory, in the which the soules of men can either be pined or purged after this life. But heaven resteth to the faithfull, and hell to the reprobate and unfaithfull.*
7. *Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead is Idolatry.*
8. *There is no Bishop, except he Preach even by himselfe, without any Substitute.*
9. *The Tythes by Gods Law do not appertain of necessity to the Church-men.*

The strangenesse (said the Sub-Prior) of these Articles which are gathered forth of your Doctrine have moved us to call for you, to hear your own answers. *Iohn Knox* said, I for my part praise my God, that I see so honourable, and apparantly so modest and quiet an Auditory: But because it is long since that I have heard, that ye are one that is not ignorant of the Trueth, I may crave of you in the Name of God, yea, and I appeal your conscience, before that supreme Judge; That if ye think any Article there expressed, contrary unto the Truth of God, That ye oppose your self plainely unto it, and suffer not the people to be therewith deceived. But on the other side, if in your conscience ye know the Doctrine to be true, then will I crave your Patrocinie thereto; That by your authority the people may be moved the rather to beleeve the Truth, whereof many doubts, by reason of your thoughts. The Sub-Prior answered, I came not here as a Judge, but onely familiarly to talke, and therefore I will neither allow nor condemne. But if ye list, I will reason.

The Sub-Prior.

Why may not the Church (said he) for good causes devise Ceremonies to decore the Sacraments, and other Gods Service.

Iohn Knox.

Because the Church ought to do nothing, *but in Faith, and ought not to go before, but is bound to follow the voice of the true Pastor.*

The

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The Sub-Prior.

It is in Faith that the Ceremonies are commanded, and they have pro-
er ſignifications to help our Faith, as the hards in Baptiſme ſignifie the
ughneſſe of the Law, and the oyle the ſoftneſſe of Gods mercy; and
kewiſe every one of the Ceremonies hath a godly ſignification, and
erefore they both proceed from Faith, and are done in Faith.

John Knox.

It is not enough that man invent a Ceremony, and then give it a ſigni-
cation according to his pleaſure. For ſo might the Ceremonies of the
entiles, and this day the Ceremonies of *Mahomet* be maintained. But if
at any thing proceed from Faith, it muſt have the Word of God for its
ſurance. For ye are not ignorant; *That Faith cometh by hearing, and
aring by the Word of God.* Now if that ye will prove that your Cere-
onies proceed from Faith, and do pleaſe God, ye muſt prove that God
expreſſe words hath commanded them. Or elſe ſhall you never prove
at they proceed from Faith, nor yet that they pleaſe God; but that they
e ſinne, and do diſpleaſe him, according to the words of the Apoſtle,
hatſoever is not of Faith is ſinne.

The Sub-Prior.

Will ye binde us ſo ſtraight, that we may do nothing without the ex-
reſſe Word of God. What and I ask drink, Think ye that I ſinne? and
et I have not Gods Word for me. This anſwer gave he as might appear
ſhift over the Argument upon the Frier, as that he did.

John Knox.

I would ye ſhould not jeſt in ſo grave a matter, neither would I that ye
hould begin to hide the Trueth with Sophiſtrie, and if ye do, I will de-
end it the beſt that I can. And firſt to your drinking, I ſay, that if ye either
at or drink without aſſurance of Gods Word, that in ſo doing ye diſ-
leaſe God, and ſinne in your very eating and drinking. For ſaith not the
Apoſtle (ſpeaking even of meat and drink) That *the creatures are ſanctified
nto men, even by word and prayer.* The word is this, *All things are cleane to
he cleane.* Now let me hear this much of your Ceremonies, and I ſhall
ive you the Argument, but I wonder that they compare things prophane
nd holy things ſo indiſcreetly together. The Queſtion was not, nor is
ot of meat or drink, whereinto the Kingdom of God conſiſteth not. But
he Queſtion is of Gods true worſhipping, without the which we can have
o ſocietie with God. And here it is doubted, if we may take the ſame
reedom in the uſing of Chriſts Sacraments, that we may do in eating
nd drinking. One meat I may eat, another I may refuſe, and that with-
ut ſcruple of conſcience. I may change one with another, even as oft as
pleaſe. Whether may we caſt away what we pleaſe, and retaine what
ve pleaſe? If I be well remembred, *Moſes* in the Name of God ſaith to
he people of Iſrael; *All that the Lord thy God commandeth thee to do, that
lo thou to the Lord thy God*, adde nothing to it, diminiſh nothing from it.

By

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By these rules think I that the Church of Christ will measure Gods Religion, and not by that which seems good in their own eyes.

The Sub-Prior.

Forgive me, I spake it but in mowes, and I was dry. And now father (said he, to the Frier) follow the argument, ye have heard what I have said, and what is answered to me againe.

Arbugkill gray-Frier.

I shall prove plainely that Ceremonies are ordained by God.

John Knox.

Such as God hath ordained we allow, and with reverence we use them. But the question is of those that God hath ordained, such as in Baptisme, are spittle, salt, candle, (except it be to keep the barne from the cold) hardes, oyle, and the rest of the Papisticall inventions.

Arbugkill.

I will even prove those that ye damne to be ordained of God.

John Knox.

The Proofe thereof I would gladly hear.

Arbugkill.

Saith not Saint *Paul*, that another foundation then Jesus Christ, may no man lay. But upon this foundation, Some build gold, silver, and precious stones, some hay, stubble, and wood. The gold, silver, and the precious stones, are the Ceremonies of the Church, which do abide the fire, and consumeth not away, &c. This place of Scripture is most plaine, sayeth the *foolish fiend.*

John Knox.

I praise my God through Jesus Christ, for I finde his promise sure, true, and stable. Christ Jesus bids us not fear when we shall be called before men to give confession of his Trueth, for he promiseth that it shall be given unto us in that houre what we shall speak. If I had sought the whole Scriptures, I could not have produced a place more proper for my purpose, nor more potent to confound you. Now to your Argument. The Ceremonies of the Church (say ye) are gold, silver, and precious stones, because they are able to abide the fire. But I would learne of you, What fire is it which your Ceremonies do abide? And in the mean time, while ye be advised to answer, I will shew my minde, and make an Argument against yours, upon the same Text. And first, I say, that I have heard this Text adduced for a proofe of Purgatory, but for defence of Ceremonies, I never heard nor yet read it. But omitting whether ye understand the minde of the Apostle or not; I make my Argument and say: That which can abide the fire, can abide the Word of God; But your Ceremonies cannot abide the Word of God. *Ergo*, They cannot abide the fire.

fire. And if they may not abide the fire, then are they not gold, silver, nor precious stones. Now if ye finde any ambiguity in this terme Fire, which I interpret to be the Word, finde ye me another fire, by the which things builded upon Jesus Christ should be tried, then God and his Word, which both in the Scriptures are called fire; and I shall correct mine Argument. Anno Note.

Arbugkill.

I stand not thereupon, but I deny your Minor; to wit, That our Ceremonies may not abide the triall of Gods Word.

John Knox.

I prove, That abides not the triall of Gods Word, which Gods Word condemnes: But Gods Word condemnes your Ceremonies; Therefore they do not abide the triall thereof. But as a thief abides the triall of the Inquest, and thereby is condemned to be hanged, even so may your Ceremonies abide the triall of Gods Word, but not else. And now in few words to make plain that wherein ye may seem to doubt, to wit, that Gods Word damnes your Ceremonies, it is evident: For the plain and strait Commandment is, *Not that thing that appears good in thine eyes shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou; adde nothing to it, diminish nothing from it.* Now unlesse that ye be able to prove that God hath commanded your Ceremonies, this his former Commandment will damne both you and them. *Optima Collatio.* Deut. 4.

The Frier somewhat abashed what first to answer, while he wanders about in the mist, he falls in a foule mire. For alleadging that we may not be so bound to the Word, he affirmed, That the Apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they did write their Epistles, but after they received him, and then they ordained Ceremonies (few would have thought that so learned a man would have given so foolish an answer, & yet it is even as true as he did bear a gray Coull) *John Knox*, hearing the answer, start, and said, *If that be true, I have long been in an errour, and I think I shall die therein.* The Sub-Prior said to him, *Father, What say ye? God forbid that ye affirme that; for then farewell the ground of our faith.* The Frier astonied, made the best shift that he could to correct his fault, but it would not be. *John Knox* brought him oft again to the ground of the Argument. But he would never answer directly, but ever fled to the authority of the Church: whereto the said *John* answered ofter then once, *That the Spouse of Christ had neither power nor authority against the Word of God.* Then said the Frier, *If so be, ye will leave us no Church. Indeed*, said the other, *in* David *I reade that there is a Church of the Malignants; for he saith*, Odi Ecclesiam malignantium: *That Church ye may have without the Word, and doing many things directly fighting against the Word of God. Of that Church, if ye will be, I cannot hinder you. But as for me, I will be of none other Church, except of that which hath Jesus Christ to be Pastour, which hears his voice, and will not heare a stranger.* In this Disputation many other things were merrily skoft over: For the Frier after his fall could speak nothing to any purpose. For Purgatorie, he had no better proofe but the *Note.* Psal. 26. 5.

Anno

Frier *Arbuckill's* proofe of Purgatory.

authority of *Virgil*, in the sixth of his Æneiads; and the paines thereof to him was an *Evil wife*. *Iohn Knox* answered that, and many other things as he himself witnesseth, in a Treatise that he did write in the Gallies, containing the sum of his Doctrine, and the confession of his Faith, and sent it to his familiars in *Scotland*, with his exhortation, That they should continue in the Truth, which they had professed, notwithstanding any worldly adversity that might ensue thereof. Thus much of that disputation have we inserted here, to the intent that men may see how Satan ever travelleth to obscure the Light, and how God by his power working in his weak vessels, confounds the craft, and discloseth the darknesse of Satan.

The cause of the inserting of this Disputation.

After this the Papists and Friers, had no great heart of further disputation or reasoning, but invented another shift, which appeared to proceed from godlinesse, and it was this: Every learned man in the Abbey, and in the Universitie should Preach in the Parish Church his Sunday about. The *Sub-Prior* began, followed the *Officiall*, called *Spittall* (Sermons was penned) to offend no man, followed all the rest in their ranks. And so *Iohn Knox* smelled out the craft, and in his Sermons which he made upon the Weeke-dayes, he prayed to God, that they should be as busie in Preaching, when there should be more want of it, then there was then. Alwayes (said he) I praise God that Christ Jesus is Preached, and nothing is said publikely against the Doctrine that ye have heard. If in my absence they shall speak any thing which in my presence they do not; I protest that ye suspend your judgement, till that it please God ye hear me againe.

The practises of Papists, that their wickednesse should not be disclosed.

The protestation of *Iohn Knox*.

God so assisted his weak Souldier, and so blessed his labours, that not onely all these of the Castle, but also a great number of the Town openly professed by participation of the Lords Table, in the same purity, that now it is ministred in the Churches of *Scotland*, with that same Doctrine that he had taught unto them. Amongst whom was he that now either rules, or else misrules *Scotland*, to wit, Sir *Iames Balfour* (sometimes called M. *Iames*) the chiefe and principall Protestant, that then was to be found within this Realm. This we write because that we have heard, that the said Master *Iames* alleadgeth, that he was never of this our Religion, but that he was brought up in *Martin Luthers* opinion of the Sacrament, and therefore he cannot communicate with us. But his own conscience, and two hundred witnesses besides, know that he lies, and that he was one of the chief (if he had not been after his cups) that would have given his life, if men might credit his words, for defence of the doctrine, that the said *Iohn Knox* taught. But albeit that those that never were of us (as none of *Monqrhauneys* house have shewed themselves to be) depart from us, it is no great wonder. For it is proper and naturall, that the children follow the father, and let the godly beware of that race and progenie, by eschewing it. For if in them be either fear of God, or love of vertue, further then the present commoditie perswades them, men of judgement are deceived. But to return to our History. The Priests and Bishops enraged at all these proceedings that were in Saint *Andrews*, ran now upon the Governour, now upon the Queene, now upon the whole Counsell, and there might have been heard complaints and cryes; What are we doing? Shall we

M. *Iames Balfoure*, once joyned with the Church, and did professe all Doctrine, taught by *Iohn Knox*.

Filius sequitur patrissiter.

The rage of the marked beasts at the Preaching of the Truth.

we suffer this whole Realme to be infected with pernicious Doctrine; fie upon you, and fie upon us. The Queen, and Monsieur *d'Osell* (who then was *a secretis mulierum* in the Court) comforted them, and willed them to be quiet, for they should see remedy or it were long. And so it proved indeed: For upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, appeared in the sight of the Castle of Saint *Andrewes*, one and twenty French Galleys with a great Army, the like whereof was never seen in that Haven before. This treasonable means had the Governour, the Bishop, the Queen, and Monsieur *d'Osell*, under their appointment drawne. But to excuse their Treason, eight dayes before, they had presented an Absolution unto them, as sent from *Rome*, containing, after the aggravation of the crime, this clause, *remittimus irremissibile*, that is, We remit the crime that cannot be remitted: Which considered by the worst of the company that was in the Castle, answer was given, That the Governour and Councell of the Realme had promised unto them a sufficient and assured absolution; which that appeareth not to be, and therefore they could not deliver the House, neither thought they that any reasonable man would require them so to do, considering that promise was not kept unto them. The next day after that the Gallies were arrived, they summoned the House: Which being denied (because they knew then no Magistrates in *Scotland*) they prepared for Siege; and first they began to assault by Sea, and shot two days; but thereof they neither got advantage nor honour, for they threw down the Slates of houses; but neither slue man, nor did harme to any wall. But the Castle handled them so, that *Sancta Barbara* (the Gunners goddesse) helped them nothing, for they lost many of their Rowers, men chained in the Gallies, and some Souldiers both by Sea and Land. And farther, a Galley that approached neerer then the rest, was so beaten with the Cannon, and other Ordinance, that she was striken under water, and almost drowned, and so she had been, had not the rest given her succour in time, and drawn her to the west Sands, without the shot of the Castle, and afterward to *Dundie*; where they remained, till that the Governour, who then was at the Siege of *Langhope*, came unto them with the rest of the French Faction. The Siege by Sea and Land was laid about the Castle of S. *Andrews* the three and twentieth day of *July*: The Trenches were cast, Ordnance was planted upon the Abbey Church, and upon Saint *Salvators* Colledge (and yet was the Steeple thereof burnt) and some upon the street that leads to the Castle, which so annoyed the Castle, that neither could they keep their Block-house, the Sea Tower head, nor the west wall; for in all those places men were slain by great Ordnance: yea, they mounted the Ordnance so high upon the Abbey Church, that they might discover the ground of the court of the Castle in divers places. Moreover, within the Castle was the plague (and divers therein died) which more affrayed some that were therein, then did the externall force without. But *Jo. Knox* was of another judgement; for he ever said, That their corrupt life, having fallen into all kinde of licentiousnesse, puft up with pride of their successe, and relying upon *England* for help in case of need, could not escape the punishment of God; and that was his continuall advertisement, from the time that he was called to Preach. When they triumphed

Anno

The first coming of Galleys. *Anno* 1547. And the second Siege of the Castle

The treasonable act of the Governour, and Queen *Dowager*.

Note. The answer given to the Governour, when the Castle of S. *Andrews* was required to be delivered.

The Gunners goddesse.

Commonly called, The old Colledge.

The sentence of *John Knox* to the Castle of S. *Andrews* before it was won.

Anno

Note.

of their Victory (the first twenty dayes they had many prosperous chances) he lamented, and ever said, They saw not what he saw: when they bragged of the force and thicknesse of their walls, he said they should be but egge-shells. When they vaunted, *England* will rescue us, he said, Ye shall not see them; but ye shall be delivered into your enemies hands, and shall be carried into a strange Countrey.

King *Henry* of *England* being dead.

Upon the nine and twentieth of *Iuly* at night, was the Ordnance planted for the Battery thirteen Cannons, whereof four were Cannons Royall, called double Cannons, besides other Pieces. The Battery began at four of the clock in the morning; and before ten hours of the day, the whole South quarter, betwixt the fore Tower, and the East Block-house, was made saltable. The lower Gallery was stopped, divers slain in it; and the East Block-house was shot off from the place. Betwixt ten of the clock and eleven, there fell a shower of rain, that continued neer an hour, the like whereof had seldome been seen; it was so vehement, that no man might abide without a house. The Cannons were left alone. Some within the Castle were of judgement, that men should have issued, and put all in the hands of God. But because that *William Kirkcaldie* was coming with the Prior of *Cappua*, who had the Commission of that Journey from the King of *France*, nothing was enterprised. And so appointment made, and the Castle rendered, upon Saturday the last of *Iuly*. The Heads of the Appointment were; That the lives of all within the Castle should be saved, as well English as Scots, that they should be safely transported to *France*. And in case that upon conditions which by the King of *France* should offered unto them, they could not be content to remaine in service and freedome there, they should upon the King of *France* his expences be safely conveyed to what Countrey they would, other then *Scotland*. With the *Governour they would have nothing ado, neither with any* Scottish-man, for they had all trayterously betrayed them (which, said the Laird of *Grange* elder, a *man simple*, and of most stout courage, I am assured God shall revenge it or it be long.) The Galleys well furnished with the spoile of the Castle aforesaid, after certain dayes returned to *France*, and escaped a great danger (for upon the back of the Sands they all chocked) they arrived at *Felcam* in *November*, and thereafter passed up the water of *Sequane*, and lay before *Roan*, where the principall Gentlemen who looked for freedome, were dispersed, and put in sundry prisons; the rest were left in the Galleyes, and there miserably used. Amongst whom, the foresaid Master *Iames Balfour* was, with his two brethren, *David* and *Gilbert*; which we write, because that we heare that the said Master *Iames*, principall misguider now of *Scotland*, denies that he had any thingto do with the Castle of Saint *Andrewes*, or yet that ever he was inthe Galleys: among others, *Iohn Knox* was in the Galleys all the Winter. Then was the joy of the Papists, both of *Scotland* and of *France*, even in full perfection; for this was their song of triumph:

Prior of *Cappua* *Leo Strozi.*

The Castle of S. *Andrews* refused in greatest extremity to treat with the Governor, fearing the cruelty of his weak nature, in revenging the death of his Cousin the Cardinall.

Priests content you now, Priests content you now,
For Norman *and his company have fill'd the Gallies fow.*

The Pope wrote Letters to the King of *France*, and so did he to the Gover-

Anno

Governour of *Scotland*, thanking him heartily for taking pains to revenge the death of his kinde creature the Cardinall of *Scotland*, desiring them to continue in their begun severity, that such things thereafter should not be attempted. So were all those that were deprehended in the Castle, condemned to perpetuall prison: And the ungodly judged, That after this, Christ Jesus should never triumph in *Scotland*. On thing we cannot passe by: From *Scotland* was sent a famous Clerke (laugh not Reader) M. *John Hammilton* of *Milburne*, with credit to the King of *France*, and unto the Cardinall of *Loraine* (and yet he had neither French nor Latine, and some say his Scotish tongue was not very good.) The sum of his Negotiation was, That those of the Castle should be sharply handled: In the which Suit he was heard with favour, and was dispatched from the Court of *France* with Letters, and great credit, which that famous Clerke forgate by the way. For passing up to the Mountaine of *Dumbartane*, before his letters were delivered, he brake his neck, and so God took away a proud ignorant enemy. But now to our History. These things against promise (*for Princes have no Fidelity further then for their owne advantage*) done at *Roan*, the Galleys departed to *Nantes* in *Britanie*. Where, upon the water of *Lore*, they lay the whole Winter. In *Scotland* that Summer was nothing but mirth, for all went with the Priests even at their own pleasure. The Castle of S. *Andrewes* was razed to the ground; the Block-house thereof cast downe, and the walls round about demolished. Whether this was to fulfill their law, which commands that places where Cardinals are slain, so to be used; or else for fear that *England* should have taken it, as after they did *Brouchtie Rock*, we remit to the judgement of such as were of counsell.

Nulla fides Regni Socii, &c.

This same yeer, in the beginning of *September*, entereth *Scotland* an Army of ten thousand men from *England* by Land, and some Ships with Ordnance come by Sea. The Governour and the Bishop hereof advertised, gathered together the Forces of *Scotland*, and assembled at *Edinburgh*. The Protector of *England*, with the Earle of *Warwicke* and their Army, remained at *Præston*, and about *Præston Panes*; for they had certaine Offers to propose unto the Nobility of *Scotland*, concerning the promise before made by them, unto the which King *Henry* before his death gently required them to stand fast: And if they would so do, of him nor of his Realme they should have no trouble, but the helpe and the comfort that he could make them in all things lawfull. And hereupon there was a Letter directed to the Governour and Councell; which coming to the hands of the Bishop of Saint *Andrewes*, he thought it could not be for his advantage that it should be divulgate; and therefore by his craft it was suppressed. Upon the *Friday* the seventh of *September*, the English Army matched towards *Leith*, and the Scotish Army marched from *Edinburgh* to *Ennernes*. The whole Scotish Army was not assembled, and yet the skirmishing began; for nothing was concluded but Victory, without stroke. The Protector, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lord *Gray*, and all the English Captaines were playing at the Dice. No men were stouter then the Priests and Channons with their shaven crowns,

Pinckey Clewch.

Duke of *Somerset.*

The security of the Scotishmen at *Pinckey Clewch.*

Anno

crowns, and black Jacks. The Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Gray*, who had the chief charge of Horse-men, perceiving the Host to be molested with the Scotish Preachers, and knowing that the multitude were neither under order nor obedience (for they were divided from the great Army) sent forth certain Troops of Horse-men, and some of their Borderers, either to fetch them, or else to put them out of their sight, so that they might not annoy the Host. The Skirmish grew hot, and at length the Scotish-men gave back, and fled without gain turne: The chase continued far, both towards the East, and towards the West; in the which many were slain, and he that now is Lord *Home*, was taken, which was the occasion that the Castle of *Home* was after surrendered to the English men. The losse of these men neither moved the Governour, nor yet the Bishop his bastard brother, bragging, That they would revenge the matter well enough upon the morrow; for they had hands enow (no word of God) the *English hereticks had no faces, they would not abide.* Upon the *Saturday* the Armies of both sides past to Array. The English Army takes the middle part of *Fawside hill*, having their Ordnance planted before them, and having their Ships and two Galleys brought as neer the Land, as water would serve. The Scotish Army stood first in a reasonable strength, and good order, having betwixt them and the English Army the water of *Esk* (otherwise called *Mussylburgh* water) But at length a charge was given, in the Governours behalf, with sound of Trumpet, That all men should march forward, and go over the water. Some say that this was procured by the Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, and Master *Hew Rig*, for preservation of *Carbarrie*. Men of judgement liked not the journey; for they thought it no wisedom to leave their strength. But commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge was given, which urged them so, that unwillingly they obeyed. The Earle of *Angus* being in the Vant-guard, had in his company the Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, of *Angus*, *Mearnes*, and the Westland, with many others, that of love resorted unto him; and especially those that were professors of the Gospel, for they supposed that *England* would not have made great pursuit of him. He passed first thorow the water, and arrayed his Host, direct before the enemies: Followed the Earle of *Huntley*, with his *Northland* men: Last come the Governour, having in his company the Earle of *Argyle*, with his own friends, and the Body of the Realme. The English-men perceiving the danger, and how that the Scotish-men intended to have taken the top of the hill, made to prevent the perill. The Lord *Gray* was commanded to give the charge with his men at Armes, which he did, albeit the hazard was very unlikely. For the Earle of *Angus* Host stood even as a wall, and received the first assaulters, upon the points of their Spears (which were longer then those of the English-men) so rudely, that fifty Horse and men of the first rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scottish Armie, except that the Spears of the former two Ranks were broken. Which Discomfiture received, the rest of the Horse-men fled, yea, some passed beyond *Fawside Hill*; the Lord *Gray* himselfe was hurt in the mouth, and plainly denied to chage againe; for he said, It was alike to run against a Wall. The Galleyes and the

Fridays chase.

Brags.

The repulse of the Horse-men of *England*

the ſhips, and ſo did the ordnance, planted upon *Myde-hill* ſhoot terribly. But the ordnance of the Gallies ſhooting amongſt the *Scottiſh* Army affraied them wonderouſly. And while that every man laboured to draw from the North, from whence the danger appeared, they begin to faile, and with that were the *Engliſh* foot-men marching forward: Albeit that ſome of their horſe-men were upon the flight. The Earle of *Angus* army ſtood ſtill, looking that either *Huntly* or the Governour ſhould have recountred the next battell. But they had decreed that the favourers of *England*, and the Hereticks (as the prieſts called them) and the *Engliſhmen* ſhould part it betwixt them for that day. The feare riſeth, and at an inſtant, they which before were victors, and were not yet aſſaulted with any force (except with ordnance, as is ſaid) caſt from them their ſpears and fled: So that Gods power was ſo evidently ſeen, that in one moment, yea at one inſtant time, both the armies were fleeing. The ſhout came from the hill, from thoſe that hoped no victory upon the *Engliſh* part. The ſhout riſes (we ſay) *They flee, they flee*, but at the firſt it could not be beleeved, till at the laſt, it was clearly ſeene, that all had given back, and ſtill began the cruell ſlaughter (which was the greater, by reaſon of the late diſpleaſure of the men of arms) the chaſe and ſlaughter laſted till neer *Edinburgh* upon the one part, and toward *Dalketh* upon the other. The number of the ſlain upon the *Scottiſh* ſide, were judged nigh ten thouſand men. The Earle of *Huntly* was taken and carried to *London*: But he relieved himſelfe, being ſurety for many reaſons, Honeſty or unhoneſty, we know not, but as the bruite was, he uſed policie with *England*. In that ſame time was ſlain the Maſter of *Erskin*, dearly beloved of the Queene: for whom ſhe made great lamentation, and bare his death many dayes in minde. When the certaintie of the diſcomfiture came, ſhe was in *Edinburgh*, abiding upon tidings. But with expedition ſhe poſted that ſame night to *Sterlin* with *Monſieur Doſell*, who was as fearfull as *a Fox when his hole is ſmoaked*. And thus did God take the ſecond revenge upon the perjured Governour, with ſuch as aſſiſted him to defend an unjuſt quarrell. Albeit that many innocents fell amongſt the middeſt of the wicked. The *Engliſh* armie came to *Leyth*, and their taking order with their priſoners and ſpoile, they returned with this victory (which they looked not for) to *England*. That Winter following was great hearſhips made upon all the borders of *Scotland*, *Broughtie* mountain was taken by the *Engliſhmen*, and beſieged by the Governor, but ſtill kept: And at it was ſlain *Gawine*, the beſt of the *Hamiltons*, and the ordnance left. Whereupon the *Engliſhmen* encouraged, began to fortifie upon the hill above *Broughty* houſe, which was called, *The fort of* Broughty, and was very noiſome to *Dundie*, which it burnt and laid waſte, and ſo did it the moſt part of *Angus*, which was not aſſured, and under friendſhip with them.

Anno

Note.

Note.

The Lent following was *Hadington* fortified by the *Engliſh men*: The moſt part of *Lothian*, from *Edinburgh* Eaſt, was either aſſured or laid waſte. This did God plague in every quarter. But men were blinde, and would not, nor could not conſider the cauſe. The Lairdes *Ormeſton* and *Brunſtone*, were baniſhed, and after ſore aſſaulted, and ſo were all thoſe of the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*. The ſure knowledge of the troubles of *Scotland* coming

Note.

Anno

coming to *France*, there was prepared a Navie and Army. The Navie was such as never was seen to come from *France* for the support of *Scotland*, for besides the Gallies, being twenty two in number, they had threescore great Ships, besides Victuallers. How soon so ever they took the plain seas, the red Lion of *Scotland* was displayed, and they holden as rebels unto *France* (*such policie is no falshood in Princes*) for good peace stood betwixt *France* and *England*. And the King of *France* approved nothing that they did. The chiefe men to whom the conducting of the Army was appointed, were *Monsieur Dandelott*, *Monsieur de Termes*, and *Peter Strozi*. In their journey they made some harship upon the coast of *England*, but it was not great. They arrived in *Scotland* in May, in the yeere of our Lord 1549. The Gallies did visit the Fort of *Broughtie*, but did no more at that time. Preparations were made for the siege of *Hadington*, but it was another thing, that they meant, as the issue declared. The whole body of the Realm assembled, the form of a Parliament was set to be holden there, to wit, in the Abbey of *Hadington*. The principall head was, the Marriage of the Princesse (by the State before contracted to King *Edward*) to the King of *France*, and of her present deliverie, by reason of the danger she stood in, by the invasion of the old enemies of *England*. Some were corrupted with buds, some deceived by flattering promise, and some for fear were compelled to consent; for the *French* Souldiers were the officers of Arms in that Parliament. The Laird of *Balcleuch*, a bloody man, with many Gods-wounds, swore, *They that would not consent, should do worse*. The Governour got the Title of Duke of *Chattelherauld*, with the order of the Cockle, and a Pension of 12000. *lib. turn.* with a full discharge of all intermissions, with King *James* the fift his treasure and substance whatsoever, with possession of the Castle of *Dumbartane*, till that issue should be seen of the Queenes body. *With these and other conditions stood he content to sell his Soveraigne* out of his own hands, which in the end will be his destruction. God thereby punishing his former wickednesse (if speedie repentance prevent not Gods judgements, which we heartily wish) *Huntly*, *Argyle*, and *Angus*, were likewise made Knights of the Cockle; and for that and other good deeds received, they sold also their part. Shortly none was found to resist that unjust demand. And so was she sold to go to *France*; To the end, that in her youth, she should drink of that liquor that should remain with her all her life time for a plague to this Realm, and for her own ruine. And therefore albeit that now a fire cometh out of her, that consumes many, let no man wonder, she is Gods hand, in his displeasure punishing our former ingratitude. Let men patiently abide Gods appointed time, and turn unto him with hearty repentance, then God will surely stop the fire that now comes from her, by sudden changing her heart to deal favourably with his people; or else by taking her away, or by stopping her to go on in her coutse by such meanes as he shall think meet in his wisdom, for he having all in his hand disposeth of all, and doth with all according to his own will, unto which we must not onely yeeld, but also be heartily pleased with it, since it is absolutely good, and both by Sacred and Prophane History we are taught to do so; for in them we finde, That Princes have been

Note.

1549.

The Parliament at *Hadington*.

Note.

The Dukes fact and what appeareth to follow thereof.

Experience hath taught, and further will declare.

been raised up by his hands to punish his people; But when they turned unto him with hearty repentance, he either turned the heart of the Prince to deal kindly with his people, or else did take him away, or at least did stop his violent course against his people. Of this, the examples are so frequent, that we spare to name them heere. But to returne to our Historie. Anno

This conclusion, That our Queene (without further delay) should be delivered to *France*. The siege continued, great shooting, but no assaulting, and yet they had fair occasion offered unto them. For the *English-men* approaching to the Town, for the comforting of the besieged, with powder, victuals, and men, lost an Army of six thousand men. Sir *Robert Bowes* was taken, and the most part of the borderers were taken or slain. And so might the Town justly have despaired of any further succour to have been looked for. But yet it held good for the stout courage and prudent government of Sir *James Wolford* General, who did so incourage the whole Captains and Souldiers, that they determined to die upon their walls. But from the time that the *French-men* had gotten the *Bone*, for the which the *Dog barked*, the pursuit of the Town was slow. The siege was raised, and the Queen she was conveyed by the west seas to *France*, with 4 Gallies & some Ships. And so the Cardinall of *Loraine* got her in his keeping, a morsell I assure you, meet for his own mouth. We omit many things that occurred in this time, as the sitting down of the Ship, called, The Cardinall (the faireft Ship in *France*) betwixt S. *Colmes Inch* and *Cramond*, without any occasion except negligence; for the day was faire and weather calme. But God would shew, that the Countrey of *Scotland* can beare no Cardinals. In this time also was there a Combat betwixt the Gallies and the *English* Ships. They shot frankely a while. An *English* Ship took fire, or else the Gallies had come short home, and as it was, they fled without mercy, till that they were above S. *Colmes Inch*. The Captaines left the Gallies, and took a Fort, made in the *Inch*, for their defence. But the *English* Ships made no pursuit (except that they burnt the Cardinall, where she lay) and so the Gallies and the Galley-men did both escape.

The siege of *Hadington*.

Tuesdayes chase.

Note.

Order was taken that the next September some Gallies should remain in *Scotland*, and that the rest should return to *France*, as they did all, except one that was taken by an *English* Ship, (by an *English* Ship, onely we say) as they were passing betwixt *Dover* and *Calice*.

That winter remained *Monsieur de Arfe* in *Scotland*, with the bands of *French-men*. They fortified *Enneresk*, to stay the *English* that they should not invade *Edinburgh* and *Leyth*. Some skirmishes there were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing done, except that the *French* had almost taken *Hadington*; The occasion whereof was this:

The *French-men* thinking themselves more then masters in all parts of *Scotland*, and in *Edinburgh* principally, thought they could doe no wrong to no *Scottish-man*. For a certaine *French-man* delivered a Colvering to *George Tod*, *Scottish-man*, to be stocked, who bringing it thorow the street, another *French-man* claimed it, and would have taken it from the said *George*, but he resisted, alleadging that the

Anno

French-man did wrong: Thus began parties to assemble, as well to the *Scottish-man* as to the *French*; so that two of the *French-men* were stricken down, and the rest chased from the Crosse to *Nudris-winde-head*. The Provost being in the street, apprehended two of the *French*, and was carrying them to the Tolbuith, but from *Monsieur de Essies* lodging, or close, issued forth *French-men*, to the number of threescore persons, with drawn swords, and resisted the said Provost. Then the Town assembling, repulsed them, till that they came to the nether *Bow*. And there *Monsieur de la Chapelle*, with the whole bands of *French-men* armed recountred the said Provost, and violently repulsed him (for the Town was without weapons, for the most part) and so made invasion upon all that they met. And first in the entrie of the *Bow* were slain *David Kyrk*, and *David Barber* (being at the Provosts back) and afterward was slain the said Provost himself, being Laird of *Stanehouse*, and Captain of the Castle, *James Hamilton* his son, *William Chapman*, M. *William Stuart*, *William Purvesse*, and a woman named *Elizabeth Stuart*. And thereafter tarried within the Town by force, from five of the clock till after seven at night, and then retired to the *Cannon gate*, as to their receptacle and refuge.

The slaughter of the Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

The whole Town, yea the Governour and Nobility commoved at the unworthinesse of this bold attempt, craved justice upon the malefactours, or else they would take justice of the whole. The Queen craftily enough, *Monsieur de Essie*, and *Monsieur Doseil*, laboured for pacification, and promised, That unlesse the *French-men* by themselves alone, should do such an act as might recompence the wrong that they had done, that then they should not refuse, but that justice should be executed to the rigour. *These faire words pleased our fools*, and so were the *French* bands the next night directed to *Hadington*, to the which they approched a little after midnight so secretly, that they were never espied till that the foremost were within the outer Court, and the whole Company in the Church-yard, not two paire of Buts length distant from the Town. The Souldiers *English-men* were all asleep except the watch, the which was slender; and yet the shout arises, *Bowes and Bils, Bowes and Bils*; which is signification of extreme defence, to avoide the present danger in all Towns of war. They affrighted arise, weapons that first came to hand serve for the need. One amongst many came to the *East-gate*, where lay two great peeces of Ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be, and cried to his fellows, that were at the gate making defence. *Beware before*, and so fires a great peece, and thereafter another, which God so conducted, that after them was no further pursuit made: for the Bullets redounded from the wall of the *Frier-Church*, to the wall of S. *Katherines* Chappell, which stood directly over it, and from the wall of the said Chappell to the said Church wall again, so oft, that there fell more then an hundred of the *French* at those two shots onely. They shot oft; but the *French* retired with diligence, and returned to *Edinburgh* without harme done, except the destruction of some drinking Beere, which lay in the Sands, Chappell, and Church. And this was satisfaction more then enough, for the slaughter of the foresaid captain, and Provost, and for the slaughter of such as were slain with them. This was the beginning of the *French* fruits.

Hadington almost surprised by the *French*.

This

This winter, in the time of *Christmas*, was the Castle of *Hume* recovered from the English, by the negligence of the Captain, named *Dudley*. This winter also did the Laird of *Raith* most innocently suffer, and after was forsalted, because that he wrote a Letter to his son *John Melvin*, who then was in *England*; which was alleadged to have been found in the house of *Ormeston*; but many suspected the pranks and craft of *Ninian Cokburne*, now called Captain *Ninian*, to whom the said Letter was delivered. But howsoever it was, the cruell beast the Bishop of S. *Andrews*, and the Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, ceased not, till that the head of that noble man was striken from him; especially, because that he was known to be one that unfainedly favoured the Truth of Gods Word, and was a great friend to those that were in the Castle of S. *Andrews*, of whose deliverance, and of Gods wonderfull working with them during the time of their bondage, we will now speak, lest that in suppressing of so notable a work of God, we should justly be accused of ingratitude. First then, the principalls being put in severall houses, as before we have said, great labours were made to make them have a good opinion of the Masse: But chiefly, travell was taken upon *Norman Leslie*, the Laird of *Grange*, the Laird of *Pitmillie*, who were in the Castle of *Scherisburgh*, that they would come to Masse with the Captain: Who answered, That *the Captain had commandment to keep their bodies, but he had no power to command their consciences.* The Captain replyed, That *he had power to command, and to compel them to go where he went.* They answered, *That to go to any lawfull place with him, they would not refuse: But to do any thing that was against their conscience, they would not, neither for him, nor yet for the King.* The Captain said, *Will ye not go to the Masse?* They answered, *No; and if ye compell us, yet we will displease you farther; for we will use our selves there, that all those that are present shall know we despise it.* These same answers (and somewhat sharper) *William Kirkcaldie, Peter Carmichell*, and such as were with them in Mount S. *Michell*, gave to their Captaine; for they said, *They would not onely heare Masse every day, but that they would help to say it, providing that they might sticke the Priests, or else they would not.* M. *Henry Balnaves*, who was in the Castle of *Roan*, was most sharply assaulted of all; for because he was judged learned (as he was and is indeed) therefore learned men were appointed to travell with him; with whom he had many conflicts, but God so ever assisted him, that they departed confounded, and he by the power of Gods Spirit remained constant in the Truth, and professing of the same, without any wavering, or declining to Idolatry. In the prison he wrote a comfortable Treatise of Justification, and of the works and conversation of a man justified; which is extant to this day. Those that were in the Gallies, were threatned with torments, if they would not give reverence to the Masse (for at certain times the Masse was said in the Gallies, or else hard by upon the shore, in presence of the Forsaris) but they could never make the poorest of that company to give reverence to that Idoll: yea, when upon the Saturday at night they sung their *Salve Regina*, all the Scotish men put on their caps, their hoods, or such things as they had to cover their heads; & when that others were compelled to kisse a painted boord (which they called *nostre Dame*) they were not pressed after once; for this was the chance.

Anno

The recovery of the Castle of *Home*.

The death of the Laird of *Raith*.

The entertainment of those of the Castle of S. *Andrews*, during their Captivity.

Note.

Note.

Note. This book was printed 1584. at *Edinburgh*, by *Tho. Vtwoor*.

Anno

A merry fact.

chance. Soon after their arrivall at *Nantes*, their great *salve* was sung, and a glorious painted Lady was brought in to be kissed; and amongst others was presented to one of the Scotish men then chained. He gently said, *Trouble me not; such a jewell is accursed, and therefore I will not touch it*. The Patron and the Arguiser, with two Officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, *Thou shalt handle it*: and so they violently thrust to his face, and put it betwixt his hands. Who seeing the extremity, took the Idoll, and advisedly looking about him, he cast it into the River, and said, *Let our Lady now save her selfe; she is light enough, let her learne to swim*. After that was no Scotish man urged with that Idolatry. These are things that appear to be of no great importance; and yet if we do rightly consider, they expresse the same obedience that God requireth of his people *Israel*, when they should be carried to *Babylon*: for he gave charge unto them, When they should see the *Babylonians* worship their gods of gold, silver, metall, and wood, they should say, *The gods that have not made heaven and earth, shall perish from the heaven, and out of the earth*. That confession gave that whole number, during the time of their bondage, in the which would God they had continued in their freedome; for then had not M. *James Balfour* been Official, neither yet born a Cope for the pleasure of the Bishop. But to proceed: The said M. *James Balfour* being in the Galley with *John Knox*; and being wonderous familiar with him, would oftentimes ask his judgement, *If he thought that ever they should be delivered?* Whose answer was ever, from the day that they entred into the Gallies, *That God would deliver them from that bondage, to his glory, even in this life*. And lying betwixt *Dundie* and S. *Andrews*, the second time that the Gallies returned to *Scotland*, the said *Iohn Knox* being so extremely sick, that few hoped his life, the said Master *Iames* willed him to look to the Land, and asked if he knew it? who answered, *Yes, I know it well, for I see the Steeple of that place, where God in publike opened my mouth to his glory: And I am fully perswaded, how weake soever that I now appeare, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorifie his holy Name in the same place*. This reported the said M. *Iames*, in the presence of many famous witnesses, many yeers before that ever the foresaid *Iohn* set his feet in *Scotland* this last time to Preach.

Note.

Jerem. 10.

Note.

Quæ vis malia sunt justorum mala &c.

Note diligently the Prophesie.

William Kirkcaldie, then of *Grange* younger, *Peter Carmichell*, *Robert* and *William Leslies*, who were altogether in Mount S. *Michell*, wrote to *John Knox*, asking counsell if they might with safe conscience break their prison? Whose answer was, *That if without the blood of any shed or spilt by them for their deliverance, they might set themselves at freedome, that they might safely do it: But to shed any mans blood for their freedom, thereto would he never consent*. Adding further, That he was assured that God would deliver them, and the rest of that company, even in the eyes of the world, but not by such means as they looked for. That was by the force of friends, or by their other labours. By such means he affirmed, they should not be delivered, but that God would so work in in the deliverance of them, that the praise thereof should redound to his glory onely. He willeth therefore every one to take the occasion that God offered unto them. Providing that they did nothing against Gods expresse Commandment for deliver-

Iohn Knox his answer and counsell to the captives.

ance

ance of themselves. He was the more earnest in giving his counsell, because the old Laird of *Grange* and others repugned to their purpose; fearing lest that the escaping of the others, should be an occasion of their worse entreatment. Whereunto the said *Iohn* answered, That such feare proceeded not from Gods Spirit, but only from a blinde love of thy self, and therefore that no good purpose was to be stayed, *for things that were in the hands and power of God.* And added, That in one instant, God delivered the whole company into the hands of unfaithfull men, but so would he not relieve them: But some would he deliver by one means, and at one time, and others must abide for a season upon his good pleasure. This counsell in the end was embraced, upon the *Kings* even, when French men commonly use to drinke liberally. The aforesaid four persons having the help and conducting of a boy of the house, bound all that were in the Castle, put them in sundry houses, locked the doors upon them, took the Keys from the Captain, and departed without harm done to the person of any, or without touching of any thing that appertained to the King, Captain, or the house.

Anno

Le jour de Roys au soir quand ils erient le Roy boit.

The escaping of *William Kirkcaldie* and of his fellows forth of Mount Saint *Michell.*

Great search was made thorow the whole Countrey for them. But it was Gods good pleasure so to conduct them, that they escaped the hands of the faithlesse, albeit it was with long travell, and great pain and poverty sustained; for the French boy left them, and took with him the small money that they had: And so neither having money, nor knowledge of the Countrey. And farther, fearing that the boy should discover them (as that in very deed he did) they purposed to divide themselves, to change their garments, and to go in sundry parts. The two brethren, *Will.* and *Rob. Leslie* (who now are become, the said *Robert* especially, enemies to Christ Jesus, and unto all vertue) came to *Roan*; *Will. Kirkcaldie*, and *Peter Carmichell*, in beggars garment came to *Conquet*; and by the space of 12 or 13 weeks they travelled as poor Mariners, from Port to Port, till at length they gat a French Ship, landed in the West of *Scotland*, and from thence came to *England*, where they met before them the said *Io. Knox*, who that same Winter was delivered, and *Alexander Clerk* in his company. The said *Iohn* was first appointed Preacher to *Barwick*, then to *Newcastle*, last he was called to *London*, and to the South part of *England*, where he remained till the death of King *Edward* the sixt. When he left *England*, he then passed to *Geneva*, and there remained at his privy studie, till that he was called by the Congregation that then was assembled at *Franckford*, to be Preacher to them: which Vocation he obeyed (albeit unwillingly) at the commandment of that notable servant of God, *Iohn Calvin*: At *Franckford* he remained, till that some of the learned (whose names we suppresse) more given to unprofitable Ceremonies, then to sincerity of Religion began to quarrell with the said *Iohn*; and because they despaired to prevail before the Magistrate there, for the establishing of their corruptions, they accused him of treason committed against the Emperour, and against their Soveraigne Queen *Mary*; That in his Admonition to *England* he called the one little inferiour to *Nero*, and the other more cruell then *Isabell*; The Magistrate perceiving their malice, and fearing that the said *Iohn* should fall in the hands of his accusators, by one mean or by other gave adver-

Note.

To shew what is contained in this Admonition, we have caused it to be printed at the end of this History.

Anno

advertisement secretly to him to depart their City, for they could not save him, if he were required by the Emperour, or by the Queen of *England* in the Emperours name. And so the said *Iohn* returned to *Geneva*, from thence to *Diep*, and thereafter to *Scotland*, as we shall after hear.

The time and that Winter that the Gallies remained in *Scotland*, were delivered M. *Iames Balfour* his two brethren, *David* and *Gilbert*, *Iohn Anchinlek*, *Iohn Sibald*, *Iohn Gray*, *William Gutrie*, and *Stevin Bell*. The Gentlemen that remained in prisons, were by the procurement of the Queen *Dowager* to the Cardinall of *Loraine*, and to the King of *France*, set at liberty in the month of *Iuly*, *anno* 1550. who shortly thereafter were called to *Scotland*, their peace proclaimed, and they themselves restored to their lands, in despight of their enemies. And that was done in hatred of Duke *Hamilton*, because that then *France* began to have the Regiment of *Scotland* in their own hands. Howsoever it was, God made the hearts of their enemies to set them at liberty and freedom. There rested a number of common servants yet in the Gallies, who were all delivered upon the Contract of peace that was made betwixt *France* and *England*, after the taking of *Eullen*; and so was the whole company set at liberty, none perishing (no not before the world) except *Iames Melvin*, who departed from the misery of this life in the Castle of *Brest* in *Britaigne*. This we write, to let the posteritie to come to understand how potently God wrought in preserving and delivering of those that had but a small knowledge of his truth, and for the love of the same hazarded all. That if either we now in our dayes having greater light, or our posteritie that shall follow us, shall see a fearfull dispersion of such as oppose themselves to impiety, or take upon them to punish the same otherwise then laws of men will permit: If we, say we, or they, shall see such left of men, yea, as it were despised and punished of God, yet let us not damne the persons, that punish vice (and that for just cause) nor yet despair but that the same God that dejects (for causes unknown to us) will raise up again the persons dejected to his glory & their comfort. And to let the world understand in plain terms what we mean, that great abuser of this Common-wealth, that pultron, and vile knave *Davie*, was justly punished the ninth of *March*, in the yeer of our Lord 1565. for abusing of the Common wealth, and for his other villanies, which we list not to expresse, by the counsell and hands of *Iames Dowglas* Earl of *Mortoun*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindsay*, and the Lord *Ruthwen*, with other assisters in the company, who all for their just act, and most worthy of all praise, are now unworthily left of all their brethren, and suffer the bitternes of banishment & exile. But this is our hope in the mercies of our God, That this same blinde Generation whether it will or not, shall be compelled to see, That he will have respect to them that are injustly pursued, That he will pardon their former offences, That he will restore them to the liberty of their Country and Common-wealth again; And that he will punish (in despight of man) the head and the taile, that now troubles the just, and maintaineth impiety. The head is known, the tail hath two branches. The temporall Lords that maintain such abominations as we see, & flattering counsellors of State, blasphemous *Balfour*, now called clerk of Register, *Sinclare* Dean of *Lestarrig*, and B[r]. of *Brechen*, blinde

1550

Note.

Note diligently.

The slaughter of that villain *Davie*.

The rulers of *Mar*, *anno* 1565. and their prediction.

blinde of one eye in the body, but of both of his soul, upon whom God shortly after took vengeance. *Leslie Preistesgate*, Abbot of *Londrosse*, and Bishop of *Rosse*. *Simon Preston*, of *Cragmillar*, a right Epicurian: Whose end will be ere it be long according to their works. But now to return to our History. Anno

Hadington being kept, and much hearship done about in the Countrey (for what the *English-men* destroyed not, that was consumed by the *French*) God begins to fight for *Scotland*: For in the Town he sent a Plague so contagious, that with great difficultie could they have their dead buried. They were oft refreshed with new men, but all was in vain. Hunger and plague within, and the pursuit of the enemy with a campe volant lay about them, and intercepted all victuals (except when they were brought by a Convoy from *Barwick*) so constrained them that the Councell of *England* was conpelled in the spring time, to call their Forces from that place. And so spoiling and burning some part of the Town, they left it to be occupied to such as first should take possession, and those were the *French-men*, with a meane number of the ancient inhabitants, and so did God performe the words and threatnings of M. *George Wischard*, who said, *That for that contempt of Gods Messenger, they should be visited with sword and fire, with pestilence, strangers and famine*; All which they found in such perfection, that to this day yet, that Town hath neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability, as then did inhabit it. Hereafter was Peace contracted betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*; yea, a severall Peace was contracted betwixt *Scotland* and *Flanders* together with all the *Easterlings*. So that *Scotland* had peace with the world. But yet would their Bishops make War against God: For as soone as ever they got any quietnesse, they apprehended *Adam Wallace*, alias, *Fian*, a simple man without great learning, but one that was zealous in godlinesse, and of an upright life: He, with his wife *Beatrice Levingstonne*, frequented the company of the Lady *Ormeston*, for instruction of her children, during the trouble of her husband, who then was banished. This Bastard, called Bishop of S. *Andrews*, took the said *Adam* forth of the place of *Wynton* (men supposed that they thought to have apprehended the Lairde) and carried him to *Edinburgh*, where after certain dayes he was presented to judgement in the Church of the *Blacke* Theeves, *alias*, Friers, before Duke *Hamilton*, the Earle of *Huntly*, and divers others besides. The Bishops and their rabble, they began to accuse him (Master *John Lawder* was his accusator) *That he took upon him to Preach*. He answered, That he never judged himselfe worthy of so excellent a vocation, and therefore he never took upon him to Preach; but he would not deny, that sometimes at Table, and sometimes in some other privie places he would reade and had read the Scriptures, and had given such exhortation as God pleased to give to him, to such as pleased to heare him. Knave, quoth one, What have you to do to meddle with the Scripture? I think, (said he) it is the dutie of every Christian, to seek the will of his God, and the assurance of his salvation where it is to be found, and that is within the Old and New Testament. What then (said another) sha'l we leave to the Bishops and Church-men for to do? if every man shall be a babler upon

Note.

The accusation of *Adam Wallace* and his answers.

The Papisticall manner of accusation.

Anno

upon the Bible. It becometh you (said he) to speak more reverently of God, and of his blessed Word: if the Judge were uncorrupted he would punish you, for your blasphemie. But to your Question, I answer; That albeit ye and I, and other five thousand within this Realm should read the Bible, and speak of it, what God should give us to speak, yet left we more to the Bishops to do, then either they will do, or can do. For we leave to them publikely to Preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to feed the flock, which he hath redeemed by his own blood, and hath commanded the same to all true Pastors. And when we leave this unto them, me thinks, we leave to them a heavie burden; And that we do unto them no wrong, although we search our own salvation where it is to be found, considering that they are but dumb Dogs, and *unsavory Salt*, that hath altogether lost the season. The Bishops hereat offended, said, What prating is this? Let his accusation be read. And then was begun, *False Traitour, Hereticke; Thou Baptizedst thine own Childe; Thou saidst, There is no Purgatory; Thou saidst, That to pray to Saints, and for the dead, is Idolatry, and a vaine Superstition, &c.* What sayest thou to these things. He answered, If I should be bound to answer, I would require an upright and an indifferent Judge. The Earle of *Huntly* disdainefully said; Foolish man, Wilt thou desire any other Judge then my Lord Dukes Grace, great Governour of *Scotland*; and my Lords the Bishops, and the Clergie here present? Whereto he answered; The Bishops can be no Judges to me, for they are open enemies to the Doctrine that I professe. And as for my Lord Duke, I cannot tell whether he hath the knowledge that should be in him that should judge and discern betwixt Lies and the Trueth, the Inventions of men, and the true worshipping of God. I desire Gods Word (and with that he produced the Bible) to be judge betwixt the Bishops and me, and I am content that ye all hear; and if by this Booke I shall be convinced, to have taught, spoken, or done, in matters of Religion, any thing that repugneth to Gods will, I refuse not to die. But if I cannot be convinced (as I am assured by Gods Word I shall not) then I in Gods name desire your assistance, That malicious men execute not upon me unjust Tyrannie. The Earle of *Huntley* said, What a babling foole is this? Thou shalt get none other Judges then these that sit here. Whereunto the said *Adam* answered; The good will of God be done: But be ye assured, my Lord, with such measure as ye mete to others, with the same measure it shall be met to you againe. I know that I shall die, but be ye assured, that my blood shall be required at your hands. *Alexander*, Earle of *Glencarne*, yet alive, said to the Bishop of *Orknay*, and others that sate nigh him, Take heed all you my Lords of the Clergie, for here I protest, for my part, that I consent not to his death: And so without feare prepared the said *Adam* to answer. And first to the Baptizing of his own Childe, he said, *It was and is as lawfull to me, for lacke of a true Minister, to Baptize my owne Childe, as that it was to* Abraham *to Circumcise his son* Ismael, *and his family. And as for Purgatory, Praying to Saints, and for the dead, I have oft read (said he) both the New and Old Testaments, but I neither could finde mention, nor assurance of them; And therefore I beleeve that they are but meere inventions of men, devised for covetousnesse sake.* Well, quoth

Note. *Adam Wallace his accusations and answers.*

Note.

Protestation of the Earle of *Glencarne*.

Note.

quoth the Bishop, ye hear this, my Lords. What sayest thou of the Masse, speires the Earle of *Huntly?* He answered, I say, my Lord, as my Lord Jesus Christ saith, *That which is in greatest estimation before men, is abhomination before God.* Then all cried out, *Heresie, Heresie.* And so was the simple servant of God adjudged to the fire, which he patiently sustained that same day at after-noon upon the Castle-hill. Anno

And so began they again to pollute the land which God had lately plagued, for yet their iniquity was not come to full ripenesse, as that God would that they should be manifested to this whole Realme (as this day they are) to be Fagots prepared for everlasting fire; and to be men whom neither Plagues may correct, nor the light of Gods Word convert from their darknesse and impiety.

The Peace as is said, is contracted. The Queen Dowager past by sea to *France*, with Gallies that for that purpose were prepared, and took with her divers of the Nobility of *Scotland.* The Earles *Huntley, Glencarne, Mershell, Cassiles:* The Lords *Maxwell, Fleiming*, Sir *George Dowglas*, together with all the late Kings naturall sons, and divers Barons, and Gentlemen of Ecclesiasticall estate; the Bishop of *Galloway*, and many others, with promise that they should be richly rewarded for their good service. What they received we cannot tell, but few were made rich at their returning. The Dowager had to practise somewhat with her brethren, the Duke of *Gwise*, and the Cardinall of *Loraine.* The weight whereof the Governour after felt; for shortly after her returne, was the Governour deposed of the government (justly by God, but most unjustly by man) and she made Regent, in the yeer of our Lord 1554. and a Crown put upon her head, as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to *put a Saddle upon the backe of an unruly Cow.* And so began she to practise, practise upon practise, How *France* might be advanced, her friends made rich, and she brought to immortall glory: For that was her common talk, *So that I may procure the wealth and honour of my friends, and a good fame unto my selfe, I regard not what God do after with me.* And in very deed, in deep dissimulation to bring her owne purpose to effect, she passed the common sort of women, as we will after heare. But yet God, to whose Gospel she declared her selfe enemie, in the end frustrated her of all her devices. Thus did light and darknesse strive within the Realme of *Scotland:* The darknesse ever before the World suppressing the light, from the death of that notable servant of God, Master *Patricke Hamilton*, untill the death of *Edward* the sixth, the most godly and most vertuous King that had been known to have reigned in *England*, or elsewhere, these many yeeres by past, who departed the miseries of this life the sixth of July, *Anno* 1553. The death of this Prince was lamented of all the godly within *Europe*, for the graces given unto him of God, as well of nature, as of erudition and godlinesse, passed the measure that accustomably is used to be given to other princes in their greatest perfection, and yet exceeded he not 16 yeers of age. What Gravity, above age? What Wisdom, wherein he passed all understanding or expectation of man? And what Dexterity in answering in all things proposed, were in that excellent Prince. The Ambassadours of all Countries (yea, some that were mortall enemies to him, and to his

The death and vertues of *Edward* the sixth.

Anno

Realme, amongst whom the Queen Dowager of *Scotland* was not the least) could and did testifie: For the said Queen Dowager returning from *France* through *England*, communed with him at length, and gave record when she came to this Realme, That she found more wisdome and solide judgement in young King *Edward*, then she would have looked for in any three Princes that were then in *Europe*. His liberality toward the godly and learned that were in other Realms persecuted was such, as *Germans*, *French-men*, *Italians*, *Scots*, *Spaniards*, *Polonians*, *Grecians*, and *Hebrews* born, can yet give sufficient document. For how honourably was *Martin Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, *John Alasco*, *Emanuel Gualterus*, and many others upon his publike stipends entertained, their parents can witnesse, and they themselves during their lives would never have denied. After the death of this most vertuous Prince, of whom the godlesse people of *England* (for the most part) were not worthy, Satan intended nothing lesse then the light of Jesus Christ utterly to have been extinguished within the whole Isle of *Britain*. For after him was raised up in Gods hot displeasure, that Idolatresse and mischievous *Mary* of the *Spaniards* blood, a cruell persecutrix of Gods people, as the acts of her unhappy reigne can sufficiently witnesse. And in *Scotland* that same time (as we have heard) reigned that crafty practiser, *Mary* of *Loraine*, then named Regent of *Scotland*, who bound to the devotion of her two brethren, the Duke of *Guise*, and Cardinall of *Loraine*, did onely abide the opportunity to cut the throat of all those, in whom she suspected any knowledge of God to be within the Realme of *Scotland*. And so thought Satan that his kingdome of darknesse was in quietnesse and rest, as well in the one Realme as in the other. But that provident eye of our eternall God, who continually watches for preservation of his Church, did so order all things, that Satan shortly after found himselfe farre disappointed of his conclusion taken. For in that cruell persecution used by Queen *Mary* of *England*, were godly men dispersed into divers nations: of whom it pleased the goodnesse of God to send some unto us for our comfort and instruction. And first came a simple man, *William Harlaw*, whose erudition, although it excell not, yet for his whole and diligent plainnesse in Doctrine, is he to this day worthy of praise, and remaines a fruitfull member within the Church of *Scotland*. After him came that notable man *Iohn Willocke*, as one that had some Commission to the Queen Regent, from the Dutchesse of *Emden*. But his principall purpose was to essay what God would worke by him in his native countrey. These two did sometimes in severall companies assemble the brethren, who by their exhortations began greatly to be encouraged, and did shew that they had an earnest thirst of godlinesse. And last came *Iohn Knox* in the end of the harvest, *Anno* 1555. who first being lodged in the house of that notable man of God *Iames Sime*, began to exhort secretly in that same house, whereunto repaired the Laird of *Dun*, *David Forresse*, and some certain personages of the Town, amongst whom was *Elizabeth Adamson*, then spouse to *Iames Barrowe* Burgesse of *Edinburgh*, who by reason that she had a troubled conscience delighted much in the company of the said *Iohn*, because that he, according to the grace given unto him, opened more fully the Fountaine of Gods Mercies, then did the common sort of Teachers, that

Who first after the death of King *Edward* began to preach in *Scotland*.

Elizabeth Adamson, and her death.

that ſhe had heard before (for ſhe had heard none except Friers) and did with ſuch greedineſſe drinke thereof, that at her death ſhe did expreſſe the fruit of her hearing, to the great comfort of all thoſe that repaired unto her. For albeit ſhe ſuffered moſt grievous torment in her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing, but praiſing of God, except that ſometimes ſhe lamented the troubles of thoſe that were troubled by her. Being ſometimes demanded by her ſiſters; What ſhe thought of that pain which ſhe then ſuffered in body, in reſpect of that wherewith ſometimes ſhe was troubled in ſpirit. She anſwered, *A thouſand yeere of this torment, and ten times more joyned unto it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an houre that I ſuffered in my ſpirit. I thanke my God, through Jeſus Chriſt, that hath delivered me from that fearful pain, and welcome be this, even ſo long as it pleaſeth his godly Majeſtie to exerciſe me therewith.* A little before her departure, ſhe deſired her ſiſters and ſome others that were beſide her, to ſing a Pſalme, and amongſt others ſhe appointed the 103. Pſalme, beginning, *My ſoule praiſe thou the Lord alwayes*, which ended, ſhe ſaid, *At the Teaching of this Pſalme, began my troubled ſoule, firſt effectually to taſte of the mercy of my God, which now to me is more ſweet and precious, then if all the kingdomes of the earth were given to me to poſſeſſe them a thouſand yeeres.* The Prieſts urged her with their Ceremonies and Superſtitions. To whom ſhe anſwered, *Depart from me ye Sergeants of Satan: for I have refuſed, and in your own preſence doe refuſe all your abominations. That which you call your* Sacrament, *and* Chriſts body *(as ye have deceived us to beleeve in times paſt) is nothing but an Idoll, and hath nothing to do with the right Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and therefore in Gods Name I command you not to trouble me.* They departed, alleadging, That ſhe raved, and wiſt not what ſhe ſaid. And ſhe ſhortly after ſlept in the Lord Jeſus, to no ſmall comfort of thoſe that ſaw her bleſſed departing. This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave ſo notable a Confeſſion, before that the great light of Gods Word did univerſally ſhine thorowout this Realme.

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At the firſt coming of the ſaid *John Knox*, he perceiving divers who had a zeale to godlineſſe, make ſmall ſcruple to go to the Maſſe, or to communicate with the abuſed Sacraments in the Papiſticall manner, began as well in privie Conference as in Preaching, to ſhew the impietie of the Maſſe, and how dangerous a thing it was, to communicate in any ſort with Idolatrie: wherewith the conſcience of ſome being affrighted, the matter began to be agitate from man to man. And ſo was the ſaid *John* called to Supper, by the Laird of *Dun*, for that ſame purpoſe, where were aſſembled *David Forreſſe*, Maſter *Robert Lockart*, *John Willocke*, and *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, a man of good Learning, and of ſharpe wit and reaſoning. The Queſtion was Propoſed, and it was anſwered by the ſaid *John*; *That in no wiſe it was lawfull to a Chriſtian to preſent himſelfe to that Idoll.* Nothing was omitted that might ſerve for the purpoſe, and yet was every head ſo fully anſwered, and eſpecially one, whereunto they thought their great defence ſtood: To wit, That *Paul* at the commandment of *James*, and of the *Elders* of *Jeruſalem*, paſſed to the *Temple*, and fained himſelfe to

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pay his vow with others. This, we say, and other things, were so fully answered, that *William Maitland* concluded, saying, *I see very perfectly that our shifts will serve nothing before God, seeing that they stand us in so small stead before men.* The answer of *John Knox* to the fact of *Paul*, and to the commandment of *James* was; That *Pauls* fact had nothing to do with their going to Masse. For to pay Vowes was sometimes Gods Commandment, as was never Idolatry: But their Masse from the originall, was, and remained odious Idolatry; Therefore the fact was most unlike. Secondarily, said he, I greatly doubt whether either *James* his commandment or *Pauls* obedience, proceeded of the holy Ghost: We know their counsell tendeth to this, That *Paul* would shew himselfe one that observed diligently the very small points of the Law, to the end he might purchase to himself the favours of the Jews, who were offended at him, by reason of the bruites that were spread, That he taught defection from *Moses*. Now while he obeyed their counsell, he fell into the most desperate danger that ever he sustained before; whereby it was evident, That God approved not that mean of reconciliation; but rather, that he plainely declareth, That evil should not be done, that good might come of it. Evil it was for *Paul* to confirme those obstinate Jewes in their Superstition by his example; worse it was to him to expose himselfe and the Doctrine which before he had taught to slander and mockage. And therefore concluded the said *John*, That the fact of *Paul*, and the sequell that thereof followed, appeared rather to fight against them that would go to the Masse, then to give unto them any assurance to follow his example; unlesse that they would that the like trouble should instantly apprehend them, that apprehended him for obeying worldly-wise councell. After these, and like reasonings, the Masse began to be abhorred of such as before used it for the fashion and avoiding of slander (as then they termed it) *John Knox*, at request of the Laird of *Dun*, followed him to his place of *Dun*, where he remained a moneth, daily exercised in Preaching, whereunto resorted the principall men of that countrey. After this returning, his residence was most in *Calder*, whither repaired unto him, the Lord *Erskin*, the Earle of *Argyle*, then Lord of *Lorne*, and Lord *James*, then Priour of S. *Andrews*, and after Earle of *Murrey*, where they heard, and so approved his Doctrine, that they wished it to have been publike. That same Winter he taught commonly in *Edinburgh*, and after Christmas, by the conduct of the Laird of *Bar*, and *Robert Campbell* of *Kingieancleuch*, he came to *Kyle*, and taught in the *Bar*, in the house of the *Carnell*, in the *Kingieancleuch*, in the Town of *Air*, and in the houses of *Uchiltrie* and *Gathgirth*, and in some of them he ministred the Lords Table. Before *Easter* the Earl of *Glencarne* sent for him to his place of *Fynlaston*, where after Sermon, he also ministred the Lords Table. Whereof besides himself, were partakers, his Lady, two of his sons, and certain of his friends. And so returned he to *Calder*, where divers from *Edinburgh*, and from the Countrey about, assembled, as well for the Doctrine, as for the right use of the Lords Table, which before they had never practised. From thence he departed the second time to the Laird of *Dun*, and teaching then in greater liberty, the Gentlemen required, That he should minister likewise unto them the

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Note diligently.

Masse abhorred.

Table

Table of the Lord Jesus, where were partakers, the most part of the Gentlemen of the *Mernes*, who God be praised, to this day do constantly remain in the same doctrine which then they professed. To wit, That they refused all society with Idolatry, and bent themselves to the uttermost of their powers to maintain the true Preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto them Preachers and opportunitie. The bruite hereof spread (for the Friers from all quarters flocked to the Bishops) the said *John Knox* was summoned to appear in the Church of the blacke Friers in *Edinburgh*, the fifteenth day of May, which day the said *John* decreed to keep, and for that purpose *John Erskin* of *Dun*, with divers other Gentlemen assembled to the Town of *Edinburgh*. But that Diet held not. For whether the Bishops perceived informalitie in their own proceedings, or if they feared danger to ensue upon their extremity, it is unknown unto us. But the Saturday before the day appointed, they cust their own summons, and the said *John*, the same day of the summons taught in *Edinburgh*, in a greater audience then ever before he had done in that Town. The place was the Bishop of *Dunkelles*, his great lodging, where he continued in Teaching ten dayes, before and after noon. The Earle of *Glencarne* allured the Earle of *Masrchell*, who with *Henry Drummond* (his counseller for that time) heard an exhortation (but it was in the night) who were so well contented with it, that they both willed the said *John* to write unto the Queen Regent somewhat that might move her to hear the Word of God. He obeyed their desire, and wrote that which after was published, which we have caused to be Printed at the end of this Book, and is called, *The Letter to the Queen Dowager*; Which was delivered unto her own hands by the said *Alexander* Earle of *Glencarne*: Which Letter when she had read, within a day or two, she delivered it to the proud Prelate *Betone*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, and said in mockage; *Please you my Lord to read a Pasquill*: Which words coming to the ears of the said *John*, was the occasion that to his Letter he made his additions, as yet may be seen. As concerning the threatnings pronounced against her own person, and the most principall of her friends; let these very flatterers see what had failed of all that he had written.

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While *John Knox* was thus occupied in *Scotland*, Letters came to him from the English Church that was assembled at *Geneva* (which was separated from that superstitious and contentious company that was at *Franckford*) commanding him in Gods Name, as he that was their chosen Pastour, to repaire unto them for their comfort. Upon the which the said *John* took his leave from us, almost in every congregation where before he had Preached, and exhorted us to Prayers, to Reading of the Scriptures, and mutuall conference, untill such time as God should give unto us greater libertie. And hereupon he sent before him to *Deep*, his mother in Law *Elizabeth Bowes*, and his wife *Marjory*, with no small dolour of their hearts, and of many of us. He himselfe by procurement and labours of *Robert Campell* of *Kingieancleuch*, remained behinde in *Scotland*, and passed to the Earle of *Argile*, who then was in the castle *Campbell*, where he taught certain dayes. The Laird of *Glenurquhay* (which yet liveth) being one of his auditours, willed the said Earle of *Argile* to retaine him

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still, but he resolved on his journey, would not at that time stay for no request, adding, That if God blessed those small beginnings, and if that they continued in godlinesse, whensoever they pleased to command him, they should finde him obedient. He said, That once he must needs visit that little flock which the wickednesse of men had compelled him to leave. And so in the moneth of July he left this Realm, and past to *France*, and so to *Geneva*. Immediately after, the Bishops summoned him, and for *non*-appearance burnt him in effigie, at the Crosse of *Edinburgh*, in the yeer of our Lord 1555. from the which unjust Sentence the said *John* made his appellation, and caused to Print the same, and direct it to the Nobility and Commons of *Scotland*, as yet may be read. In the Winter that the said *John* abode in *Scotland*, appeared a Comet, the course whereof was from the South and South-West, to the North and North-east. It was seen the moneths of November, December, and January; It was called, *The firie bosom*. Soon after died *Christierne* King of *Denmark*; and War arose between *Scotland* and *England*, the Commissioners of both Realms were disappointed, who almost the space of six moneths had been upon the conditions of Peace, and were upon a neere point of conclusion. The Queene Regent with her Counsell of the *French* faction decreed, War at *New Battell*, without giving any advertisement to the Commissioners for the part of *Scotland*.

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Note. You will finde this Appellation at the end of this book.

War against *England* by the meanes of the Queen Regent.

Such is the fidelitie of Princes, guided by Priests, whensoever they seeke their owne affections to be served. In the end of that next harvest was seen upon the borders of *England* and *Scotland* a strange fire, which descended from the heaven, and burnt divers cornes in both the Realms, but most in *England*. There was presented to the Queen Regent, by *Robert Ormestone*, a Calfe, having two heads, whereat she skipped, and said, *It was but a common thing*. The Warre began in the end of the harvest, as is said, and conclusion was taken that *Warke* should be assieged. The Army and Ordnance past forward to *Maxwell Hewcht*. The Queen Regent remained in the Castle of *Hume*, and thinking that all things were in assurance, *Monsieur Dosell*, then Lieutenant for *France*, gave charge that the Canons should be transported over the water of *Tweid*, which was done with expedition (for the *French* in such facts are expert) but the Nobility of *Scotland* nothing content of such proceedings, after consultation amongst themselves, past to the Pavilion of *Monsieur Dosell*, and in his own face declared, *That in no wayes would they invade* England. And therefore commanded the Ordnance to be retired: And so it was without further delay. This put an affray in *Monsieur Dosells* breeches, and kindled such a fire in the Queen Regents stomacke, as was not well slacked till her breath failed. And thus was that enterprise frustrate. But yet Warre continued, during the which, the Gospel of Jesus Christ began wonderously to flourish. For in *Edinburgh* began publikely to exhort *William Harlow*, *John Dowglas* who had (being with the Earle of *Argyle*) Preached in *Leyth*, and sometimes exhorted in *Edinburgh*. *Paul Meaffen* began publikely to Preach in *Dundie*, and so did divers others in *Angus* and the *Mernes*. And last, at Gods good pleasure arrived *John Willocke*, the second time from *Emden*, whose returne was so joyfull to the brethren, that their zeale

A calfe with two heads.

The fact of the Nobility of *Scotland*, at *Maxwel Hewcht*

The second return of *Iohn Willock* to *Scotland*.

zeal and godly courage daily encreased. And albeit he contracted a dangerous sicknesse, yet he ceased not from labours, but taught and exhorted from his bed some of the Nobility (of whom some are fallen back, amongst them the Lord *Seaton* is chief) with many Barons and Gentlemen his auditors, and by him were godly instructed, and wonderously comforted. They kept their conventions, and held counsells with such gravity and closenesse, that the enemies trembled. The Images were stollen away in all parts of the Countrey. And in *Edinburgh* was that great Idol called Saint *Gyle*, first drowned in the North Loch, after burnt, which raised no small trouble in the Town; for the Friers rooping like Ravens upon the Bishops, the Bishops ran upon the Queen, who to them was favourable enough, but that she thought it could not stand with her advantage to offend such a multitude as then took upon them the defence of the Gospel, and the name of Protestants. And yet consented she to summon the Preachers: whereat the Ptotestants neither offended, neither yet thereof afraid, determined to keep the day of Summons, as that they did. Which perceived by the Prelats and Priests, they procured a Proclamation to be publikely made, That all men that were come to the Towne without commandment of the Authority, should with all diligence repair to the Borders, and there remain fifteen dayes: For the Bishop of *Galloway* in this manner of rime said to the Queen; *Madame, because they are come without order; I read ye send them to the Border.* Now so had God provided, That the quarter of the Westland (in the which was many faithfull men) was that same day returned from the Border; who understanding the matter to proceed from the malice of the Priests, assembled themselves together, and made passage to themselves, till that they came to the very privie chamber, where the Queen Regent and the Bishops were. The Gentlemen began to complain upon their strange intertainment, considering that her Majesty had found in them so faithfull obedience in all things lawfull. While the Queen began to craft, a zealous and a bold man, *James Chalmers* of *Gaithgyrth*, said, *Madame, we know that this is the malice and device of the Jewels, and of that bastard* (meaning the Bishop of S. *Andrewes*) *that standeth by you; we avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppresse us and our Tenants, for feeding of their idle bellies: They trouble our Preachers, and would murther them and us: Shall we suffer this any longer? No, Madame, it shall not be.* And therewith every man put on his steel Bonnets. There was heard nothing of the Queens part, but, *My joyes, my hearts, What ayles you? Me means no evil to you nor to your Preachers: The Bishops shall do you no wrong, ye are all my loving Subjects; I know nothing of this Proclamation; the day of your Preachers shall be discharged, and me will heare the controversie that is betwixt the Bishops and you; they shall do you no wrong. My Lords* (said she to the Bishops) *I forbid you either to trouble them or their Preachers.* And unto the Gentlemen, who were wonderously commoved; she turned again and said, *O my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your minde? And should ye not love your neighbours as your self?* With these and the like words she kept the Bishops from buffets at that time. And so the day of Summons being discharged, began the brethren universally farther to be encouraged. But yet could

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Lord *Seton* an Apostata.

The abolishing of Images, and trouble therefore.

The Preachers summoned.

The practice of Prelats, and what thereof ensued.

The bold words of *James Chalmers* of *Gaithgyrth*.

O crafty flatterer!

Anno

The command of the Bishop

The answer of *Edinburgh*.

could the Bishops in no sort be quiet; for Saint *Gyles* day approaching, they gave charge to the Provost-Ballies, and counsell of *Edinburgh*, either to get again the old Saint *Gyle*, or else upon their expences to make a new Image. The Counsell answered, *That to them the charge appeareth very unjust; for they understood that God in some places had commanded Idols and Images to be destroyed: But where he had commanded Images to be set up, they had not read; and desired the Bishop to finde a warrant for his commandment.*

Edinburgh appealeth from the sentence of the Bishop of S. *Andrews*.

Whereat the Bishop offended, admonished, under pain of cursing, which they prevented by a former appellation, appealing from him, as a partiall and corrupt Judge, unto the Popes Holinesse; and so great things shortly following that, passed in oblivion. Yet would not the Priests and Friers cease to have that great solemnity, and manifest abomination, which they accustomedly had upon Saint *Gyles* day; to wit, They would have that Idoll borne, and therefore was all preparations duely made. A Marmouset Idoll was borrowed from the gray Friers (a silver piece of *James Carmichell* was laid in pledge) it was fast fixed with Iron nailes, upon a barrow called there *Fertor*. Their Asses, bloody Priests, Friers, Channons, and rotten Papists, with Tabors and Trumpeters, Banners and Bag-pipes: And who was there to lead the reigne, but the Queen Regent her selfe, with all her shavelings, for honour of that Feast. Well, about goeth it, and cometh downe the high street, and downe to the common Crosse. The Queen Regent dined that day in *Alexander Carpentar* his house, betwixt the Bowes: And so when the Idol returned back again, she left it, and past in to her dinner. The hearts of the brethren were wonderously enflamed; and seeing such abomination so manifestly maintained, were decreed to be revenged. They were divided in severall companies, whereof not one knew of another. There were some temporizers that day (amongst whom *David Forresse*, called the Generall, was one) who fearing the chance to be done, as it fell, laboured to stay the brethren; but that could not be: For immediately after that the Queen was entred in the lodging, some of those that were of the enterprise drew nigh to the Idol, as willing to help to bear him; and getting the *Fertor* upon their shoulders, began to shoulder, thinking that thereby the Idol would have fallen, but that was provided and prevented by the Iron nailes, as we have said.

Triumph for hearing of Rock *Gyle*.

The down casting of stock *Gyle*, and the discomfiture of *Baals* Priests.

And so began one to cry, *Down with the Idoll, down with it*: And then without delay it was pulled downe. Some brag made the Priests Patrones at the first; but when they saw the feeblenesse of their god (for one tooke him by the heeles, and dading his head to the street, left *Dagon* without a head or hands, and said, *Fie upon thee, thou young Saint* Gyle, *thy father would have tarried for such.*) This considered (we say) the Priests and Friers fled faster then they did at *Pinckey Clewch*. There might have beene so sudden a fray as seldome hath been amongst that sort of men within this Realme; for down goeth the Crosses, off goeth the Surplices, round Caps, Cornets with the Crowns. The gray Friers gaped, the black Friers blew, the Priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first gat the house; for such a sudden fray came never amongst the generation of Antichrist within this Realme before. By chance there lay upon a stayre a merry English-man; and seeing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought

A merry English-man.

thought he would adde some merrinesse to the matter: and so cried he over the staire, and said, *Fie upon you whorsons, why have you broken order, down the street they passed in aray, and with great mirth: why flee the villains now without order? turn and strike every man a stroke for the honour of his God; fie cowards fie, ye shall never be judged worthy of your wages againe.* But exhortations were then unprofitable: For after that *Bell* had broken his necke, there was no comfort to his confused Armie. The Queene Regent laid up this amongst her other inventions; till that she might have seene the time proper to have revenged it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be deprehended: For the brethren assembled themselves in such sort, in companies, singing Psalmes, and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astonished. This Tragedie of Saint *Gyles* was so terrible to some Papists, that *Durie*, sometimes called for his filthinesse *Abbot Stottikin*, and then intituled, Bishop of *Galloway*, left his Riming, wherewith he was accustomed, and departed this life even as he had lived. For the Articles of his beleefe were. I referre. *Decarte you. Ha, ha, the foure Kings and all made. The devil go with it; It is but a varlet. From* France *we thought to have gotten a Rubie; And yet is he nothing but a Cohoobie.* With such Faith and such Prayers departed out of this life that enemy of God, who had vowed and plainly said, *That in despight of God, so long as they that then were Prelates lived, should that Word (called the Gospel) never be Preached within this Realme.* After him followed that belly-God Master *David Panter*, called, Bishop of *Rosse*, even with the like documents, except that he departed eating and drinking, which, together with the rest that thereupon depended, was the pastime of his life. The most part of the Lords that were in *France* at the Queens Marriage, although that they got their leave from the Court, yet they forgot to return to *Scotland*. For whether it was by an *Italian* Posset, or *French* Feggs, or by the Pottage of their Apothecary (he was a *French*-man) there departed from this life, the Earl of *Cassiles*, the Earl of *Rothesse*, Lord *Fleming*, and the Bishop of *Orknay*, whose end was even according to his life: For after that he was driven back by a contrarious winde, and forced to land again at *Deep*, perceiving his sicknesse to increase, he caused to make his bed betwixt his two coffers (some said upon them) such was his God, the gold that therein was inclosed, that he could not depart therefrom, so long as memory would serve him. The Lord *James*, then Prior of S. *Andrews*, had (by all appearance) licked of the same broath that dispatched the rest; for thereof to his death, his stomacke doth testifie. But God preserved for a better purpose. This same Lord *James*, after Earle of *Murray*, and the said Bishop were commonly at debate in matters of Religion; and therefore the said Lord, hearing of the Bishops disease, came to visit him: and finding him not so well at a point, as he thought he should have been, and as the honour of the countrey required, said unto him; *Fie, my Lord, how lie you so? will you not go to your Chamber, and not lie heere in this utter Roome.* His answer was; *I am well where I am, my Lord, so long as I can tarry, for I am neer unto my friends* (meaning his coffers, and the gold therein.) *But my Lord (said he) how long have you and I been in plea for Purgatorie, I thinke that I shall know ere it be long whether there be such a*

Ann

Note.

The death of the Bishop of *Galoway*, and his last confession.

Qualis vita, finis ita.

The Vow of that marked beast *Durie*, B. o *Galloway*.

The death of M *David Panter*.

The death of the Bishop of *Orknay Reid*, &c.

Orknay; answer and his friends home.

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place or not. While the other did exhort him to call to minde the promises of God, and the vertue of Christs death: He answered, *Nay my Lord, let me alone, for you and I never agreed in our life, and I thinke we shall not agree now at my death, I pray you therefore let me alone.* The said Lord *James* departed to his Lodging, and the other shortly after departed this life; whither, the great day of the Lord will declare.

The Queen Regents sentence of the death of her Papists.

When the word of the departing of so many Patrons of Papistry, and of the manner of their departing, came unto the Queene Regent, after astonishment and musing, she said; *What shall I say of such men? They left me as beasts, and as beasts they die: God is not with them, neither with that which they enterprise.* While these things were in doing in *Scotland* and *France*, that perfect hypocrite, Master *John Synclare*, then Deane of *Lestarrige*, and now Lord President, and Bishop of *Brechin*, began to Preach in his Church of *Lestarrige*, and at the beginning held himselfe so indifferent, that many had opinion of him, That he was not far from the Kingdom of God. But his hypocrisie could not long be cloaked: for when he understood that such as feared God began to have a good opinion of him, and that the Friers and others of that sect began to whisper, That if he took not heed in time to himself and unto his Doctrine, he would be the destruction of the whole state of the Church. This by him understood, he appointed a Sermon, in the which he promised to give his judgement upon all such heads, as then were in controversie in the matters of Religion. The bruit hereof made his audience great at the first: But that day he so handled himself, that after that no godly man did credit him: for he not onely gainsaid the Doctrine of Justification and of Prayer, which before he had taught, but also he set up and maintained Papistry to the uttermost prick, yea, Holy-water, Pilgrimage, Purgatory, and Pardons were of such vertue in his conceit, That without them he looked not to be saved. In this mean time the Clergy made a brag, That they would dispute. But M. *David Panter*, which then lived and lay at *Lestarrige*, disswaded them therefrom, affirming, That if ever they disputed, but where themselves were both Judge and partie, and where that fire and sword should obey their decree, that then their cause was marred for ever: For their victory stood neither in God nor in his Word; but in their own wills, and in the things concluded by their own counsells (together with sword and fire) whereto (said he) these new up-start fellows will give no place, but they will call you to your Count-book, and that is, to the Bible; and by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, then the Devil will be approved to be God. And therefore if ye love your selves enter never into disputation, neither yet call ye the matter into question; but defend your possession, or else all is lost. *Caiaphas* could not give any better counsell to his companions, but yet God disappointed both them and him, as after we shall heare. At this same time some of the Nobility directed their Letters to call *John Knox* from *Geneva*, for their comfort, and for the comfort of their brethren the Preachers, and others that then couragiously fought against the enemies of Gods Trueth. The Tenour of their Letter is this.

Dean of *Lestarrige* hypocrite began to preach.

M. *David Panters* counsell to his forsworne brethren the Bishops.

Grace,

Anno

Grace, Mercy, and Peace for Salvation.

DEarly Beloved in the Lord, the faithfull that are of your acquaintance in these parts (thanks be unto God) are stedfast in the beliefe wherein yee left them, and have a godly thirst and desire day by day of your presence againe: Now if the Spirit of God will so move yeu, and grant time unto you, we all heartily desire you, in the Name of the Lord, That ye would returne again into these parts, where you shall finde all the faithfull that ye left behinde you, not onely glad to heare your doctrine, but also ready to jeopard their lives and goods for the setting forward of the glory of God, as he will permit. And albeit the Magistrates in this Countrey be as yet but in the state ye left them in, yet at the making hereof we have no experience of any more cruelty to be used, then was before: But rather we have beliefe, That God will augment his Flock, because we see daily the Friers, enemies to Christs Gospel, in lesse estimation with the Queen, and the Nobility of our Realm. This, in few words, is the minde of the faithfull being present, and others absent. The rest of our mindes this faithfull Bearer will shew you at length. Thus fare ye well in the Lord.

The second Vocation of *Iohn Knox*, by Letters of the Lords.

At Sterlin *the tenth of March*, Anno 1556.

This is the true Copy of the Letter, being subscribed by the names under-written.

Sic subscribitur,

Glencarne. *Erskin.*

Lorne, now *Argyle.* *James Stewart.*

The Letters were delivered to the foresaid *John* in *Geneva*, by the hands of *James Sym*, who now resteth with Christ, and of *James Barrone*, who yet liveth. In the Moneth of *May*, immediately after these Letters were received and advised upon, he took consultation, as well with his owne Church, as with that notable servant of God *Iohn Calvine*, and with other godly Ministers; who all with one consent said, That he could not refuse that Vocation, unlesse he would declare himselfe rebellious unto his God, and unmercifull to his Countrey: And so he returned answer, with promise to visite them with reasonable expedition, and so soon as he might put order to that deare Flocke that was committed to his Charge. And so in the end of the next *September* after, he departed from *Geneva*, and came to *Deape*, where there met him contrary Letters, as by his answer thereto we may understand.

The Spirit of Wisedome, Constancie and Strength, be multiplied with you, by the favour of God our Father, and by the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ.

ACcording to my promise, my Right Honourable, I came to *Deape* the four and twentieth day of *October*, of full minde, by the good will of God, with the first Ships, to have visited you. But because two Letters not very pleasing unto the flesh were there presented unto me, I was compelled to stay for a time. The one was directed to my self, from

Anno

a faithfull brother, which made mention, that a new consultation was appointed for finall conclusion of the matter before purposed; and willed me therefore to abide in these parts till the determination of the same. The other Letter was directed from a Gentleman to a friend, with charge to advertise me, That he had communed with all those that seemed most franke and fervent in the matter; and that in none did he finde such boldnesse and constancy as was requisite for such an enterprise; but that some did (as he writeth) repent that ever any such thing was moved: Some were partly ashamed, and others were able to deny that ever they did consent to any such purpose, if any tryall or question should be taken thereof, &c. Which Letters when I had considered, I was partly confounded, and partly was pierced with anguish and sorrow. Confounded I was, that I had so far travelled in the matter, moving the same to the most godly and most learned that this day we know to live in *Europe*, to the effect that I might have their judgements and grave counsells, for assurance as well of your consciences, as of mine, in all enterprises. And then that nothing should succeed of so long consultation, cannot but redound, either to your shame or mine. For either it shall appeare that I was marvellous vain, being so solicited, where no necessity required; Or else that such as were movers thereto, lacked the ripenesse of judgement in their first Vocation. To some it may appeare, a small and light matter, that I have cast off, and as it were abandoned, as well my particular care, as my publike Office and Charge, leaving my house and poor family destitute of all head, save God only, and committing that small (but to Christ dearly beloved) flock, over the which I was appointed one of the Ministers, to the charge of another. This, I say, to worldly men, may appeare a small matter: But to me, it was and is such, that more worldly substance then I will expresse, could not have caused me willingly to behold the eyes of so many grave men weep at once for my cause, as that I did in taking my last good night from them: To whom if it please God that I returne, and question be demanded, What was the impediment of my purposed journey, judge you what I shall answer. The cause of my dolour and sorrow (God is my witnesse) is for nothing pertaining either to my corporall contentment, or worldly displeasure; but it is for the grievous plagues and punishments of God, which assuredly shall apprehend, not onely you, but every inhabitant of that miserable Realm and Isle, except that the power of God, by the liberty of his Gospel, deliver you from Bondage. I mean

Note. not onely that perpetuall fire and torment prepared for the devil, and for such as denying Christ Jesus, and his knowne Verity, do follow the sons of wickednesse to perdition (which most is to be feared) but also that thraldome and misery that shall apprehend your owne bodies, your children, subjects, and posterity, whom ye have betrayed (in conscience I can except none that beare the name of Nobility) and presently fight to betray them and your Realme to the slavery of strangers. The War begun (although I acknowledge it to be the work of God) shall be your destruction, unlesse that betime remedie be provided. God open your eyes, that ye may espie and consider your

owne

own miserable estate. My words shall appear to some, sharp, and undiscreetly spoken. But as charity ought to interpret all things to the best, so ought wise men to understand, That *a true friend cannot be a flatterer.* Especially, when the questions of salvation both of body and soule are moved; and that not of one, nor of two, but as it were of a whole Realm or Nation. What are the sobs, and what is the affection of my troubled heart, God shall one day declare: But this will I adde to my former rigour and severity, to wit, If any perswade you for fear of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he so wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both foolish, and your mortall enemy: Foolish, for because he understood nothing of Gods approved wisedome; and enemy unto you, because he laboured to separate you from Gods favour, provoking his vengeance, and grievous plagues against you: because he would, That ye should prefer your worldly rest to Gods praise and glory; and the friendship of the wicked, to the salvation of your brethren. *I am not ignorant that fearfull troubles shall ensue your enterprise (as in my former Letters I did signific unto you.) But O joyfull and comfortable are the troubles and adversities, which man sustaineth for accomplishment of Gods will revealed by his word! For how terrible soever they appeare to the judgement of the naturall man, yet are they never able to devour, nor utterly to consume the sufferers: For the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth according to his promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him.* The subtill craft of *Pharaoh* many yeers joyned with his bloody cruelty, was not able to destroy the male children of *Israel*; neither were the waters of the Red Sea, much lesse the rage of *Pharaoh* able to confound *Moses*, and the company which he conducted, and that because the one had Gods Promise that they should multiply; and the other had his Commandment to enter into such dangers. I would your wisedoms should consider that our God remaineth one, and is immutable; and that the Church of Christ Jesus hath the same promise of protection and defence, that *Israel* had of multiplication: And farther, That no lesse cause have ye to enter into your former enterprise, then *Moses* had to go to the presence of *Pharaoh* (for your vassalls, yea your brethren are oppressed, their bodies and souls holden in bondage, and God speaketh to your consciences, (unlesse ye be dead with the blinde world) that ye ought to hazard your owne lives (be it against Kings or Emperours) for their deliverance. For onely for that cause are ye called Princes of the people. And ye receive of your Brethren, Honour, Tribute, and Homage, at Gods Commandment, not by reason of your Birth and Progenie (as the most part of men do falsly suppose) but by reason of your Office and Duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression to the uttermost of your power. Advise diligently, I beseech you, with the points of that Letter which I directed to the whole Nobility; and let every man apply the matter and case to himself; for your conscience shall one day be compelled to acknowledge, That the Reformation of Religion, and of publike enormities, doth appertaine to more then to the Clergie, or chief Rulers, called Kings. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus rule and guide your counsells to your eternall glory, your eternall comfort,

Anno

Note.

Let the Papists themselves judge of what spirit these sentences could proceed.

The duty of the Nobility.

The letter lost by negligence and troubles.

God grant that our Nobility would yet understand.

Anno

comfort, and to the consolation of your brethren. *Amen.* From *Deape* the 27 of *October.* 1557.

These Letters received and read, togethet with others directed to the whole Nobility, and some to particular Gentlemen, as to the Lairds of *Dun* and *Petarrow*, new consultation was had what was best to be done; and in the end it was concluded, That they would follow forward their purpose once intended, and would commit themselves, and whatsoever God had given them, into his hands, rather then they would suffer Idolatry so manifestly to raigne, and the Subjects of that Realme so to be defrauded, as long as they had been of the onely food of their souls, the true Preaching of Christs Gospel. And that every one should be the more assured of other, a common Bond was made, and by some subscribed: The tenor thereof followeth.

Note.

The first Covenant of *Scotland.*

1557 Those that then did oppose Popery, were called the Congregation.

WE perceiving how Sathan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospel of Christ, and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Masters Cause, even unto the death, being certaine of the Victory in him: The which our duty being well considered, We do promise before the Majestie of God, and his Congregation, That we (by his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God, and his Congregation: And shall labour according to our power, to have faithfull Ministers, truely and purely to minister Christs Gospel and Sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them; the whole Congregation of Christ, and every Member thereof according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, against Sathan and all wicked power that doth intend Tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto the which holy Word, and Congregation, we do joyne us; and so do forsake and renounce the Congregation of Sathan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare our selves manifestly enemies thereto, By this our faithfull Promise before God, testified to this Congregation, by our Subscription at these Presents. At *Edinburgh* the third of *December*, *anno* 1557. God called to witnesse.

Note. The Earl of *Argyle* the first man in this Covenant.

Sic subscribitur.

A. Earle of *Argyle.*	*Archibald*, Lord of *Lorne.*
Glencarne.	*Iohn Erskin* of *Dun*,
Mortoun.	*Et cætera.*

The third Vocation of *Iohn Knox*, by the Lords and Churches of *Scotland.*

A little before that this Bond was subscribed by the fore-written, and many other Letters were directed again to *Io. Knox* from the said Lords, together with their Letters to M. *Calvin*, craving of him, That by his authority he would command the said *Iohn* once again to visite them. These Letters were delivered by the hands of M. *Iohn Gray*, in the Moneth of *November*, *anno* 1558. who at that same time past to *Rome*, for expedition of the Bowes of the B^p^. of *Rosse*, to M. *Henry Sinclar*. Immediately after the subscription of this foresaid Bond, the Lords and Barons professing Christ Jesus, convened frequently in counsell: in the which these Heads were concluded: *First, It is thought expedient, advised, and ordained, That in*

in all Parishes of this Realm the Common-Prayer be read weekly on Sunday, and other Festivall dayes publikely in the Parish Churches, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, conformed to the order of the Book of Common Prayers. And if the Curats of the Parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same. And if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the Parish use and reade the same. Secondly, It is thought necessary, that Doctrine, Preaching, and Interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, while afterward that God move the Prince to grant publike Preaching by faithfull and true Ministers. Anno

These two heads concerning the Religion, and some others concerning the policie being concluded, the old Earle of *Argyle* took the maintenance of *John Dowglas*, caused him to Preach publikely in his house, and reformed many things according to his counsell. The same boldnesse tooke divers others, as well within Towns, as in the country, which did not a little trouble the Bishops and Queen Regent: As by this Letter and Credit committed to Sir *David Hamilton*, from the Bishop of S. *Andrews* to the said Earle of *Argyle* may be clearly understood.

The Bishops Letter to the old Earle of *Argyle*.

MY Lord, after most hearty commendations, this is to advertise your Lordship that we have directed this Bearer our Cousin towards your Lordship, in such businesse and affaires as concerneth your Lordships honour, profit, and great well-being, as the said Bearer will declare to your Lordship at more length. I pray your Lordship, effectuously to advert thereto, and to have care to use your Lordships friends, that alwayes hath wished the honour, profit, and prosperity of your Lordships house, as of our own. I pray you give credit to the Bearer. Jesu have your Lordship in everlasting keeping. Of Edinburgh, *the five and twentieth day of March, Anno* 1558.

Sic subscribitur.

Your Lordships at all power
Saint Andrews:

Followes the Credit.

MEmorandum, To Sir *David Hamilton*, to my Lord Earle of *Argyle*, in my behalfe, and let him see and heare every Article.

1. Imprimis, *To repeat the ancient blood of his house, how long it hath stood, how notable it hath been, and so many Noble-men hath been Earles, Lords and Knights thereof: How long they have reigned in their parts, true and obedient both to God and the Prince, without any spot in their dayes in any manner of sort: And to remember how many notable men are come of his house.*

2. *Secondly, To shew him the great affection I beare towards him, his blood, house, and friends, and of the ardent desire I have of the perpetuall standing of it in honour and fame, with all them that are come of it: Which is my part, for many and divers causes, as you shall see.*

3. *Thirdly, To shew, my Lord, how heavy and displeasing it is to me, now to heare, That he who is and hath been so Noble a man, should be seduced and abused, by the flattery of such an infamed person of the Law, and men-sworne Apostate, that under the pretence that he giveth himself forth as a Preacher of the*

Gospel

Anno

Gospel and Veritie, under that colour, setteth forth Schismes and Divisions in the holy Church of God, with Hereticall Propositions, thinking that under his maintenance and defence, to infect this Countrey with Heresie, perswading my said Lord, and others, his children and friends, that all that he speaketh is Scripture, and conform thereunto, albeit that many of his Propositions are many yeers past condemned by generall Councels, and the whole state of Christian people.

4. *Fourthly, To shew to my Lord how perillous this is to his Lordship and his house, and decay thereof, in case that authority should be sharp, and should use rigour conform both to Civill and Canon, and also your own Municipall law of this Realm.*

5. *Fifthly, to shew his Lordship how woe I would be, either to heare, see, or know any displeasure that might come to him, his son, or any of his house or friends, and especially in his own time and dayes. And as how great displeasure I have now to hear great and evil bruites of him that should in his old age, in a manner, vary from his faith, and to be altered therin when the time is that he should be most sure and firme therein.*

6. *Sixthly, To shew his Lordship that there is delation of that man called* Dowglas, *or* Grant, *of sundry Articles of Heresie which lieth to my charge and conscience to put remedie to, or else all the pestilentious Doctrine he sowes, and such like, all that are corrupt by his Doctrine, and all that he draweth from our Faith and Christian Religion, will lie to my charge before God: and I to be accused before God for overseeing of him, if I put not remedy thereto, and correct him for such things he is delated of. And therefore that my Lord consider, and weigh it well, how highly it lieth both to my honour and conscience: for if I favour him, I shall be accused for all them that he infects and corrupts in Heresie.*

7. *Seventhly, Therefore I pray my Lord, in most hearty maner to take this matter in the best part for his own conscience, honour, and weale of himselfe, house, friends, and servants: and sik like for my part, and for my conscience and honour. Then considering that there are divers Articles of Heresie to be laid to him, that he is dilated of, and that he is presently in my Lords company: That my Lord would by some honest way part with this man, and put him from him, and from his sons company: For I would be right sorry that any being in any of their companies should be called for such causes, or that any of them should be bruited to hold any sik man. And this I would advertise, my Lord, and have his Lordships Answer and Resolution, before any Summons passed upon him.*

8. *Eighthly,* Item, *If my Lord would have a man to instruct him truely in the Faith, and Preach to him, I would provide a learned man to him, and I shall answer for his true Doctrine, and shall Pand my soule that he shall teach nothing but truly, according to our Catholike Faith.* Of *Edinburgh,* this last of March 1558.

Sic subscribitur.
Saint Andrews.

Moreover, I hope your Lordship will call to good remembrance, and weigh the great and heavie murmure against me, both by the Queene, the Church-men, Spirituall and Temporall estates, and well given people, moaning, crying, and murmuring at me greatly, That I do not my Office:

To

To those such infamous persons with such perversed Doctrine within my Dioceses, and this Realme, by reason of my Legacie and Primacie, which I have the rather sustained and long suffered, for the great love that I had to your Lordship and posterity, and your friends and your house: As beleeving surely your Lordships wisedome should not have maintained and medled with such things that might do me dishonour or displeasure, considering that I have bin ready to put good order thereto always, but have modestly abstained, for the love of your Lordship and house aforesaid, that I beare truely; knowing and seeing the great harm, and dishonour, and lack apparantly that might come therethrough, in case your Lordship remedie not the same hastily, whereby we might both be quiet of all danger, which doubtlesse will come upon us both, if I use not my Office, or that he be called, while that he is now with your Lordship, and under your Lordships protection.

Anno

Flesh & blood is preferred to God with the Bishop.

Subscribed againe.
Saint Andrews.

By these former Instructions thou mayest perceive (Gentle Reader) what was the care that this Pastour, or rather Impostour, with his Complices took to feed the flock committed to their charge (as they alleadge) and to gain-stand false Teachers. Here is oft mention of conscience, of Heresie, & such other terms that might fray the ignorant, and deceive the simple. But we hear no crime in particular laid to the charge of the accused, and yet is he condemned as a forsworn Apostata. This was my Lords conscience, which he learned of his fathers the Pharisees, old enemies to Christ Jesus, who condemned him before they heard him. But who ruled my Lords conscience, when he took his cousins wife, *the Lady Gilton*: Consider thou the rest of his perswasions, & thou shalt clearly see, That honour, estimation, love to house and friends, is the best ground that my Lord Bishop hath, why he should persecute Jesus Christ in his members. We thought good to insert the answers of the said Earle, which follow.

Memorandum, *This present Writ is to make answer particularly to every Article, directed from my Lord of S.* Andrews *to me, by Sir* David Hamilton, *which Articles are in number nine; and heere repeated and answered, as I trust, to his Lordships contentment.*

1. THe first Article putteth me in remembrance of the antiquity of the blood of my house; how many Earles, Lords, and Knights hath been thereof; how many Noble-men descended of the same house, how long it continued true to God and the Prince, without spot, in their dayes, in any manner of sort.

Answer, True it is, my Lord, that there is well-long continuance of my house, by Gods providence; and benevolence of our Princes whom we have served; and shall serve truely, next to God. And the like obedience, towards Gods and our Princes remaineth with us yet, or rather better, (praised be the Lords Name) neither know we any spot towards our Princesse, and her due obedience. And if there be offence towards God, he is mercifull to remit our offences. For he will not the death of a sinner. Like as it standeth in his omnipotent power to make up houses, to

Note.

Anno

continue the same to alter them, to make them small or great, or to extinguish them according to his own inscrutable wisdom. For in exalting, depressing, and changing of houses, the laud and praise must be given to that one eternall God, in whose hands the same standeth.

2. The second Article beareth the great affection and love your Lordship beareth towards me and my house, and of the ardent desire ye have of the perpetuall standing thereof in honour and fame with all them that are coming of it.

Answ. Forsooth it is your dutie to wish good unto my house, and unto them that are coming of the same; not onely for the faithfulnesse, amity, and society that hath been between our forefathers; but also for the late conjunction of blood that is between our said house, if it be Gods pleasure that it have successe. Which should give sufficient occasion to your Lordship to wish good to my house and perpetuity, with Gods glory, without which nothing is perpetuall, unto whom be praise and worship for ever and ever. Amen.

3. Thirdly, Your Lordship declareth how displeasant it is to you that I should be seduced by an infamed person of the Law, and by the flattery of a forsworn Apostata, that under pretence of his giving forth, maketh us to understand, That he is a Preacher of the Gospel, and therewith raiseth Schismes and Divisions in the whole Church of God: And by our maintenance and defence would infect this Countrey with Heresie, alleadging that to be Scripture, which these many yeeres past hath been condemned as Heresie by the generall Councells, and whole estate of Christian people.

Answ. The God that created heaven and earth, and all that is therein, preserve me from seducing: for I dread others; many under the colour of godlinesse are seduced, and think that they do God a pleasure, when they persecute one of them that professe his Name. What that man of the Law is, we know not; we hear none of his flattery, his perjured Oath of Apostasie is unknown unto us: But if he have made any unlawfull Oath, contrary to Gods commandment, it were better to violate it, then to observe it. He Preaches nothing to us but the Gospel, if he would do otherwise, we would not beleeve him, nor yet an Angel of heaven: we heare him sowe no Schismes nor Divisions, but such as may stand with Gods Word, which we shall cause him to confesse, in presence of your Lordship and the Clergy, when ye require us thereto. And as to it that hath been condemned by generall Councels, we trust you know well, that all the generall Councels have been at diversity among themselves, and never two of them universally agreeing in all points, in so much as they are of men. But the Spirit of Verity that bears testimony of our Lord Jesus, hath not, neither can erre. For heaven & earth shal perish, ere one jot of it perish. Beyond this, my Lord, neither teacheth he, neither will we accept of him, but that which agrees with the Word of God, set forth by the Patriarks, Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, left to our salvation in expresse words. And so, my Lord, to condemn the Doctrine not examined, is not required: For when your Lordship pleaseth to hear the confession of that mans Faith, the manner of his Doctrine, which agreeth with the Gospel of

Jesus

Jesus Christ, I will cause him to assist to judgement, and shall be present there at Gods pleasure, that he may render reckoning of his belief, and our Doctrine to the superiour Powers, according to the prescription of that blood of the eternall Testament, sealed by the Immaculate Lambe; To whom with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.* Anno

4. The fourth Article puts me in remembrance, how dangerous it is, if the Authority would put me to it, and my House, according to comely and common Laws, and our own municipiall Lawes of this Realme, and how it appeareth to the decay of our House.

Answ. All Laws are (or at least should be) subject to Gods Law, which Law should be first placed, and planted in every mans heart, it should have no impediment. Men should not abrogate it, for the defence and setting up of their owne advantage. If it would please Authorities to put at our House, for confessing of Gods Word, or for maintenance of his Law: God is mighty enough in his own Cause, he should be rather obeyed then man. I will serve my Prince, with body, heart, goods, strength, and all that is in my power, except that which is Gods duty, which I will reserve to him alone; that is, To worship him in truth and verity, and as neer as I can to conform to his written Word, to his owne honour, and obedience of my Princesse. Note diligently.

5. The fifth Article puts me in remembrance how woe your Lordship would be, to hear, to see, or know any displeasure that might come to me, my son, or any of my House, and especially in my time and dayes: And as to heare the great and evill brute of me, that should now in my old age in a manner, begin to vary in my Faith, and to be altered therein, when it is time that I should be most sure and firm therein.

Ans. Your Lordships good will is ever made manifest unto me in all your Articles, that you should be sorry to hear, see, or know my displeasure, for the which I am bound to render your Lordship thanks, & shall do the same assuredly. But as for wavering in my Faith, God forbid that I should so do: For I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven & earth; And in Jesus Christ his onely Son our Saviour. My Lord, I vary not in my Faith; but I praise God, that of his goodnesse now in my latter days, hath of his infinite mercy opened his bosome of grace unto me, to acknowledge him the eternall Wisedome, his Son Jesus Christ, my one sufficient Satisfaction, to refuse all Idolatry, Superstition, and Ignorance, wherewith I have been blinded in times past, and now believe that God will be mercifull unto me; for now he hath declared his blessed Will clearly to me, before my departing out of this transitory life.

6. The sixth Article declareth, That there are delations of sundry points of Heresie upon that man, *Dowglas* or *Grant*, which lies to your charge and conscience to put remedie to; or else that all the pestilentious doctrine he sowes, and all whom he corrupteth with his seed, will be required at your hands, and all whom he draws from your Christian Faith; and if ye should suffer him, that ye will be accused for all them whom he infecteth with Heresie; and therefore to regard your Lordships honour and conscience therein.

Anno

Answ. What is his firname I know not, but he calleth himself *Dowglas*; for I know neither his father nor his mother: I have heard him teach no Articles of heresie, but that which agreeth with Gods Word. For I would maintain no man in heresie or errour. Your Lordship regards your conscience in the punishment thereof: I pray God that ye do so, and examine well your conscience. He preacheth against Idolatry; I remit to your Lordships conscience, if it be heresie or not. He preacheth against adultery and fornication, I refer that to your Lordships conscience. He preacheth against hypocrisie, I refer that to your Lordships conscience. He preaches against all manner of abuses, and corruptiou of Christs sincere Religion, I refer that to your Lordships conscience. My Lord, I exhorr you, in Christs Name, to weigh all these affairs in your conscience, and consider if it be your duty also, not onely to suffer this, but in like manner to do the same. This is all, my Lord, that I vary in my old age, and in no other thing, but that I knew not these offences to be abominable to God, and now knowing his will by manifestation of his Word, abhor them.

7. The seventh Article desireth me to weigh these matters in most hearty manner, and to take them in best part, for the weale of both our consciences, my house, friends and servants, and put such a man out of my company, for fear of the rumour and brute that should follow thereupon, by reason he is delated of sundry heresies: And that your Lordship would be sorry to hear any of your servants delated or bruted for such a cause, or for holding of any such men; and that your Lordship would understand mine answer hereunto, or any summons passed thereupon.

Answ. I thank your Lordship greatly, that ye are so solicited for the weale of me and of my house, and are so humane, as to give me advertisement, before ye have summoned, of your owne good will and benevolence. I have weighed these matters, as highly as my judgement can serve me, both for your Lordships honour and mine. And when that I have reasoned all that I can do with my self in it; I think it alwayes best to serve God, and obey his manifest Word; and not be obstinate in the contrary, and to give their due obedience to our Princes, Rulers, and Magistrates, and to hear the voice of Gods Prophets, declaring his good promise to them that repent, and threatning to obstinate wicked doers, everlasting destruction. Your Lordship knows well the man, he hath spoken with your Lordship: I thought you content with him, I heare no occasion of offence in him, I cannot well want him, or some Preacher. I cannot put away such a man, without I knew him an offender, as I know not; for I heare nothing of him, but such as your Lordships self heares of him, and such as he yet will professe in your presence, whensoever your Lordship requires. Such a man that is ready to present himself to judgement, should not be expelled without knowledge of the cause; for like as I answered before in another Article, when your Lordship pleaseth, that all the Spirituall and Temporall men of estate in *Scotland* be assembled, I shall cause him to render an account of his belief and Doctrine in your presences, then if he deserves punishment and correction, let him so suffer; if he be found faithfull, let him live in his faith.

Note.

8. The

8. The eight Article proposes to me, That your Lordship would take the labour to get me a man to instruct me in your Catholike Faith, and to be my Preacher, for whose Doctrine ye would lay your soul, that he would teach nothing, but truely conform to your faith. Anno

Answ. God Almighty send us many of that sort, that will preach truely, and nothing but a Catholike or Universall Christian Faith; and we Highland rude people have misse of them. And if your Lordship would get and provide me such a man, I should provide him a corporall Living, as to my self, with great thanks unto your Lordship: For truely, I and many more have great misse of such men. And because I am able to sustain more then one of them, I request your Lordship earnestly, to provide me a man as ye wrote; *for the harvest is great, but the labourers are few.*

9. The last and ninth Article putteth me in remembrance to consider what murmure your Lordship suffers, and great brute, at many mens hands, both Spirituall and Temporall, and at the Queens hand, and other well given people, for not putting order to these affairs; and that your Lordship hath abstained from execution hereof, for love of my House and Posterity, to the effect that my self should remedy it, for fear of the dishonour that might come upon us both for the same: which being remedied, might bring us out of all danger.

Answ. My Lord, I know well what murmure and indignation your Lordship suffers at enemies hands of all estates, for not pursuing of poor simple Christians: And I know, That if your Lordship should use their counsell, who would by blood-shedding and burning of poor men, to make your Lordship serve their wicked appetites; Yet your Lordship knows your owne duty, and should not fear the danger of men, as of him whom ye professe. And verily, my Lord, there is nothing that may be to your Lordships relief in this behalf, but I will use your Lordships counsell therein, and further the same, Gods honour being first provided, and the Truth of his eternall Word having liberty. And to abstain for my love from pursuit, as your Lordship hath signified, I am indebted to your Lordship, as I have written divers times before. But there is one above, for whose fear ye must abstain from blood-shedding, or else, my Lord, knock in your conscience. Last of all, your Lordship please to consider how desirous some are to have sedition amongst friends; how mighty the devill is to sow discord; how that many would desire no better game, but to hunt us at other. I pray your Lordship beguile them, we will agree upon all purposes with Gods pleasure, standing to his glory. There are divers Houses in *Scotland* neer us, that professe the same God secretly; they desire but that ye begin the bargaine at us; and when it begins at us, God knows the end therof, and who shall bide the next put. My Lord, consider this; make no Preparative of us: Let not the vain exhortation of them that regard little of the weale and strength of both our Houses, stirre up your Lordship as they would, to do against God, your owne conscience, and the weale of your posterity for ever. And therefore now in the end I pray your Lordship weigh these things wisely; and if ye do otherwise, God is God, was, and shall be God, when all is wrought that man can work.

Anno

This answer received, the Bishop and his complices found themselves somewhat disappointed; for the Bishops looked for nothing lesse, then for such Answers from the Earle of *Argyle*; and therefore they made them for their extreme defence, that is, To corrupt, and by buds to stirre up the Queen Regent against us; as in the second Booke we shall more plainly heare. Shortly after that, God called to his mercy the said Earle of *Argyle* from the miseries of this life; whereof the Bishops were glad; for they thought that their great enemy was taken out of the way, but God disappointed them: For as the said Earle departed most constant in the true Faith of Jesus Christ, with a plain renounciation of all Impiety, Superstition, and Idolatry; so he left it to his Son in his Testament, That he should studie to set forward the publike and true preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to suppresse all Superstition and Idolatry to the uttermost of his power. In which point small fault can be found with him unto this day. 10 *Maii*, *Anno* 1568. God be mercifull unto other offences. *Amen.*

Note the Earl of *Argyle* his Testament.

The Blinde, Crooked, Lame, Widows, Orphans, and all other poor, so visited by the hand of God as cannot work:

To all the flock of Friers within this Realme, we wish restitution of wrongs past, and reformation in times coming, for Salvation.

YE your selves are not ignorant (and though ye would be) it is now (thanks be to God) well knowne to the whole world, by his most infallible Word, That the Benignity or Almes of all Christian people pertaineth to us alone; which ye, being whole of bodie, strong, sturdie, and able to work, what under pretence of poverty (and yet nevertheless possessing most easily all abundance) what through cloked and hidden humility (though your proudnesse is knowne) and what fained holinesse (which now is declared to be Superstition and Idolatry) have these many yeers, expresly against Gods Word, and the practice of his holy Apostles, to our great torment (alas) most falsly stollen from us. And as ye have by your false doctrine and wresting of Gods Word, learned of your father Sathan, induced the whole people, high and low, into a sure hope and belief, That to clothe, feed, and nourish you, is the onely most acceptable Alms allowed before God; and to give a penny, or a piece a bread once in a week is enough for us. Even so ye have perswaded them to build you great Hospitals, and maintain you therein by their force, which onely pertains now to us by all Law, as builded and given to the poore, of whose number ye are not, nor can be reputed, neither by the Law of God, nor yet by no other Law proceeding of Nature, Reason, or Civill Policy. Wherefore seeing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavily oppressed by your false meanes, that none taketh care of out misery: And that it is better for to provide there our impotent members, which God hath given us, to oppose to you in plain controversie, then to see you hereafter (as ye have done afore) steale from us our houses, and our selves in the meane time to perish and die for want of the same. We have thought good therefore, ere we enter with you in the conflict to warne you, in the Name of the great God, by this publike writing, affixt in

your

your gates where ye now dwell, that ye remove forth of our said Hospitals, betwixt this and the Feast of Whit-Sunday *next: So that we the only lawfull proprietaries thereof, may enter thereinto, and afterward enjoy the commodities of the Church, which ye have hereunto wrongfully holden from us. Certifying you, if ye faile, we will at the said terme, in whole number (with the help of God, and assistance of his Saints in earth, of whose ready support we doubt not) enter and take possession of our said Patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the same.* Anno

Let him therefore that before hath stollen, steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands, that he may be helpfull to the poore.

From all Cities, Towns, and Villages of Scotland, *January* 1. 1558.

The Bishops continued in their Provinciall Councell even unto that day that *John Knox* arrived in *Scotland*, and that they might give some shew to the people that they minded Reformation; they dispersed abroad a rumour thereof, and set forth somewhat in Print, which of the people was called, *The two-penny Faith.* Amongst their acts there was much a do, for Caps, Shaven crowns, Typpets, Long Gowns, and such other trifles.

Item, *That none should enjoy Office, or Benefice Ecclesiasticall, except a Priest.*

Item, *That no Church-man should nourish his owne children, in his own company but that every one should hold the children of others.*

That none should put his own son in his own benefice.

That if any were found in open Adulterie, for the first fault he should lose the third of his Benefice, for the second time the halfe, and for the third the whole Benefice.

But herefrom appealed the Bishop of *Murray*, and other Prelates, saying, That they would abide at the Canon-Law. And so they might well enough do, so long as they remained Interpreters, Dispensators, Makers, and Disanullars of the Law. But let the same Law have the true interpretation, and just execution, and the Devil shall as soon be proved a true and obedient servant unto God, as any of that sort shall be proved a Bishop, or yet to have any just authority within the Church of Christ Jesus. But we will return to our History.

The persecution was decreed as well by the Queen Regent as by the Prelates. But there rested a point which the Queen Regent and *France* had not at that time obtained; to wit, That the Crown matrimoniall should be granted to *Francis*, husband to our Soveraign, and so should *France* and *Scotland* be but one kingdome. The Subjects of both the Realmes to have equall libertie, Scottishmen in *France*, and Frenchmen in *Scotland*. The glister of the profit that was judged hereof to have ensued to Scottishmen, at the first sight blinded many mens eyes. But a small winde caused that mist suddenly to vanish away: For the greatest Offices and Benefices within the Realme were appointed for the Frenchmen: *Monsieur Ruby* kept the great Seale; *Vielmort* was Controller; *Melrosse* and *Kelso* should have been a commends to the poore Cardinall of *Loraine.* The freedomes of Scottish Merchants were restrained in *Roane*, and they compelled to pay Tole and Taxations others then their ancient Liberties did beare. To bring this head to passe; to wit, to the Matrimoniall Crown, the Queen Regent left no point of the Compasse unsailed with the

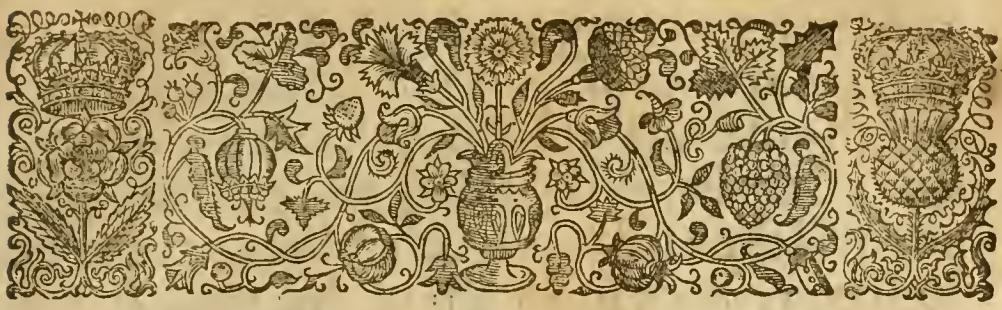
Note. Here is one Solecisme in State expression, newly invented by the Court Parasites.

Anno

the Bishops and Priests. She practised on this manner; *Ye may clearely see that I cannot do what I would within this Realme: for these Hereticks and Confederates of* England *are so banded together, that they stop all good order. But will ye be favourable unto me in this suit of the Matrimoniall Crowne, to be granted to my daughters husband, Then shall we see how I shall handle these Heretickes and Traitours ere it be long.* And in very deed in these her promises she meant no deceit in that behalfe. Unto the Protestants she said; *I am not unmindfull how oft ye have solicited me for Reformation in Religion, and gladly would I consent thereunto, but ye see the power and craft of the Bishop of S.* Andrews, *together with the power of Duke* Hamilton, *and of Church-men ever to be bent against me in all my proceedings: so that I may do nothing, unlesse the full authority of this Realme be delivered to the King of* France, *which cannot be, but by donation of the Crowne Matrimoniall, which thing, if ye will bring to passe, then devise ye what ye please in matters of Religion, and they shall be granted.* With this Commission and Credit, was Lord *James*, then Prior of S. *Andrews*, directed to the Earle of *Argyle*, with moe other promises then we list to rehearse. By such dissimulation to those that were simple and true of heart, inflamed she them to be more fervent in her Petition, then her selfe appeared to be. And so at the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*, in the moneth of October, in the yeere of God 1558. it was clearely voed, no man reclaiming (except the Duke for his interest) and yet for it there was no better Law produced, except that there was a solemne Masse appointed for that purpose in the Pontificall. This head obtained, whereat *France* and she principally shot, what faith she kept to the Protestants, in this our second Book shall be declared. In the beginning whereof we may more amply rehearse some things, that in this our first are summarily touched.

Note. To call the Crowne Matrimoniall, is an absurd Solecisme, newly then invented at Court.

The end of the first Booke.



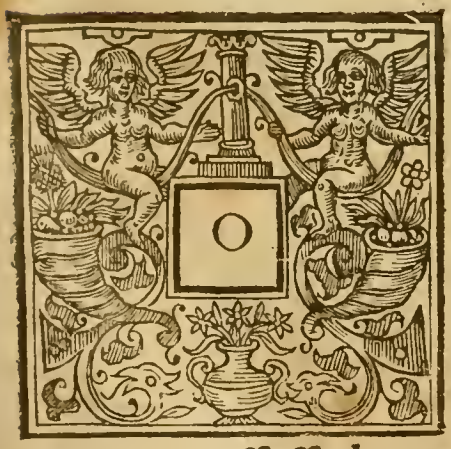
The Second Booke

OF

THE HISTORY OF

Things done in *SCOTLAND*, in *the Reformation of Religion:*

Beginning in the yeere of our Lord God 1558.



OUr purpose was to have made the beginning of our History, from the things that were done, from the yeere of God 1558. till, The Reformation of Religion, which of Gods mercy we once possessed, and yet in Doctrine, and in the right use of administration of Sacraments do possesse.

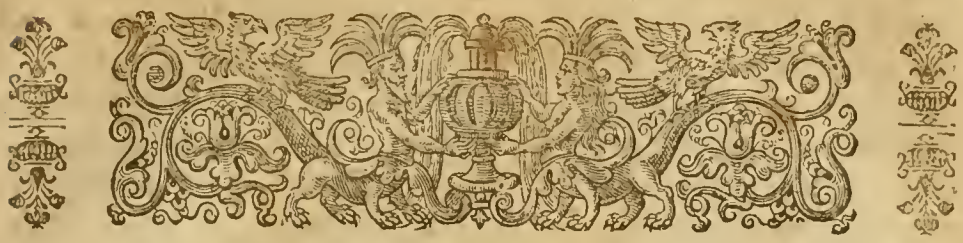
Note. And now in these later days it hath pleased God in his goodnesse to grant the pure and Primitive Discipline also unto the Church of *Scotland.*

Anno

But becauſe divers of the godly (as before is ſaid) earneſtly required, That ſuch perſons as God raiſed up in the midſt of darkeneſſe, to oppoſe themſelves to the ſame, ſhould not be omitted: We obeyed their Requeſt, and have made a ſhort Rehearſall of all ſuch matters as concerne Religion, from the death of that notable Servant of God, Maſter *Patricke Hamilton*, unto the aforeſaid yeere, when that it pleaſed God to looke upon us more mercifully then we deſerve, and to give unto us greater boldneſſe, and better (albeit not without hazard and trouble) ſucceſſe in all our enterprizes then we looked for, as the true Narration of this ſecond Booke ſhall witneſſe. The PREFACE whereof followeth.

The

Anno



The Preface.

LEst that Sathan by our silence shall take occasion to blaspheme, and to slander *us the Protestants of the Realme of Scotland*, as that our fact tended rather to Sedition and Rebellion, then to Reformation of *Manners*, and abuses in *Religion*, We have thought expedient so truely and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the causes moving us (as we say, and great part of the Nobility and Barons of the Realme) to take the sword of just Defence, against those that most unjustly seek our destruction. And in this our confession we shall faithfully declare, What moved us to put our hands to the Reformation of Religion; How we have proceeded in the same; What we have asked, and what presently we require of the sacred Authority. To the end that our Cause being knowne, as well our *enemies* as our *brethren* in all Realmes, may understand how falsly we are accused of tumult and Rebellion, and how unjustly we are persecuted by *France*, and by their Faction. And also that our brethren naturall *Scotish-men*, of whatsoever Religion they be, may have occasion to examine themselves, If they can with safe conscience oppose themselves to us, who seek nothing but *Christ Jesus his glorious Gospel to be preached, his holy Sacraments to be truely ministred, Superstition, Tyranny, and Idolatry to be suppressed in this Realme*, And finally, *This our native Countrey to remaine free from the Bondage and Tyranny of Strangers.*

Anno

While that the Queen Regent practised with the Prelats, how that Christ Jesus blessed Gospel might utterly be suppressed within *Scotland*, God so blessed the labours of his weak servants, that no small part of the Barons of this Realme began to abhorre the Tyranny of the Bishops: God did so open their eyes, by the light of his Word, that they could cleerly discerne betwixt Idolatry, and the true honouring of God: Yea, men almost universally began to doubt whether they could (God not offended) give their bodily presence to the Masse, or yet offer their children to the Papisticall Baptisme. The doubts when the most godly, and the most learned in *Europe* had answered, both by word and writing, affirming, *That neither of both we might do, without perill of our souls*, we began to be more troubled: For then also began men of estimation, and those that bare rule amongst us, to examine themselves concerning their duties, as well towards Reformation of Religion, as towards the just defence of their brethren most cruelly persecuted. And so began divers questions to be moved; to wit, *If that with safe conscience such as were Judges, Lords, and Rulers of the People, might serve the higher Powers in maintaining of Idolatry, in persecuting their Brethren, and in suppressing Christs Truth*: Or, *Whether they to whom God in some case hath committed the Sword of Justice, might suffer the blood of their Brethren to be shed in their presence, without any declaration that such Tyranny displeased them.* By the plain Scriptures it was found, *That a lively faith required a plaine Confession when Christs Truth is oppugned, That not onely are they guilty that do evil, but also they that consent to evil.* And plain it is, That they consent to evil, who seeing iniquity openly committed, by their silence seem to justifie and avow whatsoever is done.

The first doubt.

The second.

Note.

Scriptures answering the doubts.

These things being resolved, and sufficiently proved by evident Scriptures of God, we began every man to look more diligently to his Salvation: For the Idolatry and Tyranny of the Clergy (called the Church-men) was and is so manifest, that whosoever doth deny it, declareth himself ignorant of God, and enemy to Christ Jesus. We therefore, with humble confession of our former offences, with Fasting, and Supplication unto God, began to seek some remedy in so present a danger.

And

And first it was concluded, *That the Brethren in every Towne at certaine times should assemble together, to Common Prayers, to exercise, in reading of the Scriptures, till it should please God to give the gift of Exhortation by Sermon unto some, for the Comfort and Instruction of the rest.* Anno

And this our weake beginning God did so blesse, that within a few Moneths the hearts of many were so strengthned, that we sought to have the face of a Church amongst us, and open crimes to be punished without respect of persons: And for that purpose by common Election, were Elders appointed, to whom the whole Brethren promised Obedience: For at that time we had no publike Ministers of the Word; onely did certaine zealous men (amongst whom was the Laird of *Dun*, *David Forresse*, Master *Robert Lockhart*, Master *Robert Hammilton*, *William Harlawe*, and others) exhort their Brethren, according to the gifts and graces granted unto them. But shortly after did God stirre up his servant *Paul Methuen* (his latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him) who in boldnesse of spirit began openly to Preach Christ Jesus in *Dundie*, in divers parts of *Angus*, and in *Fyfe*; and so did God worke with him, that many began openly to renounce their old Idolatry, and to submit themselves to Christ Jesus, and unto his blessed Ordinances; Insomuch that the Towne of *Dundie* began to erect the face of a Publike Church Reformed, in the which the Word was openly Preached, and Christs Sacraments truely ministred. This was called the privie Church.

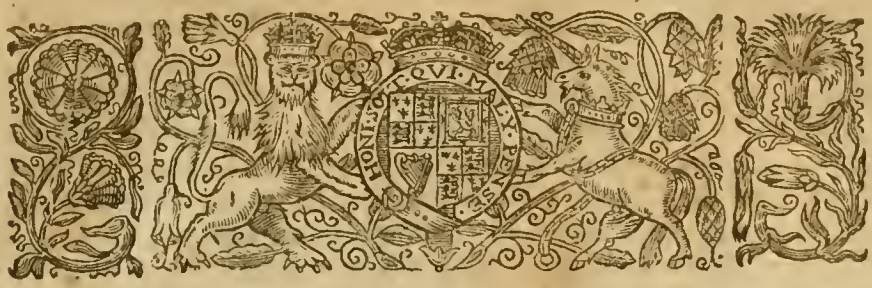
In this meane time did God send to us our deare Brother *John Willock*, a man godly, learned, and grave, who after his short abode at *Dundie*, repaired to *Edinburgh*, and there (notwithstanding his long and dangerous sicknesse) did so encourage the Brethren by godly Exhortations, that we began to deliberate upon some publike Reformation; For the corruption in Religion was such, that with safe conscience we could no longer sustaine it: Yet because we would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the sacred Authority, with one consent, after the deliberation of many dayes, it was concluded, That by our publike and common Supplication, *John Willocke.*

Anno plication, we ſhould attempt the favour, ſupport, and aſſiſtance of the Queen then Regent, to a godly Reformation: And for that purpoſe, with all diligence after we had drawn our Oration and Petition as followeth, we appointed from amongſt us a man whoſe age and yeers deſerved Reverence, whoſe honeſty and worſhip might have craved audience of any Magiſtrate on the earth; and whoſe faithfull Service to the Authority at all times hath been ſuch, that in him could fall no ſuſpition of unlawfull diſobedience. This Orator was that ancient and honourable Father, Sir *James Sandelandes* of *Calder*, Knight; to whom we gave Commiſſion and Power in all our names then preſent, before the Queene Regent to ſpeak this:

The Laird of *Calder*, elder.

The

Anno



THE FIRST ORATION AND PETITION

Of the Proteſtants of *SCOTLAND*: *To the Queene Regent.*

ALbeit we have of long time contained our ſelves in that modeſtie (moſt noble Princeſſe) that neither the exile of body, loſſe of goods, nor periſhing of this mortall life, was able to make us to aske at your Majeſtie Reformation, and redreſſe of thoſe wrongs, and of that ſore griefe patiently borne by us in bodies and mindes of long time: Yet are we now by very conſcience, and by the feare of our God compelled to crave at your Majeſties feet, remedy againſt the moſt unjuſt tyrannie, uſed againſt your Majeſties moſt obedient Subjects, by thoſe that be called the State Eccleſiaſticall. Your Majeſtie cannot be ignorant what controverſie hath been, and yet is, concerning the true Religion, and right worſhipping of God. And how the Clergie (as they will be termed) uſurpe to themſelves ſuch Empire above the conſciences of men; That whatſoever they command, muſt be obeyed; and whatſoever they forbid, muſt be avoided; without further reſpect to Gods Pleaſure, Commandment, or Will, revealed to us in his moſt holy Word; or elſe there abideth nothing for us but Fagot, Fire, and Sword. By the which many of our brethren moſt cruelly and moſt unjuſtly have been ſtrucken of late yeeres within this Realme, which now we finde to trouble and wound our conſciences. For we acknowledge it to have been our bounden duties before God, either to have defended our brethren from thoſe cruell murtherers (ſeeing we are a part of that power which God hath eſtabliſhed in this Realme) or elſe to have given open teſtification of our Faith with them: Which now we offer our ſelves to do,

The tyrannie of the Clergy

Anno

do, lest that by our continuall silence we shall seem to justifie the cruell tyrannie of those men, which doth not onely displease us: but your Majesties wisdome most prudently doth foresee, that for the quieting of this intestine dissention, a publike Reformation, as well in the Religion, as in the temporall government were most necessary. And to the performance thereof, most gravely and most godly (as we are informed) ye have exhorted as well the Clergie as the Nobility, to imploy their studie, diligence, and care. We therefore, in conscience, dare not any longer dissemble in so weighty a matter, which concerneth the glory of God, and our salvation: Neither now dare we withdraw our presence or counsell, or Petitions, lest that the adversaries hereafter should object to us, That place was granted for Reformation, and yet no man sued for the same: and so shall our silence be prejudiciall unto us in time to come. And therefore we knowing no order placed in this Realme, but your Majestie, and your grave counsell, set to amend, as well the disorder Ecclesiasticall, as the defaults in the temporall Regiment, most humbly prostrate our selves before your feet, asking justice, and your gracious help, against them that falsly traduce and accuse us, as that we were Hereticks, and Schismatikes, under that colour seeking our destruction, for that we seek the amendment of their corrupted lives, and Christs Religion to be restored to the originall puritie. Further we crave of your Majestie with open and patent eares, to heare those our subsequent requests, and to the joy and satisfaction of our troubled consciences, bountifully to grant the same, unlesse by Gods plaine Word any be able to prove that justly they ought to be denied.

Note.

The Petition.

Here beginneth the particular Demands.

First, Humbly we ask, That as we have by the Lawes of this Realme, after long debate obtained to reade the holy Books of the Old and New Testament, in our Vulgar Tongue, as Spirituall food to our soules: so from henceforth it may be lawfull, that we may meet publikely or privately to our Common-Prayers in our Vulgar Tongue, to the end that we may increase and grow in knowledge, and be induced by fervent and oft Prayer, to commend to God the holy Universall Church, the Queene our Soveraigne, her honourable and gracious Husband, the abilitie of their succession, your Majestie Regent, the Nobilitie, and whole State of this Realme.

Secondly, If it shall happen in our said meetings any hard place of Scripture to be read, of which, without explanation, hardly can arise any profit to the hearers, that it shall be lawfull to any qualified persons in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the said hard places, to Gods glory, and to the profit of the Auditory. And if any thinke that this libertie should be occasion of Confusion, Debate, or Heresie; we are content that it be provided that the said Interpretation shall underly the judgement of the godly; and most learned within the Realme at this time.

Thirdly, That the holy Sacrament of Baptisme may be used in the Vulgar Tongue, that the God-fathers and Witnesses may not onely understand the points of the League and Contract made betwixt God and the Infant; but also that the Church then assembled, more gravely may be informed and instructed of their duties,

duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to that promise made unto him, when they were received into his houshold by the lavacre of spirituall regeneration. Anno

Fourthly, We desire that the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper, or of his blessed Body and Blood may likewise be ministred unto us in the Vulgar Tongue, and in both kindes, according to the plaine Institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus.

And lastly, We most humbly require, That the wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of Prelats, and of the state Ecclesiasticall, may be reformed, that the people by them have not occasion (as of many dayes they have had) to contemne their Ministerie, and the Preaching, whereof they should be Messengers. And if they suspect that we rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and possessions, then Zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travell and labour for this Reformation: We are content, that not onely the Rules and Precepts of the New Testament, but also the Writings of the ancient Fathers, and the godly and approved Lawes of Justinian *the Emperour, decide the controversie betwixt us and them. And if it shall be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly we aske more then these three forenamed have required, and continually do require of able and true Ministers in Christs Church, we refuse not correction, as your Majestie with right judgement shall think meet. But if all the forenamed shall condemne that which we condemne, and approve that which we require; Then we most earnestly beseech your Majestie, that notwithstanding the long custome which they have had to live at their lust, that they be compelled either to desist from Ecclesiasticall administration, or to discharge their duties, as becometh true Ministers. So that the grave and godly face of the Primitive Church reduced; Ignorance may be expelled; True Doctrine and good Manners may once againe appeare in the Church in this Realme. These things we, as most obedient Subjects, require of your Majestie, in the Name of the eternall God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, in presence of whose Throne judiciall, ye, and all other that heere in earth beareth authority shall give account of your temporall regiment. The spirit of the Lord Jesus move your Majesties heart to Justice and Equity.* The offer.

These our Demands being proposed, the State Ecclesiasticall began to storme, and to devise all manner of lies to deface the equitie of our cause. They bragged as that they would have publike Disputation, which also we most earnestly required, two things being provided; First, That the plaine and written Scriptures of God should decide all Controversies: Secondly, That out brethren, of whom some were then exiled, and by them unjustly condemned, might have free accesse to the said Disputation, and safe-conduct to return to their dwelling places, notwithstanding any Processe which before had been laid against them in matters concerning Religion. But these being by them utterly denied (for no Judge would they admit, but themselves, their Counsels, and Canon Law) They and their faction began to draw certain Articles of reconciliation, promising unto us, If we would admit the Masse to stand in its former reverence and estimation; Grant Purgatory after this life; Confesse prayer to Saints, and for the dead, and suffer them to enjoy their accustomed Rents, Possession, and Honour: That then they would grant us to pray, and

The practise of Satan.

Disputation with condition

The offer of the Papists.

Anno

and baptize in the Vulgar Tongue, so that it were done secretly, and not in the open assembly. But the grosenesse of these Articles was such, that with one voice we refused them, and constantly craved justice of the Queene Regent, and a reasonable answer of our former Petitions. The Queene then Regent, a woman crafty, dissimulate, and false-thinking, to make her profit of both parties, gave to us permission to use our selves godly, according to our desires provided, that we should not make publike assemblies in *Edinburgh* nor *Lieth*, and did promise her assistance to our Preachers, untill some uniform order might be established by a Parliament. To them (we mean the Clergie) she quietly gave signification of her minde, promising that how soon any opportunity should serve, she should so put order to these matters, that after they should not be troubled: for some say, they gave her a large purse 40000.l. *Turn.* or *Scots*, gathered by the Laird of *Earleshale*. We nothing suspecting her doublenesse nor falshood, departed fully contented with her answer, and did use our selves so quietly, that for her pleasure we put silence to *John Dowglas*, who publikely would have preached in the Town of *Lieth*; for in all things we sought the contentment of her minde, so far as God should not be offended against us, for obeying her in things as we thought unlawfull.

The grant of the Queene Regent.

Shortly after these things, that cruell Tyrant and unmercifull hypocrite, falsly called, Bishop of S. *Andrews*, apprehended that blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus, *Walter Mill*, a man of decrepite age, whom most cruelly and most unjustly he put to death by fire in Saint *Andrews*, the twenty eighth day of April, in the yeere of God 1558. Which thing did so highly offend the hearts of all godly, that immediatly after his death, began a new fervencie among the whole people, yea, even in the Towne of Saint *Andrews*, began the people plainely to condemne such unjust cruelltie. And in testification that they would his death should abide in recent memory, there was cast together a great heap of stones in the place where he was burnt. The Bishop and Priests thereat offended, caused once or twice to remove the same, with denunciation of cursing, if any man should there lay any stones. But in vaine was that winde blowne, for still was the heape made, till that the Priests and Papists did steale away by night the stones to build their walls, and to other their private uses.

The apprehension of *Walter Mill*.

1558.

Note.

We suspecting nothing that the Queene Regent was consenting to the forenamed murther, most humbly did complain of such unjust cruelltie, requiring that justice in such cases should be ministred with greater indifferencie. She as a woman born to dissemble, and deceive, began with us to lament the cruelty of the Bishop, excusing her selfe as innocent in that cause, for that the sentence was given without her knowledge. Because the man sometimes had been a Priest; therefore the Bishops Officiall did proceed upon him without any commission of the Civill authority, *ex officio*, as they terme it. We yet nothing suspecting her falshood, required some order to be taken against such enormities, which she promised as oft before. But because shortly after there was a Parliament to be holden, for certain affaires, pertaining rather to the Queens profit particular, then to the commodity of the Common-wealth, we thought good to expose

The hypocrisie of the Queene Regent.

expose our matter unto the whole Parliament, and by them to seek some redresse: we therefore with one consent did offer to the Queen and Parliament a Letter, in this Tenor: Anno

The Forme of the Letter given in Parliament.

UNto your Majesty, and unto your Right honorable Lords, Barons, and Burgesses of this present Parl. Humbly means, and sheweth your Majesties faithfull and obedient subjects, That where we are daily molested, slandered, and injured by wicked and ignorant persons, place-holders of the Ministers of the Church, who most untruely cease not to infame us, as hereticks, & under that name they most cruelly have persecuted divers of our brethren; and farther intend to execute their malice against us, unlesse by some godly order their fury and rage be bridled and stayed. And yet in us they are able to prove no crime worthy of punishment, unlesse that to reade the holy Scriptures in our Assemblies, to invocate the Name of God in publike Prayers, with all sobriety to interpret and open the places of Scripture that be read to the further edification of the brethren assembled; and truely, according to Christ Jesus his holy Institution, to minister the Sacraments, be crimes worthy of punishment: other crimes (we say) in us they are not able to convince. And to the premises we are compelled, for that the said Place-holders discharge no part of their duties rightly to us, neither yet to the people subject to us; and therefore, unlesse we should declare our selves altogether unmindfull of our own salvation, we are compelled in very conscience to seek how that we and our brethren may be delivered from the thraldom of Sathan: For now it hath pleased God to open our eyes, and manifestly we see, That without extreme danger of our souls, we may in no wayes communicate with the damnable Idolatry, and intolerable abuses of the Papisticall Church. And therefore most humbly require we of your Majesty, and of your Right Honorable Lords, Barons, and Burgesses assembled in this present Parliament, prudently to weigh, and as it becometh just Judges, to grant these our most just and reasonable Petitions:

First, *Seeing that the controversie in Religion which hath long continued betwixt the Protestants of Almany, Helvetia, and other Provinces; and the papisticall Church is not yet decided by a lawfull and generall Counsell: And seeing that our consciences are likewise touched with the fear of God, as was theirs in the beginning of their controversie, we most humbly desire, That all such Acts of Parliament as in the time of darknesse gave power to the Church-men to execute their tyrannie against us, by reason that we to them were delated as hereticks, may be suspended and abrogated, till a Generall Councell lawfully assembled, have decided all controversies in Religion. And lest that this mutation should seem to set all men at liberty to live as they list, we secondarily require that it be Enacted by this present Parliament, That the Prelats and their Officers be removed from place of Judgement, onely granting unto them nevertheleſse the place of accusators in the presence of a Temporall Judge; before whom the Church-men accusators shall be bounden to call any by them accused of heresie: To whom also they shall be bounden to deliver an authenticke Copy of all Depositions, Accusations, and Processe laid against any person accused. The Judge likewise* Protestation.

Anno

delivering the same to the partie accused, assigning unto him a competent terme to answer to the same, after he hath taken sufficient caution. De judicio sisti.

Thirdly, We require, That all lawfull defences be granted to the person accused; as, If he be able to prove that the witnesses be persons unable by Law to testifie against him, that then their Accusations and Depositions be null, according to justice.

Item, *That place be granted to the party accused to explaine and interpret his owne minde and meaning; which confession we require be inserted in publike Acts, and be preferred to the deposition of any witnesse*, seeing that none ought to suffer for Religion, that is not found obstinate in his damnable opinion.

Last, We require that our brethren be not condemned for hereticks, unlesse by the manifest Word of God they be convinced to have erred from that faith which the holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to Salvation: And if so they be, we refuse not but that they be punished according to justice; Unlesse by wholesome admonition they can be reduced to a better minde.

These things require we to be considered of by you, who are in the Place of the Eternall God (who is God of Order and Truth) even in such sort, as ye will answer in presence of his Throne judiciall: Requiring further, That favourably you would have respect to the tenderesse of our consciences, and to the trouble which appeareth to follow in this Common-wealth, if the tyranny of the Prelates, and of their adherents be not bridled by God and just Lawes. God move your hearts deeply to consider your owne duties, and our present troubles.

These our Demands did we first present to the Queen Regent, because that we were determined to enterprise nothing without her knowledge, most humbly requiring her favourably to assist us in our just action. She spared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance. But alwayes she kept our Petition close in her pocket. When we required secretly of her Majesty that our Petition should be proposed to the whole Assembly: She answered, That she thought not that expedient; for then would the whole Ecclesiasticall Estate be contrary to her proceedings, which at that time was great: For the Matrimoniall Crowne was asked, and in that Parliament granted. But, said she, how soon order can be taken with these things, which now may be hindred by the Churchmen, ye shall know my good minde. And in the meane time whatsoever I can grant unto you, shall gladly be granted. We yet nothing suspecting her falshood, were content to give place for a time to her pleasure and pretended reason. And yet thought we expedient somewhat to protest, before the dissolution of the Parliament: For our Petition was manifestly knowne to the whole Assembly; as also how that for the Queens pleasure we had ceased to pursue the uttermost. Our Protestation was formed in manner following.

The Forme of the Protestation made in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, Anno 1558.

IT is not unknowne to this Honourable Parliament, what controversie is now lately risen betwixt those that will be called the Prelats and Rulers

Anno

Rulers of the Church, and a great number of us the Nobility and Communalty of the Realme, for the true worshipping of God, for the duty of Ministers, for the right Administration of Christ Jesus holy Sacraments. How that we have complained by our supplication to the Queen Regent, That our consciences are burthened with unprofitable Ceremonies; And that we are compelled to adhere to Idolary: That such as take upon them the Office Ecclesiasticall, discharge no part thereof as becometh true Ministers to do; and finally, That we and our brethren are most injuriously oppressed by their usurped authority. And also we suppose it is a thing sufficiently known, That we were of minde at this present Parliament to seek redresse of such enormities: but considering that the troubles of the time do not suffer such Reformation as we by Gods plain Word do require, we are enforced to delay that which most earnestly we desire: And yet lest that our silence should give occasion to our adversaries to thinke that we repent of our former enterprisers, we cannot cease to protest, for remedy against that most unjust tyranny which we heretofore have most patiently sustained.

And first we protest, *That seeing we cannot obtain a just Reformation according to Gods Word, that it be lawfull to us to use our selves in matters of Religion and conscience, as we must answer unto God, unto such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true Ministers of Christs Church, and to purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering our selves to prove the same whensoever the sacred Authority please to give us audience.*

Secondly we protest, *That neither we, nor yet any other of the godly that list to joyn with us in the true Faith which is grounded upon the invincible Word of God, shall incur any danger of life or lands, or any politicall pain, for not observing such Acts as heretofore have passed in favour of our adversaries, neither yet for violating of such Rites as man without Gods Commandment or Word hath commanded.*

We thirdly protest, *That if any tumult or uprore shall arise amongst the members of this Realme for the diversity of Religion; and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who most humbly do now seek all to be reformed by an Order. But rather whatsoever inconvenience shall happen to follow for lack of Order taken, that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.* Let the Papists observe. *Note.*

And last we protest, *That these our rrquests, proceeding from conscience, do tend to none other end, but to the reformation of the abuses in Religion onely: Most humbly beseeching the sacred Authority to take us faithfull and obedient subjects into protection against our adversaries, and to shew unto us such indifferency in our most just Petition, as it becometh Gods Lieutenants to do to those that in his Name do call for defence, against cruell oppressors*, and blood-thirsty Tyrants.

This our Protestation publikely read, we desired it to have been inserted in the common Register; but that, by the labor of enemies, was denied unto us. Nevertheleſſe the Queen Regent said, *Me will remember what is protested, and me shall put good order after this to all things that now be in controversie.* And thus after she by craft had obtained her purpose, we departed, in good hope of her favour, praising God inour hearts, that she was

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so well inclined towards godlinesse. The good opinion that we had of her sincerity, caused us not onely to spend our goods, and hazard our bodies at her pleasure, but also by our publike Letters written to that excellent servant of God *John Calvine* we did praise and commend her, for her excellent knowledge in Gods Word, and good will towards the advancement of his glory; requiring of him, That by his grave counsell, and godly exhortation, he would animate her Majestie constantly to follow that, which godlily she had begun. We did farther sharply rebuke both by word and writing, all such as appeared to suspect in her any venom or hypocrisie, or that were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly minde. But how far we were deceived in our opinion, and abused by her craft, did suddenly appear: For how soon that all things pertaining to the commodity of *France* were granted by us, and that Peace was contracted betwixt King *Philip* and *France*, and *England* and us, she began to spue forth, and disclose the latent venom of her double heart. Then began she to frowne, and to look frowardly to all such as she knew did favour the Gospel of Jesus Christ. She commanded her houshold to use all abominations at *Easter*; and she first her self, to give example to others, did communicate to the Idol in open audience; she controlled her houshold, and would know where that every one received ther Sacrament. And it appeared, That after that day that malice took more violent and strong possession in her, then it did before; for from that day forward she appeared altogether altered, insomuch that her countenance and facts did declare the venom of her heart: For incontinent she caused our Preachers to be summoned; for whom when we made intercession, beseeching her Majesty not to molest them in their Ministry, unlesse any man were able to convince them of false Doctrine, she could not bridle her tongue from open blasphemy, but proudly she said, *In despight of you and your Ministers both, they shall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preached as true as ever did Saint* Paul. Which proud and blaspemous answer, did greatly astonish us: and yet ceased we not most humbly to seek her favour; and by great diligence, at last we obtained that the Summons at that time were delayed: For to her were sent *Alexander* Earl of *Glenclarne*, and Sir *Hues Campbell* of *Lowdone* Knight, Sheriff of *Air*, to reason with her, and to crave some performance of her manifold promises; to whom she answered, *It becomes not subjects to burthen their Princes with promises, further then it pleased them to keep the same.* Both the Noble men faithfully and boldly discharged their duty, and plainly forewarned her of the inconveniences that were to follow: wherewith she somewhat astonied, said she would advise.

Letters to Iohn Calvine.

Blasphemy.

Note.

She had gotten her lesson from the Cardinall.

Forefather to the now Earle of Lowdone, Chancellor.

Queen Regents answer.

In this mean time did the Town of *Perth*, called Saint *Johnston*, embrace the Truth, which did provoke her to a new fury; in which she willed the Lord *Ruthuein* Proveſt of that Towne, to suppresse all such Religion there. To the which when he answered, That he could make their bodies to come to her Majesty, & to prostrate themselves before her, till that she was fully satiate with her blood: but to cause them to do against their conscience, he could not promise. She in fury did answer, That he

S. Johnston embraced the Gospel.

Lord Ruthuens answer.

he was too mallapart, to give her such answer, affirming that both he and they should repent it. She solicited M. *James Haliburntoun* Provest of *Dundie*, to apprehend *Paul Methuen*, who fearing God, gave secret advertisement to the man to avoid the Town for a time. She sent forth such as she thought most able to perswade at *Easter*, to cause *Montrosse*, *Dundie*, S. *Johnston*, and other such places as had received the Gospel, to communicate with the Idoll of the Masse, but they could profit nothing, the hearts of many were bent to follow the Trueth revealed, and did abhorre Superstition and Idolatry. Whereat she more highly commoved, did Summon again all the Preachers to appear at *Sterlin*, the tenth day of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1559. Which understood by us, we with all humble obedience sought the means how she might be appeased, and our Preachers not molested: but when we could prevaile nothing, it was concluded by the whole brethren, That the Gentlemen of every Countrey should accompany their Preachers, to the day and place appointed; Whereto all men were most willing. And for that purpose, the Town of *Dundie*, the Gentlemen of *Angus* and *Mernes*, passed forward with their Preachers to S. *Johnston*, without Armour, as peaceable men, minding onely to give confession with their Preachers. And lest that such a multitude should have given feare to the Queene Regent, the Laird of *Dun*, a zealous, prudent, and godly man, passed before to the Queene, then being at *Sterlin*, to declare to her, That the cause of their Convocation, was onely to give confession with their Preachers, and to assist them in their just defence. She understanding the fervencie of the people, began to use craft with him, soliciting him to stay the multitude, and the Preachers also, with promise that she would take some better order. He a man most gentle of nature, and most addict to please her in all things not repugnant to God, wrote to those that then were assembled at S. *Johnston*, to stay, and not to come forward, shewing what promise and hope he had of the Queens favour. At the reading of his Letters, some did smell the craft and deceit, and perswaded to passe forward, untill that a discharge of the former Summons should be had, alleadging that otherwise their Processe of Rebellion should be executed against the Preachers: And so should not onely they, but also all such as did accompany them, be involved in a like crime. Others did reason, That the Queens promise was not to be suspected, neither yet the Laird of *Duns* request to be contemned, and so did the whole multitude with their Preachers stay.

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1559

The first assembly at S. *Johnston*.

The Laird of *Dun*, stayed the congregation, and the Preachers.

Note.

In this mean time that the Preachers were summoned, to wit, the second of May 1559. arrived *John Knox* from *France*, who lodging two nights onely in *Edinburgh*, hearing the day appointed to his brethren, repaired to *Dundie*, where he earnestly required them, That he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to give confession of his Faith with them, which granted unto him, he departed unto S. *Johnston* with them, where he began to exhort, according to the grace of God granted unto him. The Queen perceiving that the Preachers did not appear, began to utter her malice; and notwithstanding any request made to the contrary, gave commandment to put them to the *Horne*; inhibiting all men, under pain of high Rebellion, to assist, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any sort: which

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which extremity perceived by the said Laird of *Dun*, he prudently withdrew himselfe (for otherwise by all appearance he had not escaped imprisonment.) For the Master of *Maxwell*, a man zealous and stout in Gods Cause (as then appeared) under the cloke of another small crime, was that same day committed to ward, because he did boldly affirme, That to the uttermost of his power, he would assist the Preachers and the Congregation, notwithstanding any sentence which unjustly was, or should be pronounced against them. The Laird of *Dun* coming to S. *Johnston*, exposed the case even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the Queens craft and falshood: Which understood, the multitude was so inflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the Preachers, nor the commandment of the Magistrate, stay them from destroying the places of Idolatry. The manner whereof was: The Preachers had declared before how odious Idolatry was in Gods presence: What commandment he had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof: What Idolatry, and what abomination was in the Masse. It chanced that the next day, which was the eleventh of May, after that the Preachers were exiled, that after the Sermon, which was very vehement against Idolatry, a certaine Priest in contempt would go to the Masse; and to declare his malapart presumption, he would open up a glorious Tabernacle, which stood upon the high Altar: There stood beside, certain godly men, and amongst others, a young boy, who cryed with a bold voice, *This is intolerable, that when God by his Word hath plainely condemned Idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despight.* The Priest hereat offended, gave the childe a great blow; who in anger took up a stone, and casting at the Priest, hit the Tabernacle, and brake down an Image: And immediatly, the whole multitude threw stones, and put hands on the said Tabernacle, and on all other Monuments of Idolatry; Which they dispatched before the tenth man in the Town were advertised (for the most part were gone to diner) which noised abroad, the whole multitude assembled, not of the Gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest Professours, but of the rascall multitude, who finding nothing to do in that Church, did run without deliberation to the *Gray* and *Black-Friers*, and notwithstanding that they had within them very strong guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up. The first invasion was upon Idolatry, and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoile. And in very deed the *Gray-Friers* was a place so well provided, that unlesse honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to have reported what provision they had, their sheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were such, that no Earle in *Scotland* had better: Their naperie was fine, they were but 8 persons in the Convent, and yet had they 8 puncheons of salt Beef (consider the time of the yeere, the eleventh of May) wine, beere, and ale, beside store of victuals belonging thereto. The like abundance was not in the Black-Friers, and yet there was more then became men professing poverty. The spoile was permitted to the poore: For so had the Preachers before threatned all men, That for covetousnesse sake, none should put their hand to such a Reformation, that no honest man was inriched thereby the value of a groat. Their conscience so moved them, that they suffered

Note. At this time the Professers of the Gospel were called the Congregation

The taking down of the Friers in Saint *Johnston.*

Note.

The *Gray friers* their provision.

suffered those hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places. The Prior of the *Charter-house* was permitted to take with him even as much gold and silver as he was able to carry. So were mens consciences beaten with the Word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but onely to abolish Idolatry, the places and Monuments thereof, in which they were so busie, and so laborious, that within two dayes these three great places, Monuments of Idolatry, to wit, the Black and Gray Theeves, and *Charter-house* Monks (a building of wonderous cost and greatnesse) was so destroyed, that the walls onely did remain of all those great edifices. Which reported to the Queen, she was so inraged, That she did vow utterly to destroy S. *Johnston*, man, woman, and childe, and to consume the same by fire, and thereafter to salt it, in signe of a perpetuall desolation. We suspecting nothing such cruelty, but thinking that such words might escape her in choler without purpose determined, because she was a woman, set on fire by the complaints of those hypocrites, who flocked unto her as Ravens to a carion. We (we say) suspecting nothing such beastly cruelty, returned to our own houses: leaving in S. *Johnston*, *John Knox* to instruct the people, because they were yong and rude in Christ. But she, set on fire partly by her own malice, partly by commandment of her friends in *France*, and not a little by bribes, which she and *Monsieur Dosell* received from the Bishops and the Priests here at home, did continue still in her rage. And first she sent for all the Nobility, to whom she complained, That we meaned nothing but Rebellion: She did grievously lament the destruction of the *Charter-house*, because it was a Kings foundation, and there was the tombe of King *James* the first, and by such other perswasions she made the most part of them grant to pursue us. And then incontinent sent she for her French men: For that was, and ever hath been her joy, to see Scottish men dip one with anothers blood. No man was at that time more franke against us then was Duke *Hamilton*, led by that cruell beast the Bishop of Saint *Andrews*, and by those that yet abuse him, the Abbot of *Kilvinning*, and *Matthew Hamilton* of *Milburne*, two chiefe enemies to the Duke and to his whole house, but in so far as thereby they may procure their own particular profit. These and such other pestilent Papists ceased not to cast fagots on the fire continually, crying, Forward upon these Hereticks, we shall once rid this Realme of them. The certaintie hereof coming to our knowledge, some of us repaired to the Towne againe, about the two and twentieth day of May, and there did abide for the comfort of our brethren: Where after Invocation of the Name of God, we began to put the Town and our selves in such strength, as we thought might best serve for our just defence. And because we did not utter despaire of the Queens favour, we caused to forme a Letter to her Majestie, as followeth.

Anno

Note.

Note.

A godly vow.

The complaint of the Queene Regent.

Note.

To the Queenes Majestie Regent, all humble obedience and dutie premised.

As heretofore with jeopard of our lives, and yet with willing hearts we have served the authoritie of Scotland, *and your Majestie now Regent in this*

Anno

Note.

Realme, in service to our bodies dangerous, and painefull, so now with most dolorous mindes we are constrained by unjust tyrannie purposed against us, to declare unto your Majestie, That except this cruelltie be stayed by your wisdome, we shall be compelled to take the sword of just defence, against all that shall pursue us for the matter of Religion, and for our conscience sake: which ought not, nor may not be subject to mortall creatures, further then by Gods Word man is able to prove that he hath power to command us. *We signifie moreover unto your Majestie, That if by rigour we be compelled to seek the extreame defence, that we will not onely notifie our innocencie and Petition to the King of* France, *to our Mistresse and to her husband, but also to the Princes and Counsell of every Christian Realme, declaring unto them, That this cruell, unjust, and most tyrannicall murther intended against Townes and multitudes, was, and is the onely cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience, which in Gods presence we faithfully promise to our Soveraigne Mistresse, to her husband, and unto your Majestie Regent. Provided that our consciences may live in that Peace and Libertie, which Christ Jesus hath purchased to us by his blood, and that we may have his Word truely Preached, and holy Sacraments rightly ministred unto us, without which we firmely purpose never to be subject to mortall man: For better we think to expose our bodies to a thousand deaths, then to hazard our souls to perpetuall damnation, by denying Christ Jesus, and his manifest Veritie, which thing not onely do they who commit open Idolatry, but also all such as seeing their brethren pursued for the cause of Religion, and having sufficient means to comfort and assist them, do nevertheleſse withdraw from them their dutifull support. We would not your Majestie should be deceived, by the false perswasions of those cruell beasts the Church-men, who affirme, That your Majestie needeth not greatly to regard the losse of us that professe Christ Jesus in this Realme. If (as God forbid) ye give ear to their pestilent counsell, and so use against us this extremity pretended, it is to be feared, That neither ye, neither yet your posteritie shall at any time after this finde that obedience and faithfull service within this Realme, which at all times you have found in us. We declare our judgements freely, as true and faithfull Subjects. God move your Princely heart favourably to interpret our faithfull meaning: Further advertising your Majestie, That the selfe same thing, together with all things that we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notifie by our Letters to the King of* France. *Asking of you, in the Name of the eternall God, and as your Majestie tenders the peace and quietnesse of this Realme: That ye invade us not with any violence, till we receive answer from our Mistresse and her husband, and from their advised Counsell there. And thus we commit your Majestie to the protection of the omnipotent. From Saint* Johnston, *the 22 of May 1559.*

Note.

O where is this fervencie now?

O would God that the Nobility should yet consider.

Sic subscribitur.

Your Majesties obedient Subjects in all things, not repugnant to God.

The faithfull congregation of Christ Jesus in Scotland.

To the same purpose we wrote to *Monsieur Dosell* in French, requiring of him, That by his wisdome he would mitigate the Queenes rage, and the rage of the Priests, otherwise that flame which then began to

to burn, would ſo kindle, that when ſome men would, it could not be ſlackned. Adding further, That he declared himſelf no faithfull ſervant unto his Maſter the King of *France*, if for the pleaſure of the Prieſts he would perſecute us, and ſo compell us to take the ſword of juſt defence. In like manner we wrote to Captain *Serre la Bourſe*, and to all other Captains and French Souldiers in generall, admoniſhing them that their Vocation was not to fight againſt us naturall Scotiſh-men, nor yet that they had any ſuch Commandment of their Maſter: We beſought them therefore not to provoke us to enmity againſt them, and to conſider that they had found us favourable, in their moſt great extremities. We declared farther unto them, That if they entred in hoſtility and bloody War againſt us, that the ſame ſhould remain longer then their owne lives, to wit, even in all poſteritie to come, ſo long as naturall Scotiſh-men ſhould have power to revenge ſuch cruelty, and moſt horrible ingratitude. Theſe Letters were cauſed to be ſpread abroad in great abundance, to the end that ſome might come to the knowledge of men. The Queen Regent her Letter was laid upon her Cuſhion in the Chappel Royall at *Sterlin*, where ſhe was accuſtomed to ſit at Maſſe; ſhe looked upon it, and put in the pocket of her Gown: Monſieur *d'Oſel* and the Captains, received theirs, delivered even by their own ſouldiers (for ſome amongſt them were favourers of the Truth) who after the reading of them, began to pull their own beards, for that was the modeſt behaviour of Monſieur *d'Oſell*, when truth was told unto him, ſo that it repugned to his fantaſie. Theſe our Letters were ſuppreſſed to the utmoſt of their power, and yet they came to the knowledge of many. But the rage of the Queen and the Prieſts could not be ſtayed, but forward they move againſt us, who then were but a very few and mean number of Gentlemen in S. *Johnſton*; we perceiving the extremity to approach, did write to all brethren to repair towards us for our relief, to the which we found all men ſo ready bent, that the Work of God was evidently to be eſpied: the Tenour whereof followeth. And becauſe that we would omit no diligence to declare our innocency to all men, we formed a Letter to thoſe of the Nobility, who then perſecuted us, as after followeth:

To the Nobility of Scotland. *The Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus within the ſame, deſire the ſpirit of righteous Judgement*

BEcauſe we are not ignorant that ye the Nobility of this Realme, who now perſecute us, employing your whole ſtudy and force to maintain the kingdom of Sathan, of ſuperſtition and Idolatry, are yet nevertheleſſe divided in opinion. We the Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus, by you unjuſtly perſecuted, have thought good, in one Letter, to write unto you ſeverally. Ye are divided, we ſay, in opinion; for ſome of you think that we who have taken this enterpriſe to remove Idolatry, and the Monuments of the ſame, to erect the true Preaching of Chriſt Jeſus, in the bounds committed to our Charges, are hereticks, ſeditious men, and troublers of this Commonwealth, and therefore no puniſhment is ſufficient for us; and ſo blinded with this rage, and under pretence to ſerve the Authority, ye proclaim War and deſtruction without all order of Law againſt us. To you, we ſay, that neither your blinde zeal, neither yet the colour of Authority,

The firſt of the Nobility.

Anno

shall excuse you in Gods presence, who commandeth none to suffer death till that he be openly convinced in judgement, to have offended against God, and against his Law written; which no mortall creature is able to prove against us: for whatsoever we have done, the same we have done at Gods commandment, who plainly commands Idolatry, and all Monuments of the same to be destroyed and abolished. Our earnest and long request hath been, and is, That in open Assembly it may be disputed, in presence of indifferent auditors, Whether that these abominations, named *by the pestilent Papists*, Religion, which they by fire and sword defend, be the true Religion of Jesus Christ or not? Now this humble request denied unto us, our lives are sought in most cruell manner: And the Nobility (whose duty is to defend innocents, and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of Princes or Emperors) do notwithstanding follow their appetites, and arme your selves against us your brethren, and naturall Countrey-men: yea, against us that be innocent and just, as concerning all such crimes as be laid to our charges. If ye think that we be criminall, because that we dissent from your opinion, consider, we beseech you, that the Prophets under the Law, the Apostles of Christ Jesus after his Ascension, his Primitive Church and holy Martyrs, did disagree from the whole world in their dayes. And will ye deny but that their action was just, and that all those that persecuted them were murtherers before God? May not the like be true this day? What assurance have ye this day of your Religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? ye have a multitude that agree with you, and so had they: ye have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not: ye have Counsells, Laws, and men of reputation, that have established all things, as ye suppose: but none of all these can make any Religion acceptable unto God, which onely depended upon his owne will, revealed to man in his most sacred Word. It is not then a wonder that ye sleep in so deadly a security in the matter of your owne salvation; considering that God giveth unto you so manifest tokens, that ye and your leaders are both declined from God. For if the tree shall be judged by the fruit (as Christ Jesus affirmeth that it must needs be) then of necessity it is, That your Prelats, and the whole rabble of their Clergie be evill trees: For if Adultery, Pride, Ambition, Drunkennesse, Covetousnesse, Incest, Unthankfulnesse, Oppression, Murther, Idolatry, and Blasphemy, be evill fruits, there can none of that Generation which claim to themselves the title of Churchmen, be judged to be good trees: For all these pestilent and wicked fruits do they bring forth in greatest abundance. And if they be evil trees (as ye your selves must be compelled to confesse they are) advise prudently with what consciences ye can maintain them to occupy the room and place in the Lords Vine-yard. Do ye not consider that in so doing ye labour to maintain the servants of sin in their filthy corruption, and so consequently ye labour that the devill may raigne, and still abuse this Realme by all iniquity and tyranny, and that Christ Jesus and his blessed Gospel be suppressed and extinguished. The name and the cloke of the authority which ye pretend, will nothing excuse you in Gods presence, but rather shall ye bear double condemnation, for that ye burden

The constant request of the Protestants of Scotland.

Note the duty of Noblemen.

Note.

Probation against the Papists.

Against such as under colour of authority persecute their brethren.

burden God, as that his good Ordinances were the cause of your iniquity: All Authority which God hath established, is good and perfect, and is to be obeyed of all men, yea, under pain of damnation. But do ye not understand, That there is a great difference betwixt the Authority which is Gods Ordinance, and the persons of those which are placed in Authority; the Authority and Gods Ordinances can never do wrong, for it commandeth that vice and wicked men be punished, and vertue with vertuous men and just be maintained. But the corrupt person placed in this Authority, may offend, and most commonly doth contrary to this Authority: and is then the corruption of man to be followed, by reason that it is clothed with the name of Authority? Or shall those that obey the wicked commandment of those that are placed in Authority, be excusable before God? Not so, not so, but the plagues and vengeances of God taken upon Kings their servants and subjects, do witnesse to us the plain contrary. *Pharaoh* was a King, and had his Authority of God, who commanded his subjects to murther and torment the Israelites, and at last most cruelly to persecute their lives: But was their obedience (blinde rage it should be called) excusable before God? the Universall plague doth plainly declare, That the wicked Commander, and those that obeyed, were alike guilty before God. And if the example of *Pharaoh* shall be rejected, because he was an *Ethnicke*, then let us consider the facts of *Saul*: He was a King anoynted of God, appointed to raign over his people; he commanded to persecute *David*, because (as he alleadged) *David* was a Traytor, and Usurper of the Crowne: And likewise commanded *Abimeleck* the High Priest and his fellows to be slaine: But did God approve any part of this obedience? evident it is, That he did not. And think ye that God will approve in you, that which he did condemne in others? be not deceived; with God there is no such partiality. If ye obey the unjust commandments of wicked Rulers, ye shall suffer Gods vengeance and just punishment with them. And therefore, as ye tender your owne salvation, we most earnestly require of you moderation, and that ye stay your selves, and the fury of others, from persecuting of us, till our cause be tried in open and lawfull Judgement. And now to you who are perswaded of the justice of our cause, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, and who also have exhorted us to this enterprise, and yet have left us in our extreme necessity, at least looke out thorow your fingers in this our trouble, as that the matter appertained not unto you, we say, That unlesse (all fear and worldly respects set aside) ye joyn your selves with us, that as of God ye are reputed Traytors, so shall ye be excommunicated from our Society, and from all participation with us in the Administration of Sacraments: the glory of this Victory which God shall give to his Church, yea, even in the eyes of men, shall not appertain to you, but the fearful judgement which apprehended *Ananias*, and his wife *Saphira*, shall apprehend you and your posterity. Ye may perchance contemn and despise the Excōmunication of the Church now by Gods mighty power erected amongst us, as a thing of no force: But yet doubt we nothing, but that our Church, and the true Ministers of the same, have the same power which our Master Christ Jesus granted to his

Anno

Difference betwixt the person and the Authority. *Note.*

Note diligently.

Pharaoh his fact

Note.

The fact of King *Saul*.

The second sort of the Nobility. *Note.*

Let both the one part and the other judge if God have not justified the cause of the innocents.

Anno

his Apostles in these words, *Whose sins ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven; and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained,* and that because they preach, and we believe the same Doctrine which is contained in his most blessed Word: and therefore, except that ye will contemne Christ Jesus, ye neither can despise our threatning, neither yet refuse us calling for your just defence. By your fainting, and by extracting of your support, the enemies are encouraged, thinking that they shall finde no resistance: in which point, God willing, they shall be deceived; for if they were ten thousand, and we but one thousand, they shall not murther the least of our brethren, but we (God assisting us) shall first commit our lives into the hands of God for their defence. But this shall aggravate your condemnation, for ye declare your selves both Traytors to the Truth once professed, and murtherers of us and of our brethren, from whom ye withdraw your dutifull and promised support, whom your onely presence (to mans judgement) might preserve from this danger. For our enemies look not to the power of God, but to the force and strength of man; when the number is mean to resist them, then rage they as bloody wolves; but a part equall or able to resist them by appearance, doth bridle their fury. Examine your owne consciences, and weigh that Sentence of our Master Christ Jesus, saying, *Whosoever denieth me, or is ashamed of me before men, I shall deny him before my Father.* Now is the day of his Battell in this Realm, if ye deny us your brethren, suffering for his Names sake, ye do also deny him, as himselfe doth witnesse, in these words, *Whatsoever ye did to any of these little ones, that ye did to me, and what ye did not to one of these little ones, that ye did not to me:* If these sentences be true as concerning meat, drink, cloathing, and such things as appertain to the body, shall they not be likewise true in these things that appertain to the preservation of the lives of thousands, whose blood is now sought, for profession of Christ Jesus? And thus shortly we leave you, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, to the examination of your own consciences. And yet once again of you, who blinded by superstition, persecute us: We require moderation, till our cause may be tried; which if ye will not grant unto us for Gods Cause, yet we desire you to have respect to the preservation of your common Countrey, which we can no sooner betray into the hands of strangers, then that one of us destroy and murther another. Consider our Petitions, and call for the spirit of righteous judgement.

From whence this courage did proceed the issue did declare.

Note.

These our Letters being divulgate, some began to reason, Whether in conscience they might invade us, or not, considering that we offred due obedience to the Authority, requiring nothing, but liberty of conscience, and our Religion and fact to be tried by the Word of God. Our Letters came with convenient expedition to the hands of our brethren in *Cuninghame* and *Kyle*, who assembled at the Church of *Craggie*; where after some contrarious reasons, *Alexander* Earle of *Glencarne*, in zeal burst forth in these words, *Let every man serve his conscience, I will, by Gods grace, see my brethren in S.* Johnston: *Yea, albeit never man should accompany me, yet I will go, and if it were but a Pike upon my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company, then live after them.* These words so encouraged the rest, that all decreed to go forward, as that they did so stoutly, that when the

The Earle of *Glencarne* his resolution.

Lyon

Lion Herault in his coat of Arms, commanded all men under pain of treason to return to their houses by publike sound of trumpet in *Glasgow*, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward, as we shall after heare. When it was clearly understood that the Prelates and their adherents suppressing our Petitions so far as in them lay, did kindle the furie of all men against us: it was thought expedient to write unto them some Declaration of our minds, which we did in this forme following. Anno

To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent Prelats, and their Shavelings within Scotland, *the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same faith,*

TO the end that ye shall not be abused, thinking to escape just punishment, after that ye in your blinde furie have caused the blood of many to be shed: This we notifie and declare unto you, That if ye proceed in this your malicious crueltie, ye shall be dealt withall wheresoever ye shall be apprehended, as murtherers and open enemies to God and unto mankinde. And therefore betimes cease from this blinde rage: Remove first from your selves, your bands of bloodie men of war, and reform your selves to a more quiet life, *and hereafter mitigate ye the authority, which without crime committed on our part ye have inflamed against us*, or else be ye assured, That with the same measure that ye have measured against us, and yet intend to measure to others, it shall be measured unto you; that is, As ye by tyrannie intend not onely to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the Devil, subject to Idolatry: So shall we with all force and power, which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you, yea, we shall begin that same war which God commandeth Israel to execute against the Canaanites, that is, contract of peace shall never be made till that ye desist from your open Idolatry and cruell persecution of Gods children. And this we signifie unto you, in the name of the eternall God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, whose Verity we professe, and Gospel we have Preached, and holy Sacraments rightly ministred, so long as God will assist us to gain-stand your Idolatry. Take this for advertisement and be not deceived.

Notwithstanding these our Requests and Advertisements, *Monsieur Dosell* and his French men, with the Priests and their bands, marched forward against S. *Johnston*, and approached within ten miles of the Town; then repaired the brethren from all quarters for our reliefe. The Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, *Angus*, *Mernes*, with the Town of *Dundie* were there, they that first hazarded to resist the enemy: and for that purpose was chosen a place of ground, a mile and more distant from the Town. In this mean time, the Lord *Ruthuen*, Provest of the Town of S. *Johnston*, and a man whom many judged godly and stout in that action (as in very deed he was even unto his last breath) left the Town, and departed first to his own place, and after to the Queen; whose defection and revolt was a great discouragement to the hearts of many, and yet did God so comfort them, that within the space of twelve houres after, the hearts of all men were

Anno

were set up againe. *For those that were then assembled, did not so much hope of victory by their own strength, as by the power of him, whose Verity they professed,* and began one to comfort another, till the whole multitude was erected in a reasonable hope. The day after that the Lord *Ruthuen* departed, which was the foure and twentieth of May, came the Earle of *Argyle*, Lord *James* Prior of S. *Andrews*, and the Lord *Semple*, directed from the Queen Regent, to enquire the cause of that Convocation of Lieges there. To whom when it was answered, That it was onely to resist the cruell tyrannie devised against that poore Towne, and the inhabitants of the same. They asked if we minded not to hold that Towne against the authority, and against the Regent. To the which Question answered the Lairds of *Dun* and *Pitarro*, with the Congregation of *Angus* and *Mernes*, the Master of *Lindsay*, the Lairds of *Londy*, *Balvarde*, and others Barons of *Fyfe*. That if the Queenes Majestie would suffer the Religion there begun to proceed, and not trouble their brethren and sisters that had professed Christ Jesus with them, That the Towne, they themselves, and whatsoever to them pertained, should be at the Queens commandment. Which answer understood, the Earle of *Argyle* and the Prior (who both were then Protestants) began to muse, and said plainly, That they were far otherwise informed by the Queen, to wit, *That we meant no Religion, but a plaine Rebellion.* To the which when he had answered simply, and as the trueth was, to wit, That we Convened for none other purpose, but onely to assist our brethren, who then were most unjustly persecuted, and therefore we desired them faithfully to report our answer, and to be intercessors to the Queen Regent, That such cruelty should not be used against us, considering that we had offered in our former Letters, as well to the Queens Majesty, as to the Nobility, our matter to be tried in lawfull judgement. They promised fidelity in that behalfe, which also they kept. The day after, which was the five and twentieth of May, before that the said Lords departed, in the morning *John Knox* desired to speak with the same Lords, which granted unto him, he was conveyed to their Lodging by the Laird of *Balvarde*; and thus began,

Speakers sente by the Queene to S. *Iohnston.*

Note the answer.

The false suggestion of the Queen Regent

The Oration of *John Knox* to the Lords.

THe present troubles, honourable Lords, ought to move the hearts, not onely of the true servants of God, but also of all such as beare any favour unto our Countrey and naturall Countrey-men, to descend within themselves, and deepely to consider, what shall be the end of this pretended tyrannie. The rage of Satan seeketh the destruction of all those that within this Realme professe Christ Jesus, and they that inflame the Queene, and you the Nobles against us, regard not who prevaile, provided that they may abuse the world, and live at their pleasure, as heretofore they have done: yea, I feare that some seek nothing more, then the effusion of Scottish blood, to the end that their possessions may be more patent to others. But because that this is not the principall which I have to speak, omitting the same to be considered, by the wisdome of those to whom the care of the Common-wealth appertaineth.

1. *I most humbly require of you, my Lords, in my name, to say to the Queene Regent,*

Regent, That we in whom she in her blinde rage doth persecute, are Gods servants, faithfull and obedient Subjects to the authoritie of this Realme: That that Religion which she pretendeth to maintaine by fire and sword, is not the true Religion of Christ Jesus, but is expresse contrary to the same, a superstition devised by the braine of man, which I offer my selfe to prove against all that within Scotland *will maintaine the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted unto me, and Gods written Word being admitted for judge.*

Anno

Let the Papists rather ambitious Romanists, judge.

2. *I further require your honours in my name to say unto the Queen, That as oft before I have written, so now I say, That this her enterprise shall not prosperously succeed in the end, and albeit for a time she trouble the Saints of God; for she fights not against man only, but against the eternall God, and his invincible Verity, and therefore the end shall be her confusion, unlesse betimes she repent and desist.*

These things I require of you, in the Name of the eternall God, as from my mouth, to say unto her Majestie, adding, That I have been, and am a more assured friend to her Majestie, then they, that either flattering her, as servants to her corrupt appetites, or else inflame her against us, who seek nothing but Gods glory to be advanced; Vice to be suppressed; and Veritie to be maintained in this poore Realme.

They all three did promise to report his words so far as they could, which afterwards we understood they did; yea the Lord *Sempill* himselfe, a man sold unto sin, enemie to God and all godlinesse, did yet make such report, That the Queen was somewhat offended, that any man should use such libertie in her presence. She still proceeded in her malice, for immediately thereafter she sent her Lion Herald with Letters, straitly charging all men to avoid the Towne under the paine of Treason. Which Letters, after he had declared them to the chiefe men of the Congregation, he publikely proclaimed the same upon Sunday the 27 of May. In this meane time came sure knowledge to the Queen, to Duke *Hamilton*, and to *Monsieur Dosell*, That the Earle of *Glencarne*, the Lords *Uchiltrie* and *Boyde*, the young Sheriffe of *Air*, the Lairds of *Craggy*, *Wallace*, *Sesnock*, *Carnell*, *Bar*, *Gairgirth*, and the whole congregation of *Kyle* and *Cuninghame* approached for our reliefe, and in very deed they came in such diligence, and such a number, That as the enemy had just cause to fear; so have all that professe Christ Jesus, just matter to praise God, for their fidelity and stout courage in that need: For by their presence was the tyrannie of the enemy bridled. Their diligence was such, that albeit the passage by *Sterlin* and six miles above was stopped (for there lay the Queen with her bands, and caused the Bridges to be cut upon the waters of *Forth*, *Gudy*, and *Teith*, above *Sterlin*) yet made they such expedition through desert and mountaine, that they prevented the enemy, and approached within sixe miles of our Campe, which then lay without the Towne awaiting upon the enemy, before that any assured knowledge came to us of their coming. Their number was judged to twentie five hundred men, whereof there was twelve hundred Horsemen. The Queene understanding how the said Earle and Lords, with their company approached, caused to beset all wayes, that no advertisement should come to us: To the end, That we despairing of support, might condiscend to such appointment as she required. And sent

The diligence of the Earle of *Glencarne*, and of the brethren of the wast, for the relief of S. *Johnston*.

Anno

first to require that some discreet men of our number would come and speak to Duke *Hamilton* and *Monsieur Dosell*, (who then with their Army lay at *Achtererdoch* , ten miles from S. *Johnston)* to the end, that some reasonable appointment might be had. She had perswaded the Earle of *Argyle* and all others, That we meant nothing but Rebellion; and therefore had he promised unto her, That in case we would not stand content with a reasonable appointment, he would declare himselfe open enemy unto us, notwithstanding that he professed the same Religion with us. From us were sent the Laird of *Dun*, the Laird of *Inuerquhartye*, and *Thomas Scot* of *Abbotshall*, to hear what appointment the Queene would offer. The Duke and *Monsieur Dosell* required, That the Towne should be made patent, and that all things should be referred to the Queenes pleasure. To the which they answered, That neither they had commission so to promise, neither durst they in conscience so perswade their brethren: But if the Queene would promise, That no inhabitant of the Town should be troubled for any such crimes as might be alleadged against them, for the late mutation of Religion and abolishment of Idolatrie, and for down-casting the places of the same; If she would suffer the Religion begun to go forward, and leave the Towne at her departing free from the Garrisons of French Souldiers; That they would labour at the hands of their brethren, that the Queene should be obeyed in all things. *Monsieur Dosell* perceiving the danger to be great, if that a sudden appointment should be made, and that they were not able to execute their tyrannie against us, after that the Congregation of *Kyle* (of whose comming we had no advertisement) should be joyned with us, with good words dismissed the said Lairds to perswade the brethren to quiet concord. To the which we were all so well minded, that with one voice they cried; *Cursed be they that seek effusion of blood*; *Let us possesse Christ Jesus, and the benefit of his Gospel*, *and none within* Scotland *shall be more obedient Subjects then we shall be.* With all expedition were sent from *Sterlin* againe (after that the coming of the Earle of *Glencarne* was knowne, for the enemie for feare quaked) the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* aforesaid. And in their company a crafty man Master *Gauin Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwinning*, who were sent by the Queen to finish the appointment aforesaid. But before that they came, was the Earle of *Glencarne* and his honourable company arrived in the Towne: and then began all men to praise God, for that he had so mercifully heard them in their most extreame necessitie, and had sent unto them such reliefe as was able without effusion of blood to stay the rage of the enemie. The Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* did earnestly perswade the agreement, to the which all men were willing: but some did smell the craft of the adversary, to wit, That they were minded to keep no point of the promise longer then they had obtained their intent. With the Earle of *Glencarne* came our loving brother *John Willock*; *John Knox* was in the Town before. These two went to the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James*, accusing them of infidelity, in so far as they had defrauded their brethren of their dutifull support, and comfort in their greatest necessity. They answered both, That their heart was constant with their brethren, and that they would defend that Cause to the utter-

The Petition of the Protestants, for the rendering of S. *Iohnston.*

The answer of the Earle of *Argyle* and L. *James*, Prior of S. *Andrews.*

uttermoſt of their power. But becauſe they had promiſed to labour concord, and to aſſiſt the Queen in caſe we refuſed reaſonable offers, in conſcience and honour they could do no leſſe then be faithfull in their promiſe made: And therefore they required that the brethren might be perſwaded to conſent to that reaſonable appointment; promiſing in Gods preſence, That if the Queen did break in any jot thereof, that they with their whole powers would aſſiſt and concurre with the brethren in all times to come. This promiſe made, the Preachers appeaſed the multitude, and obtained in the end that all men did conſent to the appointment foreſaid; which they obtained not without great labours; and no wonder, for many foreſaw the danger to follow: yea the Preachers themſelves in open Sermon did affirme plainly, That they were aſſuredly perſwaded that the Queen meant no truth. But to ſtop the mouth of the adverſary, who unjuſtly did burthen us with Rebellion, they moſt earneſtly required all men to approve the appointment, and ſo to ſuffer hypocriſie to diſcloſe it ſelf. This appointment was concluded the 28 of May, and the day following, at two in the after noon, departed the Congregation from Saint *Iohnston*, after that *Iohn Knox* had in his Sermon exhorted all men to conſtancy, and unfainedly to thanke God, for that it had pleaſed his mercy to ſtay the rage of the enemy without effuſion of blood; Alſo that no brother ſhould be weary, nor faint, to ſupport ſuch as ſhould after be likewiſe perſecuted: for (ſaid he) I am aſſured that no part of this promiſe made ſhall be longer kept, then till the Queen and her French-men to have the upper hand. Many of the enemies were at the ſame Sermon: For after that the appointment was made, they had free entry in the Towne to provide Lodgings. Before the Lords departed, was this Bond, whoſe Tenour followeth, as it was written and ſubſcribed.

Anno

The promiſe of the foreſaid.

Note.

The ſecond Covenant at *Perth*.

AT Perth *the laſt of May, the yeere of God* 1559 *yeers, the Congregations of the Weſt Countrey, with the Congregations of* Fyfe, Perth, Dundie, Angus, Mernes, *and* Monroſſe, *being convened in the Towne of* Perth, *in the Name of Ieſus Chriſt, for ſetting forth of his glory, underſtanding nothing more neceſſary for the ſame, then to keepe a conſtant amity, unity, and fellowſhip together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bounden and obliged in the preſence of God, to concurre and aſſiſt together in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; And at their whole powers to deſtroy and put away all things that doth diſhonour to his Name, ſo that God may be truely and purely worſhipped. And in caſe that any trouble be intended againſt the ſaid Congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole Congregation ſhall concurre, aſsiſt, and convene together, to the defence of the ſame Congregation or perſon troubled: And ſhall not ſpare Labours, Goods, Subſtance, Bodies and Lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole Congregation, and every member thereof; againſt whatſoever perſon ſhall intend the ſaid trouble for cauſe of Religion, or any other cauſe depending therenpon, or lay to their charge under pretence therof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cauſe. In witneſſing and* 1559

Anno

testimony of the which, the whole Congregation aforesaid have ordained and appointed the Noble-men and persons under-written, to subscribe these Presents.

Sic subscribitur,

Arch Argyle, R. Lord *Boid*, Lord *Wchiltrie*,
James Steward, *Matthew Campbell of* Tarmganart.
Glencarne.

The first slaughter at the entry of the French-men.

The 29 of *May* entred the Queen, the Duke, Monsieur *d'Osell*, and the French-men, who in discharging their Volley of Hacquebutes, did well mark the house of *Patrike Murray*, a man fervent in Religion, and that boldly had sustained all danger in that trouble; against whose stayr they directed six or seven Shot even against the faces of those that were there lying; all men escaped, except the son of the foresaid *Patrike*, a boy of ten or twelve yeers of age; who being slain, was had to the Queens presence: but she understanding whose son he was, said in mockage, *It is pity it chanced on the son, and not on the father; but seeing that so it is chanced, me cannot be against fortune.* This was her happy entry in Saint *Johnston*, and the great zeal she beareth to Justice. The swarme of Papists that entred with her, began straight to make provision for their Masse; and because the Altars were not so easie to be repaired again, they provided Tables, whereof some before used to serve for Drunkards, Dicers, and Carders, but they were holy enough for the Priest and his Pageant. The Queen began to rage against all godly and honest men, their houses were oppressed by the French, the lawfull Magistrates, as well Provest as Baylies, were unjustly, and without all order, deposed from their Authority: a wicked man, void of Gods fear, and destitute of all vertue, the Laird of *Kilfans*, was intrusted by her, Provest of the Towne: Whereat all honest men offended, left their owne houses, and with their wives and children sought amongst their brethren some resting place for a time. She took order that four Colours of the Souldiers should abide in the Town to maintain Idolatry, and to resist the Congregation. Honest and indifferent men asked why she did so manifestly violate her promise? She answered, That *she was bound to keep no promise to hereticks*: And moreover, That she promised onely to leave the Towne free of French Souldiers; which (said she) she did, because that these that therein were left were Scotishmen. But when it was reasoned in her contrary, That all those that took wages of *France* were counted French Souldiers, she answered, *Princes must not be straitly bounden to keep their promises: My selfe* (said she) *would make little conscience to take from all that sort their lives and inheritance, if I might do it with as honest an excuse.* And then she left the Towne in extreme Bondage: After that her ungodly French-men had most cruelly used the most part of those that remained in the same, the Earle of *Argyle*, and Lord *James* foresaid perceiving in the Queen nothing but meer tyranny and falshood, mindefull of their former promises made to their brethren, did secretly convey themselves, and their Companies of the Town, and with them departed the Lord *Ruthuen*, of whom before mention is made;

Idolatry erected against the appointment.

Against the appointment the second time.

Second answer of the Queen Regent.

The third answer.

The departure of the Earle of *Argyle*, and Lord *James* from the Queen Regent.

made; then the Earle of *Menteth*, and the Laird of *Tullybardin*, who in Gods presence did confederate and binde themselves together, faithfully promising one to assist and defend another against all persons that would pursue them for Religion sake; and also that they with their whole force and power would defend the brethren persecuted for the same Cause. The Queen highly offended at the sudden departure of the persons aforesaid, sent charges to them to return, under the highest pain of her displeasure. But they answered, That with safe conscience they could not be partakers of so manifest tyranny as was by her committed, and of so great iniquity as they perceived devised by her, and her ungodly counsell the Prelats. This answer was given to her the first day of *June*, and immediately the Earle of *Argyle*, and Lord *James* repaired toward S. *Andrewes*; and in their Journey gave advertisement by writing to the Laird of *Dun*, to the Laird of *Petarrow*, to the Provest of *Dundie*, and others, professors in *Angus*, to visite them in S. *Andrewes* the fourth of *June*, for Reformation to be made there: which day they kept, and brought in their company *John Knox*, who the first day after his coming to *Fyfe*, did preach in *Carreal*, the next day in *Anstruther*, minding the third day, which was the Sunday, to preach in S. *Andrews*. The Bishop hearing of Reformation to be made in his Cathedrall Church, thought time to stirre, or else never, and therefore assembled his colleagues, and confederate fellows, besides his other friends, and came to the Towne upon the Saturday at night, accompanied with a hundred Spears, of minde to have stopped *John Knox* from Preaching. The two Lords and Gentlemen aforesaid were onely accompanied with their quiet housholds, and therefore was the sudden coming of the Bishop the more fearfull; for then was the Queen and her French-men departed from Saint *Johnston*, and were lying in *Falkland*, within twelve miles of S. *Andrews*; and the Town at that time had not given profession of Christ, and therefore could not the Lords be assured of their friendship. Consultation being had, many were of minde that the Preaching should be delayed for that day, and especially that *Jo. Knox* should not preach, for that did the Bishop affirme that he would not suffer, considering that by his Commandment the Picture of the said *John* was before burnt. He willed therefore an honest Gentleman, *Robert Colwill* of *Cleisse*, to say to the Lords, That in case *John Knox* presented himselfe to the Preaching-place, in his Towne and principall Church, he should make him be faulted with a Dozen of Culverings, whereof the most part should light upon his nose. After long deliberation had, the said *John* was called, that his owne judgement might be had: When many perswasions were made that he should delay for that time, and great terrours given in case he should enterprise such a thing, as it were in contempt of the Bishop, he answered, *God is witnesse that I never preached Christ Iesus in contempt of any man, neither minde I at any time to present my selfe to that place, having either respect to my owne private commodity, either yet to the worldly hurt of any creature: But to delay to preach to morrow (unlesse the body be violently with-holden) I cannot in conscience: For in this Towne and Church began God first to call me to the dignity of a Preacher, from the which I was reft by the tyranny of* France, *and procurement*

Anno

The answer of the Earle of *Argyle*.

The Bishops goed minde towards *Iohn Knox*.

Iohn Knox his answer to the Lords, and the rest of the brethren.

Anno

of the Bishops, as ye well enough know, how long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the Gallies, and what were the sobs of my heart, is now no time to recite. This onely I cannot conceale, which more then one have heard me say when my body was absent from Scotland, *That my assured hope was, in open audience to preach in Saint* Andrewes, *before I departed this life. And therefore* (said he) *my Lords, seeing that God above the expectation of many hath brought my bodie to the same place where first I was called to the Office of a Preacher, and from the which most unjustly I was removed: I beseech your Honours not to stop me from presenting my selfe unto my Brethren: And as for the feare of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicite, for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek; and therefore I cannot so feare their boast nor tyrannie, that I will cease from doing my duty, when of his mercy he offereth the occasion. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me, onely do I crave audience; which if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek further where I may have it.* At these words the Lords were fully content that he should occupy the place, which he did upon Sunday the tenth of June, and did treat of *the ejection of the buyers and the sellers forth of the Temple of* Jerusalem; as it is written in the Evangelists *Matthew* and *John*, and so he applied the corruption that was then, to the corruption that is in Papistry: and Christs fact, to the duty of those to whom God giveth power and zeale thereto, that aswell the Magistrates, the Provest and Baylies, as the communalty for the most part within the Towne, did agree to remove all Monuments of Idolatry, which also they did with expedition. The Bishop advertised hereof, departed that same day to the Queen, who lay with her French-men, as is said, in *Falkland*. The hot fury of the Bishop did so kindle her choler (and yet the love was very cold betwixt them) that without farther delay conclusion was taken, to invade Saint *Andrewes*, and the two young Lords aforesaid, who then were very slenderly accompanied. Posts were sent from the Queen with all diligence to *Cowper*, distant onely six miles from Saint *Andrewes*, to prepare Lodgings and Victualls for the Queen and her French-men. Lodgings were assigned, and Ferriers were sent before. Which thing understood, counsell was given to the Lords to march forward, and to prevent them before they came to *Cowper*: which they did, giving advertisement to all brethren with all possible expedition to repair towards them, which they also did, with such diligence, that in their Assemblie the wonderous Worke of God might have been espied: For when at night the Lords came to *Cowper*, they were not an hundred Horse, and some few Foot-men whom the Lord *James*, brought from the Coast side; and yet before the next day at noon (which was Tuesday the thirteenth of June) their number passed three thousand men, which by Gods providence came unto the Lords from *Lowthiane* the Lairds of *Ormeston*, *Calder*, *Hatton*, *Lestarrig*, and *Colston*, who albeit they understood at their departing from their owne houses no such trouble, yet were they by their good counsell very comfortable that day. The Lord *Ruthuen* came from Saint *Johnston* with some Horse-men with him: The Earle of *Rothesse* Sheriff of *Fyfe*, came with an honest Company. The

The Reformation of S. *Andrews*.

For the old Earle of *Argyle* was dead.

Cowper-Moore.

Anno

The Townes of *Dundie* and S. *Andrews* declared themselves both stout and faithfull. *Cowper*, because it stood in greatest danger, was assisted with the whole Force. Finally, God did so multiply our number, That it appeared as men had rained from the clouds. The enemy understanding nothing of our Force assured themselves of Victory. Who had beene in *Falkland* the night before, might have seen embracing and kissing, betwixt the Queen, the Duke, and the Bishop: But Master *Gawin Hamilton*, gaper for the Bishoprick of S. *Andrews*, above all others, was lovingly embraced of the Queen; For he made his solemne Vow, That he would fight, and that he would never return till he brought those Traitours to her Majestie, either quick or dead. And thus before midnight did they send forward their Ordnance, themselves did follow before three of the clock in the morning. The Lords hereof advertised, assembled their company early in the morning upon *Cowper-moore*; where by the advice of M. *James Haliburtoun* Provest of *Dundie*, was chosen a place of ground convenient for our defence: For it was so chosen, That upon all sides our Ordnance might have beaten the enemy, and yet we have stood in safety, if we had been pursued till we had come to hand strokes. The Lord *Ruthuen* took the charge of the horsemen, and ordered them so, That the enemy was never permitted to espie our number; the day was dark, which helped thereto. The enemy (as before is said) thinking to have found no resistance, after that they had twice or thrice made shew unto us, as that they would retire, marched forward with great expedition, and approached within a mile before that ever their horsemen stayed, and yet they kept betwixt us and them a water, for their strength. It appeared to us, That either they marched for *Cowper* or S. *Andrews*: and therefore our Horse-men in their Troope, and a part of the Foot-men with the Ordnance marched somewhat alwayes before them for safety of the Towne. The Lords, with the Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, and so many of *Angus* and *Mearns* as were present, kept themselves close in a knot, neere to the number of a thousand Speares. The Townes of *Dundie* and S. *Andrews* were arrayed in another battell, who came not to the sight of the enemy, till that after twelve of the clock the mist began to vanish, and then passed some of their Horse-men to a mountaine, from the height whereof they might discerne our number. Which perceived by them, their Horse-men and Foot-men stayed incontinent, Posts ran to the Duke and *Monsieur Dosell*, to declare our number, and what order we kept: And then were Mediators sent to make appointment, but they were not suffered to approach neere to the Lords, neither yet to the view of our Camp; which put them in great feare. Answer was given unto them, That as we had offended no man, so would we seek appointment of no man; but if any would seek our lives (as we were informed they did) they should finde us, if they pleased to make diligence. This answer received, were sent againe the Lord *Lindsay*, and Laird of *Wanchton*, who earnestly requested us to concord, and that we would not be the occasion that innocent blood should be shed. We answered, That neither had we quarrell against any man, neither yet sought we any mans blood: onely we were convened for defence of our own lives unjustly sought by others. We added further, That

M. *Gawin Hamiltons* Vow.

First answer at *Cowper-moore*.

The second answer.

Anno

That if they could finde the meane, that we and our brethren might be free from the tyrannie devised against us, that they should reasonably desire nothing which should be denied for our part. This answer received, the Duke and *Monsieur Dosell*, having Commission of the Queen Regent, required, That Assurance might be taken for eight dayes; to the end that indifferent men in the mean time might commune upon some finall agreement of those things which were then in controversie. Hereto did we fully consent, albeit that in number and force we were far superiour, and for testification hereof, we sent unto them our hand writs; and we likewise received theirs, with promise, That within two or three dayes some discreet men should be sent to us to S. *Andrews*, with further knowledge of the Queens minde. The tenour of the assurance was this.

The Assurance.

WE James *Duke of* Chattellerault, *Earle of* Arrane, *Lord* Hamilton; *and my Lord* Dosell, *Lieutenant for the King in these parts, for our selves, our assistaries, and partakers, being presently with us in company. By the tenor hereof promits faithfully in honour to my Lords* Archibald *Earle of* Argyle, *and* James, *Commendater of the Priory of S.* Andrews, *to their assistants and partakers being presently with them in company: That we and our company aforesaid, shall retire incontinent to* Falkland, *and shall with diligence transport the French men, and our other folkes now presently with us, and that no French men or other Souldiers of ours, shall remaine within the bounds of* Fyfe, *but so many as before the raising of the last Army lay in* Disert, Kirkcaldie, *and* Kinghorne, *and the same to lie in the same places onely, if we shall think good. And this to have effect for the space of eight dayes following the date hereof exclusive, That in the meane time certaine Noble-men, by the advice of the Queen and the rest of the Councell may convene to talk of such things, as may make good order and quietnesse amongst the Queens Lieges. And further, We, nor none of our assisters being present with us, shall invade, trouble, or disquiet the said Lords nor their assisters, during the said space. And this we binde and oblige us upon our loyall fidelitie and honour, to observe and keepe in every point above-written, without fraud or guile. In witnesse whereof, we have subscribed these presents with our own hands. At* Garlebanke *the* 13 *day of June* 1559.

Subscribed.

James Hamilton.
Meneits, Dosell.

And this received, we departed first, because we were thereto requested by the Duke; and so we returned to *Cowper*, lauding and praising God, for his mercy shewed, and thereafter every man departed to his dwelling place. The Lords and a great part of the Gentlemen passed to S. *Andrews*, who there abode certain dayes, still looking for those that were promised to come from the Queen for appointment to be made. But we perceiving her craft and deceit (for under that assurance, she meant nothing else but to convey her selfe, her Ordnance, and French-men over the

the water of *Forth*) took consultation what should be done for delivering S. *Johnston* from these ungodly Souldiers, and how our brethren exiled from their own houses, might be restored again. It was concluded, That the brethren of *Fyfe*, *Angus*, *Mernes*, and *Stratherne*, should Convene at S. *Johnston* the foure and twentieth day of June for that purpose, and in the mean time were these Letters written by the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* to the Queen then Regent.

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The delivery of S. *Iohnston*.

Letters to the Queen Regent.

M*Adame, after our hearty commendations of service, this shall be to shew your Majestie, That upon the 13 day of June, we were informed by them that were Communers betwixt the Duke*, Monsieur Dosell, *and us, That we should have spoken unreverently of your Majestie, which we beseech your Majestie, for the true service that we have made, and are ready to make at all times to your Majestie,* That of your goodnesse you will let us know the sayers thereof, *and we shall do the dutie of true Subjects, to defend our own innocency: As we take God to witnesse, of the good Zeale and Love we beare towards you, to serve you with true hearts, and all that we have, as well lands as goods; desiring no other thing for our service, but the liberty of our conscience to serve our Lord God, as we shall answer to him, which your Majestie ought and should give us unrequired. Moreover, please your Majestie, That the Duke and the Noble-men being in* Sterlin *for the time, by your Majesties advice, solicited us to presse the Congregation assembled at the Town of* Perth, *to Commune of Concord, where we did our exact diligence, and brought it to passe, as your Majestie knows. And there is a point, that we plainly see it not observed to us, which is,* That no Souldier should remain in the Town after your Majesties departing. *And suppose it may be inferred, That it was spoken of French Souldiers onely, yet we took it otherwise, like as we do yet, That Scottish-men, or any other Nation, taking wages of the King of* France, *are reputed and holden French Souldiers. Therefore seeing we of good will and minde brought that matter to your Majesties contentment, it will please your Majestie of your goodnesse to remove the Souldiers and their Captains, with others that have gotten charge of the Town, That the same may be guided and ruled freely, as it was before, by the Ballyes and Counsell conforme to their infeoffments given to them, by the ancient and most excellent Kings of this Realme, to elect and chuse their officers at* Michaelmas, *and they to endure for the space of one yeere, conforme to the old Rite and Custome of this Realme: which being done by your Majestie, we trust the better successe shall follow thereupon to your Majesties content, as the bearer will declare at more length to your Majestie; Whom God preserve.*

To Saint *Johnston*, with the Gentlemen before expressed, did Convene the Earle of *Monteith*, the Laird of *Glaneurquhair*, and divers others, who before had not presented themselves for defence of their brethren. When the whole multitude was Convened, a Trumpet was sent by the Lords, commanding the Captains and their Bands, To avoid the Towne, and to leave it to the ancient Libertie and just Inhabitants of the same; Also commanding the Laird of *Kilfawnes*, put in Provest by the Queen, with the Captains aforesaid, To open the gates of the Town, and make the same patent to all our Soveraigns lieges, to the effect, That as well true Religion now once begun therein, may be maintained,

The summoning of S. *Iohnston*.

Anno

and Idolatry utterly suppressed, as also the said Town might enjoy and brook their ancient Laws and Liberties, unoppressed by men of War, according to their old Priviledges granted to them by the ancient Princes of this Realme, and conforme to the provision contained in the Contract of Marriage, made by the Nobility and Parliament of this Realme with the King of *France*, bearing namely, That our old Laws or Liberties should not be altered: Adding thereto, If they foolishly resisted, and therein happened to commit murther, That they should be treated as murtherers. To the which they answered proudly, That they would keep and defend that Towne, according to their promise made to the Queen Regent. This answer received, preparation was made for the Siege and assault. For amongst all, it was concluded that the Towne should be set at liberty, to what danger soever their bodies should be exposed. While preparation was in making, came the Earle of *Huntly*, the Lord *Erskin*, Master *John Ballenden*, Justice *Clerk*, requiring that the pursuit of the Town should be delayed. To speake to them were appointed, the Earle of *Argyle*, Lord *James*, and Lord *Ruthuen*, who perceiving in them nothing but a drift of time, without any assurance that the former wrongs should be redressed, gave unto them a short and plaine answer, That they would not delay their purpose an houre: and therefore willed them to certifie the Captains in the Town, That if by pride and foolishnesse they would keep the Town, and in so doing slay any of their brethren, that they should every one die as murtherers. The Earle of *Huntly*, displeased at this answer, departed, and was highly offended that he could not dresse such an appointment, as should have contented the Queen and the Priests. After their departing the Town was again summoned: but the Captaines supposing that no sudden pursuit should be made, and looking for reliefe to have been sent from the Queen, abode in their former opinion. And so upon Saterday the nine and twentieth of June, at ten of the clock at night, commanded the Lord *Ruthuen* who besieged the west Quarter, to shoot the first Volley, which being done, the Town of *Dundie* did the like, whose Ordnance lay on the east side of the Bridge. The Captaines and Souldiers within the Town, perceiving that they were unable long to resist, required assurance till twelve houres upon the morrow; promising, That if before that houre there came unto them no relief from the Queen Regent, that they would render the Town: Provided that they should be suffered to depart the Town with Ensigne displayed. We thirsting the blood of no man, and seeking onely the liberty of our brethren, condescended to their desires, albeit that we might have executed against them judgement without mercy, for that they had refused our former favours, and had slain one of our brethren, and hurt two in their resistance, and yet we suffered them freely to depart without any further molestation. The Town being delivered from their thraldom, upon Sunday the six and twentieth of June thanks was given to God for this great benefit received, and consultation was taken, what was further to be done. In this meane time, zealous men considering, how obstinate, proud, and despightfull, the Bishop of *Murray* had been before, how he had threatned the Town by his Souldiers and friends who lay in *Scone*, thought good that some order

Communing at S. *Johnston*.

Huntly.

The Bishop of *Murray*.

order ſhould be taken with him; and with that place, which lay neer to the Towns end. The Lords wrote unto him (for he lay within two miles of S. *Iohnſton*) That unleſſe he would come and aſſiſt them, they neither could ſpare nor ſave his place. He anſwered by his writing, That he would come, and would do as they thought expedient; that he would aſſiſt them with his Force, and would conſent with them againſt the reſt of the Clergie in Parliament. But becauſe this anſwer was ſlow in coming, the Town of *Dundie* partly offended for the ſlaughter of their men, and eſpecially bearing no good favour to the ſaid Biſhop, for that he was and is chief enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, and that by his counſell alone was *Walter Mile* our brother put to death, they marched forward: To ſtay them was firſt ſent the Proveſt of *Dundie*, and his brother *Alexander Halyburtoun* Captaine; who little prevailing, was ſent unto them *Iohn Knox*; but before his coming, they were entred to the pulling downe of the Idols and dortoir. And albeit the ſaid Maſter *Iames Halyburtoun*, *Alexander* his brother, and the ſaid *Iohn*, did what in them lay to have ſtayed the fury of the multitude, yet were they not able to put order univerſally, and therefore they ſent for the Lords, Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *Iames*, who coming with all diligence, laboured to have ſaved the place and the place and the Church. But becauſe the multitude had found buried in the Church a great number of hid goods, of purpoſe to have preſerved them to a better day (as the papiſts ſpeak) the Towns of *Dundie* and S. *Iohnſton* could not be ſatisfied, till that the whole reparation and Ornaments of the Church (as they terme it) were deſtroyed. And yet did the Lords ſo travell, that they ſaved the Biſhops Palace, with the Church and place for that night: For the two Lords did not depart, till they brought with them the whole number of thoſe that moſt ſought the Biſhops diſpleaſure. The Biſhop greatly offended that any thing ſhould have been enterpriſed in reformation of his place, asked of the Lords his Band and hand-writing, which not two hours before he had ſent unto them; which delivered to his Meſſenger Sir *Adam Browne*, advertiſement was given, That if any farther diſpleaſure chanced unto him, he would that he ſhould not blame them. The Biſhops ſervants that ſame night began to fortifie the place again, and began to do violence to ſome that were carrying away ſuch Baggage as they could come by. The Biſhops Girnall was kept the firſt night by the labours of *Iohn Knox*, who by exhortation removed ſuch as violently would make interruption. The ſame night departed from S. *Iohnſton* the Earl of *Argyle*, and L. *Iames*, as after ſhall be declared. The morrow following, ſome of the poor, in hope of ſpoyl, and ſome of *Dundie*, to conſider what was done, paſſed up to the ſaid Abbey of *Scone*; whereat the Biſhops ſervants offended, began to threaten and ſpeak proudly: and as it was conſtantly affirmed, one of the Biſhops ſons thruſt thorow with a Rapier one of *Dundie*, for becauſe he was looking in at the Girnell door. This brute noyſed abroad, the Town of *Dundie* was more enraged then before; who putting themſelves in Armour, ſent word to the inhabitants of S. *Iohnſton*, That unleſſe they would ſupport them to avenge that injury, they ſhould never after that day occure with them in any action. The multitude eaſily enflamed, gave the Alarm, and ſo was

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The deſtruction of *Scone*.

The cauſe of the burning of *Scone*.

Anno

that Abbey and Palace appointed to Saccage, in doing whereof they took no long deliberation, but committed the whole to the merciement of fire. Whereat no small number of us were so offended, that patiently we could not speak, to any that were of *Dundie* or Saint *Johnston*. A poor aged matron seeing the flame of fire to passe up so mightily, and perceiving that many were thereat offended, in plain and sober manner of speaking, said, *Now I see and understand that Gods judgements are just, and that no man is able to save where he will punish: since my remembrance this place hath been nothing else but a Den of Whore-mongers: It is incredible to believe how many wives have been adulterate, and virgins deflowred by the filthy beasts which have been fostered in this den; but especially by that wicked man who is called the Bishop. If all men knew as much as I, they would praise God, and no man would be offended.* This woman dwelt in the Towne nigh to the Abbey. At whose words were many pacified, affirming with her, That it was Gods just Judgement. And assuredly if the labours or travell of any man could have saved that place, it had not been at that time destroyed: for men of greatest estimation laboured with all diligence for the safety of it. While these things were done at Saint *Iohnston*, the Queen fearing what should follow, determined to send certain Bands of French Souldiers to *Sterlin*, of purpose to stop the passage to us that then were upon the North side of *Forth*. Which understood, the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* departed secretly in the night, and with great expedition preventing the French, they took the Towne (before whose coming the rascall multitude put hands on the thieves, I should say Friers places, and utterly destroyed them) whereat the Queen and her Faction not a little afrayed, with all diligence departed from *Edinburgh* to *Dumbar*. And so we with reasonable diligence marched forward to *Edinburgh*, for Reformation to be made there; where we arrived the 29 of June. The Provest for that time, the Lord *Seaton*, a man without God, without honesty, and oftentimes without reason, had before greatly troubled and molested the brethren, for he had taken upon him the protection and defence of the *Black* and *Gray Friers*; and for that purpose did not onely lie himself in one of the Colledges every night, but also constrained the most honest of the Towne to watch those monsters, to their great grief and trouble. But hearing of our sudden coming; he abandoned his charge, and left the spoyl to the poor, who had made havock of all such things as was moveable in those places before our coming, and left nothing but bare walls; yea, not so much as door or window: whereby we were the lesser troubled in putting order to such places. After that we had deliberate certain dayes what was best to be done, and what order was to be taken for suppressing all Monuments of Idolatry within that Towne, and the places next adjacent, determination was taken to send some Message to the Queen then Regent. For she had bruted (as her accustomed manner was, by advice of her counsell, ever to forge lies) that we sought nothing but her life, and a plain *revoltment from the lawfull obedience due to our Soveraigne her Authority*, as by the Tenour of these Letters may be seen.

Speaking of an ancient matron when Scone was burning.

The taking of Stirlin.

Lord Seaton.

The coming of the Congregation to Edinburg.

Francis

Anno

FRANCIS *and* MARIE *By the Grace of God, King and Queen of* Scots, *Doulphin and Doulphinesse of* Viennois : *To Our loved* Lyon *King of Armes*, &c. *Our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and severally specially constitute, greeting. Forasmuch as our dearest Mother* Marie, *Queen Dowager Regent of Our Realme, and Lords of our Secret Councell, perceiving the seditious tumult raised by one part of our Lieges, naming themselves,* The Congregation ; *who under pretence of Religion have put themselves in Armes. And that Our Mother, for satisfying of every mans conscience, and pacifying of the said troubles, had offered unto them to appoint a Parliament to be holden in* January *next to come* (this was a manifest lie, for this was neither offered, nor by her once thought upon, till we required it) *or sooner, if they had pleased, for establishing of a Universall order in matters of Religion by Our advice, and States of Our Religion, and in the meane time to suffer every man to live at liberty of Conscience without trouble, unto the time that the said order were taken by advise of Our foresaid States. And at last, because it appeareth much to stand upon Our Burrough of* Edinburgh, *offered in like manner to let the inhabitants thereof chuse what manner of Religion they would set up and use for that time, so that no man might alleadge that he was forced to do against his conscience. Which offer the Queen, Our said dearest Mother was at all times, and yet is ready to fulfill. Nevertheless the said Congregation being of minde to receive no reasonable offers, hath since by open deed declared, That it is no Religion, nor any thing thereto pertaining that they seek, but onely the subversion of Our Authority, and usurpation of Our Crowne : In manifest witnessing whereof, they daily receive* English-men *with Messages unto them, and sendeth such like into* England : *And last of all, have violently intermitted, withtaken, and yet with-holds, the Irons of Our Coyning-House, which is one of the chiefe Points that concerneth Our Crowne : And such like have intromitted with our Fallace of* Halyrud-house. *Our Will is therefore,* &c. *That ye passe to the Market Crosse of Our said Burrough of* Edinburgh, *or any other place within the same, and there by open Proclamation, in Our Name and Authority, command and charge all and sundry persons of the said Congregation, or yet being presently within Our said Borough, other then the inhabitants thereof, that they within six hours next after Our said Charge, depart forth of the same, under the pain of Treason. And as that ye command all and sundry persons to leave their company, and to adhere to Our Authority ; with Certification, That such as do the contrary, shall be reputed and holden as manifest Traytors to Our Crowne.*

Let the Reader marke how this agrees with our time.

These Letters did not a little grieve us, who most unjustly were accused ; for never a sentence of the Narrative true, except, That we stayed the Irons, and that for just cause ; to wit, Because that daily there was such number of hard-heads printed, that the basenesse thereof made all things exceeding dear ; And therefore we were counselled by the wisest to stay the Irons while further order might be taken. The Queen Regent with all possible diligence posted for her Faction : Master *Iames Balfour* was not idle in the mean time. The Lords, to purge themselves of these odious crimes, wrote to her a Letter in form as after followeth :

Anno

The third Letter to the Queen Regent.

Please your Majestie to be advertised, That it is come to our knowledge, that your Majestie hath set forth by your Letters openly proclaimed, That we, called by name, The Congregation, *under pretence and colour of Religion convene together to no other purpose, but to usurp our Soveraignes Authirity, and to invade your person, representing theirs at this present. Which things appeare to have proceeded of sinister information made to your Majestie by our enemies, considering that we never minded such thing, but onely our minde and purpose was and is, To promote and set forth the glory of God, Maintain and defend the true Preachers of his Word, And according to the same abolish and put away Idolatry and false abuses which may not stand with the said Word of God. Beseeching your Majestie to beare patiently therewith, and interpose your Authority to the furtherance of the same; as is the duty of every Christian Prince, and good Magistrate. For as to the obedience of our Soveraignes Authority in all Civill and Politick matters, we are and shall be as obedient, as any other your Majesties subjects within the Realme. And that our convention is for no other purpose, but to save our Preachers and their auditors from the injury and violence of our enemies: Which should be more amply declared by some of us in your Majesties presence, if ye were not accompanied with such as have pursued our lives, and sought our blood. Thus we pray Almighty God to save your Highnesse in his eternall tuition. At* Edinburgh *the 2 of Iuly,* 1559.

And for further purgation hereof, it was thought necessary that we should simply expose as well to her Majesty, as to the whole people what were our requests and just petitions: And for that purpose after that safe-Conduct was purchased and granted, we directed unto her two grave men of counsell, to wit, the Lairds of *Pittarrow* and *Cuninghamehead*, to whom we gave commission and power, first to expose our whole purpose and intent, which was no other then before, at all times we had required; to wit, First, That we might enjoy the liberty of conscience. Secondly, That Christ Jesus might be truely preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly ministred unto us. Thirdly, That unable Ministers might be removed from Ecclesiasticall Administration: And that our Preachers might be relaxed from the *Horne*, and permitted to execute their charges, without molestation unto such as either by a generall Councell lawfully convened, or by a Parliament within the Realme the controversies in Religion were decided. And for declaration that her Majestie was hereto willing that the Bands of French-men, who then were a burden intolerable to the Countrey, and to us so fearfull, that we durst not in peaceable and quiet manner haunt the places where they did lie, should be sent to *France* their native Countrey: Which things granted, Her Majestie should have experience of our accustomed obedience. To these Heads she did answer at the first so pleasantly, that she put both our Commissioners in full esperance that all should be granted, and for that purpose she desired to speak with some of greater Authority; promising, That if they would assure her of their dutifull obedience, that she would deny nothing of that which was required. For satisfaction of her minde, we sent again the Earle of *Glencarne*, the Lord *Ruthwen*, the Lord *Uchiltrie*, and the said Laird of *Pittarrow*, with the same Commission as before. But then she began to handle the matter more craftily, complaining that she was

The craftines of the Queen Regent may yet be espied.

was not sought in a gentle manner. And that they in whom she had put most singular confidence, had left her in her greatest need. And such other things pertaining nothing to the Commission, she proposed to spend and drive the time. They answered, That by unjust tyrannie devised against them and their brethren (as her Majestie did well know) they were compelled to seek the extreame remedie, and therefore that her Majestie ought not to wonder though godly men left the company, where they neither found fidelity nor trueth. In the end of this communing, which was the twelfth day of July 1559. She desired to have talked privately with the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James*, Prior of S. *Andrews*, for else (as she alleadged) she could not but suspect that they pretended to some other higher purpose then Religion. She and her crafty Counsell had abused Duke *Hamilton*, perswading him and his friends, That the said Earle and Lord *James* had conspired, first to deprive our Soveraigne her daughter of her authority, and thereafter the Duke and his Successors of their pretended Title to the Crowne of *Scotland*. By these invented lyes she inflamed the hearts of many against us, insomuch that some of our own number began to murmure. Which perceived, as well the Preachers in their publike Sermons, as we our selves by our publike Proclamation, gave purgation and satisfaction to the people, plainely and simply declaring what was our purpose, taking God to witnesse, That no such crimes were ever entred into our hearts, as most unjustly was laid to our charge. The Counsell after consultation, thought not expedient that the said Earle and Lord *James* should talke with the Queen in any sort, for her former practises put all men in suspition, That some deceit lurked under such coloured communing. She had before said, That if she could by any meane sunder these two from the rest, she was assured shortly to come by her whole purpose. And one of her chiefe Counsell in those dayes (and we feare but too inward with her yet) said, That ere *Michaelmas* day they two should lose their heads; and therefore all men feared to commit two such young plants to her mercy and fidelity. It was therefore finally denied that they should talk with the Queen, or any appertaining to her, but in places void of all suspicion, where they should be equall in number with those that should talk with them. The Queen perceiving that her craft could not prevaile, was content that Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earle of *Huntley*, with others by her appointed, should convene at *Preston*, to Commune with the said Earle and Lord *James*, and such others as the Lords of the Congregation would appoint, to the number of an hundred on each side: Of the which number, eight persons onely should meet for conference. The principals for their party, were the Duke, the Earle *Huntly*, the Lords *Erskin* and *Somerwell*, M. *Gawin Hamilton*, and the Justice *Clerk*. From us were directed the Earles of *Argyle* and *Glencarne*, the Lords *Ruthuen* and Lord *James*, *Boyde* and *Uchiltrie*, the Lairds *Dun* and *Pittarrow*. Who Convening at *Preston*, spake the whole day without any certaine conclusion: For this was the practise of the Queen and of her faction, *By drift of time to weary our company*, who for the most part, had been upon the fields from the tenth day of May: That we being dispersed, she might come to her purpose, in which

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1559

Accusations.

Mark the craftie calumnies.

The communing at *Preston*.

Anno

which ſhe was not altogether deceived: For our Commons were compelled to ſcatter for lack of expences: And our Gentlemen partly conſtrained by lack of furniſhing, and partly hoping ſome finall appointment, after ſo many Communings, returned for the moſt part to their dwelling places, for repoſing of themſelves. The Queen in all thoſe Conventions ſeemed that ſhe would give liberty to Religion; Provided, *That whereſoever ſhe was, our Preachers ſhould ceaſe, and the Maſſe ſhould be maintained.* We perceiving her malicious craft, anſwered, *That as we would compell her Majeſtie, to no Religion; ſo could we not in conſcience, for the pleaſure of any earthly treaſure, put ſilence to Gods true Meſſengers: neither could we ſuffer that the right adminiſtration of Chriſts true Sacraments ſhould give place to manifeſt Idolatry, for in ſo doing we ſhould declare our ſelves enemies to God; to Chriſt Jeſus his Son, to his eternall Veritie, and to the libertie and eſtabliſhment of his Church within this Realme: For your requeſt being granted, There can no Church within the ſame be ſo eſtabliſhed, but at your pleaſure, and by your reſidence and remaining there, ye might overthrow the ſame.* This our laſt anſwer we ſent unto her with the Lord *Ruthuen* and Laird of *Pittarrow*, requiring of her Majeſtie in plaine words, to ſignifie unto us, What hope we might have of her favour towards the upſetting of Religion? We alſo required, That ſhe would remove her French-men, who were a feare to us, and a burden moſt grievous to our Countrey; and that ſhe would promiſe to us in the word of a Prince, That ſhe would procure no man to be ſent in. And then ſhould we not onely ſupport to the uttermoſt of our powers to furniſh Ships and Victuals for their tranſporting, but alſo upon our honours ſhould we take her body into our protection. And ſhould promiſe, in the preſence of God and the whole Realme, to ſerve our Soveraigne her daughter, and her Majeſtie Regent, as faithfully and as obediently, as ever did we Kings within *Scotland*. That moreover we ſhould cauſe our Preachers give reaſon of their Doctrine in her audience to any that pleaſed to impugne any thing that they did or taught. Finally, That we ſhould ſubmit out ſelves to a lawfull Parliament. Provided that the Biſhops, as the partie accuſed and our plaine enemies, ſhould be removed from judgement.

The demand of the Queen Regent, and anſwer of the Proteſtants

The laſt offers of the Proteſtants to the Q. Regent.

To no point would ſhe anſwer directly, but in all things ſhe was ſo generall and ſo ambiguous, that her craft appeared to all men. She had gotten aſſured knowledge that our company was ſcattered (for her French-men were daily amongſt us, without moleſtation or hurt done unto them) and therefore ſhe began to diſcloſe her minde, and ſaid, The Congregation hath reigned theſe two moneths paſt; Me my ſelfe would reigne now other two. The malice of her heart being plainely perceived, deliberation was had what was to be done. It was concluded, That the Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen, with their chiefe domeſticks, ſhould remaine in *Edinburgh* that whole Winter, for eſtabliſhing of the Church there. And becauſe it was found, That by the corrupting of our Money the Queen made to her ſelfe immoderate gaines, for maintaining of her Souldiers, to the deſtruction of the whole Common-wealth: It was thought neceſſary, That the Printing yrons, and all things pertaining ſhould be ſtayed, for feare that ſhe ſhould privily cauſe to tranſport them to

The ſcoffing of the Queen Regent.

Note.

to *Dumbar*. In this mean time came assured word, first, That the King of *France* was hurt, and after that he was dead. Which albeit it ought to have put her in minde of her own estate and wicked enterprises: for he that same time in the fulnesse of his glory (as she her selfe used to speak) had determined most cruell persecution against the Saints of God in *France*, even as she her selfe was here persecuting in *Scotland*: and yet he so perished in his pride, That all men might see that Gods just vengeance did strike him, even when his iniquity was come to full ripenesse. Albeit we say, That this wonderous work of God in his sudden death, ought to have danted her fury, and given unto her admonition, That the same God could not suffer her obstinate malice against his Truth, long to be unpunished: Yet could her indurate heart nothing be moved to Repentance; for hearing of the staying of the Printing yrons, she raged more outragiously then before, and sending for all such as were of her faction, exposed her grievous complaint, aggravating the same with many lies, to wit, That we had declared that which before she suspected: For what could we mean else but usurpation of the Crown, when we durst put hands to the Coining-house, which was a portion of the patrimonie of the Crown. She further alleadged, That we had spoiled the Coining-house of great sums of money. To the which we answered, both by our Letters sent to her and her Counsell, and by publike Proclamation to the people, That we without usurpation of any such thing, justly appertaining to the Crown of *Scotland*, did stay the Printing yrons, in consideration that the Common-wealth was greatly hurt by corrupting of our money. And because we were born Counsellers of this Realm, sworn to procure the profit of the same, we could do no lesse of dutie and of conscience, then to stay that for a time, which we saw so abused, That unlesse remedy were found, should turn to the utter detriment of the whole body of this Realme. And as to her false accusation of spoil, we did remit us to the conscience of M. *Robert Richeson*, master of the Coining-house, who from our hands received silver, gold, and mettall, as well Coined as un-Coined, so that with us there did not remain the value of a Bawbee, or Farthing. This our Declaration and purgation notwithstanding, she, partly by her craft and policie, and partly by the labours of the Bishops of Saint *Andrews* and *Glasgow*, procured the whole number that were with her, to consent to pursue us with all cruelty and expedition, before that we could have our company (which then was dispersed for new furnishing) assembled again. The certaintie hereof coming to our knowledge the Saturday at night, being the 25 of July, we did what in us lay to give advertisement to our brethren: but impossible it was that the Wast, *Angus*, *Mernes*, *Straitherne* or *Fyfe*, in any number could come to us. For the enemie Marched from *Dumbar* upon the Sunday, and approached within two miles of us before Sun-rising upon Munday. For they verily supposed to have found no resistance, being assured that the Lords onely with certain Gentlemen remained with their private houses: calling upon God for counsell in that straight, we sought what was the next defence. We might have left the Town, and might have retired our selves without any

Anno

The death of *Henry* King of *France*.

Note how this agrees with our times.

Answer to the calumnie.

Note, Nobles.

Anno

danger, but then we should have abandoned our brethren of *Edinburgh*, and suffered the Ministery thereof to have decayed; which to our hearts was so dolorous, that we thought better to hazard the extremitie then so to do. For then the most part of the Town appeared rather to favour us then the Queens faction, and did offer unto us the uttermost of their support, which for the most part they did faithfully keep. The same did the Town of *Leith*, but they kept not the like fidelity. For when we were upon the field, marching forward for their support (for the French marched nigh to them) they rendred themselves without further resistance. And this they did, as is supposed, by the treason of some within themselves, and by perswasion of the Laird of *Lestarrig*, who before declared himselfe to be one of us; and notwithstanding that same day rendred himselfe undesired to *Monsieur Dosell*. Their unprovided and sudden defection astonished many, and yet we retired quietly to the side of *Cragingate*, which place we took for resisting the enemy. In the mean time divers mediatours passed betwixt us, amongst whom the Lord *Ruthuen* for our part was principall. *Alexander Erskin* did much travell to stay us and our Souldiers, that we should not joyne with them of *Leith*, till that they, as is said, had rendred themselves to the French. The said *Alexander* did oft promise that the French would stay, provided, That we would not joyne with those of *Leith*. But after that they were rendred, we heard nothing of him but threatning and discomfortable words. Before it was eight of the clock in the morning, God had given unto us both courage, and a reasonable number to withstand their furie. The Towne of *Edinburgh*, so many as had subject themselves to discipline, and divers others besides them, behaved themselves both faithfully and stoutly. The Gentlemen of *Lowthiane*, especially *Calder*, *Hatton*, and *Ormeston*, were very comfortable, as well for their counsell as for their whole assistance. Some Gentlemen of *Fyfe* prevented the French-men, other were stopped by reason that the French had passed *Leith*. Alwayes the enemy took such a fear, That they determined not to invade us where we stood, but took purpose to have passed to *Edinburgh*, by the other side of the water of *Leith*: and that because they had the Castle to their friend, which was to us unknown, for we supposed the Lord *Erskin*, Captain of the same, either to have been our friend, or at least to have been indifferent. But when we had determined to fight, he sent word to the Earle of *Argyle*, to Lord *James*, his sisters son, and to the other Noble-men, That he would declare himselfe, both enemy to them and to the Town, and would shoot at both, if they made any resistance to the French-men to enter into the Town. This his treasonable defiance sent us, by the Laird of *Ricarton* did abate the courage of many, for we could not fight, nor stop the enemy, but under the mercy of the Castle and whole Ordnance thereof. Hereupon was consultation taken, and in conclusion, it was found lesse damage to take an appointment, albeit the Conditions were not such as we desired; then to hazard battell betwixt two such enemies. After long talking, certaine heads were drawn by us, which we desired to be granted.

Leith left us the congregation.

The Lord *Erskin* and his fact.

1. *First*,

Anno

First, *That no member of the Congregation should be troubled in life, lands, goods or possessions, by the Queen her Authority, nor any other justice within the Realm, for any thing done in the late Innovation, till a Parliament (which should begin the tenth of January) had decreed things in controversie.*

2. *That Idolatry should not be erected, where it was at that day suppressed.*

3. *That the Preachers and Ministers should not be troubled in their Ministery where they are already established, neither yet stopped to preach wheresoever they should chance to come.*

4. *That no Bands of men of War should be laid in Garrison within the Town of* Edinburgh.

5. *That the French-men should be sent away at a reasonable day; and that none other should be brought into the Countrey without consent of the whole Nobility and Parliament.* But these our Articles were altered, and another forme disposed, as followeth.

At the Linkes of *Leith*, the 24 of July, 1559. It is appointed in manner following:

IN the first Congregation and their company, others then the inhabitants of the said Towne, shall remove themselves forth of the said Town the morrow at ten hours before noon the 25 of Iuly, and leave the same void and rid of them and their said company conform to the Queens Majesties pleasure and desire.

Item, *The said Congregation shall cause the Irons of the Coyning-house taken away by them, be rendred and delivered to Master* Robert Richeson; *And likewise the Queens Majesties Palace of* Halyrud-house *to be left, and rendred again to Mr* John Balfour, *or any other, having her Majesties sufficient power in the same matter, as it was resolved; and that betwixt the making of these Articles, and the morn at ten of the clock.* For observing and keeping of these two Articles above written, the Lord *Ruthuen*, and the Laird of *Pittarrow* have entred themselves pledges.

Item, *The said Lords of the Congregation, and all the members thereof, shall remain obedient subjects to our Lord and Ladies Authority, and to the Queen Regent in their place; And shall obey all Laws, and laudable Customs of this Realme, as they were used before the moving of this tumult and controversie, excepting the cause of Religion, which shall be hereafter specified.*

In contemplation of these Articles, arose this proverb, *Good day, Sir* John, *till Ianuary; Welcome, Sir* John, *till Ianuary.*

Item, *The Congregation, nor any of them, shall not trouble or molest a Churchman by way of deed, nor yet shall make them any impediment in the peaceable brooking, enjoying, and uptaking of their Rents, Profits, and Duties of their Benefices, but that they may freely use and dispose upon the same, according to the Laws and Custome of this Realme, to the tenth of Ianuary next to come.*

Item, *The said Congregation, nor none of them, shall use in no wayes from thenceforth any force or violence in casting downe of Churches, Religious places, or apparell thereof, but the same shall stand harmlesse of them, unto the tenth day of* January.

Item, *The Town of* Edinburgh *shall without compulsion use and chuse what Religion, and manner thereof they please, to the said day; so that every man may have freedom to use his owne conscience to the day aforesaid.*

Anno

Item, *The Queen shall not interpose her Authority to molest or trouble the Preachers of the Congregation, nor their Ministry (to them that please to use the same) nor no other of the said Congregation, in their bodies, lands, goods, or possessions, Pensions, or whatsoever other kinde of goods they possesse; nor yet suffer the Clergie, or any other, either Spirituall or Temporall Jurisdiction to trouble them in any manner of sort, privately or openly, for the cause of Religion, or any other action depending thereupon, to the said tenth day of January within written; and that every man in particular live in the mean time according to his own conscience.*

Item, *That no men of War,* French *nor* Scots, *be laid in daily Garrison within the Town of* Edinburgh, *but to repair thereto to do thsir lawfull businesse, and thereafter to retire them to their Garrisons.*

This alteration in words, and Order was made without knowledge and consent of those whose counsell we had used in all such causes before: For some of them perceiving we began to faint, and that we would appoint with unequall conditions, said, *God hath wonderously assisted us in our greatest dangers: He hath stricken fear in the hearts of our enemies, when they supposed themselves most assured of Victory: Our case is not yet so desperate, that we need to grant to things unreasonable and ungodly; which if we do, it is to be feared, That things shall not so prosperously succeed as they have done heretofore.*

Note.

When all things were communed and agreed upon by mid persons, the Duke, and the Earle of *Huntlie*, who that day were against us, desired to speake with the Earles of *Argyle* and *Glencarne*, the Lord *James*, and others of our party; who obeying their requests, met with them at the Quarrell holes betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, who in conclusion promised to our Lords, That if the Queen brake to us any one jot of the Appointment then made, that they should declare themselves plain enemies to her, and friends to us. As much promised the Duke that he would do, in case that she would not remove her French-men at a reasonable day; for the oppression which they did was manifest to all men. This Appointment made and subscribed by the Duke, Monsieur *Dosell* and the Earle of *Huntlie*, the 25 of July, we returned to the Towne of *Edinburgh*, where we remained till the next day at noon, when after Sermon, dinner, and Proclamation made at the Market Crosse, in forme as followeth, we departed.

The promise of the Duke and Earle of *Huntly.*

Forme of the Proclamations.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased God that Appointment is made betwixt the Queen Regent and us the Lords Protestants of this Realme; We have thought good to signifie unto the chief Heads of the Appointment; which be these:

First, *That no member of the Congregation shall be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessions by the Queene, by her Authority, nor by any other justice within this Realme, for any thing done in this late Innovation, till that a Parliament hath decided things that be in controversie.*

Secondly, *That Idolatry shall not be erected where it is now at this day suppressed.*

Third-

Thirdly, *That the Preachers and Ministers shall not be troubled in the ministration, where they are already established, neither yet stopped to Preach wheresoever they shall happen to travell within this Realme.* Anno

Fourthly, *That no Bands of men of War shall be laid in Garrison within the Town of* Edinburgh.

The chief Heads of appointment concerning the liberty of Religion, and conservation of our brethren, we thought good to notifie unto you by this Proclamation; that in case wrong or injury be done by any of the contrary faction, to any member of our Body, complaint may be made unto us, to whom we promise, as we will answer to our God, our faithfull support, to the uttermost of our powers.

At this Proclamation, made with sound of Trumpet, were offended all the Papists: for first they alleadged, It was done in contempt of Authority. Secondarily, That we had proclaimed more then was contained in the Appointment. And last, That we in our Proclamation had made no mention of any thing promised unto them. To such murmures we answered, That no just Authority could think it self contemned, because that the truth was by us made manifest unto all, who otherwise might have pretended ignorance. Secondly, That we had proclaimed nothing which was not finally agreed upon in word and promise betwixt us and those with whom the Appointment was made, whatsoever the Scribes had after written, who in very deed had altered both in words and sentences our Articles, as they were first conceived: And yet if their owne writings were diligeutly examined, the self-same thing shall be found in substance. And last, To proclaim any thing in their favours, we thought it not necessary, knowing that in that behalf they themselves would be diligent enough. And in this we were nothing deceived, for within fifteen days after, there was not a *Shaveling in Scotland*, to whom Tenths, or any other Rents pertaineth, but he had that Article of the Appointment by heart, *That the Church-men should be answered of Tenths, Rents, and all other duties; and that no man should trouble or molest them.* We departing from *Edinburgh* the 26 of July, came first to *Linlithqow*, and after to *Sterlin*, where after consultation, the Band of defence, and maintenance of Religion, and for mutuall defence every one of the other, was subscribed of all that were there present.

Answer to the complaint of the Papists.

The tenour of the Bond was thus:

WE foreseeing the craft and sleight of our Adversaries, who trie all manner of wayes to circumvient us, and by privy means intend to assayle every one of us particularly, by fair heights and promises, therethrough to separate one of us from another, to our utter ruine and destruction. For remedy thereof, we faithfully and truely binde us in the presence of God, and as we tender the maintenance of true Religion, That none of us shall in time coming passe to the Queen Dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any Letter or Message sent by her unto us, or yet to be sent with consent of the rest, or common consultation thereupon: and how soon that either Message or Writing should come from her unto us, with all diligence we shall notifie the same one to another; so that nothing shall proceed therein without common consent of us all. At Sterlin *the first day of August,* 1559.

The third Bond of mutuall defence at *Sterlin.*

Anno

Note.

This Band subscribed, and we foreseeing that the Queen and Bishops meant nothing but deceit, thought good to seek ayd and support of all Christian Princes against her tyranny, in case we should be more sharply pursued. And because that *England* was of the same Religion, and lay next unto us, it was judged expedient first to prove them; which we did, by one or two Messengers, as hereafter, in its owne place, shall be more amply declared. After we had abided certaine dayes in *Sterlin*, the Earle of *Argyle* departed to *Glasgow*; and because he was to depart to his owne Countrey (with whom also passed the Lord *James*) to pacifie some trouble, which by the craft of the Queen was raised in his absence; he required the Earle of *Glencarne*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Uchiltrie*, and others of *Kyle*, to meet there, for some order to be taken that the brethren should not be oppressed; which with one consent they did, and appointed the tenth of September for the next convention at *Sterlin*.

The first knowledge of the escaping of the Earle of *Arran* out of *France*.

Let this be noted.

The just reward of the Duke for leaving God.

While these things were in doing at *Glasgow*, Letters and a servant came from the Earle of *Arran*, to the Duke his father, signifying unto him, That by the providence of God he had escaped the French Kings hands, who most treasonably and most cruelly had sought his life, or at the least to have committed him to perpetuall prison: For the same time the said French King, seeing he could not have the Earle himself, caused put his younger brother, a childe of such age as could not offend, in strait prison, where he yet remained, to wit, in the Month of October, the yeer of our Lord 1559. Which things were done by the power and craft of the Queen Dowager, at the time that the Duke and his friends were most ready to set forth her cause. These Letters received, and the estate of her two sons knowne, of whom one was escaped, and the other cast in vile prison, the Duke desired communing with the said Earle of *Argyle*; who partly against the will of some that loved him, rid unto the Duke from *Glasgow* to *Hammilton*, where abiding a night, he declared his judgement to the Duke, and to his friends, especially to Master *Gawane Hammilton*. The Duke required him and the Lord *James* to write their friendly and comfortable Letters to his son; which they most willingly did, and thereafter addressed them to their journey. But the very day of their departing, came one *Boutancourt* (from the Queen Regent with Letters, as was alleadged) from the King and Queen of *France*, to the Lord *Iames*, which he delivered with a bragging countenance, and many threatning words: the Tenour of his Letter was this:

The King his Letter to the Lord *Iames*.

My Cousin, I have greatly marvelled when I understood the troubles that are happened in these parts. And yet I more marvell, That ye, in whom I had whole confidence, and who has the Honour to be so neer the Queen my wife, and has received from the late King my Father, from the Queen my wife, and from me such graces and favours that ye should be so forgetfull, as to make your selfe the Head, and one of the principall beginners and nourishers of the tumults and seditions that are seen there: The which because it is so strange to me, and so farre against the profession that ye at all times have made, I can-

I cannot well beleeve it. But if it be so, I cannot think but ye have been entised and led thereto by some persons, that have seduced you and caused you commit such a fault as I am assured you repent of already, which will be a great pleasure to me, to the effect I may lose a part of the occasion I have to be miscontent with you, as I will you to understand I am. Seeing you have so far deceived the esperance I had of you and your affection toward God, and the weale of our service, unto the which ye know, ye are as much and more obliged then any other of the Lords there. For this cause, desiring that the matters may be duely amended, and knowing what ye can therein, I thought good on this manner to write unto you, and pray you to take heed to return to the good way, from which ye have declined, and cause me know the same by the effects, That you have another intention then this, which the follies by-past maketh me now to beleeve, doing all that ever ye can to reduce all things to their first estate, and put the same to the right and good obedience that you know to be due unto God and unto me. Otherwise ye may be well assured, that I will put to my hand, and that in good earnest, that you and all they who have done and do as ye do, shall feele (through your own fault) that which ye have deserved and merited. Even as I have given charge to this Gentle-man, present bearer, to make you know more largely of my part: for which cause I pray you credit him, even as ye would do my selfe. Praying God, my cousin, to have you in his holy and worthy protection.

Anno

Brags enow.

Written at *Paris* the 17 day of July 1559.

The same Messenger brought also Letters from the Queen our Soveraigne, more sharp and threatning then the former: For her conclusion was; *Vous en sentires la poincture a iamais.*

His credit was, That the King would spend the Crown of *France*, if that he were not revenged upon such seditious persons. That he would never have suspected such inobedience, and such defection from his own sister in him. To the which the said Lord *James* answered first by word, and then by writing, as followeth:

Note.

The Lord *James* his Letter to the King.

SIR,

MY most humble duty remembred, Your Majesties Letters I received from Paris *the 17 of Iuly last, importing in effect, That your Majestie doth marvell that I being forgetfull of the graces and favours shewed me by the King of blessed memorie, your Majesties father, and the Queen my Soveraigne, should declare my selfe head, and one of the principall beginners of these alleadged Tumults and Seditions in these parts, deceiving thereby your Majesties expectation in all times had of me, with assurance, That if I did not declare by contrary effects my repentance, I, with the rest that had put, or yet putteth hand to this Work, should receive that reward, which we had deserved and merited.*

SIR, It grieves me very heavily that the crime of ingratitude should be laid to my charge, by your Majestie; and the rather, That I perceive the same to have proceeded of sinister information of them (whose part it was not to have reported so, if true service past had been regarded.) And as touching the repentance, and declaration of the same by certaine effects, That your Majesty desires I shew.

My

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My conscience perswades me in these proceedings to have done nothing against God, not the dutifull obedience towards your Majesty, and the Queen my Soveraigne. Otherwise it should not have been to be repented and also amended already, according to your Majesties expectation of me. But your Majestie being truely informed and perswaded, That the thing which we have done, maketh for the advancement of Gods glory, without any manner of derogation to your Majesties due obedience; We doubt not but your Majestie shall be well contented with our proceedings, which being grounded upon the commandment of the eternall God, we dare not leave the same unaccomplished, onely wishing and desiring, your Majestie did know the same, and the truth thereof, as we were perswaded in our consciences, and all them that are truly instructed in the eternall Word of our God, upon whom we cast our care from all dangers that may follow the accomplishment of his eternall will, and to whom we commend your Majestie, beseeching him to illuminate your heart with the Gospel of his eternall Truth, to know your Majesties duty towards your poore Subjects, Gods chosen people, and what you ought to crave justly of them againe: for then we should have no occasion to feare your Majesties wrath and indignation, nor your Majesties suspition in our inobedience. The same God have your Majestie in his eternall saveguard. *At* Dunbartane *the* 12 *of August* 1559.

Note.

This answer directed to the Queen our Soveraigne, and *Francis* her husband, the Queen Dowager received, and was bold upon it, as she might well enough, for it was supposed, That the former Letters were forged here at home in *Scotland*. The answer read by her, she said, That so proud an answer was never given to King, Prince, nor Princesse. And yet indifferent men, thought that he might have answered more sharply, and not have transgressed modesty nor trueth: For where they burden him with the great benefits which of them he had received, if in plain words he had purged himselfe; affirming, That the greatest benefit that ever he received of them, was to spend in their service, that which God by others had provided for him; no honest man would have accused him, and no man could have been able to have convinced him of a lye; *But Princes must be pardoned to speak what they please.*

Note.

The residence of *John Willock* in *Edinburg.*

For the comfort of the brethren, and continuance of the Church in *Edinburgh*, was left there our deare brother *John Willock*, who for his faithfull labours and bold courage in that battell, deserves immortall praise. For when it was found dangerous that *John Knox*, who before was elected Minister to the Church, should continue there: the brethren requested the said *John Willock* to abide with them, lest that for lack of Ministers, Idolatry should be erected up again. To the which he so gladly consented, That it might evidently appeare, that he preferred the comfort of his brethren and the continuance of the Church there to his own life. One part of the French-men were appointed to lye in Garison at *Leith*, (that was the first benefit which they gate for their confederacie with them) the other part were appointed to lye in the Canon-gate, the Queen and her train abiding in the Abbey. Our brother *John Willock* the day after our departure preached in S. *Giles* Church, and fervently exhorted the brethren to stand constant to the Truth which they had professed.

At

At this, and ſome other Sermons was the Duke, and divers other of the Queens faction. This liberty of Preaching, and reſort of all people thereto did highly offend the Queen and the other Papiſts. And firſt they began to give terrours to the Duke, affirming, That he would be reputed as one of the Congregation, if he gave his preſence to the Sermons. Thereafter they began to require, That *Maſſe* might be ſet up again in S. *Giles* Church, and that the people ſhould be ſet at liberty to chuſe what Religion they would. For that ſaid they was contained in the appointment, That the Town of *Edinburgh* ſhould chuſe what Religion they liſted. For obtaining hereof were ſent to the Town the Duke, the Earle of *Huntly*, and the Lord *Seaton*, to ſolicite all men to condiſcend to the Queens minde, wherein the two laſt did labour what they could, the Duke not ſo, but as a beholder, of whom the brethren had good hope, and after many perſwaſions and threatnings made by the ſaid Earle and Lord, the brethren ſtoutly and valiantly in the Lord Jeſus, gain-ſaid their moſt unjuſt Petitions. Reaſoning, That as in conſcience they might not ſuffer Idolatry to be erected, where Chriſt Jeſus was truely Preached; ſo could not the Queen nor they require any ſuch thing, unleſſe ſhe and they would plainely violate their Faith, and chiefe Article of the appointment. For it is plainely appointed, *That no member of the Congregation ſhall be moleſted in any thing; That at the day of the appointment they peaceably poſſeſſed.* But ſo it was, That we the brethren and Proteſtants of the Town of *Edinburgh*, with our Miniſters the day of the appointment, did peaceably enjoy Saint *Giles* Church, appointed us for Preaching of Chriſts true Goſpel, and right miniſtration of his holy Sacraments. Therefore without manifeſt violation of the appointment, you cannot remove us therefrom, untill a Parliament have decided the Controverſie. This anſwer given, the whole brethren departed, and left the foreſaid Earle, and Lord *Seaton*, then Proveſt of *Edinburgh*, ſtill in the *Tolbuith*. Who perceiving that they could not prevaile in that manner, began to entreat that they would be quiet, and that they would ſo far condiſcend to the Queens pleaſure, as that they would chuſe them another within the Town, or at the leaſt be content that *Maſſe* ſhould be ſaid, either after or before their Sermon. To the which, anſwer was given; That to give place to the devil (who was the chiefe Inventer of the Maſſe) for the pleaſure of any creature, they could not. They were in poſſeſſion of that Church which they could not abandon, neither yet could they ſuffer Idolatry to be erected in the ſame, unleſſe by violence they ſhould be conſtrained ſo to do. And then they were determined to ſeek the next remedy. Which anſwer received, the Earle of *Huntly* did lovingly intreat them to quietneſſe, faithfully promiſing, That in no ſort they ſhould be moleſted, ſo that they would be quiet, and make no farther uproare. To the which they were moſt willing, for they ſought onely to ſerve God, as he had commanded, and to keep their poſſeſſion, according to the appointment: which by Gods grace they did, till the moneth of November, notwithſtanding the great boaſting of the enemy. For they did not onely convene to the Preaching, daily ſupplications and adminiſtration of Baptiſme, but alſo the Lords Table was mini-

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ſtred, even in the eyes of the very enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted conſciences, and as God did ſtrongly work with his true Miniſters, and with his troubled Church: ſo did not the devil ceaſe to inflame the malice of the Queen, and of the Papiſts with her. For that after her coming to the Abbey of *Halyrud-houſe*, ſhe cauſed Maſſe to be ſaid firſt in her own Chappell, and after in the Abbey where the Altars before were caſt down. She diſcharged the Common-Prayers, and forbade to give any portion to ſuch as were the principall young men who read them. Her malice extended in like manner to *Cambuskenneth*, for there ſhe diſcharged the portions of as many of the Canons as had forſaken Papiſtry: She gave commandment and inhibition, that the Abbot of *Lyndors* ſhould be anſwered of any part of his living in the North, becauſe he had ſubmitted himſelfe to the Congregation, and had put ſome Reformation to his place: By her conſent and procurement was the Preachers Chaire broken in the Church of *Leith*, and Idolatry was erected in the ſame, where it was before ſuppreſſed. Her French Captains, with their Souldiers in great companies, in time of Preaching and Prayers reſorted to Saint *Giles* Church in *Edinburgh*, and made their common deambulation therein with ſuch loud talking, as no perfect audience could be had. And although the Miniſter was there-through oft times compelled to cry out on them, Praying to God to rid them of ſuch Locuſts, they nevertheleſſe continued ſtill in their wicked purpoſe deviſed and ordained by the Queen, to have drawn our brethren of *Edinburgh* and them in cumber, ſo that ſhe might have had any coloured occaſion to have broken the League with them. Yet by Gods grace they behaved themſelves ſo, that ſhe could finde no fault in them, albeit in all theſe things before-named, and in every one of them ſhe is juſtly accounted to have gaine-ſaid the ſaid appointment. We paſſe over the oppreſſing of our brethren in particular, which had been ſufficient to have proved the appointment to have been plainly violated. For the Lord *Seaton*, without any occaſion offered unto him, brake a chaſe upon *Alexander Whitlaw*, as he came from *Preſton*, accompanied with M. *William Knox*, towards *Edinburgh*, and ceaſed not to purſue him, till he came to the Towne of *Ormeſton*. And this he did, ſuppoſing that the ſaid *Alexander* had been *John Knox*. In all this mean time, and while that moe French-men arived, they are not able to prove that we brake the appointment in any jote, except that a horned Cap was taken off a proud Prieſts head, and cut in four quarters, becauſe he ſaid, He would wear it in deſpight of the Congregation. In this mean time, the Queen, then Regent, knowing aſſuredly what force was ſhortly to come unto her, ceaſed not, by all meanes poſſible to cloke the in-coming of the French, and to inflame the hearts of our Countrey-men againſt us. And for that purpoſe ſhe firſt wrote unto Duke *Hamilton*, in forme, as followeth.

The Queen Regents malice againſt poore men.

Note.

The Queen Regents falſe flattering Letter to Duke *Hamilton*.

MY Lord and Couſin, after hearty commendations, We are informed that the Lords of the Weſt-land Congregation intend to make a Convention and

and assembly of your kin and friends upon Gowan *Moore, besides* Glasgow, *on Munday come eight dayes, the 28 day of August instant, for some high purpose against us, which we can scantly believe, considering they have no occasion on Our part so to do. And albeit we know the Appointment was made against and without Our advise, yet we accepted the same at your desire, and have since made no cause, whereby they might be moved to come in the contrary thereof. Like as we are yet minded to keep firme and stable all things promised by you in Our behalfe. We thinke on the other part, it is your duty to require them, that they violate not their part thereof in no wise. And in case they mean any evil towards Us, and so will break their promise, We believe ye will at the uttermost of your power convene with us, and compell them to do that thing which they ought, if they will not; praying you to have your self, your kin and friends, in readinesse to come to us, as ye shall be advertised by Proclamation, in case the Congregation assemble themselves for any purpose against Us, or the Tenour of the said Appointment: Assuring you, without they gather, and give first occasion, We shall not put you to any pains in that behalf. And that you advertise Us by writ what we may trust to herein by this Bearer, who will shew you the fervent minde we bear to have good concord with the said Congregation, what offers We have made them, and how desirous we are to draw them to the obedience of Our Soveraignes Authority, to whom you shall give credit: and God keep you.* At *Edinburgh* the tenth of August, 1559.

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The like Letter she wrote to every Lord, Baron, and Gentleman, of this Tenour.

The Queen Regents Letter to the Barons.

TRusty friend, after hearty commendations, We doubt not but you have heard of the Appointment made beside Leith, *betwixt the Duke, the Earle of* Huntlie, *and Monsieur* Dosell, *on the one part; And the Lords of the Congregation, on the other part: Which Appointment We have approved in all points, albeit it was taken without Our advise, and is minded to observe and keep all the contents thereof for Our part. Nevertheless, as We are informed, the Lords of the Congregation intend shortly to convene all such persons as will assist them, for enterprising of some high purpose against Us, Our Authority, and Tenour of the said Appointment; which we cannot believe, seeing they neither have, nor shall have any occasion given thereto on Our part. But in case against all reason they should mean any such thing, We have thought it good to give warning to Our speciall friends of the advertisement We have getten; and amongst the rest, to you, whom We esteem of that number, praying you to have your self, your kin and folks in readinesse to come to Us,* and so forth, as in the other Letter above sent to the Duke, word by word.

After that by these Letters, and by the decitfull surmising of her solicitors, she had somewhat stirred up the hearts of the people against us, then she began openly to complain, That we were of minde to invade her Person, That we would keep no part of the Appointment, and therefore she was compelled to crave assistance of all men, against our unjust pursuit. And this practise she used, as before is said, to abuse the simplicity of the people, that they should not suddenly espie for what purpose she brought in her new bands of men of War, who did arrive about the midst of *August*, to the number of 1000 men: The rest were appointed to

The practise of the Queen Regent. See how this agreeth with our times.

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The arrivall of the French.

come after with Monsieur *de la Brosse*, and with the Bishop of *Ammians*, who arrived the nineteenth day of *September* following, as if they had been Ambassadours: But what was their Negotiation, the effect did declare, and they themselves could not long conceal; for by both tongue and pen they uttered, That they were sent for the extermination of all those that would not professe the Papisticall Religion in all points. The Queens practise and craft could not blinde the eyes of all men, neither yet could her subtilty hide her owne shame, but that many did espy her deceit; and some spared not to speak their judgements liberally, who foreseeing the danger, gave advertisement, requiring that provision might be found, before that the evil should exceed our wisedome and strength to put fit remedy to it: For prudent men foresaw, That she pretended a plain conquest; but to the end that the people should not suddenly stir, she would not bring in her full force at once (as before is said) but by continuall traffique purposed to augment her Army, so that in the end we should not be able to resist. But the greatest part of the Nobility, and many of the people, were so enchanted by her treasonable soliciters, that they would not hear nor credit the truth plainly spoken. The French then after the arriving of their new men, began to brag: then began they to divide the Lands and Lordships according to their owne fantasies; for one was stiled, Monsieur *de Argyle*; another, Monsieur *le Prior*; the third, Monsieur *de Ruthwen*; yea, they were assured, in their own opinion, to possesse whatsoever they listed; so that some asked for the Rentalls and Revenues of divers mens lands, to the end that they might chuse the best: And yet in this mean time she was not ashamed to set out a Proclamation in this form:

Note.

The division of the Lords lands by the French.

A Proclamation set forth by the Queen Regent, to blinde the vulgar People.

How like to the Proclamations of our times this is, let the Reader judge.

FOrasmuch as We understand that certain seditious persons have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours and evill brutes, intending thereby to stir up the hearts of the people, and so to stop all manner of reconciliations betwixt us and our subjects being of the number of the Congregation, and consequently to kindle and nourish a continuall strife and division within this Realme, to the manifest subversion of the whole State thereof; And amongst other purposes, have maliciously devised for that effect, and have perswaded too many, That We have violated the Appointment lately taken, in so far as any more French men since came in, and that we do minde to draw in great Forces of men of War forth of *France*, to suppresse the Liberty of this Realm, oppresse the inhabitants thereof, and make up strangers with their lands & goods. Which reports are all (God knoweth) most vain, fained, and untrue: For it is of truth, That nothing hath been done on our part since the said Appointment, whereby it may be alleadged that any part thereof contravened; nor yet was at that time any thing commoved or coucluded to stop the sending in of French-men, as may clearly appear by inspection of the said Appointment, which the Bearer hereof hath present to shew.

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Whatsoever number of men of War be arrived, We have such regard to Our honor, and quietnesse of this Realm, that in case in the room of every French-man that is in *Scotland*, there were an hundred at our command, yet should not for that any jot that is promised be broken, or any alteration made by our provocation, but the said Proclamation truely and surely should be observed in every point. If the said Congregation will in like manner faithfully keep their part thereof: Nor yet mean we to trouble any man in the peaceable possession of their goods, & rooms: Nor yet to enrich the Crowne, and far lesse any strangers, with your substance; for Our dearest son and daughter the King and Queen, are by Gods provision placed in the room where all men of judgement may well consider they have no need of any mans goods. And for Our Self, we seeking nothing but dutifull obedience unto them, such as good subjects ought to give to their Soveraigne, without diminution of your liberties and priviledges, or alteration of your Laws. Therefore We have thought good to notifie unto you Our good minde foresaid, and desire you not to give ear nor credit to such vain imaginations, whereof, before God, no part entered in our conceit, nor suffer your selves be thereby led from your due obedience, assuring you, ye shall ever finde with Us truth in promise, and a motherly love towards all you, behaving your selves as Our obedient subjects. But of one thing We give you warning, That whereas some Preachers of the Congregation in their publike Sermons speak irreverently and slanderously, as well of Princes in generall, as of Our Selfe in particular, and of the obedience of higher Powers, inducing the people by that part of their Doctrine, to defection from their duty; which pertaineth nothing to Religion, but rather sedition and tumult, things direct quite contrary to Religion. Therefore We desire you to take order in your Towns and bounds, that when the Preachers repair thither, they use themselves more modestly in these behalfs, and in their Preaching not to meddle so much with Civill Policy, and Publike Government, nor yet name Us, or other Princes, but with reverence, otherwise it will not be suffered. And seeing you have presently the Declaration of Our Intention, We desire likewise to know what shall be your part to Us, that We may understand what to trust for at your hands, whereof we desire a plain Declaration in writing with this Bearer, without delay. At *Edinburgh* the 28 of *August*, 1559.

Let the Bishop of *Amiens* Letters, and Monsieur *de la Brosse* Letters written to *France*; witnesse that.

Confer this with our times.

Few dayes after declareth the truth of this.

This Proclamation she sent by her Messengers thorow all the Countrey, and had her solicitors in all parts, who painfully travelled to bring men to her opinion; amongst whom these were the principall; Sir *John Ballenden*, Justice *Clerke*, Master *James Balfour*, Officiall of *Lowthian*; Master *Thomas* and Master *William Scots*, sons to the Laird of *Balwerie*; Sir *Robert Carnegie*, and Master *Gawan Hammilton*, who for fainting of the brethrens hearts, and drawing many to the Queens faction against their native Countrey, have declared themselves enemies to God, and Traytors to the Common-weal: But above all others, Master *James Balfour*, Official for the time, ought to be abhorred; for he of an old professor, is become a new denier of Christ Jesus, and manifest blasphemer of his eternal

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Verity, against his knowledge and conscience, seeking to betray his brethren and native Countrey into the hands of a cruell and unfaithfull Nation. The answer to this former Proclamation was made in forme as followeth.

To the Nobility, Burgesse, and Commonty of this Realme of Scotland, *the Lords, Barons, and others Brethren of the Congregation, wisheth encrease of all wisedom, with advancement of the glory of God, and of the Common-wealth.*

THe love of our native Countrey craveth, the defence of our honours requireth, and the sincerity of our consciences compelleth us (dear brethren) to answer in some part to the last Writs and Proclamations set forth by the Q. Regent, no lesse to make us and our Cause odious, then to abuse your simplicity, and to work your finall destruction, conspired of old, and now already put to work. And first, where she alleadgeth, That certain seditious persons have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumors, tending thereby (as she alleadgeth) to stir up the hearts of the people to sedition, by reason that the French-men are crept in of late in our Countrey. True it is (dear brethren) that all such as bear naturall love to their Countrey, to you their brethren inhabitants thereof, to our houses, wives, children, the esperance of our posterity; and to be short, To our Common-wealth, and to the ancient Laws and Liberties therof, cannot but in heart lament, and with mouth & tears complain, the most crafty assaults devised and practised, to the utter ruine of all these things forenamed. This is so manifestly gone to work, that even in our eyes, our dear brethren, true members of our Common-wealth, are most cruelly oppressed by strangers; in so far, as some are banished their owne houses, some robbed and spoiled of their substance purchast by their just labours in the sweat of their brows, some cruelly murthered at the pleasure of these inhumane souldiers, and altogether have their lives in such fear and dread, as if the enemy were in the midst of them; so that nothing can seem pleasant unto them which they possesse in the bowells of their native Countrey; so neer judged every man (and not without just cause) the practise used upon their brethren, to approach next unto them, their wives, childrens, houses, and substances, which altogether are cast at the feet of strangers men of War, to be by them thus abused at their unbridled lusts desire. Now if it be sedition (dear brethren) to complain, lament, and pour forth before God the sorrows and sobs of our dolorous hearts, crying to him for redresse of those enormities (which elsewhere is to be found) which altogether do proceed of the unlawfull holding of strange Souldiers over the heads of our brethren. If this to complain be sedition, then indeed (dear brethren) can none of us be purged of that crime; for as in very heart we condemne such inhumane cruelty, with the wicked and crafty pretence thereof, so can we not, nor dare we, neither by mouths speaking, nor yet by keeping silence, justifie the same. Neither do we here aggravate the breaking of the Appointment made at *Leith* (which alwayes hath manifestly been done) but herein we remember what oath we have made to our Common-wealth, and how the duty we ought to the same compelleth us to cry out, That the

Confer this with our times.

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the Queen by wicked and ungodly counsell goeth most craftily about utterly to oppresse the same, and the ancient Lawes and Liberties thereof: A well against the King of *France* his promise, her own duty, in respect of the high promotions that she hath received thereby: which justly should have caused her to have been in deed, that which she would be called (and is nothing lesse in verity) to wit, a carefull mother over this Common-wealth. But what motherly care she hath used towards you, ye cannot be ignorant of. Have ye not been, even from the first entrie of her Reigne, ever smitten and oppressed with unaccustomed and more exorbitant Taxations then ever were used within this Realm? Yea, and how far was it sought here to have been brought in upon you and your posterity, under colour to have been laid up in store for the wars. The inquisition taken of all your goods, moveable and unmoveable by way of Testament, the seeking of the whole Coale and Salt of this Realme to have been laid up in store, and in garnell, and she alone to have been Merchant thereof doth teach you by experience some of her motherly care. Again, What favour to our Common-wealth doth she at this instant bear, when even now presently, and of a long time by-gone, by the Ministery of some (who better deserve the Gallows then ever did *Cochran*) she doth so corrupt the good money, and hath brought it to such businesse, and such a deale of strife, that all men that had their eyes open may perceive an extream beggery to be brought there-through upon the who e Realme. So that the whole exchange and traffique to be had with Forraigne nations (a thing most necessary in all Common-wealths) shall thereby be utterly extinguished, and all the gaines received thereby is, That she therewith entertaineth strangers upon our heads. For brethren, you know that her money hath served for no other purpose in our Common-wealth this long time bygone. And the impunity of those wicked Ministers (whom lately we spake of) hath brought the matter to such a licentious enormitie and plaine contempt of the Common-weale, that now they spare not plainely to break down and convert the good and weighty money Coined in our Soveraignes lesser age into this their corrupted skruife and baggages of Hard-heads and Non-sunts, most like as she and they had conspired to destroy all the whole good Coine of this Realme; and consequently that part of the Common-weale. Besides all this, their clipped and ronged Sols which had no passage these three yeers past in the Realme of *France* are commanded to have course in this Realme, to gratifie thereby her new-come Souldiers, and all these things together are done without the advice or consent of the Nobilitie and Counsell of thi Realme; and manifestly there-through against our ancient Laws and Liberties. Thirdly, her last and most weightie proceeding, more fully declareth the motherly care her Majestie beareth to our Common-weale and us, when in time of Peace, without any occasion of Forraigne Wars, thousands of Strangers are laid here and there upon the necks of our poore members of this Common-weale. Their idle bellies fed upon the poore substance of the Commonaltie conquest by their just labours in the painfull sweat of their brows, which to be true, *Dumbar, North-Barwick, Travent, Preston, Panes, Missilburgh, Leith, Cannongat,*

Let the Nobility judge hereof.

Let Sir *Robert Richardson* and others answer to this.

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Cannongat, *Kinghorne*, *Kirkcaldie*, *Disert*, with the depauperate souls that this day dwell therein can testifie. Whose oppression as doubtlesse it is entred in before the Justice-seat of God, so ought it justly to move our hearts to have pity and compassion upon these our poore brethren, and at our powers to provide remedie for the same. And albeit her strangers had been garnished with money (as you know well they were not) yet can there here lying be no wayes but most hurtfull to our Common-wealth, seeing that the fertility of this Realme had never been so plentifull that it was able of any continuance to sustain it selfe and inhabitants thereof, without support of Forraigne Countreys, far lesse able besides the same to sustain thousands of strangers wherewith it is burthened, to the dearthing of all victuals, as the murmure and complaint of *Edinburgh* this day doth testifie. But to what effect the Common-weale is thus burdened, the end doth declare. For shortly were they brought to the fields against our Soveraigns true Lieges, even us your brethren, who (God knoweth) sought nothing else but peace of conscience, under protection of our Soveraigne, and Reformation of these enormities, for no other cause but that we would not renounce the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and subdue our necks under the tyranny of that wicked Man of sin, the *Romane Antichrist* and his forsworn Shavelings, who at that time most tyrannically oppressed our souls with hunger of Gods true Word, and reft our goods and substances, to waste the same upon their foule lusts and stinking harlots. But (O dear brethren) this was not the chiefe pretence and finall scope of her proceedings (as these dayes do well declare) for had not God given in our hearts to withstand that oppression, with weapons of most just defence, thou, O Saint *Johnston* and *Dundie*, had been in no better state then your sister of *Leith* is this day. For though we in very deed (God is witnesse) meant then nothing, but in the simplicity of our hearts, the maintenance of true Religion, and safetie of our brethren, Professours of the same, yet lay there another serpent lurking in the brest of our adversaries, as this day (praise to God) is plainely opened to all that list to behold, to wit, *To bring you and us both under the perpetuall servitude of strangers.* For we being appointed, as ye know, touching Religion to be reasoned with all in the Councell, at the day affixed, and no occasion made to break the same on our side (as is well known) yet come there forth writings and complaints, That this day and that day we were prepared to invade the Queens person (when in very truth there was never such thing thought, as the very deed hath declared.) But because she was before deliberate to bring in French-men to both our destructions, that you should not stir therewith, she made you to understand, That those Bands came onely for safety of her own person. O craft, brethren! O subtilty! But behold the end: They are come (yet not so many, no not the sixth part that she desired and looked for) and how, not onely with weapons to defend her person, but with wives and children to plant in your native rooms, as they have already begun in the Town of *Leith*, the principall Port and Staple of this Realm. The gernall and furniture of the Councell, and seat of Justice. And here will they dwell, till they may reinforce themselves with greater number of their fellow-Souldiers, to subdue then

See how this agrees with our times.

then the reſt, if God withſtand not. And yet her Majeſtie feared nor ſhamed not to write, if they were a hundred French-men for every one of them that is in *Scotland*, yet they ſhould harme no man. Tell thou now *Leith* if that be true; If this be not a craftie entrie to a manifeſt conqueſt fore-thought of old, judge you deare brethren: Thus to fortifie our Towns, and even the principall Port of our Realm, and to lay ſo ſtrong Gariſons of ſtrangers therein, not onely without any conſent of the Nobility and Councell of this Realm, but alſo expreſſe againſt their minde (as our Writ ſent to her Majeſtie beareth record) if this be not to oppreſſe the ancient Lawes and Liberties of our Realme, let all wiſe men ſay to it. And further, to take the Barne-yards new gathered, the Gernalls repleniſhed, and to ſit down therein, and by force to put the juſt poſſeſſours and ancient inhabitants there-from, with their wives, children, and ſervants to ſhift for themſelves in begging, if they have no other means, they being true Scottiſh-men, members of our Common-wealth; and our deare brethren and ſiſters, borne, foſtred, and brought up in the bowels of our common and native Countrey, if this be not the manifeſt declaration of their old pretence, and minde towards the whole Scottiſh Nation; let your owne conſcience (brethren) be judge herein. Was all *Leith* of the Congregation? No, I think not, yet were all alike ſerved. Let this motherly care then be tried by the fruits thereof: Firſt, by the great and exorbitant Taxations uſed upon you, and yet ten times greater preſſed at, as ye know. Secondly, the utter depravation of our Coine, to purchaſe thereby money to entertaine ſtrangers, French Souldiers upon you, and to make them ſtrong holds, leſt you ſhould ſometime expell them out of your native roomes. Thirdly, by the daily re-inforcing of the ſaid French Souldiers in ſtrength and number, with wives and children, planting in your brethrens houſes and poſſeſſions. Indeed her Majeſtie is, and hath been at all times carefull to procure by her craft of fair words, of fair promiſes, and ſometimes of buds to allure your ſimplicity to that point, to joyn your ſelves to her Souldiers, to daunt and oppreſſe us, that you the remnant (we being cut off) may be an eaſie prey to her ſleights: Which God of his infinite goodneſſe hath now diſcovered to the eyes of all that liſt to behold. But credit the works (deare brethren) if ye will not credit us, and lay the example of Forreign nations, yea, even of our brethren, before your eyes, and procure not your own ruine willingly. If you tender true Religion, you ſee how her Majeſtie beareth her ſelfe plaine enemy thereto, and maintaineth the tyrannie of thoſe idle bellies the Biſhops, againſt Gods Church: If Religion be not perſwaded unto you, yet caſt you not away the care you ought to have over your Common-wealth, which you ſee manifeſtly and violently ruined before your eyes: If this will not move you, remember your deare wives, children and poſterity, your ancient heritages and houſes, and think well theſe ſtrangers will regard no more your right thereunto, then they have done your brethren of *Leith*, when ever occaſion ſhall ſerve. But if you purpoſe (as we doubt not but that all thoſe that either have wit or manhood will declare and prove indeed) to brook your ancient roomes and heritages, conquered moſt valiantly, and defended by

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The cauſe of the French-mens coming with wives and children.

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your most noble Progenitors, against all strangers, invaders of the same, as the French pretendeth plainly this day, if ye will not be slaves unto them, and to have your lives, your wives, your children, your substance, and whatsoever is dear unto you cast at their feet, to be used and abused at the pleasure of strange Souldiers, as you see your brethrens at this day before your eyes. If you will not have experience some day hereof in your own persons (as we suppose the least of you all would not gladly have, but rather would chuse with honour to die in defence of his own native roome, then live and serve so shamefull a servitude) then brethren let us joyn our forces, and both with wit and manhood resist their beginnings, or else our liberties hereafter shall be dearer bought. Let us surely be perswaded, when our neighbours houses be on fire, that we dwell not without danger. Let no man withdraw himselfe herefrom, and if any will be so unhappy and mischievous (as we suppose none to be) let us altogether repute, hold and use him (as he is in deed) for an enemie to us, and to himselfe, and to his Common-weale. *The eternall and omnipotent God, the true and onely revenger of the oppressed, be our comfort and Protectour against the furie and rage of the Tyrants of this world: And especially from the insatiable covetousnesse of the Cardinall of* Guyse, *and the Hamiltons.* Amen.

A proverbe.

Besides this our publike Letter, some men answered certaine heads of the Queens said Proclamation on this manner.

If it be sedition to speak the trueth in all sobriety, and to complaine, when they are wounded, or to call for help against unjust tyrannie before that their throats be cut, then can we not denie, but we are criminall and guilty of tumult and sedition. For we have said, That our Common-weale is oppressed, that we and our brethren are hurt by the tyrannie of strangers, and that we fear bondage and slaverie, seeing that multitudes of cruell murtherers are daily brought into our Countrey without our counsell, knowledge, and consent. We dispute not so much whether the bringing in of moe French-men be violating of the appointment (which the Queen and her faction cannot deny to be manifestly broken by them in moe causes then one) as that we would know, if that the heaping of strangers upon strangers, above us, without our counsell or consent, be a thing that may stand with the Liberty of our Realme, and with the profit of our Common-wealth. It is not unknown to all men of judgement, That the fruits of our Countrey, in the most common yeers, be no more then sufficient reasonable to nourish the born inhabitants of the same. But now seeing we have been vexed with wars, taken upon us at the pleasure of *France*, by the which the most fruitfull portion of our Countrey in Corne hath been wasted. What man is so blinde, but that he may see, That such bands of ungodly and idle Souldiers can be nothing else but an occasion to famish our poore brethren. And in this point we refuse not (which is the chiefe) the judgement of all naturall Scottish-men. The Queen Regent alleadged, That although there was an hundred French-men for one that is in *Scotland*, yet she is not minded to trouble any

any unjust possession. Whereto we answer, That we dispute not what she intended (which nevertheless by probable conjectures it is to be suspected) but alwayes we affirm, that such a multitude of French-men is a burden not onely unprofitable, but also intolerable to this poor Realme; especially being treated as they are by her and Monsieur *Dosell*: For if their wages be paid out of *France*, then are they both (the Queen, we say, and Monsieur *Dosell*) traytors to the King and Counsell; for the poor Commons of this Realme have sustained them with the sweat of their brows, since the contracting of the Peace, and somewhat before.

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What motherly affection she hath declared to this Realm, and to the inhabitants of the same, her works have evidently declared, even since the first hour that she hath borne Authority. And albeit men will not this day see what danger hangs over our heads, yet fear we that ere it be long, experience shall teach some, that we have not feared without cause. The cruell murther and oppression used by those whom now she fostereth, is to us a sufficient argument what is to be looked for when her number is so multiplied, that our force shall not be able to gainstand their tyranny. Where she complaineth of our Preachers, affirming that unreverently they speak of Princes in generall, and of her in particular, inducing the people thereby to defection from their duty, &c. And therefore that such a thing cannot be suffered. Because this occasion is laid against Gods true Ministers, we cannot but witnesse what course and order of Doctrine they have kept, and yet keep in that point.

The doctrine of our Preachers concerning obedience to be given to Magistrates.

In publike prayers they recommend to God all Princes in generall, and the Magistrates of this our native Realme in particular. In open audience they declare the Authority of Princes and Magistrates to be of God, and therefore they affirm that they ought to be honoured, feared, and obeyed, even for conscience sake; provided that they command nor require nothing expresly repugning to Gods Commandment and plain Will revealed in his holy Word. Moreover, they affirm, That if wicked perabusing the Authority established by God, move Princes to command things manifestly wicked, That such as can and do bridle those inordinate appetites of misled Princes, cannot be accused as resistaries of the Authority, which is Gods good Ordinance. To bridle the rage and fury of misled Princes in free Kingdoms and Realms, they affirm it appertaineth to the Nobility, sworn and borne Councellors of the same, and also to the Barons and people, whose votes and consents are to be required in all great and weighty matters of the Common-wealth; which if they do not, they declare themselves criminall with their misled Princes, and so subject to the same vengeance of God, which they deserve, for that they pollute the seat of Justice, and do as it were make God author of Iniquity. They proclaim and cry, That the same God who plagued Pharaoh, *repulsed* Sennacherib, *struck* Herod *with worms, and made the bellies of dogs the grave and sepulcher of the spitefull* Jesabell, *will not spare misled Princes, who authorize the murtherers of Christs members in this our time. On this manner they speak of Princes in generall, and of your Majesty in particular. This onely we have heard one of our Preachers say, rebuking the vain excuses of such as flatter themselves by reason of Authority; Many now adayes (said he) will have no other Religion nor faith, then the Queen and Authority had: But is it not possible that the Queen be so far blinded, that she will have no Religion, nor no other faith, then may content*

Let such as this day live, witnesse what God hath wrought since the writing and publication hereof.

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content the Cardinall of Loraine? *And may it not likewise be true that the Cardinall is so corrupt, that he will admit no Religion which doth not establish the Pope in his kingdome? But plain it is, That the Pope is Lieutenant to Sathan, and enemy to Christ Jesus, and to his perfect Religion. Let men therefore consider what danger they stand in, if their salvation shall depend upon the Queens faith and Religion. Further, we never heard any of our Preachers speak of the Queen Regent, neither publikely nor privately. Where her Majestie declareth, It will not be suffered that our Preachers meddle with Policy, or speak of her, or of other Princes, but with reverence: we answer, That as we will justifie and defend nothing in our Preachers which we finde not God to have justified and allowed in his Messengers before them; so we dare not forbid them openly to reprehend that which the Spirit of God, speaking in the Prophets and Apostles, hath reprehended before them.* Helias *did personally reprove* Achab *and* Jesabell *of idolatry, of avarice, of murther, and such like:* Esaias *the Prophet called the Magistrates of* Jerusalem *in his time, companions to thieves, Princes of* Sodome, *bribe-takers, and murtherers; he complained that their silver was turned into drosse, That their wine was mingled with water, and that Justice was bought and sold.* Jeremie *saith, That the bones of King* Jehoiakim *should wither with the Sun. Christ Jesus called* Herod *a Fox; and* Paul *calleth the high Priest a painted wall, and prayeth unto God that he should strike him, because that against justice he commanded him to be smitten. Now if the like (and greater) corruptions be in the world this day, Who dare enterprise to put to silence the Spirit of God, which will not be subject to the appetites of misled Princes.*

The Prophets have medled with policy, and have reproved the corruptions thereof.

We have said before, That the tenth of *September* was appointed for a convention to be holden at *Sterlin*, to the which repaired the most part of the Lords of the Congregation. At that same time arrived the Earle of *Arran*, who after he had saluted his father, came with the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* to *Sterlin*, to the said convention; in which divers godly men complained of the tyrannie used against their brethren. And especially that more French-men were brought in to oppresse their Country. After the consultation of certain dayes, the principall Lords with my Lord *Arran*, and the Earle of *Argyle* past to *Hammilton* for consultation to be taken with the Duke. And in this mean time came assured word that the French-men had begun to fortifie *Leith*; which thing, as it did more evidently discover the Queens craft, so did it deeply grieve the hearts of all the Nobility there, who with one consent agreed to write unto the Queen in form as followeth.

The coming of the Earle of *Arran* to *Scotland*, and his joyning with the Congregation.

At Hammilton the 29 day of September.

Letters to the Queen Regent.

MAdame, we are credibly informed that your Army of French-men should instantly begin to plant in Leith, *and to fortifie the same, of minde to expell the ancient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the Congregation, whereof we marvell not a little, that your Majestie should so manifestly breake the Appointment made at* Leith, *without any provocation made by us and our brethren. And seeing the same is done without any manner of consent of the Nobilitie and counsell of this Realme, we esteem the same not onely oppression of our poore brethren, and in-dwellers of the said Towne, but also very prejudiciall to the Common-wealth, and plain contrary to our ancient Laws and Liberties.*

We

We therefore desire your Majestie to cause the same work enterprised to be stayed, and not to attempt so rashly and so manifestly against your Majesties promise, against the Common-wealth, the ancient Laws and Liberties thereof (which things, besides the glory of God, are most dear and tender to us, and onely our pretence) otherwise assuring your Majestie, we will complain to the whole Nobility and Commonalty of this Realme, and most earnestly seek for redresse thereof. And thus recommending our humble service unto your Highnesse, whom we commit to the Eternall Protection of God, expecting earnestly your answer. At *Hammilton* the day and yeer aforesaid: By your Majesties humble and obedient servitours.

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This Letter was subscribed with the hands of the Duke, the Earles of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Glencarne*, and *Menteth*; by the Lords *Ruthwen Uchiltrie*, *Boyd*, and by divers others Barons and Gentlemen. To this request she would not answer by wret, but with a Letter of credit she sent Sir *Robert Carnegie*, and Master *Danid Borthwike*, two, whom amongst many others, she abused, and by whom she corrupted the hearts of the simple. They travelled with the Duke, to bring him again to the Queens Faction: *Labrosse* and the Bishop of *Amians* were shortly before arrived, and, as it was bruted, were directed as Ambassadours, but they kept close their whole Commission; they onely made large promises to them that would be theirs, and leave the Congregation. The Queen did grievously complain, That we had intelligence with *England*, and the conclusion of their Commission was to solicite the Duke to put in all in the Queens Will, and then she would be gracious enough. It was answered, That no honest men durst commit themselves to the mercy of such throat-cutters as she had about her; whom if she would remove, and joyn to her a Councell of naturall Scotish-men, permitting the Religion to have free passage, then should none in *Scotland* be more willing to serve her Majesty then should the Lords and Brethren of the Congregation be. At the same time the Duke and the Lords wrote to my Lord *Erskin*, Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in form as followeth.

The Petition of *la Brosse*.

The answer.

Letter to the Lord *Erskin*.

My Lord and Cousin, after our hearty commendations, this present is to advertise you, That we are credibly informed that the Army of French-men now in this Realme, without any advice of the Councell or Nobility, are fortifying, or else shortly intendeth to fortifie the Towne of Leith, *and expell the ancient inhabitants thereof, whereby they proclaim to all that will open their ears to hear, or eyes to see, what is their pretence. And seeing the faithfulnesse of your antecessors, and especially of your Father of honourable memory, who was so recommended and dear to the Estates and Councellors of this Realme, through affection they perceived in him towards the Common-wealth thereof, that they doubted not to give in his keeping the key, as it were, of the Councell, of the Justice and Policy of this Realme, the Castles of* Edinburgh *and* Sterlin, *we cannot but believe ye will rather augment the honourable favour of your House by stedfast favour and loyalty to our Common wealth, then through the subtill perswasions of some (which care not what after shall come to you and your House, at the present would abuse you to the performance of their wicked enterprises and pretences against our Common-wealth) utterly*

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utterly destroy the same. And herefore seeing we have written to the Queen to desist from that enterprise, otherwise that we will complain to the Nobility and Commonalty of the Realm, and seek redresse thereof; We likewise beseech you as our tender friend, brother and member of the same Common-wealth with us, that in no wise you meddle with, or assent to that ungodly enterprise against the Common wealth: And likewise that ye would save your body, and the jewels of this Countrey, committed to yours and your predecessors loyalty and fidelity towards your native Countrey and Common-wealth, if ye thinki to be reputed hereafter one of the same: And that ye would rather be brother to us then to strangers; for we do gather by the effects, the secrets of mens hearts, otherwise unsearchable unto us. Thus we write, not that we are in doubt of you, but rather to warne you of the danger, in case ye suffer your selfe to be inchanted with fair promises, and crafty Councellors: For let no man flatter himself; we desire all men to know; That though he were our father (seeing God hath opened our eyes to see his Will) if he be enemy to the Common-wealth, which is now assailed, and we with it, and all true members thereof, he shall be knowne, and as he is indeed enemy to us, to our lives, our houses, babes, heritages, and whatsoever is contained within the same: For as the Ship perishing, What can be safe that is within? So the Common wealth being betrayed, What particular member can live in quietnesse. And therefore in so far as the said Castles are committed to your credite, we desire you to shew your faithfulnesse and stoutnesse, as ye tender us, and whatsoever appertaineth to us. And seeing we are assured ye will be assayled both with craft and force, as now by warning we help you against the first, so against the last ye shall not misse in all possible haste to have our assistance, onely to shew your selfe a man. Save your person by wisedome, strengthen your self against force: And the Almighty God assist you in both, that one ayd the other, and open the eyes of your understanding to see and perceive the craft of Sathan and his supposts. At Hamilton *the 29 day of September*, 1559.

Note.

By your Brethren.

The Duke and Lords understanding that the Fortifications of *Leith* proceeded, appointed their whole Forces to convene at *Sterlin* the 15 day of Octob. that from thence they might march forward to *Edinburgh*, for the redresse of the greatest enormities which the French did to the whole Countrey, which by them was so oppressed, that the life of all honest men was bitter unto them. In this mean time the Lords directed their Letters to divers parts of the Countrey, making mention what danger did hang over all men, if the French should be suffered to plant in this Countrey at their pleasure. They made mention farther, How humbly they had besought the Queen Regent, That she would send away to *France* her French-men, who were a burden unprofitable and grievous to this Common-wealrh, and how that she notwithstanding did daily augment their number, bringing wives and children, a plain declaration of a plain conquest.

The tyranny of the French.

The Queen Regent perceiving that her craft began to be espied, by all means possible travelled to blinde the people; And first she sent forth her pestilent Post forenamed, in all parts of the Countrey, to perswade all men, that she offereth all things reasonable to the Congregation; and

Note how this agrees with our times.

and that they refusing all reason, pretended no Religion, but a plaine revolt from Authority. She tempted every man, in particular, as well those that were of the Congregation, as those that were neutralls. She assaulted every man as she thought most easily he might have been overcome. To the Lord *Ruthuen* she sent the Justice *Clerk*, and his wife who is daughter to the wife of the said Lord, what was their Commission and credit, is no further known, then the said Lord hath confessed, which is, That large promise of profit was promised, if he would leave the Congregation, and be the Queens. To Lord *James*, Prior of Saint *Andrews*, was sent Master *John Spens* of *Condie*, with a Letter and Credit, as followeth.

Anno

The Memoriall of Master *John Spens* of *Condie*, the thirtieth of September.

1. *YE shall say, That the Queens great favour towards you moveth her to this.*

2. *That she now knoweth that the occasion of your departing from her, was the favour of the Word, and of the Religion, with the which, albeit she was offended, yet knowing your heart, and the hearts of the other Lords firmely fixed thereupon, she will beare with you in that behalfe, and at your owne sights she will set forward that Cause at her power, as may stand with Gods Word, the common policie of this Realme, and the Princes honour (note good Reader what venome lurked here, for plaine it is that the policie which she pretended, and the Princes honour will never suffer Christ Jesus to reigne in this Realme.)* Note.

3. *To speak of the occasion of assembling of these men of Warre, and fortifying of* Leith, *you must know, That it was given to the Queen to understand by some about her, that it is not the advancement of the Word and Religion which is sought at this time, but rather a pretence to overthrow or alter the authority of your Sister, of the which she beleeveth still that ye are not participant: and considering the tendernesse betwixt you and your Sister, she trusted more in you, in that behalfe, then in any living. But before the Earle of* Arrane *arrived, and that the Duke departed from her faction, she ceased not continually to cry, That the Prior sought to make himselfe King; and so not onely to deprive his Sister, to make himselfe King, but also to defraud the Duke and his house of their pretension. But foreseeing a storme, she began to seek a new winde.* Let this be noted, O crafty flatterer!

She further willeth him, to offer the sending away of the men of War, if the former suspition could be removed, she lamented the trouble that appeared to follow, if the matter should long stand in debate, she promised her faithfull labours for reconciliation, and required the same of him. Requiring further, Faith, Honour, and kindnesse towards his Sister, and to advertise for his part, what he desired; with promise, That he might obtaine what he pleased to desire.

To

Anno

To this Letter and Credit the said Lord *James* answered as followeth.

MADAME,

I Received your Highnesse Writ, and have heard the credit of the Bearer, and finding the businesse of such importance, that dangerous it were to give hastie answer. And also your Demands are such, That with my honour I cannot answer them privately by my selfe, I have thought good to delay the same till that I may have the judgement of the whole Councell. For this point I will not conceale from your Majestie, That amongst us there is a solemned Oath, that none of us shall traffique with your Majestie secretly, neither yet that any of us shall treat or deale for himselfe particularly: Which Oath, for my part, I purpose to keep unviolated to the end. But when the rest of the Noble-men shall conveene, I shall leave nothing that lyeth in my power undone, that may make for the quietnesse of this poore Realme: Provided, That the glory of Christ Jesus be not hindered by our concord. And if your Majestie shall be found so tractable, as now ye offer, I doubt not to obtaine of the rest of my brethren such favour towards your service, as your Majestie shall have just occasion to stand content: For I take God to record, That in this action I have neither sought, neither yet seek any other thing then to increase Gods glory, and the Libertie of this poore Realme to be maintained. Further, I have shewed unto your Messenger what things have misliked me in your proceedings, even from such a heart as I wish to God you knew fully, and all men else. And this, with hearty commendation of service to your Majestie, I heartily commit your Highnesse to the eternall protection of the omnipotent. At Saint Andrews, *the first of October.*

Sic subscribitur.

Your Majesties humble and obedient Servitour. J. St.

Note. This answer received, she raged, as hypocrisie useth when it is pricked, and perceiving that she could not work what she would at the hands of men particularly, she set forth a Proclamation, universally to be proclaimed, in the tenour as followeth.

The Queens Proclamation.

FOr so much as it is understood by the Queen, that the Duke of *Chattellawrält* hath lately directed his Missives into all parts of this Realm, making mention that the French-men late arrived with their wives and children, are begun to plant in *Leith*, to the ruine of the Common-weale, which he and his partakers will not passe over with patient beholding, desiring to know what will be every mans part. And that the fortification of *Leith*, is a purpose devised in *France*, and that therefore *Monsieur de la Brosse*, and the Bishop of *Amiens*, are come to this countrey. A thing so vaine and untrue, that the contrary thereof is knowne to all men of free judgement. Therefore the Queen, willing that the occasions whereby her Majesty was moved so to do, be made patent, and what have been her proceedings since the appointment last made on the Linkes beside *Leith*.

To

Anno

To the effect that the trueth of all things being made manifest, every man may understand how unjustly that a desire to suppresse the liberty of this Realm is laid to her charge; we have thought expedient to make this discourse following. First, although after the said appointment, divers of the said Congregation, and that not of the meanest sort, hath violently broken the points thereof, and made sundry occasions of new cumber. The same was in a part winked at, and over-looked, in hope that they in time would remember their duty, and abstaine from such evil behaviour, which conversion her Majestie ever sought, rather then any punishment, with such care and solicitude by all means, and in the mean time nothing was provided for her own security. But at last by their frequent Messages to and from *England*, their intelligence then was perceived, yet her Majestie trusted the Queen of *England* (let them seek as they please) will do the office of a Christian Princesse, in time of a sworne Peace, through which, force was to her Majestie, seeing so great defection of great personages, *to have recourse to the Law of Nature.* And like as a small Bird, being pursued, will provide some nest, so her Majestie could do no lesse in cases of pursuit, but provide some sure retract for her selfe and her company, and to that effect chose the Town of *Leith*, as a place convenient therefore: because it was her dearest daughters property, and no other person could claime Title or Interesse thereto, and also because in former times it had been fortified: About the same time that the seeking support of *England* was made manifest, arrived the Earle of *Arrane*, and adjoyned himselfe to the Congregation, upon further promise then the pretended quarrell, or Religion that was to be set up by them in authority, and so to pervert the whole obedience, and as some of the Congregation at the same time had put into their hands, and taken the Castle of *Brochtie*, put forth the keepers thereof. Immediately came from the said Duke to her Majestie unlooked for, a Writ, beside many others complaining of the fortification of the said Town of *Leith*, in hurt of the ancient inhabitants thereof, brethren of the said Congregation, whereof he then professed himselfe a Member. And albeit that the Bearer of the said Writ was an unmeet Messenger, in a matter of such consequence, yet her Majestie directed to him two persons of good credit and reputation, with answer; Offering, If he would cause amends to be made for that which was committed against the Lawes of the Realme, to do further then could be craved of reason. And to that effect, to draw some conference, which by his fault and his Colleagues took no end; nevertheless they continually since continue in their doings, usurping the authority, commanding and charging free Boroughs to chuse Provests and officers of their naming, and to assist to them in the purpose they would be at: and that they will not suffer provision to be brought for sustentation of her Majesties houses. A great part have so plainely set aside all reverence and humanitie, whereby every man may know, That it is no matter of Religion, but a plaine usurpation of the authority: and no doubt but simple men of good Zeale in former times, therewith falsly have been deceived. But as to the Queens part (God who knoweth the secrets of all hearts well knoweth,

Elizabeth was come to the crown of England the yeere before, by the death of Mary.

False lying tongue God hath confounded thee.

God hath purged his people of that false accusation.

Anno

and the world shall see by experience) that the fortification of *Leith* was devised for no other purpose, but for recourse to her highnesse and her company, in case they were pursued. Wherefore, as good Subjects that have the feare of God in their hearts, will not suffer themselves by such vaine perswasions to be led away from their due obedience: but will assist in defence of their Soveraigns quarrell, against all such as shall pursue the same wrongfully. Therefore her Majestie ordaineth the officers of Arms to passe to the Market-Crosses of all the head Burroughs of this Realme, and there by open Proclamation command and charge all and sundry the Lieges thereof, that none of them take in hand to put themselves in arms, nor take part with the said Duke or his assistaries, under the paine of Treason.

These Letters being divulgate, the hearts of many were stirred, for they judged the Narration of the Queen Regent to have been true, others understood the same to be utterly false. But because the Lords desired that all men should judge in their cause, they set out the Declaration subsequent.

The DECLARATION of the Lords, against the former PROCLAMATION.

WE are compelled unwillingly to answer the grievous accusations most unjustly laid to our charges by the Queen Regent, and her perverse Counsell, who cease not by all craft and malice to make us odious to our dearest brethren, naturall Scottish-men, as that we pretended no other thing, but the subversion and overthrow of all just authoritie, when God knoweth we sought nothing, but, That such authoritie as God approveth by his Word, be established, honoured, and obeyed amongst us. True it is, that we have complained (and continually must complaine, till God send redresse) That our common Countrey is oppressed with strangers; That this inbringing of Souldiers with their wives and children, and planting of men of War in our free Townes; appeareth to us a ready way to conquest. And we most earnestly require all indifferent persons to be judge betwixt us and the Queen Regent in this cause, to wit, Whether our complaint be just or not? For, for what other purpose should she thus multiply strangers upon us, but onely in respect of conquest: Which is a thing of late devised by her and her avaritious house. We are not ignorant that six yeers ago the question was demanded of a man of honest reputation; What number of men was able to daunt *Scotland*, and to bring it to the full obedience of *France*? She alleadged, That to say that the fortification of *Leith* was of purpose devised in *France*, and that for that purpose were *Monsieur de la Brosse*, and the Bishop of *Amiens* sent to this Countrey; Is a thing so vaine and untrue, that the contrary thereof is notorious to all men of free judgement. But evident it is, whatsoever she alleadged, That since their arrivall *Leith* was begun to be fortified. She alleadged, That she seeing the defection of great Personages, was compelled

Note.

The avarice of those of *Loraine* and *Guise*.

to

to have recourse to the Law of Nature, and like a small bird pursued to provide for some sure retract to her self and her company. But why doth she not answer for what purpose did she bring in her new Bands of men of War? Was there any defection espied before their arrivall? was not the Congregation under Appointment with her? Which whatsoever she alleadged, she is not able to prove that we have violated in any chiefe point, before that her new throat-cutters arrived, yea, before that they began to fortifie *Leith*, a place, saith she, most convenient for her purpose; as indeed it is, for the receiving of strangers at her pleasure: for if she had feared the pursuit of her bodie, she had *Inche*, *Colme*, *Dumbar*, and *Blackneſſe*, Forts and Strengths already made; yet all these could not so well serve her turne as *Leith*, because it was her daughters property, and none other could have title unto it, and because it had been fortified oft before. That all men may know the just title her daughter and she had to the Town of *Leith*, we shall in few words declare. It is not unknown to the most part of this Realm, that there hath been an old hatred and contention betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*; *Edinburgh* continually seeking constantly to possesse the liberty of *Leith* which by donation of ancient Kings they have long enjoyed: And *Leith*, by the contrary aspiring to a liberty and freedom in prejudice of *Edinburgh*. The Queen Regent, a woman that could make her profit at all hands, was not ignorant how to compasse her own businesse, and therefore secretly she gave advertisement to some of *Leith*, that she would make their Towne free, if that she might do it with any colour of Justice. By which promises the principall men of them did travell with the Laird of *Lestarrig*, a man neither prudent nor fortunate, to whom the superiority of *Leith* appertained, That he should sell his whole Title and Right to our Soveraigne for a certain sum of Money, which the inhabitants of *Leith* paid, with a large Taxation more, to the Queen Regent, in hope to be made free, in despight and defraud of *Edinburgh*: Which Right and Superiority when she had gotten, and when the Money was paid, the first fruits of their liberty they now eat with bitternes, is, That strangers shall possesse their Towne: This is the just Title which her daughter and she might claim to that Towne. And where she alleadged, That it was fortified before; we ask, If that was done without the consent of the Nobility and Estates of the Realme, as now she and her crafty counsellors do, in despight and high contempt of us the lawfull and borne Counsellors of this Realme. How far we have sought support of *England*, or of any other Prince, and how just cause we had and have so to do, we shall shortly make manifest unto the world, To the praise of Gods holy Name, and to the confusion of all those that slander us for so doing: For this we fear not to confesse, That as in this our enterprise, against the Devill, Idolatry, and the maintainers of the same, we chiefly and onely seek Gods glory to be notified unto man, sin to be punished, and vertue to be maintained: So where power faileth in our selves, we will seeke it wheresoever God shall offer the same: And yet in so doing, we are assured neither to offend God, neither yet to do any thing repugnant to our Duties.

Anno

Note.

The title that the Queen hath or had to *Leith*.

The Laird of *Lestarrig* superiour to *Leith*.

Note.

Anno

We heartily praise God, who moved the heart of the Earle of *Arran* to joyn himself with us his persecuted brethren. But how malicious a lye it is, That we have promised to set him up in Authority, the issue shall declare: God we take to record, That no such thing hath entred into our hearts, neither yet hath the said Earle, neither any to him appertaining, moved us unto any such matter: which if they should do, yet are we not so slender in judgement, that inconsiderately we would promise that, which after we would repent. We speak and write to the praise of Gods glory; the least of us knoweth better what obedience is due to a lawfull Authority, then she and her counsell doth practice the Office of such as worthily may sit upon the Seat of Justice: For we offer, and we perform all obedience which God hath commanded; and we deny neither Toll, Tribute, nor Fear, to her nor her Officers, we onely bridle her blinde rage, in the which she would erect and maintain Idolatry, and would murther our brethren, who refuse the same: But she doth utterly abuse the Authority established by God, she prophaneth the Throne of his Majestie on earth, making the Seat of Justice, which ought to be the Sanctuary and Refuge of all godly and vertuous persons unjustly afflicted, to be a den and receptacle to Thieves, Murtherers, Idolaters, Whoremongers, Adulterers, and of Blasphemers of God, and all godlinesse. It is more then evident what men they are, and long have been, whom she by her power maintaineth and defendeth; and also what hath been our conversation, since it hath pleased God to call us to his knowledge, whom now in her fury she cruelly persecuteth. We deny not the taking of the houses of *Brochtie*; and the causes being considered, we think that no naturall Scotish man will be offended at our fact. When the assured knowledge came to us that the Fortification of *Leith* was begun, every man began to inquire, What danger might ensue to the rest of the Realm, if the French should plant in divers places, and what were the places that might annoy us. In conclusion it was found, That the taking of the said house by French men, should be destruction to *Dundie*, and hurtfull to S. *Iohnston*, and to the whole Countrey; and therefore it was thought expedient to prevent the danger, as that we did, for preservation of our brethren and common Countrey. It is not unknown what enemies those two Towns have, and how gladly would some have all good order and policy overthrown in them. The conjectures that the French-men were of minde shortly to have taken the same place, were not obscrure: but whatsoever they pretended, we cannot repent that we (as said is) have prevented the danger; and would God that power had been in the same manner to have foreclosed their enterprise at *Leith*: For what trouble this poor Realm shall endure before that those murtherers and unjust possessors be removed from the same, the issue will declare. If her accusations against the Duke, and that we refused conference, be truly and simply spoken, we will not refuse the judgement of those very men, whom she alleadgeth to be of such reputation. They know that the Duke did answer, That if the Realme should be set at liberty from the bondage of those men of War, which presently did oppresse it, and was so fearfull to him, and to his brethren, that they were compelled to absent them-

Note diligently.

The wickednesse of the Bishops.

The cause that *Broughtie Craig* was taken.

Let all men judge.

The Dukes answer.

themselves from the places where she and they made residence : That he and the whole Congregation should come and give all dutifull obedience to our Soveraigne her daughter, and unto her, as Regent for the time : But to enter into conference so long as she kept above him and his brethren that fearfull scourge of cruell strangers, he thought no wise man would counsell him. And this his answer we approve, adding further, *That she can make us no promise which she can keep, nor we can credit, so long as she is forced with the strength, and ruled by the counsell of* France. *We are not ignorant that Princes think it good policy to betray their subjects by breaking of promises, be they never so solemnly made.* We have not forgotten what counsell she and Monsieur *Dosell* gave to the Duke, against those that slue the Cardinall, and kept the Castle of S. *Andrewes*, which was this, That what promise they list to require should be made unto them ; but as soon as the Castle was rendred, and things brought to such passe as was expedient, that he should chop the heads from every one of them. To the which the Duke answered, That he would never consent to so treasonable an act, but if he promised fidelity, he would faithfully keep it. Monsieur *Dosell* said in mockage to the Queen in French, That is a good simple nature, but I know no other Prince that would so do. If this was his judgement in so small a matter, what have we to suspect in this our Cause ? For the question is not of the slaughter of one Cardinall, but of the just abolishing of all tyranny, which that Romane Antichrist hath usurped above us ; of the suppressing of Idolatry, and of the Reformation of the whole Religion, by that vermine of shavelings utterly corrupted. Now if the slaughter of a Cardinall be a sin irremissible, as they themselves affirme ; and if faith ought not to be kept to hereticks, as their owne law speaketh, What promise can she that is ruled by the counsell and commandment of a Cardinall, make to us that can be sure ? Where she accuseth us, That we usurp Authority to command and charge free Boroughs, to chuse Provests and Officers of our naming, &c. We will that the whole Boroughs of *Scotland* testifie in that case, Whether we have used any kinde of violence, but lovingly exhorted such as asked our support to chuse such in Office, as had the fear of God before their eyes, loved equity and justice, and were not noted with avarice and bribing. But wonder it is with what face she can accuse us of that, whereof we are innocent, and she so openly criminall, that the whole Realme knoweth her iniquity : In that case hath she not compelled the Towne of *Edinburgh* to retaine a man to be their Provest most unworthy of any Regiment in a well-ruled Common-wealth ? Hath she not enforced them to take Bayliffes of her appointment ? and some of them so meet for their Office in this troublesome time, as a *sowter is to sayle a Ship in a stormy day.* She complaineth that we will not suffer provision to be made for her house : In very deed we unfaincdly repent that before this we took not better order that these murtherers and oppressors whom she pretendeth to nourish for our destruction, had not been disappointed of their great provision of Victualls which she and they have gathered, to the great hurt of the whole Countrey : But as God shall assist us in times coming, we shall do diligence somewhat to frustrate their devillish purpose. What both she

Anno

Note.

Note.

Note.

The quarrell betwixt *France* and the Congregation of *Scotland.*

The Lord *Sexton* unworthy of Regiment.

Optimi collatio

Anno

Let the Papists judge it God hath not given judgement to the displeasure of their hearts.

what she and we pretend, we doubt not but God (who cannot suffer the abuse of his owne Name long to be unpunished) shall one day declare, and unto him we fear not to commit our Cause. Neither yet fear we in this present day, that against us she maketh a malicious lye, where that she saith, That it is not Religion that we go about, but a plain usurpation of Authority. God forbid that such impiety should enter in our hearts, that we should make his holy Religion a cloke and covertour of our iniquity: From the beginning of this controversie, it is evidently knowne what have been our requests; which if the rest of the Nobility and Commonalty of *Scotland* will cause to be performed unto us, if then in us appear any signe of Rebellion, let us be reputed and punished as traitors. But while strangers are brought in to suppresse us, our common wealth and posterity; while Idolatry is maintained, and Christ Jesus his true Religion despised, while idle bellies, and bloody tyrants the Bishops are maintained, and Christs true Messengers persecuted; while finally, vertue is contemned, and vice extolled; while that we a great part of the Nobility and Commonalty of this Realme are most unjustly persecuted, What godly man can be offended that we shall seek Reformation of these enormities (yea, *even by force of Arms, seeing that otherwayes it is denyed unto us*) we are assured that neither God, neither nature, neither any just Law forbiddeth us. *God hath made us Councellors by birth of this Realme, Nature bindeth us to love our owne Countrey, and just Laws command us to support our brethren unjustly pursued, yea, the Oath that we have made to be true to this Common-wealth compelled us to hazard whatsoever God hath given us, before that we see the miserable ruine of the same.* If any thinke it is not Religion which now we seek, we answer, That it is nothing else but the zeal of the true Religion which moveth us to this enterprise: For as the enemy doth craftily foresee, That Idolatry cannot universally be maintained, unlesse that we be utterly suppressed, So do we consider that the true Religion (the purity whereof we openly require) cannot universally be erected, unlesse strangers be removed, and this poor Realme purged of those pestilences which before have infected it. And therefore in the Name of the Eternall God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, whose Cause we sustain, we require all our brethren naturall Scotish-men prudently to consider our Requests, and with judgement to discerne betwixt us and the Queen Regent, with her faction, and not to suffer themselves to be abused by her craft and deceit, That to lift their weapons against their brethren, who seek nothing but Gods glory, Or yet to extract from us their just and dutifull support, seeing that we hazard our lives for preservation of them and us, and of us and our posterity to come: Assuring such as shall declare themselves favourers of her Faction and enemies unto us, That we shall repute them, whensoever God shall put the Sword of Justice in our hands worthy of such punishment as is due for such as study to betray their Countreyes into the hands of strangers.

Note.

The causes that moved the Nobility of this Realme to oppose the Q. Regent.

The same minde remaineth to this day.

This promise was forgot, and therefore God plagued.

What spirit could have hoped for victory in so desperate dangers.

This

This our anſwer was formed and divulgate in ſome places, but not univerſally, by reaſon of our day appointed to meet at *Sterlin*, as before is declared. In this mean time the Queens Poſts ran with all poſſible expedition to draw men to her devotion. And in very deed ſhe found more favourers of her iniquity then we ſuſpected. For a man that of long time had been one of our number in profeſſion, offered (as himſelfe did confeſſe) his ſervice to the Queen, to travell betwixt her Majeſtie and the Congregation for concord; ſhe refuſed not his offer, but knowing his ſimplicitie, ſhe was glad to imploy him for her advantage. The man is Maſter *Robert Lockard*, a man of whom many have had and ſtill have good opinion, as touching his Religion. But to enter in the managing of ſuch affaires, not ſo fit as godly and wiſe men would require: he travelleth not the leſſe earneſtly in the Queen Regents affairs, and could not be perſwaded, but that ſhe meant ſincerely, and that ſhe would promote the Religion to the uttermoſt of her power. He promiſed in her name, That ſhe would put away her French-men, and would be ruled by the counſell of naturall Scottiſh-men: when it was reaſoned in his contrary, That if ſhe were ſo minded to do, ſhe could have found Mediatours a great deale more fit for that purpoſe. He feared not to affirme, That he knew more of her minde, then all the French or Scots that were in *Scotland*; yea, more then her own brethren that were in *France*. He travelled with the Earle of *Glencarne*, the Lords of *Uchiltrie* and *Boyd*, with the Laird of *Dun*, and with the Preachers, to whom he had certaine ſecret Letters, which he would not deliver, unleſſe that they would make a faithfull promiſe, That they ſhould never reveale the thing contained in the ſame. To the which it was anſwered, That in no wayes they could make ſuch a promiſe, by reaſon that they were ſworne one to another, and altogether in one body, That they ſhould have no ſecret intelligence, nor deale with the Queen Regent, but that they ſhould communicate with the great Counſell whatſoever ſhe propoſed unto them, ſo they did anſwer unto her, as by this anſwer written by *John Knox* to the Queen Regent may be underſtood. The tenour whereof followeth.

Anno

Note.

To the Queen Regent.

MADAME,

MY duty humbly premiſed: Your Majeſties ſervant, Maſter Robert Lockard, *moſt inſtantly hath required me and others to whom your Majeſties Letters, as he alleadged, were directed, to receive the ſame in a ſecret manner, and to give him anſwer accordingly; but becauſe ſome of the number that he required, were, and are of the great Counſell of this Realme, and therefore are ſolemnely ſworne to have nothing to do in a ſecret manner, neither with your Majeſtie, nor with any that cometh from you, or from your Counſell. And ſo they could not receive your Majeſties Letters with ſuch conditions as the ſaid Maſter* Robert *required, therefore thought he good to take backe to your Majeſtie againe the ſaid Letters cloſe; And yet becauſe, as he reporteth, he hath made to your Majeſtie ſome promiſe in my name, at his requeſt, I am content to teſtifie by my Letter and Subſcription, the ſum of that which I did communicate*

with

Anno

with him. In Dondie, *after many words betwixt him and me, I said, That albeit divers sinister reports had been made of me, yet did I never declare any evident token of hatred nor enmity against your Majestie. For if it be the office of a true friend to give true and faithfull counsell to them whom he seeth run to destruction for lack of the same, I could not be proved enemy to your Majestie, but rather a friend unfeigned. For what counsell I had given to your Majestie, my Writings, as well my Letter and Addition to the same, now Printed, as divers others which I wrote from S.* Johnston, *may testifie. I further added, That such an enemy was I unto you, that my tongue did both perswade, and obtaine, That your authority and Regiment should be obeyed of us in all things lawfull, till you declare your selfe open enemy to this Common-wealth, as now, alas, ye have done. This I willed him moreover to say to your Majestie, That if ye following the counsell of flattering men, having no God but this world and their belly, did proceed in your malice against Christ Jesus his Religion, and true Ministers, that ye should do nothing else but accelerate and hasten Gods plague and vengeance upon your selfe and those that followeth you. And that ye (if ye did not change your purpose hastily) should bring your selfe in such extreame danger, that when ye would seek remedy it should not be so easie to be found as it had been before. This is the effect and sum of all that I said at that time, and willed him if he pleased to communicate the same to your Majestie. And the same yet againe I notifie unto your Majestie by this my Letter, written and subscribed at* Edinburgh, *the 26 day of October 1559.*

Sic subscribitur.

Your Majesties to command in all godlinesse,

John Knox.

Postscriptum.

God move your heart yet in time to consider, That ye fight not against men, but against the eternall God, and against his Son Jesus Christ, the onely Prince of the Kings of the earth.

At which answer, the said M. *Robert* was so offended, that he would not deliver his Letters, saying, That we were ungodly, and injurious to the Queen Regent, if we suspected any craft in her. To the which it was answered by one of the Preachers, That time should declare whether he or they were deceived, if she should not declare her selfe enemy to the true Religion which they professed, if ever she had the upper hand, then they would be content to confesse, That they had suspected her sincerity without just cause. But if she should declare her malice no lesse in times comming then she had done before they required that he should be more moderate, then to condemne them whose conscience he knoweth not, and this was the end of his travell for that time. After that he had troubled the conscience of many godly and quiet persons. For he and others who were her hired postes, ceased not to blow in the eares of all men, That the Queen was heavily dealt with, That she required nothing but obedience to her daughter, That she was content that the true Religion should go forward, and that all abuses should be abolished, and by this mean they brought a grudge and division among our selves. For many (and our brethren of *Lowthian* especially) began to murmure, That we sought another

Note how calumnies prevail upon the world for a time.

another thing then Religion, and ſo ceaſed to aſſiſt us certain dayes, after that we were come to *Edinburgh*, which we did according to the former Diet the 16 day of October. This grudge and trouble amongſt our ſelves was not raiſed by the aforeſaid M. *Robert* onely, but by thoſe peſtilents whom before we have expreſſed, and M. *James Balfoure* eſpecially, whoſe venemous tongues againſt God and his true Religion, as they deſerve puniſhment of men, ſo ſhall they not eſcape Gods vengeance, unleſſe that ſpeedily they repent. Anno

After our coming to *Edinburgh*, the day forenamed, we aſſembled in Counſell, and determined to give new advertiſement to the Queen Regent of our convention, and in ſuch ſort, and ſo with common conſent we ſent unto her our Requeſt, as followeth.

The ſecond Admonition to the Queen Regent.

MAdame, Your Majeſtie may call to minde, how at our laſt Convention at *Hamilton*, we required your Highneſſe in moſt humble manner to deſiſt from the fortifying of the Town of *Lieth*, then enterpriſed and begun, which appeared to us (and yet doth) an entrie to a conqueſt and overthrow of our Liberties, and altogether againſt the Lawes and Cuſtomes of this Realm, ſeeing it was begun, and yet continueth without any advice and conſent of the Nobility and Counſell of this Realm. Wherefore now, as oft before, according unto our duty to our Common-wealth, we moſt humbly require your Majeſtie, to cauſe your Strangers and Souldiers whatſoever, to depart the ſaid Town of *Lieth*, and make the ſame patent, not onely to the inhabitants, but alſo to all Scottiſh men, our Soveraign Ladies Leiges; aſſuring your Highneſſe, That if refuſing the ſame, ye declare thereby your evil minde towards the Common-wealth, and Liberty of this Realm, we will (as before) move and declare the cauſes unto the whole Nobility and Commonalty of this Realm. And according to the oath which we had ſworn for the maintenance of the Commonweale, in all manner of things to us poſſible, we will provide remedy therefore, requiring moſt humbly your Majeſties anſwer in haſte with the Bearer, becauſe in our eyes the act continually proceeds, declaring your determination of conqueſt, which is preſumed of all men, and not without cauſe. And thus after our commendation of ſervice, we pray Almighty God to have your Majeſty in his eternall tuition.

Theſe our Letters received, our Meſſenger was threatned, and withholden a whole day, thereafter he was diſmiſſed; without any other anſwer, But that ſhe would ſend an anſwer, when ſhe thought expedient. In this mean time, becauſe the rumour ceaſed not, that the Duke uſurped the authority, he was compelled with the ſound of trumpet at the Market-Croſſe of *Edinburgh* to make his Purgation as followeth, the 19 of *October*.

The Purgation of the Duke.

FOraſmuch as the Duke of *Chatellarault*, underſtanding the falſe report made by theſe about the Queen Regent againſt him, That he and his ſon the Lord *Arrane*, ſhould pretend uſurpation of the Crown and

Anno

Now the Duke seeing the Queens part'e decline, and the Protestant party grow strong, he once more changeth the profession of his Religion, and joyneth with the Protestants, as strongest.

authority of this Realm, when in very deed, he, nor his said son never once hath made any shew of any such thing, but onely in simplicity of heart, moved parly by the violent pursuit against Religion, and true Professours thereof, partly by compassion of the Common-wealth, and poore Commonalty of this Realme, oppressed with strangers; he joyned himselfe to the rest of the Nobility, with all hazard, to support the common Cause of the one & of the other; and hath thought expedient to purge himselfe and his said son in presence of you all, as he had done in presence of the counsell of that said crime of old, even by Summons laid to his charge the second yeere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Ladie: Which accusation hath continued ever against him, as guilty of that crime; he therefore now openly and plainly Protesteth, That neither he nor his said son, sues nor seeks any preeminence, either to the Crown or authority, but as far as his puissance may extend, is ready, and ever shall be, and his son also, to concurre with the rest of the Nobility his brethren, and all others, whose hearts are touched to maintain the common causes of Religion, and Liberty of their native Countrey, plainly invaded by the said Regent, and her said Souldiers, who onely do forge such vain reports, to withdraw the hearts of true Scottish-men from the succour they owe of bounden dutie to their Common-weale oppressed. Wherefore exhorting all men, that will maintain the true Religion of God, or withstand this oppression or plain conquest enterprised by strangers upon our native Scottish-men, not to credit such false and untrue reports. But rather concurre with us and the rest of the Nobility, to set our Countrey at liberty, expelling strangers therefrom, which doing, ye shall shew your selves obedient to the ordinance of God, which was established for maintenance of the Common-weale and true members of the same.

How true this is, the whole and constant course of the family can tell.

The 21 of Octob. came from the Queen Regent M. *Robert Forman*, Lion King of Arms, who brought unto us a Writing in this Tenor and Credit.

After commendations, We have received your Letter of Edinburgh, *the* 19 *of this instant, which appeareth to us, rather to have come from a Prince to his Subjects, then from Subjects to them that beare authority. For answer whereof, we have presently directed unto you this Bearer, Lion Herald King of Arms, sufficiently instructed with our minde, to whom ye shall give credence. At* Leith, *Octob.* 21. 1559.

Sic subscribitur.

Mary R.

His Credit is this.

Let this be noted, and let all men judge of the purpose of the *French* and how good and wise Patriots they were, who sold our Soveraign to *France* for their private profit, and they by name were the *Hamiltons*.

That the Queen wonders how any durst presume to command her in that Realm, which needeth not to be Conquest by any force, considering that it was already Conquest by Marriage. That French-men could not justly be called strangers, seeing that they were Naturalized; and therefore that she would neither make that Town patent, neither yet send any man away, but as she thought expedient. She accused the Duke of violating his promise. She made long Protestation of her love towards the Common-wealth of Scotland, *and in the end commanded, That under the pain of Treason all assistaries to the Duke and unto us, should depart from the Town of* Edinburgh.

This

This answer received, credit heard, preconceived malice sufficiently espied, consultation was taken what was expedient to be done. And for the first, it was concluded, That the Herald should be stayed, till further determination should be taken. Anno

The whole Nobility, Barons and Burgesses then present, were commanded to convene in the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh*, the same one and twentieth day of October, for deliberation of those matters, where the whole cause being exposed by the Lord *Ruthuen*, the question was propounded, *Whether she that so contemptuously refused the most humble request of the borne Councellors of the Realme, being also but a Regent, whose pretences threatned the bondage of the whole Common-wealth, ought to be suffered so tyrannically to domineer over them.* And because that this question had not been before disputed in open assembly, it was thought expedient that the judgement of the Preachers should be required; who being instructed in the case, *John Willock*, who before had sustained the burthen of the Church in *Edinburgh*, commanded to speak, made discourse as followeth:

The order of the suspension of the Queen Regent from Authority within Scotland.

Affirming, first, That albeit Magistrates be Gods Ordinance, having of him Power and Authority, yet is not their Power so largely extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in his Word.

The discourse of *Iohn Willock*.

And secondarily, That as subjects are commanded to obey their Magistrates, so are the Magistrates commanded to give some duty to their subjects, so that God by his Word hath prescribed the Office of the one and of the other.

Thirdly, That albeit God hath appointed Magistrates his Lieutenants on earth, and hath honoured them with his own Title, calling them Gods, That yet he did never so firmly establish any, but at his pleasure, he seeing just cause, might deprive them.

Fourthly, That in deposing of Princes, and those that have been in Authority, God did not alwayes use his immediate power, but sometimes he useth second means, which his wisedome thought good, and Justice approved: As by *Asa*, he removed *Maacha* his owne mother from Honour and Authority which before she had used. By *Jehu*, he destroyed *Jeram*, and the whole posterity of *Achab*. And by divers others he hath deposed from Authority those whom before he had established by his own Word. And hereupon concluded he, That sith the Queen Regent denied her chief duty to the subjects of this Realme, which was, To minister Justice to them indifferently, to preserve their Liberties from invasion of strangers, and to suffer them to have Gods Word freely and openly preached amongst them. Seeing moreover that the Queen Regent was an open and obstinate Idolatresse, a vehement maintainer of all Superstition and Idolatry, as also she openly declares the Countrie to be conquest, and no more free. And finally, That she utterly despiseth the counsell and requests of the Nobility: he could see no reason why they the borne Counsellors, Nobility, and Barons of the Realme might not justly deprive her from all Regiment and Authority amongst them.

The causes.

Hereafter was the judgement of *Iohn Knox* required, who approving the sentence of his brother, added, first, That the iniquity of the Queen Regent and disorder, ought in no wise to withdraw neither our

The judgment of *Iohn Knox* in the deposition of the Queen Regent.

Anno

our hearts, neither yet the hearts of other subjects from the obedience due unto our Soveraigne.

Let no man then for privat ends, and by-wayes, do any thing against their Prince, under pretence of the publike.

Secondly, That if we deposed the said Queen Regent rather of malice and private envie, then for the preservation of the Common-wealth, and for that her sins appeared incurable, That we should not escape Gods just punishment, howsoever that she had deserved rejection from honors.

And thirdly, he required, That no such sentence should be pronounced against her, but that upon known and open repentance, and upon her conversion to the Common-wealth, and submission to the Nobility, place should be granted unto her of regresse to the same honours from the which for just causes she justly might be deprived.

The Votes of every man particularly by himself required, and every man commanded to speak as he would answer to God, what his conscience judged in that matter, there was none found amongst the whole number, who did not by his tongue consent to her deprivation. Thereafter was her Processe committed to Writing, and registred as followeth.

Articles against the Queen Regent.

1559 AT *Edinburgh* the one and twentieth day of October, 1556. the Nobility, Barons and Burgesses convened, to advise upon the affairs of the Common-wealth, and to ayd, support and succour the same, perceiving and lamenting the enterprised destruction of their said Common-wealth, and overthrow of the liberties of their native Countrey, by the means of the Queen Regent, and certain strangers her privie Counsellors, plain contrary to our Soveraign Lord and Ladies mind, and direct against the counsell of the Nobility, to proceed by little and little, even unto the uttermost ruine; So that the urgent necessity of the Common-wealth may no longer suffer delay, and earnestly craveth our support. Seeing therefore that the said Q. Regent (abusing and overpassing our Soveraigne Lord and Ladies Commission given and granted to her) hath in all her proceedings pursued the Barons and Burgesses within this Realme, with Weapons and Armour of strangers, without any Processe and order of Law, they being our Soveraigne Lord and Ladies true Lieges, and never called nor convinced of any crime by any judgement lawfull. As first, at S. *Iohnston*, in the moneth of May, she assembled her Army against the Towne, and the Inhabitants thereof, never called nor convinced of any crime, onely because they professed the true Worship of God, conform to his most sacred Word. 2. And likewise in the moneth of June last, without any order or calling going before, invaded the persons of sundry Noble-men and Barons with force of Armes, convened at S. *Andrews*, onely for Cause of Religion, as is notoriously known, they never being called nor convinced of any crime. 3. Again, laid Garrisons the same moneth upon the Inhabitants of the said Town, oppressing the liberties of the Queens true Lieges: For fear of which her Garrisons, a great part of the Inhabitants thereof fled from the Towne, and durst not resort again unto their houses and heritages, untill they were restored by Arms; they notwithstanding never being called nor convinced of any crime. 4. Further, at that same time did thrust in

The enormities committed by the Queen Regent.

upon

upon the heads of the Inhabitants of the ſaid Towne, Proveſt, and Bay-liffs, againſt all order of Election, as lately in this month of September ſhe had done in other Towns of *Edinburgh* and *Jedburgh*, and divers other places, in manifeſt oppreſſion of our Liberties. 5. declaring her evill minde towards the Nobility, Commonalty, and whole Nation, ſhe hath brought in ſtrangers, and daily pretends to bring in greater force of the ſame, pretending a manifeſt Conqueſt of our native rooms and Countrey, as the deed it ſelf declareth; in ſo far, as ſhe having brought in the ſaid ſtrangers without any adviſe of Councell and Nobility, and contrary to their expreſſe minde ſent to her in Writing, hath placed and planted her ſaid ſtrangers in one of the principall Towns and parts of the Realm, ſending continually for greater Forces, willing thereby to ſuppreſſe the Common-weale, and liberty of our native Countrey, to make us and our poſterity ſlaves to ſtrangers for ever; which, as it is intolerable to Common-wealths and free Countreys, ſo it is very prejudiciall to our Soveraign Lady and her Heirs whatſoever; in caſe our Soveraigne Lady deceaſe without Heirs of her Perſon. And to performe theſe her wicked enterpriſes, conceived (as appeareth) of inveterate malice againſt our whole Countrey and Nation, cauſed (without any conſent or adviſe of the Councell and Nobility) to coyn lead Money, ſo baſe, and of ſuch quantity, that the whole Realme ſhall be depauperate, and all Traffique with forraigne Nations everted thereby. 6. Again, ſhe ſo placeth and maintaineth againſt the pleaſure of the Councell of this Realme, a ſtranger in one of the greateſt Offices of credit in this Realme, that is in keeping of the Great Seal thereof, wherein great perills may be ingendred to the Common-weale, and Liberty thereof. 7. Further, lately ſent the Great Seal forth of this Realme by the ſaid ſtranger, againſt the advice of the ſaid Councell, to what effect, God knoweth. 8. And hath alſo by this means altered the old Law and Cuſtome of this our Realme, ever obſerſerved in the Graces and Pardons granted bo our Soveraigns to all their Lieges, being repentant of their offences committed againſt their Majeſties, or the Lieges of the Realme. And hath introduced a new captious ſtile and form of the ſaid Pardons and Remiſſions, conform to the practices of *France*, tending thereby to draw the ſaid Lieges of this Realm, by proceſſe of time, into a deceivable ſnare, and further ſhall creep in the whole ſubverſion and alteration of the remanent Laws of this Realme, contrary to the Contents of the Appointment of Marriage. 9. And alſo Peace being accorded amongſt the Princes, retaineth the great Army of ſtrangers, after commandment ſent by the King of *France* to retire the ſame, making excuſe that they were retained for the ſuppreſſing the attempts of the Lieges of this Realme; albeit the whole ſubjects thereof of all eſtates, is, and ever hath been readie to give all dutifull obedience to their Soveraignes, and their lawfull miniſters proceeding by Gods Ordinance: And the ſame Army of ſtrangers not being paid in wages, was laid by her upon the necks of the poor Commonalty of our native Countrey, who were compelled by force to defraud themſelves, their wives and children, of that poor ſubſtance which they might purchaſe with the ſweat of their brows, to ſatisfie their hunger and neceſſities, and quit the

Anno

Her daughter followed the ſame, for to *Davie* was delivered the Great Seal.

Note.

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ſame to ſuſtain the idle bellies of her ſtrangers ; through the which, in all parts roſe ſuch heavy lamentation and complaint of the Commonalty, accuſing the Counſell and Nobility of their ſloth, that as the ſame oppreſſion we doubt not hath entred in before the Juſtice Seat of God, ſo hath it moved our hearts to pity and compaſſion. And for redreſſe of the ſame, with other great offences committed againſt the publike weale of this Realme, we have convened here as ſaid is : and as oftentimes before have moſt humbly and with all reverence deſired and required the ſaid Queen Regent to redreſſe the ſaid enormities, and eſpecially to remove her ſtrangers from the necks of the poor Commonalty, and to deſiſt from enterpriſing of fortification of Strengths within this Realme, againſt the expreſſe will of the Nobility and Councell of the ſame ; yet we being convened the more ſtrong for fear of her ſtrangers, who we ſaw preſume no other thing, but with Arms to purſue our lives and poſſeſſions, Beſought her to remove the fear of the ſame, and make the Town Patent to all our Soveraigne Lord and Ladies Lieges. The ſame in no wiſe would ſhe grant unto, but when ſome of our company in peaceable manner went to view the Towne, there was both great and ſmall Munition ſhot forth at them. And ſeeing therefore that neither acceſſe was granted to be uſed, nor yet ſhe would joyn her ſelf to us to conſult upon the Affairs of our Common-wealth, as that we be borne Councellors to the ſame by ancient Laws of the Realme : But fearing leſt the judgement of the Counſell would reform, as neceſſity required, the aforeſaid enormities, ſhe refuſeth all manner of aſſiſtance with us, and by force and violence intendeth to ſuppreſſe the Liberties of our Common-weale, and of us the favourers of the ſame. We therefore, ſo many of the Nobility, Barons, and Proveſts of our Boroughs, as are touched with the care of the Common-weale (unto the which we acknowledge our ſelves, not onely borne, but alſo ſworne Protectors and Defenders, againſt all and whatſoever invaders of the ſame) and moved by the foreſaid proceedings notorious, and with the lamentable complaint of oppreſſion of our Commonalty, our fellow members of the ſame. Perceiving farther, That the preſent neceſſity of our Common-weale may ſuffer no delay, being convened (as ſaid is) preſently in *Edinburgh*, for ſupport of our Common-weal, and ripely conſulted and adviſed, taken the fear of God before our eyes, for the cauſes foreſaid, which are notorious, with one conſent and common vote. Every man in order his judgement being required, in the Name and Authority of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, ſuſpend the ſaid Commiſſion granted by our ſaid Soveraigne to the ſaid Queen Dowager, diſcharging her of all Adminiſtration or Authority ſhe hath, or may have thereby, unto the next Parliament, to be ſet by our advice and conſent : And that becauſe the ſaid Queen, by the foreſaid faults notorious, declareth her ſelfe enemy to our Common-weale, abuſing the Power of the ſaid Authority, to the deſtruction of the ſame : And likewiſe we diſcharge all members of her ſaid Authority from thenceforth ; and that no Coyn be coyned from thenceforth, without expreſſe conſent of the ſaid Councell and Nobility, conform to the Laws of this Realme, which we maintain, And ordaine this to be notified and proclaimed by Officers of Arms, in all head

Note.

Note.

head Boroughs within the Realm of *Scotland*. In witnesse of the which our common consent and free Vote, we have subscribed this present act of suspension with our hands, day, yeere, and place aforesaid. Anno

Sic subscribitur.

By us the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland.

After that this our act of suspension was by sound of Trumpet divulgate at the Market-Crosse of *Edinburgh*, we dismissed the Herald with this Answer.

MADAME,

WE received your Answer, and heard the credit of Lion King of Armes, whereby we gathered sufficiently your perseverance in evil minde towards us, the glory of God, our Common-weale, and Liberty of our native Countrey. For safety of the which, according to our duty, we have in our Soveraign Lord and Ladies name suspended your Commission, and all administration of policie which you may pretend thereby, being most assuredly perswaded, That your proceedings are direct contrary to our Soveraigne Lord and Ladies will, which we ever esteem to be for the weale, and not for the hurt of this our Common-wealth. And as you will not acknowledge us our Soveraigne Lord and Lady, their true Barons, and Leiges for your Subjects and Counsel, no more will we acknowledge you for any Regent or lawfull Magistrate unto us, seeing, if any authority ye have by reason of our Soveraignes Commission granted unto you, The same for most worthy reasons is worthily suspended by us, in the name and authority of our Soveraigne, whose counsell we are of in the affaires of this our Common-weale. And forasmuch as we are determinate with hazard of our lives to set that Town at liberty wherein you have most wrongfully planted your Souldiers and strangers; For the reverence we owe to your person, as mother to our Soveraigne Lady, we require your Highnesse to transport your person therefrom, seeing we are constrained for the necessity of the Common-weale, to follow the same by Arms, being denied oft the liberty thereof by sundry requisitions made oft before. Again, we desire you cause depart with you out of the said Town, any person having Commission in Embassie, if any such be, or in Lieutenantship of our Soveraigns, together with all French-men Souldiers, being within the same (whose blood we thirst not, because of the old amity and friendship betwixt the Realme of *France* and us; which amity by the occasion of the marriage of our Soveraigne Lady to the King of that Realm, should rather increase then decrease.) And this we pray your Highnesse and them both to do, within the space of twenty foure houres, for the reverence we owe to your persons. And thus recommending our humble service to you, we commit your Highnesse to the eternall protection of God. At *Edinburgh*, the 24 of October 1559.

Note. All done in the Soveraigne Name, as they do now a-days.

Your Highnesse humble servitors

The

Anno

The day following we summoned the Town of Leith *by the sound of Trumpet, in forme as followeth.*

I Require and charge in the name of our Soveraign Lord and Ladie, and of the Counsell presently in *Edinburgh*, That all Scots and French-men of whatsoever estate and degree they be, depart out of the Towne of *Lieth* within the space of twelve houres, and make the same patent to all and sundry our Soveraigne Ladies Leiges: For seeing we have no such hatred at either the one or the other that we thirst the blood of any of the two, for the one is our naturall brother, born, nourished, and brought up within the bowels of one common Countrey, and with the other our nation hath continued long amity and allie, and hopeth that so shall do, so long as they use us as friends, and not strive to make slaves of friends, which this strengthening of our Towns pretendeth. And therefore most heartily desire, that one and the other to desist from fortifying or maintaining of this Town, in our Soveraignes and their said Councells name, requiring them to make the same free within the space of twelve houres.

Defiance given, there was skirmishing, without great slaughter, preparation of Scales and Ladders was made for the Assault, which was concluded by common consent of the Nobility and Barons. The Scales were appointed to be made in Saint *Giles* Church, so that Preaching was neglected, which did not a little grieve the Preachers, and many godly with them. The Preachers spared not openly to say, That they feared the successe of that enterprise should not be prosperous, because the beginning appeared to bring with it some contempt of God and of his Word; other places, said they, had been more apt for such Preparations, then where the people conveaned to Common-Prayers and unto Preaching. In very deed the audience was wonderfully troubled all that time, which (with other disorder espied amongst us) gave occasion to our Preachers to affirme, That God could not suffer such contempt of his Word and abuses of his Grace, long to be unpunished. The Queen had amongst us her assured espies, who did not onely signifie unto her what was our estate: but also what was our counsell, purposes, and devices. Some of our own company were vehemently suspected to be the very betrayers of all our secrets; for a boy of the Officials of *Lowthian*, Master *James Balfour*, was taken carrying a Writ, which did open the most secret thing that was devised in the Councell; yea, those very things which were thought to have been known but to very few. By such domesticall enemies were not onely our purposes frustrate, but also our determinations were oft times overthrowne and changed. The Dukes friends gave unto him such terrours, that he was greatly troubled, and by his feare, were troubled many others. The men of Warre (*for the most part were men without God or honesty*) made a mutiny, because they lacked a part of their wages. They had done the same in *Linlithquow* before, wheree

Note.

Treason among the counsell.

The Duke and his friends fearfull

The ungodly Souldiers.

where they made a Proclamation, That they would serve any man, to suppresse the Congregation, and set up the Masse againe. They made a fray upon my Lord *Argyles* Hie-land men, and slew one of the principall men of his Chamber, who notwithstanding, behaved himselfe so moderately, and so studious to pacifie that tumult, that many wondered, as well of his prudent councell and stoutnesse, as of the great obedience of his company. The ungodly Souldiers in hatred of goodnesse and good men, continuing in their disorder, mocked the Laird of *Tullibarne*, and other Noble-men, who exhorted them to quietnesse. All these troubles were practised by the Queene, and put in execution by the Traitours among our selves: Who albeit then lurked, and yet are not manifestly noted, yet we doubt not but God shall make them knowne to their confusion, and to the example of others. To pacifie the men of Warre a collection was devised: But because some were poore, and some were niggards and avaritious, there could no sufficient sum be obtained. It was thought expedient that a Coyne-House should be made; That every Noble-man should Coyn his Silver-work and Plate, to supply the present necessity. And there-through *David Forresse*, *John Hart* and others, who before had charge of the Coyning-House, did promise their faithfull labours. But when the matter came to the very point, the said *John Hart* and others of his faction stole away, and took with them the instruments apt for that purpose; Whether this was done by the falshood and feeblenesse of the said *John*, or the practising of others, is yet uncertaine. Rested then no hope amongst our selves, that any Money could be furnished: And therefore it was concluded by a few of those whom we judged most secret, That Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *James Crofts*, then having charge at *Barwick*, should be tempted, If they would support us with any reasonable sum in that urgent necessitie. And for that purpose was the Laird of *Ormeston* directed unto them, in so secret manner as we could devise. But yet our counsell was disclosed to the Queen, who appointed the Lord *Bothwell* (as himselfe confessed) to wait upon the returning of the said Laird; as that he did with all diligence, and so being assuredly informed, by what way he came, the said Earle *Bothwell* foreset his way; and comming upon him unaware, did take him, after that he was evil wounded in the head, for neither could he get his ledd Horse, nor his steele Bonnet; with him was taken the sum of foure thousand Crowns of the Sun; which the forenamed Sir *Ralph* and Sir *James* most lovingly had sent for our support. By the brute hereof coming to our eares, our dolour was doubled, not so much for losse of the Money, as for the losse of the Gentlemen whom we suspected to have been slain, or at the least, that he should be delivered to the Queens hands. And so upon the sudden the Earle of *Arrane*, the Lord *James*, the Master of *Maxwell*, with the most part of the Horse-men, tooke purpose to pursue the said Earle *Bothwell*, if they might apprehend him in *Crychton* or *Morhan*, whitherto (as they were informed) he had retired himselfe after his treasonable act: We call his act treasonable, because that three dayes before he had sent his especiall servant, Master *Michael Balfoure*, to us to

Anno

The Queene Regents practises

The fact of the councell.

The treason of *John* [redacted].

Note the kindnesse of the English in need.

Anno

The E. *Bothwell* false in promise and his treasonable fact

Edinburgh, to purchase of the Lords of the Councell License to come and speak with us, which we granted, after that he had promised, That in the mean time he should neither hurt us, nor yet any to us appertaining, till that he should write his answer again, Whether that he would joyne with us or not. He gave us farther to understand, That he would discharge himselfe of the Queene, and thereafter would assist us. And yet in this meane time he cruelly and traiterously hurt and spoiled the Noble-man aforesaid. Albeit that the departure and counsell of the Earle of *Arrane* and Lord *James*, with their company aforesaid, was very sudden and secret, yet was the Earle *Bothwell*, then being in *Crychton*, advertised, and so escaped with the money which he tooke with himselfe, as the Captaine of his house *John Somerwaile* (which was taken without long pursuit) confessed and affirmed; Because that the Noble-men that sought redresse, sought rather his safetie and reconciliation, then destruction and hatred. They committed his house to the custodie of a Captain, to wit, Captain *Forbesse*. To whom, and to all Souldiers there left, was given a sharpe commandment, That all things found within the said house of *Crychton* (which were put in inventory, in presence of the Lords) should be kept till that the Earle *Bothwell* should give answer, Whether he would make restitution or not: time of advertisment was granted unto him, the whole day subsequent, till going down of the sun. In absence of the said Lords and horsemen (we meane the same day that they departed, which was the last of October) the Provest and Town of *Dundie*, together with some Souldiers, passed forth of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and carried with them some great Ordnance, to shoot at *Leith*. The Duke, the Earle of *Glencarne*, and the rest of the Noble-men were gone to the Preaching, where they continued almost till noone. The French being advertised by one named *Clerk* (who after was apprehended) that our horsemen were absent, and that the whole company were at dinner, issued, and with great expedition came to the place where our Ordnance was laid. The Town of *Dundie* with a few other, resisted a while, as well with the Ordnance as hakbuts, but being left by our ungodly and feeble Souldiers, who fled without stroke offered or given, they were compelled to give back, and so to leave the Ordnance to the enemies, who further pursued the fugitives, to wit, to the midst of the *Cannongate*, and to the foot of *Leith* winde. Their cruelty began then to discover it selfe, for the maimed, the aged, the women and children, found no greater favour in their fury, then did the strong man, who made resistance. It was very apparant, that among our selves there was some treason. For when upon the first alarme all men made haste for reliefe of their brethren, whom in very deed we might have saved, and at least we might have saved the Ordnance, and have kept the *Cannongate* from danger. For we were once marched forward with bold courage, but then (we say) was a shout raised amongst our selves (God will disclose the traitours one day) affirming, That the whole French Company were entred in at *Leith-winde* upon our backs. What clamour and disorder did then suddenly arise, we list not to expresse with multiplication of words. The horsmen, and some of those that ought to have put order to others, over-rode their

Note.

The first departing of the Congregation.

The cruelty of the French.

Note this diligently.

their poor brethren at the entry of the nether Bow. The cry of discomfort arose in the Towne, the wicked and malignant blasphemed. The feeble (amongst whom the Justice *Clerk*, Sir *John Ballenden* was) fled without delay. With great difficulty could they be kept in at the West Port. M. *Gawan Hamilton* cryed with a loud voice, *Drinke now as ye have brewed.* The French perceiving by the clamour of our fray, followed as said is, to the midst of the Cannon-gate, to no great number, but a twenty or thirty of their foot losse; for in the mean time the rest retired themselves with our Ordinance. The Earle of *Argyle* and his men were the first that stopped the flying of our men, and compelled the Port to be opened after that it was shut. But in very deed, Lord *Robert Stewart*, Abbot of *Halyrud-house* was the first that issued forth; after him followed many upon the backs of the French. At last came the Duke, and then was no man more busie, then was M. *Gawan Hamilton* aforesaid. The French burnt a Back-house, and took some spoile from the poor of the Cannon-gate. They slue a Papist, and a drunken Priest named Sir *Thomas Sklaitter*, an aged man, a woman giving suck, and her childe; and of our Souldiers, to the number of ten: Certain were taken, amongst whom Captain *Mowet* was one, M. *Charles Geddes*, domestick to the Master of *Maxwell*. The Capt. of the Castle that day shot a Shot at the French, declaring them thereby friends to us, and enemy to them, but he suddenly repented of well-doing. The Queen glad of Victory, sate upon the Rampart, to salute and welcome her victorious souldiers: one brought a Kirtle, another a Petticoat, the third a Pot or Ran; and of envy, more then womanly laughter, she asked, *Where bought ye your ware? Ie pense que vous l'aues achete sans argent.* This was the great and motherly care which she took for the trouble of the poor subjects of this Realme. The Earle *Bothwell* lifted up in his owne conceit, by reason of this our repulse and discomfiture, utterly refused any restitution; and so within two dayes after was his house spoyled, in which were no things of great importance, his Evidences, and certain Clothing excepted. From that day back the carriage of money was dejected, with great difficulty could men be retained in the Towne; yea, some of the greatest estimation determined with themselves to leave the enterprise; many fled away secretly, and those that did abide (a very few excepted) appeared destitute of counsell and manhood. The Master of *Maxwell*, a man stout and witty, foreseeing the danger, desired most gravely either to take such order, that they might remaine to the terrour of the enemy, or else that they should retire themselves with their Ordnance, and Banners displayed in order. But the wits of men being dashed, no counsell could prevaile. We continued from Wednesday the last of *October*, till Munday the fifth of *November*, never two or three abiding firme in one opinion the space of four and twenty houres. The pestilent wits of the Queens practisers did then exercise themselves (God shall recompence their malicious craft in their owne bosome, we doubt not) for they caused two godly and forward young men, the Lairds of *Farnihaste* and *Cesfurd*, who once had gladly joyned themselves with us, to with-draw them-

Anno

The Earle of *Argyle*.

Lord *Robert Stewart*.

The Castle shot one Shot.

The Queen Regents rejoycing and unwomanly behaviour.

The counsel of the Master of *Maxwell*.

Anno

themselves and their friends. The same they did to the Earle *Morton*, who promised to be ours, but did not plainly joyn. They enticed the Captain of the Castle to deny us support, in case we were pursued. And finally, the counsell of some was no lesse pestiferous against us, then was the counsell of *Achitophel* against *David*, and his discomfited souldiers. (*Render Lord to the wicked according to their malice.*) Upon Munday the fifth of *November* did the French issue out of *Leith* betimes in the morning, for keeping of the Victualls which should have come to us, we being troubled among our selves, and as said is divided in opinions, were neither circumspect when they did issue, neither yet did we follow with such expedition as had been meet for them that would have sought our advantage. Our souldiers could scarcely be driven forth of the Towne: The Earle of *Arran*, Lord *James*, and certain with them, made haste; many honest men then followed, and made such diligence, that they caused the French once to retire somewhat affrayedly. The rest that were in *Leith* perceiving the danger of their fellows, issued out for their succour. The Earle of *Arran* and Lord *James* aforesaid, being more forward then prudent and circumspect, did compell the Captains, as is alleadged, to bring their men so nigh, that either they must needs have hazarded battell with the whole French-men (and that under the mercy of their Cannons also) or else they must needs retire in a very narrow corner: For our men were approached neer to *Lestarrig*: The one part of the French were upon the North toward the Sea, the other part marched from *Leith* to *Edinburgh*; and yet they marched so, that we could have foughten with neither Company before that they should have joyned. We took purpose therefore to retire towards the Towne, and that in haste, lest that the former Company of the French should either have invaded the Towne before that we could have come to the rescue thereof, or else have cut us off from the entry of the Abbey of *Halyrud-house*; as apparantly they had done, if that the Laird of *Grange*, and *Alexander Whitlaw*, with a few Horse-men, had not stayed both their Horse-men and Foot-men. The Company which was next us perceiving that we retired, with speed sent forth their skirmishers, to the number of three or four hundred, who took us at a disadvantage, before us having the mire of *Lestarrig* betwixt us and them: and we were enclosed by the Park ditch, so that in no wise we could avoid their shot. The Horse-men followed upon our heels, and slue divers. Our own Horse-men over-rode our Foot-men; and so by reason of the narrownesse of the place, there was no resistance made. The Earle of *Arran*, and Lord *James*, in great danger, lighted amongst the Foot-men, exhorting them to have some respect to order, and to the safety of their brethren, whom by their flying they exposed to murther, and so were criminall of their death. Captain *Alexander Halyburnetoun*, a man that feared God, tarried with certain of his Souldiers behinde, and made resistance, till that he was first shot, and then taken; but being known, those cruell murtherers wounded him in divers parts to the death, and yet as it were by the power of God, he was brought in to the Towne, where in few, but yet most plaine words, he gave Confession of his Faith, testifying, That he doubted nothing

The last discomfiture upon Munday.

nothing of Gods mercy, purchased to him by the Blood of Christ Jesus, neither yet that he repented that it pleased God to make him worthy to shed his blood, and spend his life in defence of so just a Cause. And thus, with the dolour of many, he ended his dolour, and did enter (we doubt not) into that blessed Immortality, within two hours after our departure. There were slain to the number of twenty four or thirty men, the most part poor. There was taken the Laird of *Pitmillie*, the Laird of *Pharnie* younger, the Master of *Bowchane*, *George Cuwell* of *Dundie*, and some others of lower rank, *John Dumbar* Lieutenant to Captain *Movet*, Captain *David Murray* had his horse slain, and himselfe hurt in the legge.

Anno

The death of *Alexander Haliburnton* Captaine.

Few dayes before our first departure, which was upon Alhallow Even, *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, Secretary to the Queen, perceiving himself not onely to be suspected as one that favoured our part, but also to stand in danger of his life, if he should remain amongst so ungodly a company; for whensoever matters came in question, he spared not to speak his conscience: which liberty of tongue, and gravity of judgement, the French did highly disdain. Which perceived by him, he conveyed himself away in the morning, and tendred himself to M. *Kirkcaldie* Laird of *Grange*; who coming to us, did exhort us to constancy, assuring us, That in the Queen there was nothing but craft and deceit. He travelled exceedingly to have retained the Lords together, and most prudently laid before their eyes the dangers that might ensue their departing from the Towne: but fear and dolour had so seized the hearts of all, that they could admit no consolation. The Earle of *Arran*, and the Lord *James* offered to abide, if any reasonable company would abide with them; but men did so steal away, that the wit of man could not stay them: yea, some of the greatest determined plainly, That they would not abide. The Captain of the Castle, then Lord *Erskin*, would promise unto us no favour, but said, He must needs declare himself friend to those that were able to support and defend him. Which answer given to the Lord *Iames*, discouraged those that before determined to have abidden the uttermost, rather then to have abandoned the Towne, so that the Castle would have stood their friend: but the contrary declared, every man took purpose for himself. The complaints of the brethren within the Towne of *Edinburgh* was lamentable and sore: the wicked then began to spue forth the venome which then lurked in their cankred hearts: The godly, as well those that were departed, as the inhabitants of the Town, were so troubled, that some of them would have preferred death to life at Gods pleasure. For avoiding of danger, it was concluded, That they should depart at midnight. The Duke made provision for his Ordnance, and caused it to be sent before, but the rest was left to the care of the Captain of the Castle, who received it, as well that which appertained to the Lord *Iames*, as that of *Dundie*. The despightfull tongues of the wicked rayled upon us, calling us Traytors and Hereticks; every one provoked other to cast stones at us: One cryed, Alas if I might see another defie given; Give advertisement to the French-men, that they may come, and we shall help them now to cut the throats of these hereticks. And thus

How, and why *William Maitland* left *Leith*.

The Lord *Erskin* declared himself enemy to the Congregation.

The despight of the Papists of *Edinburgh*.

Anno

The worst is not yet come upon our enemies.

thus, as the sword of dolour passed thorow our hearts, so were the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts then revealed: For we would never have believed that our naturall Countrey-men and women could have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoyced in our adversity (God move their hearts to repentance) for else we fear that he whose Cause we sustain, shall let them feel the weight of the yoke of cruell strangers, into whose hands they wished us to have been betrayed. We stayed not, till we came to *Sterlin*, which we did the day after that we departed from *Edinburgh*; for it was concluded, that there consultation should be taken, What was the next remedy in so desperate a matter. The next Wednesday, which was the 7 of *November*, *John Knox* preached (*John Willock* was gone into *England*, as before he appointed) and treated of the 5, 6, 7, and 8 Verses of the 80 *Psalm*, where *David*, in the person of the afflicted people of God, speaketh this in the fourth Verse:

The Sermon of *John Knox* in *Sterlin*, in the greatest of our trouble.

O thou the eternall, the God of Hosts, how long shalt thou be against the prayer of thy people?

5. Thou hast fed us with the bread of tears, and hast given to us tears to drinke in great measure.

6. Thou hast made us a strife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laught us to scorne amongst themselves.

7. O God of Hosts, turne us againe, make thy face to shine, and we shall be saved, &c.

This Psalme had the said *John* begun in *Edinburgh*, as it were foreseeing our calamity, of which in very deed he did not obscurely speak, but he plainly did admonish us, That he was assured of troubles suddenly to come, and therefore he exhorted all men to prayers. He treated the first three Verses in *Edinburgh*, to the comfort of many.

The Argument of the 80 Psalme.

He declared the Argument of the Psalme, affirming for his judgement, That it was made by *David* himself, who in the Spirit of Prophesie foresaw the miserable estate of Gods people, especially after the ten Tribes were divided, and departed from the obedience of *Juda*; for it was not (said he) without cause, that *Joseph*, *Ephraim*, *Benjamin*, and *Manasse* was especially named, and not *Juda*; to wit, Because that they came first to calamity, and were translated from their own Inheritance, while that *Juda* yet possessed the Kingdome. He confessed that justly they were punished for Idolatry committed; but he affirmed, That amongst them there remained some true worshippers of God, for whose comfort were the Prophets sent, as well to call them to repentance, as to assure them of deliverance, and of the promises of God to be performed unto them.

Note:

The

Anno

The Division.

He divided the Psalme into three parts; to wit,

1. In a Prayer.
2. In the ground whereupon their Prayer was founded.
3. And in the lamentable complaints, and the Vow they made unto God.

Their Prayer was, *That God should convert and turne them, That he should make his face to shine upon them, And that he should restore them to their former dignity.*

The Grounds and Foundations of their Prayers were,

1. That God himself had become Pastor and Governour unto them.
2. That he had taken the protection of them into his own hand.
3. That he had chosen his habitation amongst them.
4. That he had delivered them from Bondage and Thraldome.
5. That he had multiplied and blessed them with many notable Benedictions.

Upon those two parts he gave these Notes.

First, That the felicity of Gods people may not be measured by any externall appearance; for often it is, That the same people to whom God becometh not onely Creator, but Pastor and Protector, is more severely dealt with, then those Nations where very ignorance and contempt of God raigneth.

Secondly, That God never made his acquaintance and league with one people by his Word, but that there he had some of his elect, who albeit they suffered for a time in the midst of the wicked, yet in the end they found comfort, and felt in very experience, that Gods promises are not vaine. *Note.*

Thirdly, That those prayers were dyted unto the people by the holy Ghost, before they came to the uttermost of trouble, to assure them that God, by whose Spirit the Prayer was dyted, would not contemne the same in the midst of their calamities.

The third part, containing the lamenable complaint, he treated on in *Sterlin*, in presence of the Duke, and of the whole Councell.

In the exposition thereof, he declared wherfore God in wisedom sometimes suffered his chosen Flock to be exposed to mockage and dangers, and to appearing destruction; to wit, That they may feel the vehemency of Gods indignation, That they may know how little strength is in themselves, That they may leave a testimony to the Generations following, as well Note diligently.

Anno

well of the malice of the Devill against Gods people, as of the marvellous work of God in preserving his little flock by farre other means than man can espie.

In explaning these words, *How long shalt thou be angry, O Lord, against the prayer of thy people*; he declared how dolorous and fearfull it was to fight against that temptation, that God turned away his face from our prayers, for that was nothing else than to comprehend and conceive God to bee armed to our destruction: which temptation no flesh can abide nor overcome, unlesse the mighty Spirit of God interpose himself suddenly.

The example he gave, The impaciency of *Saul*, when God would not hear his prayers.

The difference betwixt the Elect and Reprobate in that Temptation, he plainly declared to be, that the Elect sustained by the secret power of Gods Spirit, did still call upon God, albeit he appeared to contemne their prayers: which (said he) is the sacrifice most acceptable to God, and is in a manner even to fight with God, and to overcome him, as *Iacob* did in wrastling with his Angell.

But the Reprobate (said he) being denyed of their requests at Gods hand, do either cease to pray and contemne God, who straightlie commandeth us to call upon him in the day of adversitie, or else they seek at the Devill, that which they see they cannot obtain by God.

Note.

2. In the second part he declared how hard it was to this corrupt nature of ours not to rejoyce and put confidence in our selves when God giveth victory, and therefore how necessary it was that man by affliction should be brought to the knowledge of his own infirmitie, least that he being puffed up with vain confidence, he make *an Idoll of his owne strength*, as did King *Nebuchadnezzar*.

He did gravely dispute upon the nature of the blinde world, which in all ages had insolently rejoyced when God did chasten his own children, whose glory and honour because the Reprobate can never see, therefore they despise them, and the wondrous works of God in them. And yet (said he) the joy and rejoycing of the world, is but meer sorrow, because the end of it tendeth to sudden destructon, as the riotous banquetting of *Baltasar* declareth, applying these heads to the time and persons (he said) if none of Gods children had suffered before us the same injuries that presently we sustaine, these our troubles would appear intollerable, such is our tender delicacie, and selfe-love of our owne flesh. That these things which we lightly passe over in others, we can greatlie complaine of, if they touch our selves.

I doubt not but that some of us have ofter then once read this Psalme, as also that we have read and heard the travell and troubles of our ancient Fathers. But which of us, either in reading or hearing their dolours and temptations did so discend into our selves that we felt the bitternesse of their passions? I think none. And therefore hath God brought us to some experience in our own persons.

But yet because the matter may appear obscure, unlesse it be more properly applyed; I cannot in conscience but use such plainnesse as God shall

Anno

Specialis Applicatio.

ſhall grant unto me. Our faces are this day confounded, our enemies triumph, our hearts have quaked for fear, and yet they remain oppreſſed with ſorrow and ſhame. But what ſhall we think to be the very cauſe that God hath thus dejected us; if I ſhall ſay, Our ſins, and former unthankfulneſſe unto God, I ſpeak the truth, but yet I ſpeak more generally then the preſent neceſſity requireth: For when the ſins of men are rebuked in generall, ſeldome it is that man deſcendeth within himſelf, accuſing and condemning in himſelf that which moſt diſpleaſeth God; but rather he doubteth that to be a cauſe, which before God is no cauſe indeed. For example, The Iſraelites fighting againſt the Tribe of *Benjamin*, were twice diſcomfited with the loſſe of 40000 men. They lamented and bewailed both firſt and laſt; but we finde not that they came to the knowledge of their offence and ſin which was the cauſe that they fell by the edge of the ſword; but rather they doubted that to have been a cauſe of their misfortune, which God had commanded; for they asked, Shall we go and fight any more againſt our brethren the ſonnes of *Benjamin*. By which queſtion it is evident, That they ſuppoſed that the cauſe of their overthrow and diſcomfite was, Becauſe they had lifted the ſword againſt their brethren and naturall Countrey-men: And yet the expreſſe Commandment of God that was given unto them, did deliver them from all crime in that cauſe. There is no doubt, but that there was ſome cauſe in the Iſraelites that God gave them ſo over into the hands of theſe wicked men, againſt whom he ſent them, by his own expreſſe Commandment, to execute his Judgements. Such as do well mark the Hiſtory, and the eſtate of that people, may eaſily ſee the cauſe why God was offended: All the whole people had declined from God, Idolatry was maintained by the common conſent of the multitude, and, as the Text ſaith, *Every man did that which appeared good in his own eyes*. In this mean time the Levite complained of the villany that was done unto himſelf, and unto his wife, which oppreſſed by the *Benjamites* of *Gibeah*, died under their filthy luſts: which horrible fact enflamed the hearts of the whole people to take vengeance upon that abomination (and therein they offended) but in this they failed, That they go to execute judgement againſt the wicked without any repentance, or remorſe of conſcience of their owne former offences, and defection from God. And farther, Becauſe they were a great multitude, and the other were far inferiour unto them: They truſted in their own ſtrength, and thought themſelves able enough to do their purpoſe, without any invocation of the Name of God: But after that they had twice proved the vanity of their own ſtrength, they faſted and prayed; and being humbled before God, they received a more favourable anſwer, and aſſured promiſe of the Victory. The like may be amongſt us, albeit ſuddenly we do not eſpie it: And to the end that every man may the better examine himſelf, I will divide the whole company into two ſorts of men. The one are thoſe that from the beginning of this trouble have ſuſtained the common danger with their brethren: The other be theſe which be joyned to our fellowſhip. In the one and in the other I fear that juſt cauſe ſhall be found, why God ſhould thus have humbled us. And albeit that this appear ſtrange at the firſt hearing, yet if

Let *Scotland* yet take heed.

every

Anno

every man shall examine himself, I speak as that his conscience dyteth him, I doubt not but he shall subscribe to my sentence. Let us begin at our selves who longest hath continued in this Battell. When we were a few number in comparison of our enemies, when we had neither Earle nor Lord (a few excepted) to comfort us, we called upon God, and took him for our Protector, Defence, and onely Refuge. Amongst us was heard no bragging of multitude, nor of our strength nor policy, we did onely sob to God to have respect to the equity of our Cause, and to the cruell pursuit of the tyrannicall enemy. But since that our number had been thus multiplied, and chiefly since the Duke with his friends have been joyned with us, there was nothing heard, but, *This Lord will bring these many hundred Speares; This man hath the credit to perswade this Country; If this Earle be ours, no man in such bounds will trouble us.* And thus the best of us all, that before felt Gods potent hand to our defence, hath of late dayes put Flesh to be our Arme. But wherein yet had the Duke and his friends offended? It may be, That as we have trusted in them, so have they put too much confidence in their owne strength. But granting it be not so, I see a cause most just, why the Duke and his friends should thus be confounded amongst the rest of their brethren. I have not yet forgotten what was the dolour and anguish of my owne heart, when at Saint *Johnston*, *Cooper-Moure*, and *Edinburgh Craigs*, those cruell murtherers that now hath put us to this dishonour, threatned our present destruction: The Duke and his friends at all the three Journeys was to them a great comfort, and unto us a great discouragement: For his name and authority did more astonish us, then did the force of the other; yea, without his assistance, they could not have compelled us to appoint with the Queen upon so unequall Conditions. I am certaine, if the Duke hath unfainedly repented of that his assistance to those murtherers unjustly pursuing us: yea, I am certaine, if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Christs blessed Martyrs which was shed by his fault: But let it be, that so he hath done (as I hear that he hath confessed his offence before the Lords and Brethren of the Congregation) yet I am assured, That neither he, neither yet his friends, did feel before this time the anguish and grief of hearts which we felt, when their blinde fury pursued us; and therefore hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall into this confusion at once; us, for that we put our trust and confidence in man; and them, because that they should feel their owne hearts, how bitter was the cup which they made others to drinke before them. Resteth that both they and we turn to the Eternall our God (who beateth down to death, to the intent that he may raise up again to leave the remembrance of his wonderous deliverance, to the praise of his owne Name) which if we do unfainedly, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confusion, and fear, shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldnesse, then that I doubt that God gave Victory to the *Israelites* over the *Benjamites*, after that twice with ignominy they were repulsed and driven back: yea, whatsoever shall become of us and our mortall carkasses, I doubt not but that this Cause (in despight of Sathan) shall prevail

Let jangl'ers and inconstant men note.

Let the House of *Hamilton* remember this.

Conclusio.

Let the Papists and greatest enemies witness.

prevaile in this Realme of *Scotland*. For as it is the eternall Trueth of the eternall God, ſo ſhall it once prevaile, howſoever for the time it be impugned. It may be that God ſhall plague ſome for that they delight not in the Trueth, albeit for worldly reſpects they ſeem to favour it: Yea God may take ſome of his deareſt children away before that their eyes ſee greater troubles. But neither ſhall the one nor the other ſo hinder this action, but in the end it ſhall triumph. Anno

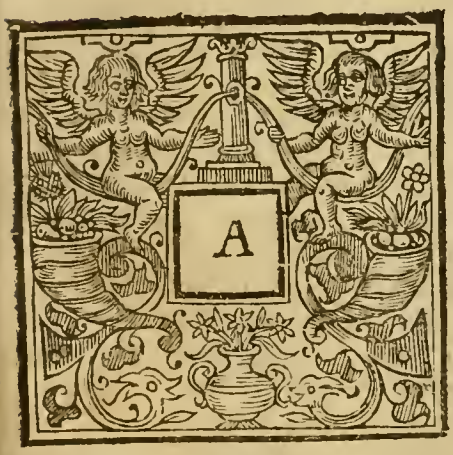
This Sermon ended, in the which he did vehemently exhort all men to amendment of life, to Prayers, and to the Works of Charity, the mindes of men began wonderouſly to be erected: and immediately after dinner the Lords paſſed to counſell, unto the which the ſaid *John Knox* was called to make invocation of the Name of God (for other Preachers were none with us at that time) in the end it was concluded, That *William Maitland* aforeſaid, ſhould paſſe to *London*, to expoſe our eſtate and condition to the Queen and Counſell, and that the Noble-men ſhould depart to their home and quiet to the 16 day of December: Which time was appointed to the next Convention in *Sterlin*, as in this our third Booke following ſhall be more amply declared. With this we end the ſecond Book of the Hiſtory of the progreſſe of Religion within *Scotland*.

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

The end of the ſecond Booke.

Anno

THE THIRD BOOK
OF
The Progresse of true Religion
WITHIN
The Realme of *SCOTLAND*.



AFter this our dolorous departing from *Edinburgh*, the fury and rage of the French increased, for then durst neither man nor woman that professed Christ Jesus within the Town be seen. The houses of the most honest men were given by the Queen to Frenchmen for a part of their reward. The Earle *Bothwell* by sound of Trumpet Proclaimed the Earle of *Arrane* Traitour, with other despightfull words, which all was done for the pleasure, and by the suggestion of the Queene Regent, who then thought the battell was wonne without further resistance. Great practising she made for obtaining of the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The French made their fagots with other preparations to assault the said Castle, either by force or else by Treason: But God wrought so mightily with the Captain, the Lord *Erskin*, at that time, that neither the Queen by flattery, nor the French by treason prevailed. Advertisement with all diligence past to the Duke of *Guise*, who then was King of *France* (as concerning power to command) requiring him to make expedition, if he desired the full conquest of *Scotland*; Who delayed no time, but with a new Armie sent away his brother *Marquis Dalbuif*, and in his company *Marticks*, promising that he himselfe should follow. But the righteous

Proclamation against the Earl of *Arrane*.

Re liset non nomine.

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The drowning of the French. *Dominus pro nobis.*

God, who in mercy looketh upon the affliction of those that unfainedly sob unto him, fought for us by his own out-stretched arm: For upon one night upon the coast of *Holland* were drowned of them eighteen Ensignes, so that onely rested the Ship, in the which were two principals aforesaid, with their Ladies, who violently driven back to *Deepe*, were compelled to confesse, *That God fought for the defence of Scotland.*

From *England* returned *Robert Melvin*, who past in company to *London* with the Secretary, a little before *Christmas*, and brought unto us certain Articles to be answered, as by the contract that after was made, more plainely shall appeare. Whereupon the Nobility assembled at *Sterlin*, and returned answer with diligence: Whereof the French advertised, they marched to *Linlithquow*, spoiled the Dukes house, and wasted his lands of *Kinneill*, and after came to *Sterlin*, where they remained certaine dayes (the Duke, the Earles of *Argyle* and *Glencarn*, with their friends passed to *Glasgow*. The Earle of *Arrane* and Lord *James* passed to Saint *Andrews*. For charge was given to the whole Nobility Protestants, to keepe their owne bodies, till that God should send them further support.) The French tooke purpose first to assault *Fyfe*, for as it was their great indignation. Their purpose was to have taken and fortified the Towne and Abbey, with the Castle of Saint *Andrews*, and so they came to *Culrosse*, after to *Dunfermeling*, and then to *Brunteiland*, where they began to fortifie: but desisted therefrom, and marched to *Kinghorn*, upon the occasion as followeth. When certaine knowledge came to the Earl of *Arrane* and to Lord *James*, That the French were departed from *Sterlin*, they departed also from S. *Andrews*, and began to assemble their Forces at *Cowper*, and sent their men of War to *Kinghorne*, unto whom there resorted divers of the coast side, of minde to resist rather at the beginning, then when they had destroyed a part of their Townes. But the Lords had given an expresse commandment, That they should hazard nothing, till that they themselves were present. And for that purpose was sent unto them the Lord *Ruthuen*, a man of great experience, and inferiour to few in stoutnesse: In his company was the Earle of *Sudderland*, sent from the Earle of *Huntly*, as he alleadged, to comfort the Lords in their affliction. But others whispered, That his principall Commission was unto the Queen Regent. Howsoever it was, he was hurt in the arme by the shot of an Haquebut, for the men of War and the rascall multitude, perceiving certaine Boats of French-men landing, which came from *Leith*, purposed to stop their landing, and so not considering the enemies that approached from *Brunteiland*: unadvisedly they rushed downe to the *Pretticure* (so is that Bay by West *Kinghorne* called) and at the sea coast began the skirmishing. But they never took heed to the enemy that approached by land, till that the horsemen charged them upon the backe, and the whole bands came directly in their faces, and so were they compelled to give back with the losse of six or seven of their men, and with the taking of some, amongst whom were two that professed Christ Jesus, one named *Paul Lambert*, a Dutch man, and a French boy, fervent in Religion, and clean of life, whom in despight they hanged over the Steeple of *Kinghorne*. Thou shalt revenge, O Lord, in thy appointed time. The cause that in

The Earle of *Sudderland* shot

in ſo great a danger there was ſo ſmall a loſſe, next unto the merciſull providence of God, was the ſudden coming of my Lord *Ruthuen*; for even as our men had given back, he and his Company came to the head of the Bray, and did not onely ſtay the French-men, but alſo ſome of ours brake upon their Horſe-men, and ſo repulſed them, that they did no further hurt to our Foot-men. In that recounter was the Earle of *Sudderland* foreſaid ſhot in the arme, and was carried back to *Cowper*. The French-men took *Kinghorne*, where they lay and waſted the Country about, as well Papiſts as Proteſtants; yea, even thoſe that were confederate with them, ſuch as *Seafield*, *Weames*, *Balmowto*, *Balwearie*, and others, enemies to God, and traytors to their Countrey; of thoſe (we ſay) they ſpared not the Sheep, the Oxen, the Kine, and Horſes, and ſome ſay that their wives and daughters gat favour of the French Souldiers, and ſo did recompence the Papiſts in their own boſoms; for beſides the defiling of their houſes, as ſaid is, two of them received more damage, then did all the Gentlemen that profeſſed the Goſpel within *Fyfe*, the Laird of *Grange* onely excepted, whoſe houſe of the *Grange* the French-men overthrew with Gun-Powder. The Queen Regent proud of this Victory, burſt forth into her blaſphemous railing, and ſaid, *Where is now* John Knox *his God? my God is now ſtronger then his, yea even in Fyfe.* She poſted to her friends in *France* newes that thouſands of the hereticks were ſlain, and the reſt were fled, and therefore required that ſome Noble-man of her friends would come and take the glory of that Victory. Upon that information was *Marticks* with two Ships, and ſome Captains and Horſes directed to come into *Scotland*, but little to their own advantage, as we ſhall after hear.

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Note the French favour to their friends

The Lords of the Congregation offended at the fooliſhneſſe of the raſcall multitude, called to themſelves the men of War, and remained certaine dayes at *Cowper*, unto whom repaired *John Knox*, and in our greateſt deſperation Preached unto us a moſt comfortable Sermon: his Text was, *The danger wherein the Diſciples of Chriſt Jeſus ſtood when they were in the midſt of the Sea, and Jeſus was upon the mountain.* His Exhortation was, That we ſhould not faint, but that we ſhould ſtill row againſt the contrarious blaſts, till that Jeſus Chriſt ſhould come; for, ſaid he, I am aſſuredly perſwaded that God will deliver us from this extreme trouble, as that I am aſſured, That this is the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which I preach unto you this day. The fourth watch is not yet come, abide a little, the Boat ſhall be ſaved, and *Peter*, which hath left the Boat, ſhal not drown. I am aſſured, That albeit I cannot aſſure you by reaſon of this preſent rage, God grant that ye may acknowledge his hand, after that your eyes have ſeen his deliverance. In that Sermon he comforted many, & yet he offended the Earl of *Arran*; for in his diſcourſe upon the manifold aſſaults the Church of God ſuſtained, he brought for example the multitude of ſtrangers that purſued *Jehoſaphat* after he had reformed Religion. He ſpake of the fear of the people, yea, and of the King himſelf at the firſt. But after he affirmed, that *Iehoſaphat* was ſtout; and to declare his courage in his God, he comforted his people and his Souldiers; he came forth in the midſt of them, he ſpake lovingly unto them. He kept not himſelfe

John 6.

Exhortation of *Iohn Knox.*

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(said he) enclosed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and rejoyced them with his presence, and godly comfort. These and the like sentences took the said Earle to be spoken in reproach of him, because he kept himself more close and solitary then many men would have wished. After these things, determination was taken, That the Earle of *Arranc*, and Lord *James*, with men of War, and some Companies of Horse-men, should go to *Disert*, and there lie to wait upon the French, to stop them from destroying the Sea-coast, as they intended utterly to have done. The said Earle, and Lord *James* did as they were appointed, albeit their Company was very small; and yet they did so valiantly, that it passed almost credit; for twenty and one dayes they lay in their clothes, their Boots came never off: They had skirmishing almost every day, yea, some days from morning to night. The French were four thousand Souldiers, besides their favourers and faction of the Countrey. The Lords were never together five hundred Horse-men, with an hundred Souldiers, and yet they held the French so busie, that for every horse was slain to the Congregation, they lost four French Souldiers. *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grainge*, the day after that his house was cast down, sent his defiance to Monsieur *Dosell*, and unto the rest, declaring that to this hour he had used the French favourably, yea he had saved their lives, when that he might have suffered their throats to have been cut; but seeing they had used him with that rigour, let them not look for the like favours in time to come. And unto Monsieur *Dosell* he said, He knew that he should not get him in skirmishing, because he knew he was a very coward: but it might that he should quite him a common either in *Scotland*, or else in *France*. The said *William Kirkcaldie*, and the Master of *Lindsay*, escaped many dangers. The Master had his horse slain under him; and *William* was almost betrayed in his house at *Halyards*. But yet they never ceased, for night and day they waited upon the French: They laid themselves in a secret place with some Gentlemen before the day to wait upon the French, who used commonly to issue in Companies to seek their prey: And so came forth one Captain *Batu* with his hundred, and began to spoyle; whom the Master, after Lord *Lindsay*, and *William* suffered, without declaration of themselves, or of their Company, till that they had them more then a mile from *Kinghorne*, and then began the horse-men to break; which perceived, the French altogether drew to a place called *Glames* house, and made for debate; some took the house, other defended the Court and Yards: The hazard appeared very unlikely, for our men had nothing but Spears, and were compelled to light upon their feet: The other were within ditches, and every man had a Culverin; the shot was fearfull to many, and divers were hurt, amongst whom was *Robert Hamilton*, and *David Kirkcaldie*, brother to the said Laird, who both were supposed to have been slain: the said Laird perceiving men to faint, and begin to recule, said, *Fie, let us never live after this day, that we shall recule for French scybalds and rascals.* And so the Master of *Lindsay* and he burst in at the gate, and others followed. The Master struck with his Spear at *la Bartu*, and glasing upon his harnesse, for fear stumbled upon his knees; but recovering suddenly, he fastned his Spear, and bare the

said

said Captain backward, who because he would not be taken, was slain, and fifty of his Company with him. Those that were in the house, with some others, were saved, and sent to *Dundie* to be kept. This mischance to the French-men, made them to be more circumspect in straying and wandring abroad into the Countrey, and so the poor people gat some relief. To furnish the French with Victualls, was appointed Capt. *Culan*, with two ships, who travelled betwixt the South shore and *Kinghorne* for that purpose: For his wages he spoyled *Kinghorne*, *Kirkcaldie*, and so much of *Disert* as he might. For remedy whereof, were appointed two Ships from *Dundie*, *Andrew Sands*, a very stout and fervent man in the Cause of Religion, was the principall. This same time arrived *Martickes*, who without delay landed himself, the Coffers, and the principall Gentlemen that were with him, at *Leith*, leaving the rest in the Ships till better opportunity: But the said *Andrew* and his company striking Sayl, and making as they would cast Ankor hard beside them, boarded them both, and carried them to *Dundie*: in them were gotten some horses, and much harnesse, with some other trifles, but of money we heard nought. Hereat the French offended, avowed the destruction of Saint *Andrews* and *Dundie*, and so upon a Munday in the morning, the thirteenth of *January*, they marched from *Disert*, and passed the water of *Levin*, ever keeping the Coast, by reason of their Ships and Victualls, as said is: about noon they espied Ships (which were seen that morning by us that were upon the land, but were not known) Monsieur *Dosell* affirmed them to be Freneli Ships, and so the Souldiers triumphed, shot their Volley for a salve, and marched forward to *Kingcraig*, fearing no resistance. But shortly after, the English Ships met with Captain *Culen*, and seized upon him and his Ships, which made them a little to muse. Then suddenly came M. *Alexander Woode*, who had been upon the Admirall, and assured Monsieur *Dosell* that they were English men, and that they were the forwarners of a greater number that followed, who were sent for support of the Congregation. There might have been seen pulling of beards for anger, and might have been heard such despight as cruell men use to spue forth when God bridleth their fury. Wearinesse and the night constrained them to lodge there: They supped scarcely, because their Ships were taken, in the which were their victualls and Ordnance, which they intended to have placed in Saint *Andrews*. They themselves durst not stray abroad to seek, and the Laird of *Wemes* carriages, which likewise was coming with furnishing unto them, were stayed. And therefore betimes in the morning they retired towards *Kinghorne*, and made more expedition in one day in returning, then they did in two in marching forward. The storm which had continued neer the space of a moneth, brake in the time of their returning, whereby many thought that they should have been stayed, till that reasonable company might have been assembled to have foughten with them. And for that purpose did *William Kirkcaldie* cut the Bridge of *Tullibody*: But the French, expert enough in such feats, took down the Roof of a Parish Church, and made a Bridge over the same water called *Donane*, and so they escaped, and went to *Sterlin*, and thereafter to *Leith*; yet in their returne they lost divers, amongst whom there

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The slaughter of a French Captain, with his Band.

Note.

The arrivall of the English Ships.

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The Bridge of *Tullibody*.

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there was one whose miserable end we may rehearse. As the French spoyled the Countrey in their returning, one Captaine or Souldier, we cannot tell, but he had a red Cloke, and a gilt Murriow, entred upon a poor woman that dwelt in the white side, and began to spoyle. The poore woman offered unto him such bread as she had ready prepared, But he in no wise therewith content, would have the Meale, and a little salt Beef which the poore woman had to sustain her owne life, and the lives of her poor children; neither could tears, nor pitifull words, mitigate the mercilesse man, but he would have whatsoever he might carry. The poore woman perceiving him so bent, and that he stooped downe in her Tub, for the taking forth of such stuffe as was within it, first coped and turned up his heels, so that his head went downe. And thereafter, whether by her self, or if any other company come to help her, but there he ended his unhappy life, God so punishing his cruell heart, who could not spare a miserable woman in that extremity. *Let all such Souldiers receive such reward, O Lord, seeing that thou onely art the revenger of the oppressed.*

Note the death of a plunderer.

And now, because that from this time forward frequent mention will be made of the comfortable support that we in our greatest extremity received by Gods providence from our neighbours of *England*, we thinke it expedient simply to declare by what instruments that matter was first moved, and by what means it came to passe that the Queen and Councel of *England*, shewed themselves so favourable unto us.

Remark the Scots acknowledgement of the English help.

As *John Knox* had fore-warned us by his Letters from *Geneva*, of all dangers that he foresaw to ensue our enterprise; so when he came to *Deipe*, mindefull of the same; and resolving with himself, what remedy God would please to offer, he took boldnesse to write to Sir *William Cicil*, Secretary of State in *England*, with whom the said *John* had been before familiarly acquainted, intending thereby to renew acquaintance, and so to open further of his minde. The tenor of his first Letter follows:

The spirit of Judgement, Wisedome, and Sanctification, I wish unto you, by Jesus Christ.

John Knox his first Letter to Sir *William Cicile.*

AS I have no pleasure with long writing to trouble you (Right Honorable) whose minde I know to be taken up with most grave matters, so I minde not greatly to labor by long Preface, to conciliate your favors, which I suppose I have already (howsoever rumors brute the contrary) as the favour it becometh one member of Christs Body to have of another: The contents therfore of my present Letter shall be absolved in 2 points: In the former, I purpose to discharge in few words my conscience towards you: And in the other, sum what must I speak, for my own defence, and in defence of that poor Flock of late assembled in the most godly reformed Church and City of the world, *Geneva*: To you, Sir, I say, that as from God you have received, life, wisdom, honours, and the present estate in the which you now stand, so ought you wholly to apply the same to the advancement of his glory, who onely is the author of life, the fountain of wisdom, and who most assuredly doth and wil honor & glorifie them that with

with ſimple hearts do glorifie him; which alas in times paſt you have not done, but being overcome with common iniquity, you have followed the world, in the way of perdition: for to the ſuppreſſing of Chriſts true Evangel, to the erecting of Idolatry, and to the ſhedding of the blood of Gods moſt deare Children; Have you by ſilence conſented and ſubſcribed this your moſt horrible defection from the knowne Trueth, and once profeſſed, hath God to this day mercifully ſpared? Yea, to mans judgement he hath utterly forgotten, and pardoned the ſame: He hath not dealt with you as he hath done with others (of like knowledge) whom in his anger (but yet moſt juſtly according to their deſerts) he did ſhortly ſtrike after their deſertion: But you, guilty in the ſame offences, hath he foſtered and preſerved, as it were in his owne boſome, during the time of that moſt miſerable thraldome, of that profeſſed enemy of God, miſchievous *Mary*: And now hath ſet you at ſuch liberty, as the fury of Gods enemies cannot hurt you, except that willingly againſt his honour, you take pleaſure to conſpire with them. As this benefit which you have received is great, ſo muſt Gods Juſtice require of you a thankfull heart; For ſeeing that his Mercie hath ſpared you, being Traitour to his Majeſtie; Seeing further, That amongſt your enemies he hath preſerved you; And laſt, ſeeing, although worthy of hell, he hath promoted you to honour and dignity; of you muſt he require (becauſe he is juſt) earneſt repentance for your former defection; and heart mindfull of his mercifull providence, and a will ſo ready to advance his glory, That evidently it may appeare, that in vaine you have not received theſe graces of God; to performance whereof, of neceſſity it is, That carnall wiſdome and worldly policie (to the which both, you are bruted too much inclined) give place to Gods ſimple and naked Trueth: very love compells me to ſay, That except the Spirit of God purge your heart from that venome, which your eyes have ſeen to have been deſtruction to others, that you ſhall not long eſcape the reward of diſſemblers. Call to minde what your eares heard Proclaimed, in the Chappell of S. *James*, when this Verſe of the firſt Pſalme was handled, *Not ſo, O wicked, not ſo, but as the duſt which the winde toſſeth, &c.* And conſider, that now you travell in the ſame way which then they did occupie, to ſpeak plainely, now you are in that eſtate and credit, in the which you ſhall either comfort the ſorrowfull and afflicted, for righteouſneſſe ſake, or elſe you ſhall moleſt or oppugne the Spirit of God ſpeaking in his Meſſengers; the Comforters of the afflicted for godlineſſe, hath promiſe of comfort, in their greateſt neceſſities: but the troubles of Gods ſervants (how contemned that ever they appeare before the world) are threatned to have their Names in execration to the poſterities following. The examples of the one and of the other, are not onely evident in Scriptures, but alſo have been lately manifeſted in *England*. And this is the concluſion of that, which to your ſelf, I ſay, except that in the cauſe of Chriſts Evangell, you be found ſimple, ſincere, fervent, and unfained, you ſhall taſte of the ſame cup, which politick heads have drank in before you.

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The other Point concerning my ſelf, and that poore flock now diſperſed, and as I heare ſay, rudely uſed, is this; By divers Meſſengers I have

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have requested such Priviledges as Turkes commonly do grant to men of every Nation; to wit, That liberty should be granted to me freely to passe through *England*, to the end that with greater expedition I might repaire towards my owne Countrey, which now beginneth to thirst for Christs Trueth. This request I thought so reasonable, that almost I had entered the Realme, without license demanded; and yet I understand that it hath been so rejected, that the soliciters thereof, did hardly escape imprisonment; and some of that poore flocke I heare to be so extreamely handled, That those who most rudely have shed the blood of Gods most deare Children findes this day amongst you greater favours, then they do; Alas, this appeareth much to repugne to Christian Charity: for whatsoever hath been mine offence, this I fear not to affirme in their cause; That if any that hath suffered exile in those most dolorous dayes of persecution, deserve praise and commendation, for Peace, Concord, sober and quiet living, it is they. And as for me, how criminall that ever I be in Gods presence, for the multitude of my sins; yet before his Justice-seat I have a testimonie of a cleare Conscience, That since my first acquaintance with *England*, willingly I never offended person within it, except in open Chaire, to reprove that which God condemneth, can be judged offence: but I have (say you) written a Treasonable Book against the regiment and Empire of women; If that be my offence, the poore flock is innocent (except such as this day do fastest cry Treason) For Sir (in Gods presence I do write) with none in that company did I consult before the finishing of the same. Therefore in Christs Name I require, That the blame may be upon me alone. The writing of that Book I will not deny, but to prove it Treasonable, I think it shall be hard; for Sir, No more do I doubt of the Trueth of my Proposition, then that I doubt that this was the voice of God, which first did pronounce this penaltie against women; *In dolour shalt thou beare thy children.* It is bruited, That my book is, or shall be written against, or answered: If so be Sir, I greatly feare, That flatterers shall more hurt then helpe the matter which they would seem to maintaine; for except my errour be plainly shewne and confuted, by better authority then by such Lawes as from yeere to yeere may and do change, I dare not promise silence in so weighty a businesse; lest that in so doing, I shall appeare to betray the Verity which is not subject to the mutabilitie of time. And if any thinke me either enemy to the person, or yet to the Regiment of her, whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived in me, for the miraculous Work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirme vessell, I do acknowledge, and I will obey the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his Mercy, to suppresse such as fight against his glory) albeit that both nature, and Gods most perfect Ordinance repugne to such Regiment. More plainly to speak, If Queen *Elizabeth* shall confesse, That the extraordinary dispensation of Gods great mercy, makes that lawfull unto her, which both nature and Gods Lawes do deny unto all women; then shall none in *England* be more willing to maintaine her lawfull authority then I shall be: But if (Gods wondrous worke set aside) the ground (as God forbid) the justnesse of her Title upon consuetude Lawes and Ordinances of

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of men: Then I am assured, That as such foolish presumption doth highly offend Gods supreame Majestie; so do I greatly feare, That her ingratitude shall not long lacke punishment. And this in the name of the eternall God, and of his Son Jesus Christ (before whom, both you and I shall stand to make an account of all counsell we give) I require you to signifie unto her Majestie, in my name; Adding, That onely humility and desertion of her selfe before God, shall be the firmenesse and stability of the Throne, which I know shall be assaulted mo wayes then one. If this you conceale from her Majestie, I will make it patent to the world, That thus farre I have communicated with you; having also further to speak, if my judgement may be heard. Alas, Sir, is my offence (although in that time, and in that matter, I had written ten Bookes) so hainous, that I cannot have Licence, by Preaching of Christ Jesus, to refresh those thirsty soules, which long have lacked the Water of Life: No man will I presently accuse, but I greatly feare, That *the Leprous have no grevt pleasure to behold faire faces in cleare glasse*: Let none be afraid, that I require to frequent the Court, or yet to remaine any long time in *England*; but onely thirsts, in passing thorow to my native Countrey, to communicate with you, and some others, such things as willingly I list not to commit to Paper, neither to the Credit and knowledge of many. And then in the North parts to offer Gods favours, to such as I suppose do mourne for their desertion. And this, I trust, shall be no lesse profitable to the Queen, and to all godly within *England*, then it should be pleasing to me in the flesh.

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This is the third time that I have begged Licence to visite the hungry and thirstie amongst you, which if now be denied, as before God, I have a testimonie, that I seek not for my selfe, but the advancement of Christs Evangell, and the comfort of such, as whom I know afflicted: so shall the godly understand that *England* in refusing me refuseth a friend, how small that ever the power be. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus moove your heart deeply to consider your dutie unto God, and the estate of that Realme, in which by his appointment you now serve.

From *Deepe*, the 10 of *April*, 1559.

Yours to command in godlinesse,

John Knox.

To this Letter was no answer made: for shortly the said *John Knox* made forward to *Scotland* by sea, when he landed the third of May, and had such successe, as is in the second book declared. The said *John* being in S. *Andrews*, after *Cowper-Moore*, entred in deep discourse with the Laird of *Grange*; the danger is very evident, but the support was not easie to be seen. After many words *John Knox* burst forth as followeth; *If* England *would foresee their own commodity, yea, if they would consider the danger wherein themselves stand, they would not suffer us to perish in this quarrell; for* France *hath no lesse decreed the conquest of* England *then of* Scotland. After long reasoning, it was concluded betwixt them two, That support

As *England* hath interest then not to suffer *Scotland* to perish, so likewise *Scotland* hath interest now, not to see *England* undone.

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port should be craved of *England*: And for that purpose the said Laird of *Grange*, first wrote to Sir *Henry Percie*, and after rode from *Edinburgh* and spake with him; to whom he made so plaine demonstration of the danger appearing to *England*, that he tooke upon him to write to Secretarie *Cecil*, who with expedition returned answer back again, giving him to understand, That our enterprise altogether misliked not the Councell, albeit that they desired further resolution of the principall Lords. Which thing understood, it was concluded to write to him plainely our whole purpose. The tenour of our Letter was this:

The first Letter to Sir William Cecill, *from the Lords of the Congregation.*

THe contents of a Letter directed by you (right Worshipfull) to Sir *Henry Percie*, was notified unto us by Master *Kirkcaldie* of *Grange* this Sunday the 26 of July: By the which we perceive that the said Laird of *Grange*, of zeale, and faithfull heart which he beareth to the furtherance of this our great, and before the world, dangerous enterprise, hath travelled with you, as with an unfained favourer of Christs true Religion, and of the libertie of our Countrey, for knowledge of your mindes towards us, in case that we be assaulted by any forraigne invasion, or greater power then we be well able to resist. Your comfortable answer to this question we have considered, to our joy and comfort, as also your motions, and what you demand; To wit, What the Protestants within this Realme do purpose; To what end we mean to direct our actions; How we will, and how we be able to accomplish the same; What doubts we have of any adversary power; And finally, in case that support should be sent from you, What manner of amity might ensue betwixt these two Realmes, &c. To the which, in briefe, we answer; That our whole and onely purpose (as God knoweth) is to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, the true Preaching of his Gospel within this Realme. To remove superstition, and all sort of externall Idolatry, to bridle to our powers the fury of those that heretofore have cruelly shed the blood of our brethren; and to our uttermost, to maintaine the liberty of this our Countrey from the tyrannie and thraldome of strangers, as God shall assist us. How we be able to accomplish these premises, is to us unknown, onely our hope is good, That he that hath begun this good worke in us, and hath by his power to this houre confounded the faces of our adversaries will performe the same to his glory, which chiefly we seek in this our enterprise. Because we suppose, That neither our present danger, neither yet the warlike preparation which *France* maketh against us, are hid from you, nor from the counsell, we omit that part. As touching the assurance of a perpetuall amity to stand betwixt these two Realmes: As no earthly thing of us is more desired, so crave we of God to make us the instruments, by which this unnaturall debate which long hath continued betwixt us may once be composed, to the praise of Gods Name, and to the comfort of the faithfull in both Realms.

1559.

Note the Quæres.

And Answers.

Let the enemies say, if their hope be not frustrate.

Note diligently.

And

And if your wisedoms can foresee and devise the means and assurances how the same may be brought to passe, perswade your selves not onely of our consent and assistance, but also of our constancy, as men can promise, unto our lives end. Yea farther, of charge and commandment by us to be left to our posterity, That the Amity betwixt us (in God) contracted and begun, may be by them kept inviolate for ever. As for the revolting from you to *France*, which ye seem to fear and suspect at their pleasure, we utterly abhorre that infidelity; for now doth the voyce of God continually sound in our ears, That such as prophane the terrible and reverent Name of God, shall not escape vengeance. Our Confederacy, Amity and League shall not be like the Pactions made by worldly men, for worldly profit; but as we require it for Gods Cause, so will we call upon his Name for the observation of the same. Moreover, if we should lack any thing in Temporall commodity, yet should we never have occasion to returne to them: for we now perceive and feel the weight of their yoke, and intend (by Gods grace) to cut away such instruments as by whom this Realme was before abused. True it is, That as yet we have made no mention of any change in Authority, neither yet were we minded to do any such thing, till extreme necessity compelleth us thereto. But seeing it is now more then evident, That *France*, and the Queen Regent here, with her Priests, pretendeth nothing but the suppressing of Christs Gospel, the ruine of us, and the subversion of this poor Realme, committing our innocency to God, and unto the judgement of all godly and wise men, we are determined to seek the next remedy; in which we heartily require your counsell and assistance. And thus farre we have enterprised to make you participant of our purpose, because in the said Letters ye required the said Master *Kirkcaldie* some farther assurance then his owne word or writing, which we doubt not but ye shall shortly receive, from more then from us. We dare not hastily make the Assembly, neither of Nobles, neither of Barons, privie in this Cause, for dangers that may ensue by policie and craft of the adversaries; your wisdom, we doubt not, will communicate these onely with such as ye know favourers of such a godly Conjunction. It should much help, in our opinion, if the Preachers, both in perswasion, and in publike Prayers (as ours do here) would commend the same unto the people. And thus, after our most humble commendations to the Queenes Majestie (whose Raigne we wish may be prosperous and long, to the glory of God, and comfort of his Church) we heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent.

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Note.

From Edinburgh the 17 of July, 1559.

With this our Letter *John Knox* wrote two, one to the said Secretary, and another to the Queens Majesty her self: The Tenour whereof follows thus:

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John Knox his second Letter to M. *Cecile*, for the delivery of one other to the Queen.

SIR,

AFter my humble commendations, please you deliver this other enclosed to the Queen: It containeth a few and simple words of my Confession what I think of her Authority, how it is just, and what may make it odious in Gods presence. I hear that there is one Confutation set forth against the first blast; God grant that the writers thereof have no more sought the favours of this present world, no lesse the glory of God, and the stable good of his Countrey, then he who enterprised in that blast to utter his conscience. When I shall have time (which now is somewhat precious unto me) to peruse that work, I will communicate my judgement with you.

The time is now, Sir, that all, who either thirst for Christ to raigne in this Isle, or yet the hearts of the Inhabitants be joyned together in love unfained, ought rather to study how the same might be brought to passe, then vainly to travell for the maintenance of that, whereof already we have seen the danger, and feel the smart: If the most part of women be wicked, and such as willingly we would not should raigne over us: And if the most godly, and such as have rare graces, be yet mortall, we ought to take heed, lest in establishing of one judged godly, and profitable to her Countrey, we make an Interest and Title to many; by whom not onely will the Truth be impugned, but also will the Countrey be brought into bondage. God give you, and other favourers of your Countrey eyes to see, and wisedome to avoid the dangers appearing.

By divers Letters I have required license to have visited the North parts of England, *but as yet I have received no favourable answer. The longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the lesse comfort will the faithfull there receive; yea, the weaker will the Queens favour be: If I were not an unfained friend to her Majestie, I would instantly beg such liberty; which to me, I know, will neither be profitable nor pleasing in the flesh. The common things here, I doubt not you know: some things I have (as often times I have written) which gladly I would communicate, but I minde not to commit them to Paper and Inke; finde therefore the means that I may speake with such a one as you will credit in all things.*

The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ rest with you.

I heartily beseech you to have my service recommended to the Queens Majesty, adding, That whosoever maketh me odious to her Majestie, seeketh somewhat besides the glory of God, and her Majesties prosperity, and therefore cannot be assured and unfained friends from, &c.

The Letter sent from the said *John* to the Queens Majestie of *England*, being enclosed in the foresaid M. *Ceciles* Letter.

To the vertuous and godly Elizabeth, *by the Grace of God, Queen of* England: John Knox *desireth the perpetuall comfort of his holy Spirit.*

MADAME,

AS your Majesties displeasure against me, most unjustly conceived, hath been and is to my wretched heart a burden grievous, and almost

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moſt intolerable, ſo is the teſtimony of a clear conſcience to me a ſtay and uphold, that I ſinke not in deſpair, how vehement ſoever the temptations appear: For in Gods preſence, my conſcience beareth me record, That maliciouſly, nor of purpoſe, I never offended your Majeſty, nor your Realme: And therefore, howſoever I be judged of man, I am ſure to be abſolved of him, who onely knoweth the ſecrets of hearts. I cannot deny the writing of a Book againſt the uſurped Authothority, and unjuſt Regiment of Women; neither yet am I minded to recant, or call back any principall Point or Propoſition of the ſame, till truth and verity do further appear. But why that your Majeſty, or any ſuch, who unfainedly favour the liberty of *England*, be offended at the Author of ſuch a Work, I can perceive no juſt occaſion: For firſt, my Book touched not your Majeſties Perſon in ſpeciall, neither is it prejudiciall to any Liberty of the Realme, if the time of my writing be indifferently conſidered. How could I be enemy to your Majeſties Perſon, for delivery whereof, I did more ſtudie, and undertake further, then any of thoſe who now accuſeth me? And as concerning your Government, How could or can I envy that? which moſt I have wiſhed for, and for which (as my weak memory will ſuffer) I render thanks unfainedly to God, to wit, That it hath pleaſed him of his eternall goodneſſe to exalt your head (which ſometime was in danger) to the manifeſtation of his glory, and extirpation of Idolatry. And as for my offence, which I have committed againſt *England*, either by writing that Book, or by any other work, I will not refuſe that moderate and indifferent men judge and diſcerne betwixt me, and thoſe that accuſe me, *viz.* Whether of the parties do moſt hurt to the Liberty of *England*: I, who affirme that no woman may be exalted above any Realme, to make the Liberty of the ſame thrall, and ſubject to a ſtrange, proud, and cruell Nation: Or they, that approve whatſoever pleaſeth Princes for the time. If I were as well diſpoſed to accuſe, as ſome of them (to their own ſhame) have declared themſelves, I nothing doubt, but that in few words I ſhould let reaſonable men underſtand, That ſome that this day lowly crouch and bow to your Majeſtie, and labour to make me odious in your eyes, did in your adverſity neither ſhew themſelves faithfull friends to your Majeſty, neither yet ſo loving and carefull of the native Countrey, as they would be eſteemed. But omitting the accuſation of others, for my owne purgation, and your Majeſties ſatisfaction, I ſay, That nothing contained in my book, is or can be prejudiciall to your Majeſties juſt Regiment, providing that you be not found ungrate unto God, ungrate you will be proved in the preſence of his Throne (howſoever that flatterers juſtifie your fact) if you transfer the glory of that honour in which you now ſtand, to anyother thing, then to the diſpenſation of his mercy, which onely maketh that lawfull to your Majeſtie, which Nature and Law denieth to all women, to command and bear rule over men. Neither would I that your Majeſty ſhould fear, That this your humiliation before God, ſhould in any caſe infirm or weaken your Majeſties juſt and lawfull Authority; Nay, Madame, ſuch unfained confeſſion of Gods benefits received, will be the eſtabliſhment of the ſame, not only to your ſelf,

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but also to your seed and Posterity : Where contrariwise, a proud conceit, and elevation of your self, will be the occasion that your Raigne will be unstable, troublesome, and short. God is witnesse; That unfainedly I both love and reverence you Majestie; yea, I pray that your Raigne may be both prosperous and quiet, and that for the quietnesse which Christs Members, before persecuted, have received under you. But yet if I should flatter your Majesty, I were no friend, but a deceivable traytor; and therefore in conscience I am compelled to say, That neither the consent of the people, the processe of time, nor multitude of men, can establish a Law which God shall approve; but whatsoever he approveth by his Eternall Word, that shall be approved, and stay constantly firme; and whatsoever he condemneth, shall be condemned, though all men on earth should travell for the justification of the same. And therefore, Madame, the onely way to retain and keep the benefits of God, abundantly of late dayes poured upon you and your Realme, is unfainedly to render unto God, to his mercy, and undeserved grace, the whole glory of this your exaltation, forget your Birth, and all Title which hereupon doth hang; and consider deeply, How for fear of your life you did decline from God, and bow to Idolatry, going to Masse under your sister *Mary* her persecution of Gods Saints: Let it not appear a small offence in your eyes, That you have declined from Christ Jesus, in the day of your Battel: Neither yet would I that you should esteem that mercy to be vulgar and common which you have received, *viz.* That God hath covered your offence, Hath preserved your Person, when you were most unthankfull; And in the end, has exalted and raised you up, not onely from the dust, but also from the ports of death, to rule above his people, for comfort of his Kirk. It appertaineth to you therefore, to ground the justice of your Authority, not on that Law, which from yeer to yeer doth change, but upon the eternall providence of him, who contrary to the ordinary course of Nature, and without your deserving, hath exalted your head: If thus in Gods presence you humble your self; as in my heart I glorifie God for that rest granted to his afflicted Flock within *England*, under you a weak Instrument; so will I with tongue and pen justifie your Authority and Regiment, as the holy Ghost hath justified the same in *Deborah*, that blessed Mother in *Israel*. But if you neglect (as God forbid) these things, and shall begin to brag of your Birth, and to build your Authority and your Regiment upon your own Law; flatter you who so listeth, your felicity shall be short. Interpret my words in the best part, as written by him, who is no enemy to your Majestie. By divers Letters I have required to visite your Realme, not to seek my self, neither yet my own ease and benefit: which if you now refuse and deny me, I must remit my cause to God, adding this for conclusion, that commonly it is seen, *That such as refuse the counsel of the faithfull (appear it never so sharp) are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers to their own perdition.* The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart to understand what is said, and give unto you the direction of his Spirit, and so rule you in all your actions and enterprises, that in you God may be glorified, his Kirk edified, and you your self, as a lively Member of the same, may be an example of vertue & godlinesse of life to all others. So be it. *Of Edinb.* 28 *July*, 1559. These

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These Letters were directed by *Alexander Whitlaw*, a man that oft had hazarded himself, and all that he had for the Cause of God, and for his friends, being in danger for the same Cause. Within a day or two after the departing of the said *Alexander*, there came a Letter from Sir *Henry Percie* to *John Knox*, requiring him to meet him at *Annick* the third day of August, for such affaires as he would not write nor yet communicate with any, but with the said *John* himselfe, while he was preparing himselfe for the journey (for Secretary *Cecill* had appointed to have met him at *Stampford*) the French-men furiously came forth of *Dumbar*, of purpose to have surprised the Lords being in *Edinburgh*, as in the second Book before is declared, which stayed the journey of the said *John*, till that God had delivered the innocents from that great danger, and then was he sent, having in his company M. *Robert Hamilton*, Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, directed from the Lords with full Commission and Instructions to decline their whole case and estate wherein they stood. Their passage was from *Pittenweame* by sea, they arrived at *Holy-Iland*, and being advertised that Sir *Henry Percie* was absent from the North; They addressed themselves to Sir *James Crofts*, then Captain of *Barwick*, and Warden of the East Marches of *England*. They shewed unto him their Credit and Commission; He received them courteously, and comforted them with his faithfull Counsell, which was, That they should travell no further, neither yet should they be seen in publike, and that for divers considerations. First, The Queen Regent had her spies in *England*. Secondly, The Queen and the Councell that favoured our faction, would that all things shou'd be secret so long as they might. And last, said he, I think it not expedient, that in such rarity of Preachers, ye two be any long time absent from the Lords of the Congregation. And therefore (said he) ye shall do best to commit to writing your whole minde and Credit, and I shall promise to you upon my honour, to have answer at you, and at the Lords again, before that ye your selves can be at *London*. And where that your Letters cannot expresse all things so fully, as your presence could, I shall supply the same, not onely by my pen, but also by my own presence, to such as will informe the Councell sufficiently of all things. The said *John* and M. *Robert* followed his Councell (for it was faithfull, and proceeded of love at that time) they tarried with him very secretly within the Castle of *Barwick* two dayes. In the which time returned *Alexander Whitlaw* aforesaid, with answer to the Lords, and unto *John Knox*. The tenour of whose Letter was this:

Sir James Crofts counsell.

Master *Cecils* Letter to *John Knox*.

Master *Knox*,

Non est masculus neque fœmina, omnes enim ut ait Paulus, *unum sumus in Christo Jesu benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino, & erit Dominus fiducia ejus.* I have received you Letters, at the same time that I thought to have seen your selfe at *Stamford*. What is now hitherto the cause of your let, I know not. I forbeare to descend to the bottom of things, untill I may conferre with such one as ye are. And therefore if your chance shall be here-

Anno hereafter to come hither, I wish you furnished with good Credit, and power, to make good resolution. Although my answer to the Lords of the Congregation be somewhat obscure, yet upon further understanding ye shall finde the matter plaine. I need to wish you no more prudencie then Gods grace, whereof God send you plentie. And so I end,

From *Oxford* the 28 of *July*, 1559.

Sic subscribitur.

Yours as a member of the same body in Christ, M. Cecill.

Albeit the said *John* received this Letter at *Barwick*, yet would he answer nothing till that he had spoken with the Lords whom he found in *Sterlin*, and unto whom he delivered the answer sent from the Councell of *England* (for *Alexander Whitlaw* took sicknesse betwixt *Barwick* and *Edinburgh*, and was troubled by the Lord *Seaton*, as in the former Booke is declared) the answer sent by Master *Cecill* was so generall, that many amongst us despaired of any comfort to come from that Countrey. And therefore were determined that they would request no further. *John Knox* laboured in the contrary, but he could prevaile no further, but that he should have licence and libertie to write as he thought best: And so took he upon him to answer for all, in forme as followeth.

Answer to Master Cecils *writing.*

TWo causes hindred me (Right Worshipfull) to visit you in any part in *England.* Before this no signification of your minde and pleasure was made unto me, for onely did Sir *Henry Percie* will me to come and speake with him, which conveniently at that time I could not do, by reason that the French-men (which was the second cause of my stay) did then most furiously pursue us, while our company was dispersed, and then durst I not be absent for divers inconveniences; neither did I thinke my presence with you greatly necessary, considering that the matter (which I most desired) was opened and proposed. To the which I would have wished, That a more plaine and especiall answer should have been made. For albeit Master *Whitlaw* by his Credit, Master *Kirkcaldie* by his Letter, and I, both by Letters and by that which I had received from Sir *James Crofts*, did perswade your good mindes; yet could not the councell be otherwise perswaded, but that this alteration in *France* had altered your former purpose. It is not unkown what good will we three do beare to *England:* And therefore I wish, That rather your Pen, then our Credit, or any thing written to any of us, should assure the Lords and others, of your good mindes (who are now in number but five hundred.) Unlesse that money be furnished without delay to pay the Souldiers for their service past, and to retaine another thousand foot-men, with three hundred horse-men; till some stay be had in this danger, these Gentle-men will be compelled to leave the fields. I am assured, *as flesh may be of flesh*, That some of them will take a very hard life, before that ever

ever they compose, either with the Queen Regent, or with *France*: but this I dare not promise at all, unlesse in they see greater forwardnesse. To support us, will appear excessive; and to break promise with *France*, will appear dangerous. But the losse of expences, in mine opinion, ought not to be esteemed from the first payment, neither yet the danger from the first appearance. *France* is most fervent to conquer us, and avoweth, That against us they will spend the Crown (so did mine own ears hear *Butten Court* bragge) But most assuredly I know, That unlesse by us they thought to make an entrie to you, that they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money (and some of our number are poore, as before I wrote, and cannot serve without support) some they threatned, and against others they have up one party in their owne Countrey. In this mean time, if ye lie by as neutralls, what will be the end, you may easily conjecture. And therefore, Sir, in the bowells of Christ Jesus, I require you to make plain answer, What the Gentlemen here may trust to, and what the Queens Majestie will do, may without long delay be put in execution. I rest in Christ Jesus. Of Saint *Johnston* the day of, &c.

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Answer with great expedition was returned to this Letter, desiring some men of credit to be sent to the Lords to *Barwicke*, for the receiving of the money for the first support, with promise, That if the Lords of the Congregation meant no otherwise then before they had written, and if they would enter into League with honest Conditions, they should neither lack men nor money to their just Causes. Upon this answer was directed from the Lords to *Barwicke*, Master *Henry Balnaves*, a man of good credit in both the Realmes; who suddenly returned with such a sum of money as served all the publike affairs till *November* next; when *John Cockburne* of *Ormeston*, sent for the second support, and receiving the same, unhappily fell into the hands of the Earle *Bothwell*, was wounded, taken, and spoyled of a great Sum: upon which mischance, followed all the rest of the troubles before rehearsed. In the second Book preceding, we have declared how Secretary *Leehington* was directed to *England*: But one thing before we have passed by: In that our greatest dejection, this order was taken; That the Duke, the Earle of *Glencarne*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Uchiltrie*, and their friends, should remaine together at *Glasgow*, for comfort of the Countrey, and for giving of answers, as occasion should require; and that the Earle of *Arrane*, the Lord *James*, the Earle of *Rothesse*, the Master of *Lindsay*, and their adherents, should continue together within *Fyfe* for the same causes, that advertisements might go from the one to the other, as need required. In the Negotiation of the Secretary *Lethington* with the Queen and Councell of *England* (in the which he travelled with no lesse wisedom and faithfulnesse, then happy successe) many things occurred that required the resolution of the whole Lords.

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After that the Queen and Councell of *England* had concluded to send their Army to *Scotland* for expelling of the French, the Duke of *Norfolke*

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was sent to *Barwick* with full instructions, power and Commission to do in all things concerning the present affaires of *Scotland*, as the Queen and Councell in their own persons had power to do. Hereupon the said Duke required such a part of the Lords of *Scotland*, as had power and Commission from the whole, to meet him at such a day and place as pleased them to appoint. This advertisement came first to *Glasgow* by the meanes of the Master of *Maxwell*: Which read and considered by the Lords, conclusion was taken that they would meet at *Carleil*, and that was the procurement of the said Master of *Maxwell* for his ease. Hereupon were Letters directed from the Lords being in *Glasgow*, to Lord *James*, requiring him with all possible expedition to repaire towards them, for the purpose aforesaid. Which Letters read and advised upon, commandment was given to *John Knox* to make the answer. For so it was appointed at division of the Lords, that he should answer for the part of those that were in *Fyfe*; and M. *Henry Balnaves* for the part of them that abode at *Glasgow*. The said *John* answered as followeth.

To the Duke, and the other Lords at Glasgow.

After humble commendation of my service: Albeit I have written more then once to Master *Henry Balnaves*, what things have misliked me in your slow proceedings, as well in supporting your brethren, who many dayes have sustained extreame danger in these parts, as in making provision how the enemie might have been annoyed, who lay few in number, nigh to your Quarters in *Sterlin*. And in making likewise provision, how the expectation of our friends, who long have waited for your answer, might have been satisfied. Albeit (I say) that of these things I have before complained, yet, in conscience, I am compelled to signifie unto your Honours, That unlesse of these and other enormities I shall see some redresse, I am assured, That the end shall be such, as godly men shall mourne, that a good Cause shall perish for lacke of Wisdome and Diligence. In my last Letters to Master *Henry Balnaves*, I declared, That your especiall friends in *England* wonder, that no greater expedition is made, the weight of the matter being considered. If the fault be in the Duke and his friends, I wrote also, That the greatest losse should be his and theirs in the end. And now I cannot cease, both to wonder and lament, That your whole Councell was so destitute of Wisdome and Discretion, as to charge this poore man the *Priour*, to come to you to *Glasgow*, and thereafter to go to *Carleil*, for such affaires as are to be handled. Was there none amongst you who did foresee what inconveniences might ensue his absence from these parts? I cease to speake of the dangers by the enemie. Your friends have lyen in your Haven now fifteene dayes past, (what was their former travell it is not unknowne) they have never received comfort of any man (him onely excepted) more then if they had lyen upon the coast of their mortall enemy. Do ye not consider, That such a company shall need comfort and provision from time to time? Remove him, and who abideth there who carefully will travell in that or any other

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other weighty matter in these parts? Did ye not farther consider, That he that had begun to meddle with the Gentlemen, who have declared themselves back-friends heretofore; and also that order should have been taken for such as have been neutrall; now by reason of his absence, the one shall escape without admonition, and the other shall be at their own liberty. I am assured that the enemy shall not sleep, neither in that, nor in other affairs, to undermine you and your whole Cause, and especially to hurt this part of the Countrey, to revenge their former folly. If none of these former causes should have moved you to have considered that such a journey (at such a time) was not meet for him, neither yet for them that must accompany him: yet discreet men would have considered, that the men that have lien in their jacks, and travelled their horses continuall the space of a moneth, required some longer rest, first to themselves, then but especially to their horses, before they had been charged to such a journey, as yet they have not had. The *Priour* may for satisfaction of your unreasonable mindes, enterprise the purpose; but I am assured he shall not be able to have six honest men in all *Fyfe* to accompany him; and how that either standeth with your Honors, or with his safety, judge ye your selves. But yet wonder it is, that ye did not consider, To what pain and griefe shall ye put our friends of *England*, especially the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Councell, whom ye shall cause to travell the most wearisome and troublesome way that is in *England*. In mine opinion, whosoever gave you that counsell, either lacked right judgement in things to be done, or else had too much respect to his own ease, and too small regard to the travell and damage of their brethren. A common cause, requireth a common concurrence, and that every man bear his burden proportionable. But prudent and indifferent men espie the contrary in this cause, especially of late dayes; for the weakest are most grievously charged, and they to whom the matter most belongeth, and to whom justly greatest burden is due, are exempted in a manner, both from travell and expences. To speak the matter plainly, wise men do wonder, what the Dukes friends do mean, that they are so slack and backward in this cause; In other actions they have been judged stout and forward, and in this, which is the greatest that ever he or they had in hand, they appear destitute both of grace and courage. I am not ignorant that they that are most inward of his counsell, are enemies to God, and therefore cannot but be enemies to this Cause. But wonder it is, That he and his other friends should not consider, That the losse of this godly enterprise, shall be the rooting out of them and their posterity from this Realme. Considering, my Lords, That by Gods providence ye are joyned with the Duke in this common Cause, admonish him plainly of the danger to come, will him to beware of the counsell of those that are plainly infected with Superstition, with Pride, and with the venome of particular profit: which if he do not at your admonition, he shall smart before he be aware. And if ye cease to put him in minde of his duty, it may be that for your silence ye shall drinke some portion of the plague with him. Take my plain speaking, as proceeding from him that is not your enemy, being also uncertaine,

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Anno when I shall have occasion to write hereafter. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ assist you with the Spirit of wisedom and fortitude, that to his glory, and to your Lordships common comfort, ye may performe that thing which godlily was once begun, Amen. *From Saint Andrewes the 6 of February in haste*, 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your Lordships to command in godlinesse, J. K.

Upon the receit of this Letter, and consultation had hereupon, a new conclusion was taken; to wit, That they would visite the said Duke of *Norfolke* at *Barwicke* where he was. Thus far we have digressed from the text of our History, to let the Posterity that shall follow understand by what instruments God wrought the familiarity and friendship that after we found in *England*. Now we returne to our former History.

The parts of *Fyfe* set at freedom from the Bondage of these bloody worms, solemne thanks were given in S. *Andrews* unto God for his mighty deliverance. Shortly after the Earle of *Arrane* and Lord *James* apprehended the Lairds of *Wemes*, *Seafield*, *Bawgony*, *Durie*, and others, that assisted the French, but they were set shortly at freedom upon such conditions, as they minded never to keep, for such men have neither faith nor honesty. Master *James Balfour*, who was the greatest practiser, and had drawn the Band of the *Balfours*, escaped. The English Ships daily multiplied, till that they were able to keep the whole Fyrth, whereat the French and Queen Regent enraged, began to execute their tyranny upon the parts of *Lowthiane* that lay nigh to *Edinburgh*. Let M. *David Borthwicke* witnesse what favour his wife and place of *Adeston* found of the French, for all the service that he did to the Queen Regent.

In the midst of *February* were directed to *England*, from the Duke and the Congregation, the Lord *James*, Lord *Ruthuen*, the Mast of *Maxwell*, the Master of *Lindsay*, Master *Henry Balnaves*, and the Laird of *Pittarrow*; who with their honest companies and Commission departed by Sea all, except the Master of *Maxwell*, to *Barwicke*; Where there met them the Duke of *Norfolke*, Lieutenant to the Queen of *England*, and with him a great company of the Gentlemen of the North, with some also of the South, having full power to contract with the Nobility of *Scotland*, as they did, upon such Conditions as are in the same Contract specified: and because we have heard the malicious tongues of wicked men make false report of that our fact, we have faithfully and truely inserted in this our History the said Contract, as well that which was made at *Leith*, during the siege, as that which was first made at *Barwicke*, that the memory thereof may abide to our Posterity, to the end that they may judge with indifferency, Whether that we have done any thing prejudiciall to our Common-wealth, or yet contrarious unto the dutifull obedience which true subjects owe to their Superiours; whose Authority ought to defend and maintain the Liberty and Freedom of the Realms committed to their Charge, and not to oppresse and betray the same to strangers. The Tenour of our Contract followeth:

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The Contract at Barwick.

JAMES, *Duke of* Chattellarault, *Earle of* Arrane, *Lord* Hamilton, *and others of the Councell, Nobility, and principall States of* Scotland; *To all and sundry whose knowledge these presents shall come, Greeting.* We have well considered, and are fully perswaded, in what danger, desolation, and misery, the long enmity with the Kingdom of *England* hath brought our Countrey heretofore: how wealthie and flourishing it shall become, if those two Kingdoms, as they are joyned in one Island by Creation of the World, so they may be knit in a constant and assured friendship. The considerations grounded upon a most infallible Trueth, ought no lesse to have moved our Progenitours and forefathers then us. But the present danger hanging over our heads, by the unjust dealing of those, of whom we have alwayes best deserved, hath caused us to weigh them more earnestly then they did. The misbehaviour of the French *Monsieurs*, I had almost said Monsters, here, hath of late yeers been so great. The oppressions and crueltie of the Souldiers, the tyrannie and ambition of their Superiours and Rulers, so grievous to the people, the violent subversion of our liberty, and conquest of the land, whereat they have by most crafty and subtill means continually pressed, hath been, I say, so intollerable to us all, that at last when we could not obtain redresse by humble suits, and earnest supplications presented to the Queen Dowager, who both for duties sake, and place, she doth occupie, ought to have been most carefull of our state, we have been by very necessitie constrained, not onely to assay our own Forces, but also to implore the Queens Majestie of *Englands* aide and support, which her Majestie hath most willingly granted, upon certain conditions specified in a Treaty past at *Barwick*, betwixt the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lieutenant to her Majestie, on the one part, and certain our Commissioners on the other part, whereof the Tenour followeth. At *Barwick* the 27 day of February, the yeer of our Lord God 1559 yeers; It is appointed, and finally Contracted, betwixt the noble and mighty, *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Earle Marshall of *England*, and Lieutenant to the Queens Majestie of the said Realm, in the Name and behalf of her Highnesse on the one part; and the Right Honourable Lord *James Stewart*, *Patrick* Lord *Ruthuen*, Sir *John Maxwell* of *Terregles*, Knight, *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, *John Wischarde* of *Pittarrow*, and Master *Henry Balnaves* of *Halhill*; in name and behalf of the Noble and Mighty *James*, Duke of *Chattellarault* of *Scotland*, and the Lords of the Congregation, joyned together in this Cause, for maintenance and defence of the ancient Rights and Liberties of their Countrey on the other part, in forme as after followeth: That is to say, That the Queen having sufficiently understood, as well by information sent from the Nobility of *Scotland*, as by the proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the Realm of *Scotland*, suppresse the liberty thereof, and unite the same unto the Crown of *France* perpetually, contrary to the Laws of the said Realm, and the Pacts, Oathes, and Promises of *France*. And being thereto most humbly and earnestly required by the said Nobility; for, and in the name of the whole Realm, shall accept the said Realm of *Scot-*

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land the said Nobility and subjects thereof into her Majesties protection and maintenance, onely for preservation of the same in their own freedoms and liberties, and from conquest, during the time that the Marriage shall continue betwixt the Queen of Scots and the French King, and a yeer after: And for expelling out of the same Realme of such as presently and apparently goeth about to practice the said Conquest, her Majesty shall with all speed send into *Scotland* a convenient aide of men of War, both Horse and Foot, to joyn with the power of Scotish men, with Artillery, Munition, and all other Instruments of War meet for that purpose, as well by Sea as by Land, not onely to expell the present Power of the French within that Realme oppressing the same, but also to stop, as far as conveniently may be, all greater Forces of French to enter therein, for the like purpose, and shall continue her Majesties ayd to the said Realme, Nobility, and subjects of the same, unto the time the French (being enemies to the said Realme) be utterly expelled hence; and shall never transact, compose, nor agree with the French, nor conclude any League with them, except the Scots and the French shall be agreed, that the Realme of *Scotland* may be left in a due freedom by the French; nor shall leave the maintenance of the said Nobility and subjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies hands, as long as they shall acknowledge their Soveraigne Lady the Queen, and shall endeavour their selves to maintain the liberty of their Countrey, and the State of the Crowne of *Scotland*. And if in case any Forts or Strengths within the Realme be won out of the hands of the French at this present, or at any time hereafter by her Majesties ayd, the same shall be immediately demolished by the Scotish-men, or delivered to the said Nobility aforesaid, at their option and choice; neither shall the power of *England* fortifie within the ground of *Scotland*, being out of the bounds of *England*, but by the advice of the Duke, Nobility, and States of *Scotland*. For the which causes, and in respect of her Majesties most gentle clemency, and liberall support, the said Nobility, as well such as be joyned, as such as shall hereafter joyn with them already joyned, for the defence of the liberty of that Realme, shall to the uttermost of their power ayd and support her Majesties Army against the French and their partakers, with Horse-men and Foot-men, and with Victualls, by Land and Sea, with all manner of other ayd, to the best of their power, and so shall continue during the time that her Majesties Army shall remain in *Scotland*.

Let us mark our advantage from *France*.

Item, They shall be enemies to all such Scotish men and French as shall in any wise shew themselves enemies to the Realm of *England*, for the ayding and supporting of the said Nobility in the delivery of the Realme of *Scotland* from Conquest. *Item*, They shall never assent nor permit that the Realme of *Scotland* shall be conquered, or otherwise knit to the Crown of *France*, then it is at this present, onely by Marriage of the Queen their Soveraign to the French King, and it be ruled by the Laws and Liberties of the Realme, as it ought to be. *Item*, In case the French-men shall at any time hereafter invade, or cause to be invaded the Realme of *England*, they shall furnish the number of two thousand Horse-men, and one thousand Foot-men at the least, or such part of

of either of them, at the charge of the Queen of *England*, and shall conduct the same to passe from the borders of *Scotland*, next *England*, upon her Majesties charges, to any part of the Realme of *England*, for defence of the same. And in case the invasion be on the North parts of *England*, on the North side of the water of *Tyne* towards *Scotland*, or against *Barwick*, on the North side of the water of *Tweid*. They shall convene and gather their whole Forces upon their owne charges, and shall joyne with the English power, and shall continue in good and earnest pursuite of the Quarrell of *England*, during the space of thirty dayes, or so much longer, as they were accustomed to tarry in the fields for defence of *Scotland*. At the commandment of their Soveraignes at any time by past: and also the Earle of *Argyle*: Lord Justice of *Scotland*, being presently joyned with the rest, shall imploy his force and good will, where he shall be required by the Queens Majestie to reduce the North parts of *Ireland* to the perfect obedience of *England*, conforme to a mutuall and reciproque contract to be made betwixt her Majesties Lieutenant or Deputie of *Ireland* being for the time, and the said Earle; wherein shall be contained what he shall do for his part, and what the said Lieutenant or Deputie shall do for his support, in case he shall have to do with *James Mackconell*, or any others of the Isles of *Scotland*, or Realme of *Ireland*. For performance and sure keeping whereof, they shall for their part come to the said Duke of *Norfolk*, the pledges presently named by him, before the entry of her Majesties Armie in Scottish ground, to remain in *England* for the space of six moneths, and to be there exchanged upon deliverance of new hostages, of like, or as good condition as the former; or being the lawfull sons, brethren, or heires of any of the Peers or Barons of Parliament, that have, or hereafter shall shew themselves and persist open enemies to the French in this quarrell, and so forth from six moneths to six moneths, or foure moneths to foure moneths, as shall best please the partie of *Scotland*. And the time of continuance of the hostages, shall be during the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the French King, and a yeere after the dissolution of the said Marriage, untill further order may be had betwixt both the Realmes, for Peace and Concord. And furthermore, the said Nobility, being Peers and Barons of Parliament joyned together, shall subscribe and seale these Articles and agreement, within the space of twenty or thirty dayes at the uttermost, next following the day of the delivering of the said hostages, and shall also procure and perswade all others of the Nobility that shall joyne themselves heereafter with the said Lords for the cause above-specified, likewise to subscribe and seale those Articles, at any time after the space of twenty dayes after their conjunction, upon requisition made by them on the partie of the Queens Majestie of *England*. And finally, the said Nobility joyned together, certainly perceiving that the Queens Majestie of *England* is thereunto moved, onely upon respect of Princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the freedom of *Scotland* from Conquest, and not of any other sinister intent, doth by these presents testifie and declare, That they, nor any of them, mean by this agreement to withdraw any due obedience to the Soveraign Lady the Queen, nor in any lawfull thing to withstand the French King her

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her husband and head, that during the marriage shall not tend to the subversion and oppression of the just and ancient Liberties of the said Kingdom of *Scotland*. For preservation whereof, both for their Soveraigns honour, and for the continuance of the Kingdom in its ancient state, they acknowledge themselves bound to spend their Goods, Lands, and Lives. And for performance of this present Contract for the part of *England*, the Queens Majestie shall confirm the same, and all Clauses therein contained, by her Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, to be delivered to the Nobility of *Scotland*, upon the entrie of the Pledges aforesaid, within the ground of *England*. In Witnesse whereof, the said Duke of *Norfolke* hath subscribed these Points, and thereunto affixed his Seal, the day, yeer, and place aforesaid. Which Contract we finde honest and reasonable; and that our said Commissioners therein hath considerately respected the Common-weale of this Realme, of us, and our posterity; And therefore do ratifie, allow, confirme and approve the same, with all Clauses and Articles therein contained by these Presents. In Witnesse hereof we have subscribed the same with our Hands and sealed with our Seals of Armis in such causes accustomed are appended. *At the Camp before Leith the tenth day of May, the year of God* 1560 *yeers*.

Follow the Subscriptions.

The Subscriptions.

The Duke of *Chattellarault*.	Earl of *Argyle*.
Earle of *Arrane*.	Earle of *Huntlie*.
Earle of *Glencarne*.	Earle of *Morton*.
Earle of *Rothesse*.	Earle of *Mexteth*.
Lord *Ogilbye*.	Lord *Bothwike*.
Lord *James Steward*.	Lord of *Saint John*.
Alexander Gordon.	Lord *John Abirbrothok*.
Lord *Boyd*.	Lord *Simmerwaile*.
Lord *Uchiltrie*.	Lord *Robert Steward*.
Gawin Hamilton of *Kilwinning*.	Abbot of *Kynlosse*.
Abbot of *Culrosse*.	*James Stewart* of Saint *Colmes Inche*.

The Instructions given, subscribed, to the said Commissioners following:

1. IN the first place, if it shall be asked of you by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and by other the Queens Majesties appointed Commissioners, If your Pledges be in readinesse; ye shall answer, That they are, and in Saint *Andrews* the 25 of this instant, and shal be ready to be delivered in Hostage for security of our promises and part of the contract, they offering and making security for their part by the Queenes Majesties Subscription aud Great Seal, and delivering the same unto you. Providing, That they choose and make their election of the Pledges as is commoned.

2. Secondly, If the said Commissioners shall demand of you, What enterprise the Army of *England* shall take in hand at their first incoming; ye

Ye shall answer in generall; The expulsion of the French Souldiers out of this Realme; and first and in especiall, out of the Town of *Leith*, seeing their great Forces are there. Anno

3. *Item*, If it shall be asked of you; At what place our friends and brethren of *England* shall be met? And, at what day? What number? And, What Noble-men in company? Ye shall referre all these things to their election and choice. *Note.*

4. *Item*, If it shall be asked of you, How the Armies shall be furnished with Victuals, and especially the Horse-men? Ye shall answer, That with their advice sufficient order shall be taken therein.

5. *Item*, If it be required, How the Munition shall be carried, and oxen furnished to that effect? You shall answer, as we have given in Commission to *Lethington*, which we ratifie.

6. *Item*, If it shall be asked, Who shall be Lieutenant to the Army of *Scotland*? Ye shall answer, The Duke of *Chattellarault*.

7. *Item*, If it shall be enquired, What number our whole Army extends to? Ye shall answer, They will be, God willing, five thousand men.

8. *Item*, If it shall be asked, What manner of way *Leith* shall be assaulted? Ye shall desire all preparations to be in readinesse, and the advice to be taken after the placing of the Armies, and view of the strength shortly.

9. *Item*, If it shall be asked concerning the Castle of *Edinburgh*, If they will stand friends or not? Ye shall declare our diligence made, and to be made shortly herein; but for the present we can assure them of nothing.

10. *Item*, If it be asked, In case the Castle be enemy, Where the Armie shall be placed? Ye shall answer, For the first in *Muschilbrough* and *Tranent*, and those parts, till the Batterie and all preparations be in readinesse.

11. *Item*, In case it be enquired of all by-lyers and neutrals, and in especiall of the Lord of *Huntley*, and the North? Ye shall answer in generall; A good hope is had of the most part thereof: And touching the Lord of *Huntley* in especiall, Ye shall shew how he hath sent Writings to my Lord of *Arrane*, with a servant of credit, to assure him of his assistance. And for that cause hath desired Letters of suspension of the Queen *Dowagers* Commission to be sent to him to be used in those parts; and other Letters to arrest the Clergies Rents and Hires, both in those parts; With Proclamations to cause all men to be in readinesse to passe forwards for maintaining of the Religion, and expulsing of strangers. The Nobility hath written to him, That he may come to him in proper person; Whereof the answer is not returned as yet.

12. *Item*, If it shall be asked the place and manner of meeting of our folks, or of us and them, in case *Sterlin* be kept? We refer the answer hereof to your discretions.

13. *Item*, If it shall be asked, That their leaden money shall have passage for their necessities? Ye shall reason the commodity and discommodity thereof with the Councell.

14. *Item*, If it shall be asked, What Pioners shall be had? Ye shall answer,

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the number being expressed, and money in readinesse to so sold or pay them, *They shall have sufficiencie.*

15. *Item*, If they shall desire, That we declare our causes unto the Princes of *Almaigne* and the King of *Denmark* or *Germany*, desiring their assistance; Ye shall answer, *That we think the same good, and shall speedily take order therewith.*

16. *Item*, If it shall be desired of you to confirme for us and in our name the things past and granted by our former Commissioner, the young Laird of *Lethington*: Ye shall in all points for us, and in our name, confirme the same, so far as it shall make either for the weale and conjunction of the two Realms, or this present Cause, or yet for the security of our part for fulfilling of the same. And as ye shall accept their offers tending to the same end; and such security on that part as ye may purchase, and especially such as we have heretofore expressed: Given at *Glasgow* the 10. of February 1559.

17. *Item*, We give and grant you full power to augment or diminsh the said Heads and Articles, as ye think the weale of the cause shall require in all points.

Sic subscribitur.

John of *Menteth.*	*James Hamilton.*
Andrew of *Rothesse.*	*Alexander Gordon.*
R. Boyd.	*Alexander Argyle.*
William Murray of *Tulibarn.*	*Glencarne.*
	Uchiltrie.
John Erskin of *Dun.*	*James Haliburntoun.*

Shortly after this Contract were our pledges delivered to Master *Winter* Admirall of the Navie, that came to *Scotland*, a man of great honestie, so farre as ever we could espie in him; who were safely conveyed to *Newcastle*; and so the English Armie by land began to assemble towards the border. Whereof the French and Queen Regent assured, they began to destroy what they could in the Towns and Countrey about: for the whole Victuals they carried to *Leith*, the Mills they brake, the Sheep, Oxen and Kine, yea the Horses of poore Labourers all made they to serve their Tyrannie. And finally, they left nothing which the very enemies could have devised, except that they demolished not Gentlemens houses, and burnt not the Town of *Edinburgh*. In which point God bridled their fury, to let his afflicted understand, That he took care for them. Before the comming of the Land Armie, the French past to *Glasgow*, and destroyed the Countrey thereabout. What tyrannie *Marticks* used upon a poore Scottish Souldier, it is fearefull to heare, and yet his fact may not be omitted. Silver would they give none to the poore man, and they were so slow to depart out of the Towne; That albeit the Drum stroke, the Ensigne could not be gotten. There was a poore Craftsman, who had bought for his Victuals a brown Loaf, and was eating a morsell of it, and was putting the rest of it into his bosome. The Tyrant came to him, and with the poore wretches own dagger first stroke him in the breast, and after threw it at him, and so the poore man staggering and

Note.

Note a cruell fact.

and falling, the mercilesse tyrant ran him thorow with his Rapier, and thereafter commanded him to be hanged over the stayre. *Lord thou wilt look and recompence such Tyranny, how contemptible soever the person was.* Anno

The second of *April*, the yeer of our Lord 1560. the Army of the Land entred into *Scotland*, the conducting whereof was committed to the Lord *Gray*, who had in his company the Lord *Scrope*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Henry Percie*, Sir *Francis Lake*, with many other Captains and Gentlemen, having charge some of Foot-men, and some of Horse-men. The Army by Land was esteemed ten thousand men. The Queen Regent past to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and some others of her faction: At *Preston* met them, the Duke, the Earle of *Argyle* (*Huntlie* came not till that the siege was confirmed) Lord *James*, the Earle of *Glencarne*, and *Menteth*, Lords *Ruthuen*, *Boyd*, *Uchiltrie*, with all the Protestants, Gentlemen of the West, *Fyfe*, *Angus*, and *Mearnes*, so that in few dayes the Army was great. After the deliberation of two dayes had at *Inneresk*, the whole Camp marched forward with Ordnance, and all preparations necessary for the siege, and came to *Lestarrig* the Palme Sunday Even. The French had put themselves in Battell Aray upon the Linkes without *Leith*, and sent forth their skirmishers; who beginning before ten of the clock, continued skirmishing till after four of the clock at afternoon, when there was given upon them a charge by some Horse-men of *Scotland*, and some of *England*: But because the principall Captaine of the Horse-men of *England* was not present, the whole Troops durst not charge, and so was not the overthrow and slaughter of the French so great as it once appeared to have been; for the great Battell was once at the trot; but when it perceived that the great Force of Horse-men stood still, and charged not, they returned, and gave some rescue to their fellows that fled; and so there fell onely in that defeat about three hundred French-men. God would not give the Victory so suddenly, lest that man should glory in his owne strength. The small Victory that was gotten, put both the English and Scotish in over-gre.r security, as the issue declared. The French enclosed within the Towne, the English Army began to plant their Pavilions betwixt *Leith* and *Lestarrig*. The Ordnance of the Towne, and especially that which lay upon Saint *Anthonies* Steeple, did them great annoyance; against which place were bent eight Cannons, which shot so continually, and so just, that within few dayes that the Steeple was condemned, and all the Ordnance that was on it discomfited, which made the English-men somewhat more negligent, then it became good men of War to have been: For perceiving that the French made no pursuit without their Walls, they tooke an opinion that they should never issue more, and that made some of the Captaines for pastime go to the Towne. The Souldiers for their ease laid their Armour beside them, and as men without danger, fell to the Dice and Cards; and so upon the Easter Munday, at the very houre of noon, the French issued both upon Horse and Foot, and with great violence entred within the English Trenches,

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flue and put to flight all that was found therein. The Watch was negligently kept, and so were the Succours slow and long in coming; For the French, before that any resistance was made unto them, approached hard to the great Ordnance: But then the Horse-men trooped together, and the Foot-men gat themselves in Aray, and so repulsed the French back again to the Town; but the slaughter was great, some say it double exceeded that which the French received the first day. And this was the fruit of their security and ours, which after was remedied: For the English men most wisely considering themselves not able to besiege the Town round about, devised to make Mounts at divers quarters of it, in the which they and their Ordnance lay in as good strength, as they did within the Town: The common souldiers kept the Trenches, and had the said mountains for their saveguard and refuge, in case of any greater pursuit then they were able to sustain. The patience and stout courage of the English men, but principally of the Horse-men, is worthy of all praise: For where was it ever heard, That eight thousand (they never exceeded that number that lay in Camp) should besiege four thousand of the most desperate throat-cutters that were to be found in *Europe*, and to lie nigh unto them in daily skirmishing, the space of three moneths and more? The Horse-men night and day kept Watch, and did so valiantly behave themselves, that the French gat no advantage, from that day back to the day of the assault, whereof we shall shortly hear. In this mean time was this other Band made of all the Nobility, Barons, and Gentlemen professing Christ Jesus in *Scotland*, and of divers others that joyned with us, for expelling of the French, amongst whom the Earle of *Huntlie* was a prime man. The Band followeth.

Note.

The last Band at Leith.

1560. The fourth Covenant.

AT *Edinburgh* the seven and twentieth of *April*, the yeer of our Lord 1560 yeers, We whose names are under-written, have promised and obliged our selves faithfully in the presence of God, and by these Presents do promise, That we together in generall, and every one of us in speciall by himself, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we can do, shall set forward the Reformation of Religion, according to Gods Word, and procure by all means possible, that the Truth of Gods Word may have free passage within this Realme, with due Administration of the Sacraments, and all things depending upon the said Word, and such like; deeply weighing with our selves the misbehaviour of the French Ministers here, the intolerable oppression committed by the French men of War upon the poor subjects of this Realme, by maintenance of the Queen *Dowager*, under colour and pretence of Authority: The tyranny of their Captains and Leaders, and manifest danger of Conquest, in which this Countrey at this present standeth, by reason of divers Fortifications upon the Sea-coast, and other novelties of late attempted by them; promising, That we shall each one with another, all of us, together with the Queen of *Englands* Army, presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concurre, joyn in one, take

take and hold one plain part for expulsion of the said strangers, oppressors of our Liberty, forth out of this Realme, and recovery of our ancient Freedoms and Liberties, to the end that in time coming, we may under the obedience of the King and Queen our Soveraigns be onely ruled by the Laws and Customs of the Countrey, aud borne men of the Land; And that never one of us shall have privy intelligence, by writing, message, or communication with any of our enemies or adversaries in this Cause, but by advice of the rest (at least of five) of the counsell. Again, That we shall tender the common Cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular: And that the causes of every one of us now joyned together being lawfull and honest, shall be all our causes in generall; And that he that is enemy to the Cause aforesaid, shall be enemy to us all, in so far, That what person soever will plainly resist these our godly enterprises, and will not concur as a good and true member of this our Common-wealth, we shall fortifie the said Authority of the Councell, to reduce them to their duty, like as we shall fortifie the said Authority of the Councell in all things tending to the furtherance of the said Causes. And if any particular debate, quarrell, or controversie shall arise, for whatsoever cause that is past, present, or to come, betwixt any of us (as God forbid) in that case, we shall submit our selves, and our said questions, to the decision of the Councell, or to Arbitrators to be named by them, &c. Providing always, That this be not prejudiciall to the ordinary Jurisdiction of Judges, but that men may pursue their Actions by order of Law, Civilly or Criminally, as it pleaseth them.

Anno

Now hereupon came the pursuit.

This Contract and Band came not onely to the ears, but also to the sight of the Queen *Dowager:* whereat she stormed not a little, and said, *The malediction of God I give unto them that counselled me to persecute the Preachers, and to refuse the Petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this Realm.* It was said to me, That the English Army could not continue in *Scotland* ten dayes; but now they have lien neer a moneth, and are more like to remain, then they were at the first day that they came. They that gave information to the Queen, spake as worldly wise men, and as things appeared to have been; for the Countrey being almost in all the parts thereof wasted, the Victuals next adjacent to *Leith*, either brought into their Provision, or else destroyed; the Mills, and other places, as before is said, being cast down, it appeared that the Camp could not have been furnished (except it had been by their own Ships; and as that could not have been of any long continuance, so should it have been little comfortable.) But God confounded all worldly wisedom, and made his own Benediction as evidently to appear, as if in a manner he had fed the Army from above: For all kinde of Victuall there was more aboundant, and at more easie prices in the Camp all the time that it lay, after that eight dayes were past, then either they have been in *Edinburgh* any of two yeers before, or it hath been in this Towne to this day, the 20 of *May*, *Anno* 1566.

Let the Princes now adayes make use of this.

So now the worldlings speak unto the King concerning the Scots into *England*.

Note.

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The people of *Scotland* so much abhorred the tyranny of the French, that they would have given the substance that they had, to have been rid of that chargeable burthen, which our sinnes had provoked God to lay upon us, in delivering and giving into the hands of a woman, whom our Nobility in their foolishnesse sold unto strangers, and with her the Liberty of this Realme. *God for his great mercy sake preserve us yet from further Bondage, in which we are like to fall, if he provide not remedy; for our Nobility will yet remain blinde still, and will follow their affection, come after what so may.* But to returne to our History. The Camp abounding in all necessary Provision, order was taken for continuation of the Siege; and so the Trenches were drawn as neer the Town as possibly they might. The great Camp removed from *Lestarrig*, to the West side of the water of *Leith*; and so were the Cannons planted for the Battery, and did shoot at the Southwest wall: But by reason all was earth, the Breach was not made so great upon the day, but that it was sufficiently repaired upon the night: whereof the English-men beginning to be weary, determined to give the Breach an Assault, as that they did upon the seventh day of *May*, beginning before the day light, and continued till it was nigh seven a clock. And albeit that the English and Scottish with great slaughter of the Souldiers of both were repulsed, yet was there never a sharper assault given by so few hands; for they exceeded not a thousand men, that assaulted the whole two quarters of the Town, and yet they damned the whole Block-house, yea, they once put the French clean off their Walls, and were upon both the East and West Block-house, but they lacked backing, for their Scales lacked six quarters of the just height; And so while the former were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellows could not joyn to support them, and so were they by multitude driven back again, when it was once thought that the Town was won. Sir *James Crofts* was blamed of many for not doing his duty that day, for he was appointed with a sufficient number of the most able men, to have assaulted the Northwest quarter upon the Sea side, where at a low water (as at the time of the assault it was) the passage was easie. But neither he nor his approached to their quarter appointed. He had before at the first coming in, spoken with the Queen Regent, at the fair Block-house of the Castle of *Edinburgh*: Whether she had enchanted him or not, we know not, but by suspition of that day in which he deceived the expectation of many, and so farre as man could judge, was the cause of that great repulse; some ascribed the shortnesse of the Ladders to him; but that omitted which might have proceeded of negligence, his absence from the pursuit of his Quarter, was the cause that such French as were appointed there to defend, seeing no pursuer came to the relief of their fellowes, and so they two joyning together, with great slaughter gave the repulse to our Company. The French-mens harlots, of whom the most part were Scotish whores, did no lesse cruelty then did the Souldiers: For besides that they charged their Pieces, and ministred unto them other weapons, some continually cast stones, some carried Chimneyes of burning fire, some brought Timber and other impediments of

The *Hamiltons* namely.

Note this diligently.

Anno

of weight, which with great violence they threw over the wall upon our men, but especially when they began to turn back. Now albeit in all this we acknowledge, to be the secret work of God, who by such means would beat down as well the pride of *England* as of *Scotland*, yet neither ought the feeblenesse nor falshood of man be excused, neither yet the crueltie of the adversaries concealed. The Queen Regent sat all the time of the assault (which was both terrible and long) upon the fore-Wall of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and when she perceived the overthrow of us, and that the Ensignes of the French were again displayed upon the Walls, she gave a gawfe of laughter, and said; *Now will I go to the Masse, and praise God for that which mine eyes have seen.* And so was Frier *Black* ready for that purpose, whom she her selfe a little before had deprehended with his Harlot in the Chappell. But Whoredom and Idolatry agree well together, and that our Court can witnesse this day, the 16 of May 1566. The French proud of the Victory, stripped naked all the slain, and laid their dead carkases before the hot Sun along the wall, where they suffered them to lie more dayes then one: Unto the which, when the Queen Regent looked, for mirth, she leapt, and said; *Yonder is the fairest tapistrie that ever I saw, I would that the whole fields that is betwixt this place and you were strowed with the same stuffe.* This fact was seen of all, and her words were heard of some, and it was misliked of many. Against the which *John Knox* spake openly in Pulpit, and boldly affirmed, That God should revenge that contumelie done to his Image, which not onely in the furious and godlesse Souldiers, but even in such as rejoyced thereat. And the very experience declared, That he was not deceived: For within few dayes after (yea, some say, that same day) began her belly and loathsome legs to swell, and so continued, till that God did in his wisdome take her away from this world, as after we shall heare.

We must go to the first cause in all things.

The inhumanity of the merciless French.

The Queen Regents cruell heart.

After the Defeat received, the Queen Regent and her faction were fully perswaded that the Siege would rise, and that the English Armie would depart. And so began the Papists wonderously to brag; and yet God did frustrate their expectation: for the Armie concluded to remaine, till new advertisement came from the Queen and Counsell. The Duke of *Norfolk*, who then lay at *Barwick*, commanded the Lord *Gray* to continue the Siege; and promised, That he should not lack men, so long as any were to be had betwixt *Trent* and *Tweed*, for so far was he Lieutenant: he further promised his own presence, in case he should be required, and for assurance thereof, he sent his own Tents, such as seldome before had been seen in *Scotland*, with his Officers and provision. And with expedition were sent two thousand fresh men, whereby the Camp greatly comforted, began to forget the former discomfiture, and to sustain the daily skirmishing, as they did before: In the which, the French after the day of the assault did ever receive the hurt, and the repulse, as the slaughter of many that came to the *Cole-rake* did witnesse. The greatest damage that either English or Scotish received after that day, was the slaughter of two Gentlemen, the one master of houshold to my Lord *James*, *Robert Colwin* of *Clesch*, a man stout, modest, and wise, who was shot in the thigh with a Falcon, or Harquebute of *Croke*, and so departed the misery of this life

The comfortable Letter of the Duke of *Norfolk*.

Anno

life within two houres after. The other was *Alexander Lockart*, brother to the Laird of *Bar*, who rashly discovering himselfe in the Trenches, was shot in the head, and immediately thereafter departed this life. While the Siege thus continued, a sudden fire chanced in *Leith*, which devoured many houses, and much Victuall, and so began God to fight for us, as the Lord *Erskin* in plaine words said to the Queen Regent; Madame (quoth he) I can see no more, but seeing that men may not expell unjust possessours forth of this land, God himselfe would do it; For your fire is not kindled by man. Which words offended the Queen Regent not a little (whose sicknesse daily increasing) great craft she used, That *Monsieur Dosell* might have been permitted to have spoken with her, belike she would have bidden him fare-well, (for their old familiaritie was great) but that denied, she Writ, as it had been to her Chyrurgeon and Apothecarie, shewing her sicknesse, and requiring some Drogs. The Letter being presented to the Lord *Gray*, he espied the craft, for few Lines being written above, and so much White Paper left, he said, Drogs are abundant and fresher in *Edinburgh*, then they can be in *Leith*. There lurketh here some other mysterie, and so he began to try, and by holding the Paper to the fire, he perceiveth some writing appear, and so began he to read; but what it was no other man can tell, for immediately he burnt the Bill, and said to the Messenger; Albeit I have been her Secretary, yet tell her, I shall keep her councell; But say to her, Such Wares will not sell till a new Market. The answer received, she was nothing content, and then travel'ed she earnestly, That she might speak with the Earles *Argyle, Glencarne, Mershall*, and with the Lord *James*. After deliberation it was thought expedient, that they should speak with her, but not all together, lest that some part of the *Guisians* practice had lurked under the colour of such friendship. *Her regrate was unto them all, That she had behaved her selfe so foolishly, as that she had compelled them to seek the support of others, then of their own Soveraigne, and said, That she sore repented, that ever it came to that extremitie: but she was not the wight, but the wicked counsell of her friends on the one part, and the Earle of* Huntley *on the other: for if he had not been, she would have fully agreed with them at their Commoning at* Preston: They gave unto her both the Councell and the Comfort which they could in that extremitie, and willed her to send for some godly learned man, of whom she might receive instruction, for these ignorant Papists that were about her, understood nothing of the Mysterie of our redemption. Upon their motion was *John Willock* sent for, with whom she talked a reasonable space, and who did plainely shew unto her as well the vertue and strength of the death of Jesus Christ, as the vanity and abomination of that Idoll the Masse: *She did openly confesse, That there was no salvation, but in and by the death of Jesus Christ*; but of the Masse we heard not her Confession. Some say she was anointed with extreame Unction, after the Papisticall manner, which was a signe of small knowledge of the Trueth; and of lesse Repentance of her former Superstition: Yet howsoever it was, Christ Jesus gate no small Victorie over such an enemie. For albeit before she had Vowed, That in despight

Note.

Let the Princes now make use of these words of this dying Queen.

despight of all *Scotland*, the Preachers of Jesus Christ should either die, or be banished the Realme: yet was she compelled not onely to heare, That Christ Jesus was Preached, and all Idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places suppressed: but also she was constrained to heare one of the principall Ministers within the Realme, and to approve the chiefe head of our Religion, wherein we dissent from all Papists and Papistrie. Shortly thereafter she finished her life, unhappy to *Scotland*, from the first day she entred into it, unto the day that she departed this life, which was the ninth day of June, in yeere of God 1560. The Guisian Councells, as they were wicked and cruell to the people, so they proved mischievous to themselves, and to them that followed them, to this day.

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Note.

The death of the Queene Regent.

Upon the sixteenth day of June, after the death of the Queen Regent, came to *Scotland* Monsieur *Randam*, and with him the Bishop of *Valance* in Commission from *France*, to negotiate a Peace: From *England* there came Sir *William Cecill*, chiefe Secretary, and Doctor *Whitton*. Their negotiation was longsome; for both *England* and we fearing deceit, sought by all meanes that the contract should be sure. And they on the other part, meaning to gratifie such as had sent them (who meant nothing but meere falshood) protracted time to the uttermost: yea, while that those of *Leith* were very scarce of victuals, and those of the *Inch* had perished, had not been that by policie they gat a ship with Victuals, and some Munition, which was upon Midsommer Even, whereof they made no small triumph, which also for a season stayed the appointment, yet in the end Peace was concluded, in forme as followeth.

Note a Character of Popishly addicted French officers of State.

The Articles Translated and agreed by John, *Bishop of* Valance, *and Monsieur* Randam, *Deputies to the King and Queen of* Scotland, *upon the matters presented to them, by way of Petition, for the part of Nobilitie and people of* Scotland.

IN the first, Upon the Complaint and Petition of the said Nobility, and the people of this Countrey, and the number of men of War sustained by their Majesties in these parts in the time of Peace. It is humbly remonstrated to the said Deputies, that they would provide convenient remedie thereunto, for the comfort and reliefe of the Countrey. The said Deputies considering the said desires to be just, and conformable to reason, condescended, agreed, and assured, That the King and Queen should procure no French Men of Warre, nor no other nation to come to these parts in time comming. But if strangers would pretend to enter into this Realme with a Navie or Armie, to occupie the same: In the which cause provision shall be made by their Majesties, the judgement and counsell of the States of the Realme being had thereto, and that the French Men of Warre being now in the Town of *Leith*, shall be sent to *France* the same time, that the Navie and Armie of English-men and Scottish-men be scattered and departed both by sea and land, the which shall be done in the best manner may be, as at more large consideration shall be had thereupon, and as to the bands of

Anno

Scottish men of warre, being at the said place, they shall be broken, and the men of war licensed to depart. Moreover, as to the Forts of *Dumbar*, and *Incheketh*, that there shall remain in them an 120. Frenchmen of war onely, which shall be parted and distributed in these two places, and there shall remain no more in *Dumbar*, but threescore men of warre, so it be affirmed by the Captains chosen to that effect by both the parties, that for the keeping of the same, a greater number is not needfull: also to depart when the States of the Realm can finde any good and sure remedie upon the expences made in the said places, to keep the same from perill of invasion or ruine thereof from them that would pretend to occupie the same, they shall immediatly shew the same unto their Majesties as hastily as may be done: and in the mean time the number of the said men of war shall not be augmented. And in like manner, it shall not be lawfull to the said men of warre, to do any injuries to any persons, nor yet to maintain and defend any Scottish men, of what qualitie soever they be of, against the will and authoritie of the Magistrates of the Realm; nor to receive them in the said places that the Minister of Justice may not put hands on them, nor yet shall intromit in any manner of way, with the quarrels and discords of the Lords, and other particular men of this Realm: But they themselves shall be bound in cases of any quarrell, to be punished after the Laws and constitutions of this Realm, and to answer for themselves before the Judges Ordinaries of the same. Last of all, that from henceforth they be not compelled to take on credite; they shall be every moneth satisfied of their wages, so that two Scottish Lords chosen by the Councell, may present it, at the Waponshawing and musters of the said men of warre, and also to visit the said Forts, to see if the number of them be liked, and it shall not be lawfull to the said men of war to take any victuals for their sustentation, or for munition of the said places, but by paiment of readie money numerate, and with the pleasures of them that delivereth the same unto them: And therefore the said Lords obliges themselves to give them so much as is needfull unto them, they having to pay therefore.

Item, upon the petition presented unto the said Lords Deputies, anenst the demolition of the fortifications, the said Deputies consent, agree and assureth, that the fortification of *Leith* shall be demolished, and that two, three, or four Captains shall be chosen by both the parties to view the Castle of *Dumbar*, and if it be found by them, that the reparation, amplification, and fortifying made thereof now after the peace, greater number of men to the keeping thereof be required, the reparation and fortification thereof shall be abolished, so soon as may be done, and shall remaine onely untouched that thing while we may make the said Castell more sure, and in lesse danger from invasion. Providing not the lesse that no greater number of men therein be required for keeping of the same.

Note how they limit the Prince.

Moreover, in times comming the King and Queene shall make no moe new Forts within this Realm; and shall not augment them, that are else made, nor shall repair them that are demolished without counsell and consent of the Estates; nor yet shall transport to these parts, any Artillery, Munition of Warre, Powder, or Victuals, but so much as may

may serve for keeping of the said places by the space of six moneths, or a yeer. Anno

Item, Anenst the Demand made about the debts contracted by the French men of War in this Countrey, The saids Deputies consenteth, That the King and Queen shall cause to be restored all that which happeneth to be found given and granted to the Kings Lieutenant, and his Captains, and other Officers, for the nourishment, sustentation, and maintenance of the said French-men; or that which is found owing by the Lieutenants for service of their Majesties, that may appear by writ, or confession of parties.

Item, Upon the Petition made anenst the Convention of States of this Realm, the said Deputies Consented and Accorded, &c. That the States of the Realme may convene and hold a Parliament the twentieth day of the moneth of *July* next to come; upon the which day the Parliament shall be continued, as the use is, unto the first day of the moneth of *August* following. Providing alwayes, That before they begin to handle any thing in the said Parliament, all tumult of War be discharged, and cease, that they who are present may be free without fear of men of War, or others; and that in this mean time a Messenger be sent by the said Deputies to the King and Queen, to certifie them of the things agreed, treated and accorded, requesting their Majesties humbly to be contented with the same. And the said Convention shall be as lawfull in all respects, as the same had been ordained and done by expresse Commandment of their Majesties. Providing that no matter be treated therein before the said first day of *August*.

Item, Upon the Article presented concerning War and Peace, the said Deputies Consented, Accorded, &c. That the King and Queen neither make Peace nor War on their parts, but by the Counsell, Judgement, and consent of the States, according to the Ordinance of the Countrey, and as was observed by their Predecessors. Note how the Prince is limitated; and his will is not a Law.

Item, Upon the Petition presented to the said Deputies concerning the Government and Regiment of the Policy, they have Consented, &c. That four and twenty worthy men of this Realme be chosen by the States, of the which the King and the Queen shall chuse seven, and the States five; which in their Majesties absence shall take order, and make one ordinary Councell for the administration aforesaid; so that no man of whatsoever quality he be, shall have the power to order any thing to be done touching the said busineſſe, without the mediation, authority, and consent of them; and the said Councellors shall convene together as oft as they can conveniently, but shall convene no lesse nor six together. And when any matter of importance occurreth, they shall all be called to consult, and order to be taken by them, or the most part of them, if need be: And if it happen any of the said seven chosen by the King and Queen to decease, their Majesties shall chuse another forth of the said number of four and twenty in the place of him that deceased. And if any of the said five chosen by the States dieth, the remnant forechosen by them shall name another of the number of 24. Moreover, if it be thought expedient to the said States that other two be augmented to the said number of 12. then and in

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that cause, the King and Queen shall chuse one, and the States another; and so was this Article agreed under condition, that is to say, That the same be no prejudice in times coming to the King and Queen, and Rights of the Crown. And the said Deputies offered their labours to make mediation to the King and Queen, for maintaining Pensions and Expenses of the said Councellors, and ordinary Officers of the said Councell, to be provided of the Rents and Revenues of the Crown.

Item, Upon the Petition made to the said Deputies anenst the Officers of this Realm, they consented and accorded, &c. That in time to come the King and Queen shall not depute any stranger in the administration of the Civill and Common Justice, and likewise in the Office of Chancery, Keeper of the Seale, the Treasurer, Controller, and every like Offices, and shall not use them, but shall be content with their owne subjects borne in the Realm. Moreover, It shall not be lawfull to put the Office of Treasury, Controller, into the hands of any Church-man, or other which are not able to exercise the said Offices; the which Treasurer and Controller shall be provided of sufficient Commission to use the said Offices: But it shall be lawfull to them to dispose or sell Wards of Marriages, or other casualties, or any other things whatsoever they be, pertaining to their Offices, without advice and consent of the said Councell, to the effect that the Councell may know that all things be done to the profit of the King and Queen: And yet they will not binde or astraint the King or Queen to this Article, that they may not give when they think expedient.

Note.

Item, They accorded, That in the first Convention and Parliament of the States of this Realme, there shall be Constituted, Ordained, and Established, an Act of Oblivion, which afterwards shall be confirmed by the Kings and Queens Majesties, by the which the remembrance of bearing Armour, and other things which have been done shall be buried and forgotten, from the sixth day of the moneth of *March*, in the yeer of our Lord God 1558 yeers: And by the same Act, they which have contravened the Laws of the Realme, shall be excused, and free of all pains contained therein, even so as if it had never been contravened. Providing, That the Priviledge of the said Act be not extended to them which the States of the Realme shall judge unworthy thereof.

Item, It is agreed and concluded; That in the said Convention or Parliament, the States of the Realme, as the Custome is, and ordinarily is required, shall be called; in the which all they that have used to convene and to be present, may come without all fear or force done, or to be done to them by any person; so that the said States shall oblige them. That where in time coming any Sedition, or gathering of men of War shall happen to be without command of the Councell, being of the number of twelve, the Realme and Countrey shall repute the causers thereof, and they that convene, as Rebells, and shall pursue them as such like, that they may be punished by the Laws of the Realm, so that the K. and Q. shall not be compelled in time coming to send any men of War strangers in these parts, for obtaining due obedience of their subjects.

Item,

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Item, They Offered, Accorded, and Agreed, That there shall be a generall peace and reconciliation amongst all Lords and subjects of this Realm, so that they that are called of the Congregation, and they which are not of the same, shall lay no reproach to others for the things which are done from the said sixth day of *March*, 1558.

Item, They Offered, Accorded, and Affirmed, That the King and Queen shall not pursue, revenge, nor make any persecution for the things that have been done, nor yet shall they suffer the same to be done by their subjects French-men, but shall have all things in Oblivion, as if the same had never been done. And such like the Lords of this Realm of *Scotland* shall do in all businesse betwixt them and the French-men on their. And if by sinister information, or any other occasion, their Majesties have conceived evill opinion against their subjects, they shall utterly forget and change the same: Nor shall they deprive any of them, nor take from them any of them, their Subjects, the Offices, Benefices, or Estates, which they have brooked and enjoyed in the said Realm before, by reason of any things they have medled with; from the said sixth day of *March*, 1558. And further, shall make no occasion of deprivation, nor deposing of them by any other colour, without just cause, but rather they shall esteem and use them in time coming, as good and obedient subjects. Providing, That the said Lords, and other subjects on their part, make to their Majesties all obedience such like, as other faithfull and naturall subjects owe to their Soveraigns.

Item, It is Accorded and Agreed, That it shall be lawfull to none of the Lords and Nobility of *Scotland*, or any other, to make Convocation of men of War, but in the ordinary cause approved by the Laws and Custome of the Realme; And none of them shall cause any men of War strangers to come to their parts; and much lesse shall attempt to do any thing against the King and Queen, or against the Authority of the Councell, and other Magistrates of the Realme; and they which have presented the Petition shall be bound thereunto. And in case any of them, or others, finde occasion to invade or take Armour against any man as he pretendeth, after that he hath communicated the matter with the Councell of the Realme, he shall present his Complaint to their Majesties, and generally they shall oblige them under the said pains, to do the things which pertaineth to good and faithfull Subjects, for the quietnesse and tranquility of the Realme, and Rights of their Soveraigne.

Item, It is Agreed, That if any Bishops, Abbots, or other Churchmen, shall finde or alleadge them to have received any injuries, either in their persons or goods, the Complaints shall be seen and considered by the States of the said Convention and Parliament, and there shall be made redresse, as they shall finde according to reason; and in the meane time no man shall stop them, but they shall brook and enjoy their goods, nor shall do any hurt, injury or violence to them: And if any doth contravene to this Article, he shall be pursued by the Lords as a perturber of a good Common-weale.

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Item, It is Accorded, &c. That the said Lords shall binde them to observe, and cause to be observed, all and sundry Points and Articles agreed in this Treaty; And if it happen that any of them, or any other should gainsay the same, the remnant Lords, and residue of the whole people, shall be enemies to him, and shall pursue him till he be chastned, and punished according to his demerits.

Item, It is Concluded, &c. That all the whole Realm may know that the King and Queen are not willing to keep any remembrance of the troubles and differences past, and so far as concerns the Nobility, and other subjects of this Realme; That their Majesties desire is to use them humanely, and to be favourable unto them, the said Deputies have promised and accorded, That the Duke of *Chattellarault*, and all other Noble-men of *Scotland*, shall be restaured and setled again in all their goods and benefices, which they had enjoyed in *France*; That they may brook and enjoy the same, in the same manner as they did before those debates; the said sixth day of *March*, and yeer aforesaid, even as the said controversies had never chanced. And also that all Capitulations and Articles agreed upon in times past, and especially those that were appointed in the King and Queens Contract shall be observed and kept, as well for the part of their Majesties, as for the part of the Nobility and people of *Scotland*. And as concerning *David*, son to the Duke of *Chattellarault*, now being in *Bois de Vincennes*, liberty shall be granted unto him to returne into *Scotland*, and to do as he pleaseth. Moreover, when the said Deputies exposed that some time it might chance, That the King might have need and use of his great Guns and Artillery in *France*, the said Lords having consideration thereof, accorded, That no other Artillery be translated out of this Realme, but those which were sent and brought in, from the said day of the decease of *Francis* King of *France*, of good memory, to these parts: And that all other Artillery aud Munition be reposed into the places whence they were taken forth, and in speciall they that have the Arms of *Scotland*, shall be put into the places whence they were taken forth of. And there shall be Noble-men of *Scotland* appointed therefore, and two for the part of the Kings Majesty, are to be deputed to agnosce and view the same afore the Shipping thereof.

And moreover, That whereas in the names of the Nobility and people of *Scotland* certain Articles concerning Religion and other Points have been presented, which the said Deputies will not touch; and considering the weight and importance of them, has remitted the same to be cognosced and decided by their Majesties; The said Lords and Nobility do promise, That a certain number of Noble-men should be chosen in the next Convention and Parliament to be sent to their Majesties, which shall expose to theirHighnesses those things that shall be thought needfull for the state of their busines, and for the forementioned and other Articles and Points undecided by the Deputies, to the effect they may know their Majesties intention & good wil concerning those things which shal be exposed from the Country: the which also shall have with them a confirmation & ratification by the states of theRealm, of those articles which are concorded, &c. by the Deputies; to whom also the same time or before shal

be

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Thankesgiving for our deliverance with Prayers.

O Eternall and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath not onely commanded us to Pray, and promised to hear us; but also willest us to magnifie thy mercies, and to glorifie thy Name, when thou shewest thy selfe pitifull, and favourable unto us, especially when thou deliverest us from desperate dangers: for so did thy servants, *Abraham*, *David*, *Jehosaphat*, and *Ezechias*, yea, the whole people of Israel omitted not the same, when thou by thy mighty hand didst confound their enemies, and didst deliver them from feare and danger of death intended. We ought not, nor can we forget, O Lord, in how miserable estate stood this poore Countrey, and we the just inhabitants of the same, not many dayes past; When Idolatry was maintained; When cruell strangers did bear rule; When Virgins were desloured, Matrones corrupted, Mens Wives violently and villanously oppressed, The blood of innocents shed without mercy. And finally, when the unjust commandments of proud tyrants were obeyed as Law. Out of these miseries (O Lord) could neither our wit, policie nor strength deliver us, yea, thou didst shew to us how vain was the help of man, where thy blessing giveth not victory. In these our anguishes, O Lord, we sobbed unto thee, we cried for thy help, and we reclaimed thy Name, as thy troubled flock persecuted for thy Trueths sake. Mercifully hast thou heard us (O Lord) mercifully, we say, because that neither in us, neither yet in our confederates was there any cause why that thou shouldst have given unto us so joyfull and sudden a deliverance. For neither of us both ceased to do wickedly, even in the midst of our greatest troubles, and yet hast thou looked upon us so pitifully, as that we had given unto thee most perfect obedience. For thou hast disappointed the counsels of the craftie; Thou hast bridled the rage of the cruell; and thou hast of thy mercy set this our perishing Realm, at a reasonable liberty. Oh give us hearts (thou Lord, that onely givest all good gifts) with reverence and fear to meditate thy wondrous works late wrought in our eyes. Let not the remembrance of the same unthankfully to slip from our wavering mindes. We grant and acknowledge, O Lord, That whatsoever we have received, shall fall into oblivion with us, and so turn to our condemnation; unlesse thou by the power of thy Spirit keep and retain us in recent and perpetuall memory of the same. We beseech thee therefore, O father of mercies, that as of thy undeserved grace, thou hast partly removed our darknesse; suppressed Idolatry; and taken from above our heads the devouring sword of mercilesse strangers, that so it would please thee to proceed with us in this thy grace begun. And albeit that in us there is nothing that may move thy Majestie, to shew us this favour; yet for Christ Jesus, thy onely welbeloved Sons sake, whose Name we bear, and whose Doctrine we professe; we beseech thee never to suffer us to forsake or deny this Verity which now we professe. But seeing that thou hast mercifully heard us, and hast caused thy Veritie to triumph in us; so we crave of thee continuance to the end, that thy godly Name may be glorified in us thy creatures.

And

be given and delivered, and like Confirmation and Ratification made by their Majesties, so being that the said States send their Ratification aforesaid.

Ani

The Proclamation of the things above-written, made the 8 of July, in the yeere of God 1560.

TO the glory of the Almighty Lord God, and to the comfort of all Christians, the most puissant Prince and Princesse, and most Christian King and Queen Francis *and* Mary, *by the grace of God, King and Queen of* France *and* Scotland: *and by the most puissant Princesse* Elizabeth, *by the same Grace, Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, &c. *It is accorded, and Reconciliation of Peace and Amitie made, which is to be observed inviolably, amongst them, their Subjects, Realms and Countries. For as much as in name of the said Prince and Princesse it is commanded, and straitly charged to all manner of persons under their obedience, or being in their service, from henceforth to desist from all hostility both by Sea and Land, and to keep a good Peace the one with the other, and with charge, that none shall break the same under perill of,* &c.

These things transacted, and the Peace Proclaimed, as is said, sudden provision was made for transporting of the French to *France*, of whom the most part were put in the English Ships, who also carried with them the whole spoile of *Leith*: and that was the second benefit which they received of their late promised liberty, the end whereof is not yet. The English Army departed by land the 16 day of July, in the yeere of God 1560. The most part of our Nobility Protestants, honourably conveyed them (as in very deed they had well deserved) But Lord *James* would not leave the Lord *Gray* with the other Noble-men of *England*, till that they entred into *Barwick*. After whose returning, the Councell began to look as well upon the affaires of the Common-wealth, as upon the matters that might concern the stability of Religion. As before we have heard the Parliament was concluded to begin the tenth of July, and to be continued till the first of August next, and therefore the Lords made the greater haste and diligence, that all things should be put in convenient order. But before all things the Preachers exhorted them (for then in *Edinburgh* were the most part of the chief Ministers of the Realme) to be thankfull unto God, and next to provide that the Ministers should be distributed, as the necessity of the Countrey required. A day was appointed, when that the whole Nobility, and the greatest part of the Congregation assembled in S. *Giles* Church in *Edinburgh*, where after the Sermon made for that purpose, publike thanks were given unto God for his mercifull deliverance, in forme as followeth.

The prof *Leith* got their pro liberty.

Thankes-

And seeing that nothing is more odious in thy presence (O Lord) then is ingratitude and violation of an Oath and Covenant made in thy Name. And seeing thou hast made our Confederates of *England* the Instrument by whom we are now set at this libertie, and to whom in thy Name we have promised mutuall faith againe. Let us never fall to that unkindnesse (O Lord) that either we declare our selves unthankfull unto them, or prophaners of thy holy Name. Confound thou the Counsell of those, that goe about to break that mostgodly League contracted in thy Name, and retaine thou us so firmly together by the power of thy holy Spirit, that Sathan have never power to set us again at variance nor discord. Give us thy grace to live in that Christian charitie, which thy Sonne our Lord Jesus hath so earnestly commended to all the members of his body, that other Nations provoked by our example, may set aside all ungodly warre, contention and strife, and studie to live in tranquilitie and peace, as it becometh the Sheepe of thy Pasture, and the people that daily look for our finall deliverance by the coming again of our Lord Jesus. To whom with thee and the Holy Spirit be all honour, glory and praise now and ever. Amen.

Anno 1560.

Note a Covenant betwixt *England* and *Scotland*.

Hereafter were the Commissioners of Boroughs, with some of the Nobility and Barons, appointed to see the equall distribution of Ministers to change and transport, as the most part should think expedient. And so was *John Knox* appointed to *Edinburgh*, *Christopher Goodman* (who the most part of the troubles had remained in *Ayre*) was appointed to Saint *Andrews*, *Adam Heriot* to *Aberdeene*; Master *John Row* to Saint *Johnston*, *Paul Meaffen* (to whom was no infamie then knowne) to *Jedburgh*, *William Christison* to *Dundie*, *David Fargeson* to *Dunfermelin*, and Master *David Lindsay* to *Leith*. There were nominated for Superintendents, and Overseers, that all things in the Church should be carried with Order, and well, Master *John Spottiswood* for *Lowthian*, Master *John Wyram* for *Fyfe*, Master *John Willock* for *Glasgow*, the Laird of *Dun* for *Angus* and *Mearnes*, Master *John Carswell* for *Argyle* and the Isles. These to be elected at the dayes appointed; unlesse that the Countreys whereto they were to be appointed, could in the mean time finde out men more able and sufficient, or else shew such causes as might disable them from that imployment.

The Parliament approaching, due advertisement was made by the Councell, to all such as by Law and ancient Custome had, or might claime to have Title therein. The assembly was great, notwithstanding some, as well of those that be called Spirituall as Temporall Lords, contemptuously did absent themselves. And yet the chief Pillars of the Papisticall Church gave their presence, such as the Bishops of Saint *Andrews*, *Dumblane*, and *Dunkell*, with others of the inferiour sort; beside those that had renounced Papisterie, and openly professed Jesus Christ with us, such as the Bishop of *Galloway*, the Abbots of *Lindrosse*, *Culrosse*; Saint *Colmes Inch*, *New-battell*, *Halyrud-house*, the Priour of Saint *Andrews*; *Coldinghame*, *Saint-Mary* Ile, the Sub-priour of S. *Andrews*, and divers others, whom we observed not. At the same time of Parliament *John Knox*

Some Prelats left Antichrist, and did adhere unto Christ.

Anno

William Maitlands mockage of God.

publikely Preached upon some Texts of the Prophet *Haggai*, the Doctrine was proper for the time. In application whereof he was so speciall and so vehement, that some (having greater respect to the world then to Gods glory) feeling themselves pricked, said in mockage, *We may now forget our selves, and beare the Barrow to build the house of God.* God be mercifull to the speaker, for we fear yet he shall have experience, That the building of his own house (the house of God being despised) shall not be so prosperous, and of such firmitie as we desire it were. And albeit some mocked, yet others were godly moved, who did assemble themselves together, to consult what things were to be proposed to that present Parliament: And after deliberation, was this subsequent supplication offered.

The Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, and other true Subjects of this Realm, professing the Lord Jesus within the same.

To the Nobilitie and States of Parliament presently assembled within the said Realm, desire Grace, Mercy and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the increase of his holy Spirit.

PLease your Honours to call to remembrance, how divers and sundry times, we (with some of your selves) most humbly Petitioned, at the feet of the late Queen Regent, for freedom and liberty of Conscience, with a godly Reformation of abuses, which by the malice of Satan and negligence of men, are crept into the Religion of God, and are maintained by such as take upon them the name of Clergie. And albeit that our godly and most reasonable suit was then disdainfully rejected, whereof no small troubles have ensued, as your Honours well know, yet seeing that the same necessity yet remaineth, that then moved us; And moreover, that God of his mercy hath now put into your hands, to take such order; As God thereby may be glorified; This Common-wealth quieted; And the Policy thereof established: We cannot cease to crave of your Honours the redresse of such enormities, as manifestly are (and of long time have been) committed by the place-holders of the Ministerie, and others of the Clergie within this Realm. And first, seeing that God of his great mercy hath by the light of his Word manifested to no small number of this Realme, That the Doctrine of the Romane Church, received by the said Clergie, and maintained through their tyrannie by fire and sword, contained in it selfe many pestiferous errours, which cannot but bring damnation to the souls of such as therewith shall be infected; such as are the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; of the Adoration of Christs Body, under the form of Bread, as they terme it; of the Merits of Works, and Justification that they alleadge commeth thereby; together with the Doctrine of the Papisticall Indulgences, Purgatory, Pilgrimage, and Praying to Saints departed, which all either repugne to the plain Scriptures, or else have no ground in the Doctrine of our Master Jesus Christ, his Prophets and Apostles.

1. We

1. We humbly therefore crave of your Honours, That such doctrine and Idolatry as by Gods Word are both condemned, so may they be abolished by Act of this present Parliament, and punishment appointed for the transgressors. Anno

Secondarily, seeing that the Sacraments of Jesus Christ are most shamefully abused and profaned by that Romane Harlot and her sworne vassals; and also because that the true Discipline of the ancient Church is utterly now amongst that Sect extinguished: For who within the Realme are more corrupt in life and manners then are they that are called the Clergie, living in whoredom, adultery, deflouring Virgins, corrupting Matrons, and doing all abomination, without fear of punishment. We humbly therefore desire your Honors to finde remedy against the one and the other.

3. Thirdly, Because that *man of sin* falsly claimeth to himselfe the titles of, *The Vicar of Christ*, *The Successor of* Peter, *The Head of the Church*, *That he cannot erre, That all power is granted unto him, &c.* By the which usurped Authority, he taketh upon him the distribution and possession of the whole Patrimony of the Church, whereby the true Ministry of the Word of God long time hath been altogether neglected, the godly learning despised, the Schools not provided, and the poor not only frauded of their portion, but also most tyrannously oppressed: we likewise hereof desire remedy. And lest that your Honors should doubt in any of these premises, we offer our selves evidently to prove, That in all the rabble of the Clergie there is not one lawfull Minister, if Gods Word, the practices of the Apostles, the sincerity of the Primitive Church, and their own ancient Laws, shall judge of lawfull Election. We further offer to prove them all thieves and murtherers, yea, rebels and traytors to the lawfull Authority of Emperors, Kings and Princes, and therfore unworthy to be suffred in any reformed Common-wealth. How maliciously they murthered our brethren, for no other cause, but for that they offred to us the light of Gods Word, your Honours cannot be ignorant; and into what hazard their tyranny hath brought this whole Realm, the Ages after will consider. If ye look for other fruit in times to come, then ye have seen in them whom we accuse, we are assured ye shall be deceived. Now hath God, beyond all expectation of man, made you, who somtimes were suppliants with us for Reformation, Judges, as it were, in the Cause of God: At least, he hath so subdued your enemies unto you, that by violence they are not able to suppresse the Verity, as heretofore they have done. We therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, crave of your Honors, That either they may be compelled to answer to our former accusations, and unto such others as justly we have to lay to their charges; or else that all affection laid aside, ye pronounce them such by censure of this Parliament, and cause them to be so reputed, as by us most justly they are accused: Especially, that they may be discerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge or cure in the Church of God, and so from henceforth never to enjoy voice in Parliament: Which if ye do not, then in the fear of God, and by assurance of his Word we forewarn you, That as ye leave a grieyous yoke, & a burden intolerable upon the Church of God in this realm,

Anno

so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides, whom after, when ye would, ye shall have no power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give you upright hearts, seeking his glory, and true understanding, what this day he who hath delivered you from Bondage both Spirituall and Temporall, craveth of you by his servants, and your Honours answer most humbly require.

See how this agrees with our times.

This our Supplication being read in audience of the whole Assembly, divers men were of divers judgements; for as some there were that uprightly favoured the Cause of God; so were there many that for worldly respects abhorred a perfect Reformation (for how many within *Scotland* who have the name of Nobility, and are unjust possessors of the Patrimony of the Church) and yet were the Barons and Ministers called, and commandment given unto them, to draw into plain and severall Heads the sum of that Doctrine which they would maintain, and would desire the present Parliament to establish, as wholesome, true, and onely necessary to be beleeved, and to be received within the Realm: Which they willingly accepted; and within four dayes presented this Confession as it followeth, without alteration of any one sentence.

The Confession of Faith professed and believed by the Protestants within the Realme of Scotland, *published by them in Parliament, and by the Estates thereof Ratified and Approved, as wholesome and sound Doctrine, grounded upon the infallible Truth of God.*

MATTH. 24.

And this glad Tydings of the Kingdom shall be preached thorowout the whole world for a Witnesse unto all Nations, and then shall the end come.

The Preface.

The States of *Scotland*, with the Inhabitants of the same professing Christ Jesus his holy Gospel, To their naturall Countrey-men, and unto all other Realmes and Nations professing the same Lord Jesus with them, Wish Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous Judgement, for Salvation.

LOng have we thirsted (dear Brethren) to have notified unto the world the sum of that Doctrine which we professe, and for the which we have sustained infamy and danger. But such hath been the rage of Sathan against us, and against Christ Jesus his Eternall Verity lately now again borne amongst us, that to this day no time hath been granted unto us, to clear our consciences, as most gladly we would have done: For how we have been tossed a whole yeer past, the most part of Europe *(as we do suppose) doth understand. But seeing that of the infinite goodnesse of our God (who never suffereth his afflicted utterly to be confounded) above expectation, have we obtained some rest and liberty, we could not but set forth this briefe and*

and plain Confession of such Doctrine as is preposed unto us, and as we believe and professe; partly for satisfaction of our Brethren, whose hearts, we doubt not, have been, and yet are, wounded by the despightfull rayling of such as yet have not learned to speak well: And partly for stopping the mouths of impudent blasphemers, who boldly condemne that which they neither heard nor understood: Not that we judge that the cankred malice of such is able to be cured by this simple Confession; No, we know that the sweet savour of the Gospel is and shall be death unto the sons of perdition. But we have chief respect to our weak and infirme Brethren, to whom we would communicate the bottom of our hearts, lest that they be troubled or carried away by diversity of rumours which Sathan spreadeth against us, to the defeating of this our most godly enterprise; Protesting, That if any man will note in this our Confession any Articles or sentence repugning to Gods holy Word, that it would please him of his gentlenesse, and for Christian charities sake, admonish us of the same in writing; and we upon our Honours and fidelity do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God (that is, from his holy Scriptures) or else Reformation of that which he shall prove to be amisse. For God we take to Record in our consciences, That from our hearts we abhorre all Sects of Heresie, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine; And that with all humility we embrace the purity of Christs Gospel, which is the onely food of our soules; and therefore so precious unto us, that we are determined to suffer the extremest of worldly danger, rather then that we will suffer our selves to be defrauded of the same. For hereof we are most certainly perswaded, That whosoever denieth Christ Jesus, or is ashamed of him in presence of men, shall be denied before the Father, and before his holy Angels. And therefore by the assistance of the mighty Spirit of the same our Lord Jesus, we firmly purpose to abide to the end in the confession of this our Faith.

Anno

The first Article.

Of God.

VVE confesse and acknowledge one onely God, to whom onely we must cleave, whom onely we must Worship, and in whom onely we must put our trust; who is Eternall, Infinite, Unmeasurable, Incomprehensible, Omnipotent, Invisible, one in Substance, and yet distinct into three Persons, The Father, The Son, And the holy Ghost; by whom we confesse and believe all things in heaven and earth, as well Visible as Invisible, to have been Created, to be Retained in their being, and to be Ruled and Guided by his inscrutable Providence, to such end as his eternall Wisedom, Goodnesse and Justice hath appointed them, to the manifestation of his own Glory.

Deut.4. 1 Cor.8.8. Isai 44.4,5. 1 Tim 1 27. 1 King 8.17. 2 Chron 8 18. Psal 139 78. Gen 17 1. 1 Tim.6.15,16 Exod 3.14,15. Matt.28.19. 1 Joh 5 7. Gen 1.1. Heb.1.3. Act 17.28. Prov.16 4.

II.

Of the Creation of Man.

VVE confesse and acknowledge this our God to have Created man (to wit, our first Father *Adam*) of whom also God formed the Woman, to his own Image and Similitude; To whom he gave Wisedom, Lordship, Justice, free-Will, and clear Knowledge of himself; so

Gen.1.26.27, &c. Col.3.10.

Anno

Ephes 4 24
Gen.3.6.
Gen 2. 7.

so that in the whole Nature of man there could be no imperfection: From which Honour and Perfection Man and Woman did both fall; the Woman, being deceived by the Serpent; and Man, obeying to the voice of the Woman, both conspiring against the Soveraigne Majesty of God, who in expresse words had before threatned death, if they presumed to eat of the forbidden Tree.

III.

Of Originall Sin.

Psal 51 5.
Rom.5.10.
Rom 7.5.
2 Tit.2.6.
Eph.2 3.
Rom.5. 14,12.
Rom 6.23.
John 3 5
Rom.5.1.
Phil 1.29.

BY which transgression, commonly called Originall Sin, was the Image of God utterly defaced in Man, and he and his Posterity of Nature became enemies to God, slaves to Sathan, servants to Sin, insomuch that Death everlasting hath had, and shall have power and dominion over all that hath not been, are not, or shall not be regenerate from above; which Regeneration is wrought by the power of the holy Ghost, working in the hearts of the Elect of God an assured Faith in the Promises of God revealed to us in his Word; by which Faith they apprehend Christ Jesus, with the Graces and Benefits promised in him.

IIII.

Of the Revelation of the Promises.

Gen.3.15.
Gen.3.9.
Gen.12 3.
Gen.15 5 6.
2 Sam.7.14.
Isai 7. 14.
Isai 9 6.
Hag 2.6
John 8.38.

FOr this we constantly believe, That God, after the fearfull and horrible defection of man from his obedience, did seek *Adam* again, call upon him, rebuke his sin, convince him of the same, and in the end made unto him a joyfull Promise, to wit, *That the Seed of the Woman should breake downe the Serpents head*; that is, He should destroy the works of the devill: which Promise, as it was repeated and made more cleer from time to time, so was it embraced with joy, and most constantly retained of all the faithfull, from *Adam* to *Noah*, from *Noah* to *Abraham*, and from *Abraham* to *David*, and so forth to the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; who all (we mean the faithfull Fathers) under the Law, did see the joyfull dayes of Christ Jesus, and did rejoyce.

V.

The Continuance, Encrease, and Preservation of his Church.

Ezek 6. 5,6 7 8,9,&c.
Gen.1 12.
Gen.13.1.
Exod 1.1.
Exod 1.20.
Josh 1 5 & 23 4
1 Sam.10 1.
1 Sam 16 13
2 Sam 7.12
2 Kings 17.15, 16,&c.

WE most constantly believe, That God Preserveth, Instructeth, Multiplieth, Honoureth, Decoreth, and from death called to Life his Church in all Ages, from *Adam*, till the coming of CHRIST JESUS in the Flesh: For *Abraham* he called from his fathers Countrey, him he instructed, his Seed he multiplied, the same he marvellously preserved, and more marvellously delivered from the Bondage of *Pharaoh*; to whom he gave his Lawes, Constitutions and Ceremonies. Them he possessed in the Land of *Canaan*, to them after Judges, and after *Saul*, he gave *David* to be King; to whom he made promise, That of the fruit of his Loynes should one sit for ever upon his Regall Seat. To this same people from time to time

time he sent Prophets to reduce them to the right way of their God, from the which oftentimes they declined by Idolatry. And albeit for their stubborne contempt of Justice, he was compelled to give them into the hands of their enemies, as before he threatned by the mouth of *Moses*: Insomuch that the holy City was destroyed, the Temple burnt with fire, and the whole land left desolate the space of seventy yeeres; yet of mercy did he reduce them again to *Jerusalem*, where the Citie and Temple were reedified, and they against all temptations and assaults of Satan, did abide till the Messias came, according to the promise.

Anno

2 King. 24 34, &c.
Deu. 28. 36, 38, &c.
2 Kin. 25. 1.
Dan. 9 2.
Ezr. 1, &c.
Hag. 1 14.
Zach 3. 1.

VI.
Of the Incarnation of Christ Jesus.

VVHen the fulnesse of time came, God sent his Sonne, his eternall Wisdome, the substance of his own Glory into this World, who took the nature of manhood, of the substance of a woman; to wit, of a Virgine, and that by the operation of the holy-Ghost, and so was born, The just seed of *David*, The Angel of the great councell of God, The very *Messias* promised, whom we acknowledge, and confesse, *Emanuel*, very God and very man, two perfect natures united and ioyned in one person. By which our Confession, we condemne the damnable and pestilent Heresies of *Arrius*, *Martion*, *Eutiches*, *Nestorius*, and such others, as either denie the Eternitie of his God-head, or the Veritie of his humane nature, or confound them, or yet divide them.

Gal 4 4.
Luke 1. 31.
Matth. 1. 18.
Matth. 2. 1.
Rom. 1. 3.
Matth. 1 23.
John 1. 2. 45.
2 Tim. 2 5.

VII.
Why it behoveth the Mediatour to be very God and very man.

VVE acknowledge and confesse, That this most wondrous conjunction betwixt the God-head and Man-hood of Christ Jesus, did proceed from the eternall and immutable Decree of God, whence also our salvation springeth and dependeth.

Ephes. 1. 3, 4, 5, 6.

VIII.
Of Election.

FOr that same eternall God, who of meere grace elected us in Christ Jesus his Sonne, before the foundation of the world was laid, appointed him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastour, and great Bishop of our soules: But because that the enmitie betwixt the justice of God and our sinnes, was such, That no flesh by it self, could, or might have attained unto God; It behoved that the Son of God should descend unto us, and take himself a body of our body, flesh of our flesh, and bones of our bones, and so become the perfect Mediatour betwixt God and man; giving power to so many as beleeve in him, to be the sons of God, as he himself doth witnesse. I passe up to my Father and your Father, to my God and unto your God: By which most holy fraternity, what-

Ephes. 1. 11.
Matth 25 34.
Ephes. 1 21, 22.
Heb 2 7 8.
Psal. 22. 11.
Heb 13 20.
1 Pet. 2. 24. & 5. 4.
Psal. 130. 3.
Psal. 143 3.
1 Tim. 2. 5.
John 1. 12.
John 20. 17.

Anno

whatsoever we have lost in *Adam*, is restored to us again. And for this cause are we nothing afraid to call God our Father, not so much in that he hath created us (which we have common with the reprobate) as for that, that he hath given to us his onely Sonne to be our Brother, and given unto us grace to imbrace him for our onely Mediatour, as before is said. It behoved further the Messias and Redeemer to be very God and very Man, because he was to suffer the punishment due for our transgressions, and to present himself in the presence of his fathers judgement, as in our person to suffer for our transgression and disobedience, by death to overcome him that was Authour of death. But because the onely God-head could not suffer death, neither could onely the Man-hood overcome the same, he joyned both together in one person, that the imbecilitie of the one should suffer and be subject to death (which we had deserved) and the Infinite and Invincible power of the other; to wit, of the God-head should triumph, and purchase unto us life, libertie, and perpetuall Victory: and so we confesse, and most undoubtedly beleeve.

Rom 5. 17,18. 19. Rom 8.15. Gal.4 6. Act.17.26. Heb.2.11,12. 1 Pet.3 18. Isa.53.8. Act.2. 4. 1 John 1 2 Act.20 28. 1 Tim 3.16. John 3.16.

IX.

Christs Death, Passion, Buriall, &c.

THat our Lord Jesus offered himself a voluntary Sacrifice unto his Father for us; That he suffered contradiction of sinners; That he was wounded and plagued for our transgressions; That he being the clean and innocent Lambe of GOD, was condemned in the presence of an earthly Judge; that we might be absolved before the Tribunall Seat of our God: That he suffered not onely the cruell death of the Crosse (which was accursed by the sentence of God) but also, That he suffered for a season the wrath of his Father, which sinners had deserved. But yet we avow, That he remained the onely welbeloved and blessed Sonne of his Father, even in the midst of his anguish and torment; which he suffered in body and soule, to make the full satisfaction for the sinnes of his people. After the which, we confesse and avow, That there remains no other sacrifice for sinnes; which if any affirme, we nothing doubt to avow, That they are blasphemous against Christs Death, and the everlasting purgation and satisfaction purchased unto us by the same.

Heb.10.1,12. Isa 53.5. Heb.12.3. John 1. 29. Matth 26.11. Deut.20.23. Matth 15.1,2. Gal 3.13. Luke 23.1,2. Matth.26.38. 2 Cor 5. Heb 9 12. Heb.10.5.

X.

Resurrection.

WE undoubtedly beleeve, That in so much as it was impossible that the paines of death should retain in bondage the Authour of life, that our Lord Jesus Crucified, Dead, and Buried, who descended into hell, did rise again for our Justification, and destroying him who was the authour of death, brought life again to us that were subject to death, and to the bondage of the same: We know that his Resurrection was confirmed by the testimony of his very enemies. By the Resurrection of the dead, whose sepulchres did open, and they did arise and appeared to many within the City of *Jerusalem*. It was also confirmed by the testimonie

Act.2.13. Act.3.26. Rom.6.5,11. Act.2.24 Rom.4 25. Heb.2.14,15. Matth.28. John 20. 27. & 21.7. Luke 24. 41, 42,43.

monie of Angels, and by the ſences and judgements of his Apoſtles and others, who had converſation, and did eat and drink with him after his Reſurrection. Anno Joh.21.12,13.

XI.
Aſcenſion.

VVE nothing doubt, but that the ſelf-ſame Bodie, which was born of the Virgin, was Crucified, Dead and Buried, and which did riſe again, did aſcend into the Heavens, for accompliſhment of all things: Where, in our names, and for our comfort, he hath received all power in heaven and in earth: Where he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, enthronized in his Kingdome, Advocate and onely Mediatour for us; which glory, honour, and prerogative, he alone amongſt the Brethren ſhall poſſeſſe, till that all his enemies be made his foot ſtoole, as that we undoubtedly beleeve they ſhall be in the finall judgement, to the execution whereof, we certainly beleeve that the ſame our Lord Jeſus ſhall viſibly and apparantly returne, as that he was ſeene to aſcend. And there we firmely beleeve that the time of refreſhing and reſtitution of all things ſhall come, inſomuch that thoſe that from the beginning have ſuffered violence, injury and wrong for righteouſneſſe ſake, ſhall inherite the bleſſed immortality promiſed from the beginning. But contrary wayes the ſtubborn, cruell, inobedient, oppreſſors, filthy perſons, adulterers, and all ſorts of unthankfull men, ſhall be caſt into the dungeon of utter darkneſſe, where their worme ſhall not die, neither yet their fire bee extinguiſhed: the remembrance of the which day, and of the judgement to be executed in the ſame, is not onely to us a Bridle, whereby our carnall luſts are reſerved, but alſo ſuch ineſtimable comfort, that neither may the threatning of worldly Princes, neither yet the feare of temporall death and preſent danger move us to renounce and forſake that bleſſed ſocietie, which we the members have with our Head and onely Mediatour Chriſt Jeſus; whom we confeſſe and avow to be the Meſſias promiſed, the onely Head of the Church, our juſt Lawgiver, our onely High Prieſt, Advocate and Mediator. In whoſe honours and Offices, if a man or Angell preſume to intrude themſelves, we utterly deteſt and abhorre them, as blaſphemous to our Soveraigne Governour Chriſt Jeſus.

Luke 24.51. Act.1.6. Matth.28 6. Matth.16.9. Luke 24 6. John 20 9. Matth.28 18. 1 John 2.1. 1 Tim.2 5. Pſal.110 1. Matth. 22 44. Matth.12 36. Luke 20.42,43 Acts 1.1. Acts 3.19. 1 Theſſ. 1.4,5,6,7,8. Matth.25.34. Revel. 21 27. Eſay 66.24 Matth 25.41. Matth 9.44, 46.48 Matth.22.13. 2 Pet.3.11. 2 Cor.5. 11. Luke 21.28. John 15.4,&c. Eſay 7. 14. Epheſ.1 22. Col.1.18. Heb.1.11,15. Heb.10.21. 1 John 2.1. 1 Tim 2.5.

XII.
Faith in the Holy Ghoſt.

THis our faith, and the aſſurance of the ſame proceedeth not from fleſh and blood; that is to ſay, from no naturall powers within us, but is the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, whom we confeſſe, God equall with the Father, and with the Sonne, who ſanctified us, and bringeth us into all veritie by his own operation, without whom we ſhould remaine for ever enemies to God, and ignorant of his Sonne Chriſt Jeſus. For of nature we are ſo dead, ſo perverſe and blinde, that

Matth.16.17. John 14 26. John.14.11. Acts 5.4. John 10. 13. Col.2.13. Epheſ.2.1. John 9.39. Revel 3 13.

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Matth 17.17. Matth 9.19. Luke 9 41. John 6 63. Mic 7 8. 1 King 8. 8. Psal 10 3. Rom.5 19. John 3 5. Tit. 5 5. Rom.5 8. Psal.3.9. Psal.1.6. 2 Cor.3.5 Ephes 1 6.

neither we can feel when we were pricked, see the light when it shineth, nor assent to the will of God when it is revealed, onely the Spirit of the Lord Jesus quickeneth that which is dead, removeth the darknesse from our mindes, and boweth our stubborne hearts to the obedience of his blessed will, and so as we confesse that God the Father created us when we were not, as his Sonne our Lord Jesus redeemed us, when we were enemies to him; So also we confesse that the Holy Ghost doth sanctifie, and regenerate us without all respect of any merit proceeding from us, be it before, or be it after our regeneration. To speak this one thing yet in more plain words, as we willingly spoile our selves of all honour and glory of our own Creation and Redemption, so do we also of our regeneration and sanctification; for of selves we are not sufficient to thinke one good thought, but he who hath begun the good work in us, is onely he that continueth us in the same, to the praise and glory of his undeserved grace.

XIII.

The cause of good works.

Ephes.2.10. Phil.3.13. John 15.5. Rom.8.9.

SO that the cause of good Works we confesse to be, not of free Will, but the Spirit of the *Lord Jesus*, who dwelling in our hearts by true faith, bringeth forth such good works, as God hath prepared for us to walke in; for this we most boldly affirme that blasphemie, it is to say that Christ Jesus abideth in the heart of such, as in whom there is no spirit of sanctification; and therefore we feare not to affirme, that Murderres, Oppressors, cruell Persecutors, Adulterers, Whoremongers, filthy Persons, Idolaters, Drunkards, Theeves, and all workers of iniquitie, have neither true faith, neither any portion of the Spirit of Sanctification, which proceedeth from the Lord Jesus, so long as they obstinately continue in their wickednesse. For how soon so ever the Spirit of the Lord Jesus (which Gods Elect Children receive by true faith) taketh possession in the heart of any man, so soon doth he regenerate and renew the same man, so that he begins to hate that which before he loved, and beginneth to love that which before he hated; and from thence cometh to that continuall battaile, which is betwixt the flesh and the Spirit in Gods Children, while the flesh and naturall man (according to their own corruption) lusteth for things pleasing and delectable to it self, grudgeth in adversitie, is lifted up in prosperitie, and at every moment is prone and ready to offend the Majestie of God; but the Spirit of God which giveth witnessing unto our spirit, that we are the sonnes of God, maketh us to resist the Devill to abhorre filthie pleasures, to groane in Gods presence for deliverance from this bondage of corruption, and finally to triumph over sinne, that it reigne not in our mortall bodies. This battaile have not the carnall men, being destitute of Gods Spirit, but do follow and obey sinne with greedinesse, and without repentance, even as the Devill and their corrupt lusts do prick them. But the Sons of God (as afore is said) do fight against sin, do sob and mourn when they perceive themselves tempted to iniquity, and if they fall, they rise again with earnest and unfained repentance: and

Rom.7. 15,16, 17. Gal.5.17. Rom.8.16. Rom.7. 24. Som.8 22. Ephes 4.17,18, 19. 2 Tim.2.26.

and these things they do not by their own power, but the power of our Lord Jesus (without whom they were able to do nothing) worketh in them all that is good. Anno John 15 5.

XIIII.

What works are reputed good before God.

WE confesse and acknowledge, That God hath given to man his holy Law, in which not onely are forbidden all such works as displease and offend his godly Majesty, but also are commanded all such as please him, and as he hath promised to reward. And these works be of two sorts; the one are done to the honour of God; the other to the profit of our neighbours: And both have the revealed Will of God for their assurance; To have one God, To worship and honour him, To call upon him in all our troubles, To reverence his holy Name, To hear his Word, To believe the same, To communicate his holy Sacraments, are the works of the first Table. To honour father and mother, Princes, Rulers, and superiour Powers, To love them, To support them, yea, To obey their Charges (not repugning to the Commandment of God) To save the life of Innocents, To represse tyranny, To defend the oppressed, To keep our bodies clean and holy, To live in sobriety and temperance, To deal justly with all men, both in word and deed; and finally, To represse the appetite of our neighbours hurt, are the good works of the second Table, which are most pleasing and acceptable unto God, as those works are commanded by himself. The contrary thereof is sin most odious, which always displeaseth him, and provoketh him to anger; as, Not to call upon him alone when we have need, Not to hear his Word with reverence, To contemne and despise it, To have or to worship Idols, To maintain and defend Idolatry, Lightly to esteem the reverent Name of God, To profane, abuse, or contemne the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, To disobey or resist any that God hath placed in Authority (while they passe not over the bounds of their Office) To murther, or consent thereunto, To bear hatred, or to suffer Innocent blood to be shed, if we may gainstand it; and finally, The transgressing of any other Commandment in the first or second Table, we confesse and affirm to be sin, by the which Gods hot displeasure is kindled against the proud and unthankfull world: So that good works we affirme to be those onely that are done in Faith, and at Gods Commandment, who in his Law hath expressed what be the things that please him: And evill works we affirme, not onely those that are expresly done against Gods Commandment, but those also that in matters of Religion, and worshipping of God, have no assurance, but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning hath ever rejected, as by the Prophet *Isaiah*, and by our Master Christ Jesus, we are taught in these words; *In vaine do they worship me, teaching doctrines which are the Precepts of men.*

Exod. 20. 3, &c. Deut. 4. 7, &c. Luke 21 75. Mica 6. 7. Ephes 6. 17. Ezech. 22. 104 1 Cor 6 19, 20 1 The 4. 4, 5, 6 Jer. 22 3 9 9, &c. Esay 50. 1, &c. 1 Thess. 4 6. Rom 13. 2. Ezek. 22. 13. 1 John 3 4. Rom. 14. 22. Heb. 11 6. 1 Sam. 15. 22. 1 Cor. 10. 31. 1 John 3. 4. Esay 29. 19. Matth. 15. 9. Mar. 7. 7.

Anno

XV.

The perfection of the Law, and the imperfection of man.

Levit.18.5. Gal.3.12. 1 Tim.1.18. Rom.7.12. Psal.19.7,8,9. Deut.5.29. Rom.10.3. 1 Kin.8.4,6. Chron.6.36. Eccles.7.22. Prov.20.9. 1 Ioh.1.18. 1 John 1.18. Rom. 10.4. Gal.3 13. Deut.27.26. Phil.2.15. Isai.64.6. Luk.17.10.

THe Law of God we confesse and acknowledge most just, most equall, most holy and most perfect, commanding those things, which being wrought in perfection, were able to give life, and to bring man to eternall felicity. But our Nature is so corrupt, so weak and imperfect, that we are never able to fulfill the works of the Law in perfection; yea, *if we say we have no sin* (even after we are regenerate) *we deceive our selves, and the Verity of God is not in us.* And therefore it behoveth us to apprehend Christ Jesus with Justice and Satisfaction, who is the End and Accomplishment of the Law to all that believe, by whom we are set at this liberty, that the curse and maledicion of the Law fall not upon us, albeit we fulfill not the same in all points: For God the Father beholding us in the Body of his Son Christ Jesus, accepteth our unperfect obedience, as were perfect, and covered our works which are defiled with many spots, with the Justice of his Son. We do not mean that we are set so at liberty, that we owe no obedience to the Law (for that before we have plainly confessed) but this we affirm, That no man in earth (Christ Jesus onely accepted) hath given, giveth, or shall give in work, that obedience to the Law, which the Law requireth; But when we have done all things, we must fall down and unfainedly confesse, That we are unprofitable servants. And therefore whosoever boast themselves of the merits of their own works, or put their trust in the works of Supererogation, they boast themselves of that which is not, and put their trust in damnable Idolatry.

XVI.

Of the Church.

Mat.28.20. Ephes.1.4. Col.1.18. Ephes.5.23, 24,25,26. Apoc.7.8. Ephes.2.19.

AS we believe in God the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, so do we most earnestly believe, That from the beginning there hath beene now is, and to the end of the world shall be, A Church; that is to say' A Company and Multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship' and embrace him by true faith in Christ Jesus, who is the onely Head of the same Church, which also is the Body & Spouse of Christ Jesus, which Church is catholike, that is, Universal, because it containeth the elect of all Ages, all Realms, Nations and Tongues, be they of the Jews, or be they of the Gentiles, who have Communion or Society with God the Father, and with his Son Christ Jesus, through the Sanctification of his holy Spirit; and therefore it is called, Communion (not of profane persons) but of Saints, who are Citizens of the heavenly *Jerusalem*, have the fruition of the most inestimable benefits; to wit, of one God, one Lord Jesus, one Faith, and one Baptisme; without the which Church there is neither life nor eternall felicity: And therefore we utterly abhorre the blasphemy of those that affirm, That men that live according to equity and justice shall be saved, what Religion soever they have professed: For as without

without Christ Jesus there is neither life nor salvation : so shall there none bee participant thereof, but such as the Father hath given unto his Sonne Christ Jesus, and those in time to come to him, avow his doctrine, and beleeve in him (we comprehend the Children, with the faithfull Parents) This Church is invisibly known onely to God, who alone knoweth it, whom hee hath chosen, and comprehendeth as well (as is said) the Elect that be departed (commonly called the Church triumphant) as those that yet live, and fight against sin and Sathan, as shall live hereafter.

Anno

Iohn 5 24. Iohn 17 6. 1 Tim. 2 19 Iohn 13.14. Ephes. 1.10. Col. 1.10. Heb. 12.4.

XVII.

The immortalitie of the Soules.

THe Elect departed are in peace, and rest from their labours, not that they sleep, and come to a certain oblivion (as some fantastick heads do affirme) but that they are delivered from all fear, all torment, and all temptation, the which we and all Gods Elect are subject unto in this life, and therefore doe bear the name of the Church militant. As contrary alwayes the reprobate and unfaithfull departed, have anguish, torment and paine, that cannot be expressed, so that neither are the one nor the other in such sleepe, that they feele not joy or torment, as the Parable of Christ Jesus in the sixteenth of *Luke*, his words to the Theefe, and these words of the souls crying under the Altar : *O Lord, thou that art righteous and just, how long shalt thou not revenge our blood upon them that dwell upon the earth*, doth plainly testifie.

Apoc. 14.13. Isai. 25 8. Apoc 7.16,17. Apoc. 21.4 Apoc 16.10,11 Isai. 66.24. Mark 9.44,36, 48. Luke 23.43. Luke 16, 24, 25. Apoc. 6.9,10.

XVIII.

Of the Notes by the which the true Church is discerned from the false, and who shall be Judge of the Doctrine.

BEcause that Sathan from the beginnig hath laboured to deck his pestilent Synagogue with the Title of the Church of God, and hath inflamed the hearts of cruell murtherers to persecute, trouble and molest the true Church and Members thereof, as *Cain* did *Abel*, *Ishmael*, *Isaac*, *Esau*, *Jacob*, and the whole Priesthood of the *Jewes*, Jesus Christ himself, and his Apostles after him. It is a thing most requisite, that the true Church be discerned from the filthy Synagogue, by cleere and perfect Notes, lest we being deceived, receive and embrace to our own condemnation the one for the other. The Notes, Signes, and assured Tokens whereby the Immaculate Spouse of Christ Jesus is knowne from the horrible Harlot the Church malignant, we affirm, are neither antiquity, title usurped, lineall descents, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving any errour ; For *Cain* in age and title was preferred to *Abel* and *Seth*. *Ierusalem* had prerogative above all places of the earth, where also were the Priests lineally descended from *Aaron*, and greater multitude followed the Scribes, Pharisees, and Priests, then unfainedly believed and approved Christ Jesus and his Doctrine ; and yet (as we suppose) no man of whole judgement will grant that

Gen. 4.8. Gen. 21.9. Gen. 27.41. Mat. 23.34. Ioh. 15.18,19. Iohn 11 35. Ioh. 15.20,24. Act. 4.1,&c. Act. 5.17,&c. Gen. 4 1. Psal. 48.1,2. Mat 5 35. Iohn 12 42. Ephes. 2.20. Act. 2.42. Iohn 10,17. Iohn 18.37. 1 Cor. 1 13.

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1 Cor. 11 20, 23. Mat. 28 19 20 Mark 16. 15. Rom 4 11. Matth 18 20. 1 Cor 1 2. 2 Cor. 1 1. Gal. 1 2. Ephes. 1 1. Acts 16. 9, 10, 18. 1 Cor. 1. &c. Acts 20 17, &c. John 20. 31. 2 Tim 3 16. 17 2 Pet. 1 20, 21.

that any of the forenamed were the Church of God: The Notes therefore of the true Church of God, we beleeve, confesse, and avow, to be first the true preaching of the Word of God; in which God hath revealed himself to us, as the writings of the Prophets and Apostles doe declare. Secondly, the right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, which may be annexed to the word and promise of God, to seale and confirme the same in our hearts. Lastly, Ecclesiasticall discipline uprightly ministred, as Gods Word prescribeth, whereby vice is repressed, and vertue nourished, wheresoever then these former Notes are seen, and of any time continuall (be the number never so few above two or three) there without all doubt is the true Church of Christ, who according to his promise is in the midst of them; not of that universall (of which we have before spoken) but particular, such as was in *Corinthus*, *Galatia*, *Ephesus*, and other places in which the Ministerie was planted by *Paul*, and were of himselfe named the Churches of God: and such Churches we the Inhabitants of the Realme of *Scotland*, professours of Christ Jesus, confesse us to have in our Cities, Townes, and places reformed: For the Doctrine taught in our Churches, is contained in the written Word of God, to wit, in the Books of the New and Old Testaments; in those Books we meane, which of ancient have been reputed Canonicall, in the which we affirme that all things necessary to be beleeved for the salvation of mankinde is sufficiently expressed. The interpretation whereof, we confesse, neither appertaineth unto any private nor publike person; neither yet to any Church for any prehéminence or prerogative personall or locall, which one hath above another, but appertaineth to the Spirit of God, by the which also the Scripture was written. When controversie then hapneth for the right understanding of any place or sentence of Scripture, or for the reformation of any abuse within the Church of God, we ought not so much to looke what men before us have said and done, as unto that which the Holy Ghost uniformly speaketh within the body of the Scriptures, and unto that which Christ Jesus himself did, and commanded to be done. For this is a thing universally granted, That the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of unitie, is in nothing contrary to himselfe. If then the interpretation, determination or sentence of any Doctor, Church or Councell, repugne to the plain Word of God, written in any other place of Scripture, it is a thing most certain that there is not the true understanding and meaning of the Holy Ghost; supposing that Counsels, Realms, and Nations have approved and received the same. For we dare not receive and admit any Interpretation, which directly oppugneth to any principall point of our faith, to any other plain text of Scripture, or yet to the rule of charitie.

John 5 29.

Ephes 4 4.

XIX.

The Authoritie of the Scriptures.

1 Tim 3. 16, 17

And we beleeve and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct, and make the man of God perfect, so do we affirm and avow the Authoritie of the same to be of God, and neither to depend on men

men nor Angels: We affirme therefore, That such as alleadge the Scriptures to have no authority, but that which is received from the Church, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the true Church, which alwayes heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own Spouse and Pastour, but taketh not upon her to be Mistresse over the same. Anno Genes. 27.

XX.

Of the Generall Councells, of their Power, Authoritie, and Cause of their Convention.

As we not rashly condemne that which godly men assembled together in Generall Councells, lawfully gathered, have approved unto us: So without just examination dare we not receive whatsoever is obtruded unto men, under the name of Generall Councells, for plain it is, that as they were men, so have some of them manifestly erred, and that in matters of great weight and importance. So far then as the Councell proveth the Determination and Commandment, that it giveth by the plain Word of God, so far do we reverence and imbrace the same. But if men under the name of a Councell pretend to forge unto us new Articles of our Faith, or to make Constitutions repugning to the Word of God, then utterly we may refuse the same, as the Doctrine of Devils, which draweth our souls from the voice of our onely God, to follow the Doctrines and Constitutions of men. The cause then why Generall Councells convened, was neither to make any perpetuall Law (which God before had not made) neither yet to forge new Articles of our beliefe, neither to give the Word of God authority, much lesse to make that to be his Word, or yet the true interpretation of the same, which was not before by his holy Will expressed in his Word. But the cause of Councells (we mean of such as merited the name of Councels) was partly for Confutation of Heresies, and for giving publike Confession of their Faith to the posterities following, which both they did by the authority of Gods written Word, and not by any opinion or prerogative that they could not erre, by reason of their generall assembly. And this we judge to have been the chiefe cause of Generall Councells. The other was for good policie and Order to be constituted and observed in the Church, in which (as in the house of God) it becometh all things to be done decently, and in order: not that we think that one Policie, and one Order in Ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as Ceremonies (such as men have devised) are but temporall, so may, and ought they to be changed, when they rather foster superstition, then that they edifie the Church using the same.

Gal 2. 11, 12, 13, 14. 1 Tim. 4. 1. 23. Col. 2. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. Act. 15. 1, &c. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Heb. 3. 2. 1 Cor. 14. 40.

XXI.

Of the Sacraments.

As the Fathers under the Law, besides the verity of the Sacrifices had two chief Sacraments; to wit, Circumcision and the Passeover, the despisers and contemners whereof were not reputed for Gods people: so

Gen. 17. 10. Exod. 12. 32. Gen. 17. 4. Num. 9. 13.

Anno

so we acknowledge and confesse, That we now in time of the Gospel, have two Sacraments onely, instituted by the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used by all those that will be reputed to be Members of his Body; to wit, Baptisme; and, The Supper, or Table of the Lord Jesus, called, The Communion of his Body and Blood. And these Sacraments (as well of the Old as of the New Testament) were instituted of God, not onely to make a visible difference betwixt his people, and those that were without his league; but also to exercise the Faith of his children, and by participation of the same Sacraments, to seale in their hearts the assurance of his promise, and of that most blessed Conjunction, Union, and Societie, which the Elect have with their Head, Christ Jesus. And thus we utterly condemne the vanity of those, that affirme Sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signes: No, we assuredly beleeve, That by Baptisme we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of his Justice, by the which our sinnes are covered and remitted. And also, That in the Supper rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joyned with us, that he becometh the very nourishment and food of our soules. Not that we imagine any Transubstantiation of Bread into Christs naturall Body; and of Wine into his naturall Blood (as the Papists have perniciously taught, and damnably beleeved) but this Union and Communion which we have with the Body and Blood of Christ Jesus in the right use of the Sacraments, is wrought by operation of the holy Ghost, who by true Faith carrieth us above all things that are visible, carnall, and earthy, and maketh us to feed upon the Body and Blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us. And yet notwithstanding the far distance of place which is betwixt his Body now glorified in the heaven, and us now mortall in this earth: Yet we most assuredly beleeve, That the Bread that we break is the Communion of Christs Body; and, The Cup which we blesse, is The Communion of his Blood. So that we confesse and undoubtedly beleeve, That the faithfull in the right use of the Lords Table, so do eat the Body and drink the Blood of the Lord Jesus, That he remaineth in them, and they in him: Yea, That they are so made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, That as the eternall God-head hath given to the flesh of Christ Jesus (which of the owne condition and nature was mortall, and corruptible) life and immortalitie, so doth Christ Jesus Flesh and Blood eaten and drunken by us, give to us the same prerogatives; which albeit we confesse, are neither given unto us at that onely time, neither yet by the proper power and vertue of the Sacraments onely; yet we affirme, That the faithfull in the right use of the Lords Table hath such conjunction with Christ Jesus, as the naturall man cannot comprehend: yea, and further we affirme, That albeit the faithfull oppressed by negligence, and manly infirmity, doth not profit so much as they would at the very instant action of the Supper, yet shall it after bring forth fruit, as lively seed sowne in good ground; for the holy Spirit which can never be divided from the right institution of the Lord Jesus, will not frustrate the faithfull, of the fruit of that mysticall action; but all this we say cometh by true Faith, which

Mat.28.19. Mar.16.17. Mat.26.26. Mar.14.22. Luke 22.19. 1 Cor.11.24. & 10.16.

Rom.6. 3,4,5. Gal.3.27.

Mar.16.19. Luke 24.51. Act.1.11. Act.3.21. 1 Cor.10,&c.

Ephes 5.30. Matth.27.50. Mar.15.31. Luke 23.46. John 14.30. & 6.51,53,54, 55,56,57,58.

which apprehendeth Christ Jesus, who onely maketh his Sacraments effectuall unto us, and therefore whosoever slandereth us, as though we affirmed or beleeved Sacraments to be openly naked and bare signes, do injurie unto us, and speak against a manifest truth. But this liberally and frankly we must confesse, That we make a distinction betwixt Christ Jesus in his naturall substance, and betwixt the elements in the Sacramentall signes. So that we will neither worship the signes, in place of that which is signified by them, neither yet do we despise and interpret them, as unprofitable and vain, but do use them with all reverence, examining our selves diligently before that so we do, because we are assured by the mouth of the Apostle, that such as eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup unworthily, are guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus.

Anno

1 Cor.11.28, 29.

XXII.

Of the right administration of the Sacraments.

THat Sacraments be rightly ministred, we judge two things requisite: The one, that they be ministred by lawfull Ministers, whom we affirme to be onely they that are appointed to the Preaching of the Word, or unto whose mouthes God hath put some Sermon of Exhortation, they being men of lawfull choosing thereto by some Church. The other, That they be ministred in such elements, and in such sort as God hath appointed. Else we affirme, That they cease to be right Sacraments of Christ Jesus. And therefore it is, that we flee the societie with the Papisticall Church, in participation of their Sacraments; First, because their Ministers are no Ministers of Jesus Christ (yea, which is more horrible) they suffer women, whom the holy Ghost will not suffer to teach in the Congregation, to Baptize. And secondly, because they have so adulterate, both the one Sacrament and the other, with their own inventions, that no part of Christs action abideth in the originall purity, for Oyl, Salt, Spittle, and such like in Baptisme, are but mens inventions, Adoration, Veneration, bearing through Streets and Townes, and keeping of bread in Boxes, are prophanation of Christs Sacraments, and no use of the same: For Christ Jesus said; *Take and eat, &c. Do ye this in remembrance of me.* By which words and charge he sanctified Bread and Wine to be the Sacrament of his Body and Blood; to the end, that one should be eaten, and that all should drink of the other; and not that they should be kept to be worshipped and honoured as God, as the blinde Papists have done heretofore, who also have committed Sacriledge, stealing from the people one part of the Sacrament; to wit, The blessed Cup. Moreover, that the Sacraments be rightly used, it is required; That the end and cause why the Sacraments were instituted, be understood and observed, as well of the Minister as the Receivers: for if the opinion be changed in the Receiver, the right use ceaseth: which is most evident by the rejection of the sacrifices (as also if the teacher teach false Doctrine) which were odious and abhominable unto God (albeit they were his own ordinances) because that wicked men used them to another

Mat.26.26,&c
Mar.14.22,&c
Luk.22.19,&c
1 Cor.11.24.

Anno

end then God hath ordained. The same affirm we of the Sacraments in the Papisticall Church, in which we affirm the whole action of the Lord Jesus to be adulterate, as well in the externall form, as in the end and opinion; What Christ Jesus did, and commanded to be done, is evident by the three Evangelists who speak of the Sacrament, & by S. *Paul*, what the Priest doth at his Altar, we need not to rehearse. The end and cause of Christs institution, and why the self-same should be used, is expressed in these words, *Do ye this in remembrance of me, as oft as ye shall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye shall shew forth* (that is, extoll, Preach, and magnifie) *the Lords death till he come.* But to what end, and in what opinion the Priests say their Masses, let the words of the same their own Doctours and Writings witnesse; to wit, That they are Mediatours betwixt Christ and his Church, to offer unto God the Father, a Sacrifice propitiatorie for the sinnes of the quick and the dead: Which Doctrine, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and making derogation to the sufficiencie of his onely Sacrifice once offered for purgation of all those that shall be sanctified, we utterly abhorre, detest, and renounce.

Note.

1 Cor. 11. 25, 26

Heb. 9. 27, 28

XXIII.

To whom Sacraments appertaine.

Col. 2. 11, 12

Rom. 4. 11. Gen. 17. 10. Mat. 28. 19.

1 Cor. 28. 29.

WE confesse and acknowledge, That Baptisme appertaineth as well to the infants of the faithfull, as unto those that be of age and discretion; And so we condemne the errour of the Anabaptists, who deny Baptisme to appertaine to children, before that they have Faith and understanding. But the Supper of the Lord we confesse to appertaine onely to such as have been of the houshold of Faith, can try and examine themselves, as well in their Faith, as in their duties towards their neighbours. Such as eat at that holy Table without Faith, or being at dissension and division with their brethren do eat unworthily. And therefore it is, that in our Churches Ministers take publike and particular examination of the knowledge and conversation of such as are to be admitted to the Table of the Lord Jesus.

XXIV.

Of the Civill Magistrate.

Rom. 13. 1. Titus 3. 1. 1 Peter 13. 2.

Rom. 13. 2.

Rom. 13. 7.

WE confesse and acknowledge Empires, Kingdomes, Dominions and Titles, to be distincted and Ordained by God, the powers and authorities in the same (be it of Emperours in their Empires, of Kings in their Realms, Dukes and Princes in their Dominions, or of other Magistrates in free Cities) to be Gods holy Ordinance, ordained for manifestation of his owne glory, and for the singular profit and commoditie of mankinde. So that whosoever goeth about to take away, or to confound the holy state of Civill Policies, now long established; We affirm the same men not onely to be enemies to mankinde, but also wickedly to fight against Gods expresse will. We further confesse and acknowledge, That such persons as are placed in authority, are to be loved, honoured,

honoured, feared, and holden in most reverent estimation, because they are the Lieutenants of God, in whose Session God himself doth sit and judge (yea, even the Judges and Princes themselves) to whom by God is given the sword, to the praise and defence of good men, and to revenge and punish all open malefactours. To Kings, moreover Princes, Rulers, and Magistrates, to affirme, that chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of Religion appertaineth; so that not only they are appointed for civill policie, but also for maintenance of the true Religion, and for suppressing of Idolatry and Superstition whatsoever, as in *David, Josaphat, Ezekias, Josias*, and others, highly commended for their zeal in the cause, may be espied. And therefore we confesse and avow, that such as resist the supreme Powers (doing that which appertaineth to their charge) do resist Gods Ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltlesse: And further we affirme, that whosoever deny unto them their aide, counsell, and comfort, while the Princes and Rulers vigilantly travell in the executing of their Office, that the same men denie their help, support and counsell to God, who by the presence of his Lieutenant craveth it of them.

Anno

1 Pet 2. 17. Psal 82. 1.

1 Chron 22. 23, 24, 25. Chap. 26. 2 Chron. 29. 30, 31, chap. 2 Chron 34. & 35 chap.

XXV.

The gifts freely given to the Church.

ALbeit that the word of God truly preached the Sacraments rightly ministred, and discipline executed according to the Word of God, be the certain and infallible signes of the true Church, yet doe we not so meane, that every particular person joyned with such a company, be an Elect Member of Christ Jesus, for we acknowledge and confesse that Darnell, Cockle, and Chaffe may be sowne, grow in great abundance, lie in the middest of the Wheate, that is, the Reprobate may be joyned in the societie of the Elect, and may externally use with them the benefits of the Words and Sacraments. But such being but temporall professors in mouth, but not in heart, doe fall backe and continue to the end. And therefore have they no fruit of Christs death, resurrection and ascension. But such as with heart unfained beleeve, and with mouth boldly confesse the Lord Jesus (as before we have said) shall most assuredly receive these gifts, first in this life remission of sinnes, and by faith onely in Christs blood, in so much, that albeit sinne remain and continually abide in these mortall bodies, yet it is not imputed unto us, but is remitted and covered with Christs justice. Secondly, in the generall judgement there shall be given to every man and woman resurrection of the flesh For the Sea shall give her dead, the earth those that therein be inclosed; yea, the Eternall our God shall stretch out his hand upon the dust, and the dead shall arise incorruptible, and that in the substance of the same flesh that every man now bears, to receive according to their works glory and punishment, for such as now delight in vanitie, crueltie, filthinesse, superstition, or idolatry shall be adjudged to the fire inextinguible, in the which they shall be tormented for ever, as well in their bodie, as in their soules; which now

Mat. 13. 24, 25, 26, &c.

Mat. 13 20, 21

Rom. 10. 9, 13.

Rom. 7, &c. 2 Cor 5. 21.

John 5 28, 29. Apoc 20. 28. Heb 19 25, 26, 27.

Mat 25 31. Apoc. 14. 10.

Rom. 26 7, 8, 9, 10.

Phil. 3 21. 1 Cor, 15 28.

Anno

give to serve the devill in all abomination. But such as continue in well doing to the end, boldly professing the Lord Jesus, to whose glorified Body all his Elect shall be like, when he shall appear againe to Judgment, and shall render up the Kingdom to God his Father, who then shall be, and ever shall remain All in All things God blessed for ever: To whom, with the Son, and with the holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be confounded; let them flie from thy presence that hate thy holy Name: Give thy servants strength to speake thy Word in boldnesse, and let all Nations attain to thy true knowledge.

This we confirmed, 1567. in the first Parliament of *Iunes* 6 held by the Earle *Murray*, and all Acts in any Parliament before whatsoever, against the truth, abolished.

These Acts and Articles were read in face of Parliament, and ratified by the three States of this Realm, at *Edinburgh* the 17 day of *July*, in the yeer of our Lord 1560.

The Lords of the Articles are a Committee of 24. whereof in former times, there was eight Lords, eight Church-men, who were called Lords, and eight Commons: So from the greater part they were named Lords, and of the Articles, Because all Articles and Heads that are to passe in Parliament are first brought to them, who having discussed them, sends them to the House of Parliament. The latin Histories calls their Lords of the Articles *Apokti.*

This our Confession was publikely read, first in audience of the Lords of the Articles; and after, in the audience of the whole Parliament, where were present, not onely such as professed Christ Jesus, but also a great number of the adversaries of our Religion, such as the forenamed Bishops, and some other of the Temporall State, who were commanded in Gods Name to object, if they could say any thing against that Doctrine. Some of our Ministers were present, standing upon their feet, ready to have answered, in case any would have defended Papistry, and impugned our affirmatives. But while that no objection was made, there was a day appointed for concurrence in that and other Heads. Our Confession was read every Article by it self over again, as they were written in order, and the voice of every man was required accordingly. Of the Temporall State, onely gave their voice on the contrary, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lords *Simmerwaile* and *Borthwicke*: And yet for their disassenting, they produced no better reason, but, We will believe as our Fathers believed. The Bishops (Papisticall we mean) spake nothing. The rest of the whole three States by their publike Votes, affirmed the Doctrine; and the rather, Because that fain the Bishops would, but durst say nothing on the contrary; for this was the Vote of the Earle Marshall; *It is long since I have had some favour unto the Truth, and since that I have had a suspicion of the Papisticall Religion. But I praise my God, who this day hath fully resolved me in the one and the other: For seeing that the Bishops, who for their learning can, and for their zeal that they should bear to the Verity, would, as I suppose, have gainsaid any thing that directly repugneth to the Verity of God. Seeing, I say, the Bishops here present speak nothing in the contrary of the Doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it for the very Truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable Doctrine. And therefore so far as in me lieth, I approve the one, and condemne the other: And do farther ask of God, That not onely I, but also all my posterity, may enjoy the comfort of the Doctrine that this day our ears have heard. And yet more I must Vote, as it were by way of Protestation, That if any person Ecclesiasticall shall after this oppose themselves to this our Confession, that they that have no place nor credit; considering that they having long advertisement, and full knowledge of this our Confession, none is now found*

The Earle Marshall his pious voyce in Parliament.

it

in lawfull, free, and quiet Parliament to oppose themselves to that which we professe: And therefore if any of this Generation pretend to do it after this, I protest he be reputed rather one that loveth his own commodity, and the glory of the world, then the Truth of God, and the salvation of mens soils. Anno

After the Voting and Ratification of this our Confession by the whole Body of the Parliament, there were also pronounced two Acts; the one against the Masse, and the abuse of the Sacraments; and the other against the Supremacy of the Pope. The Tenour whereof followeth.

An Act against the Masse, and the Sayers and Hearers thereof.

IN the Parliament holden at Edinburgh *the tenth of July, the yeer of God,* 1560. *The said Parliament being continued to the first of August next thereafter following, with continuation of dayes, upon the twenty fourth day of the said moneth of August, the three States then being present: The which day, forsomuch as Almighty God, by his most true and blessed Word, hath declared the Reverence and Honour which should be given to him; and by his Son Jesus Christ hath declared the true use of the Sacraments, willing the same to be used according to his Will and Word; By the which it is notorious, and perfectly knowne, That the Sacraments of Baptisme, and of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, hath been this long time past, corrupted by the Papisticall Church, and by their Ministers. And at this present time, notwithstanding the Reformation already made according to Gods Word; yet nevertheleſſe, there is some of the same Popes Church that stubbornly persevereth in their wicked Idolatry, saying Masse, and Baptizing conform to the Popes Church, profaning therethrough the Sacraments aforesaid in quiet secret places, regarding therein neither God nor his Word:*

This Act is particularly confirmed 1567. in the Parliament under *James* 6. holden by the Earl *Murray*.

Therefore it is Decreed and Ordained in this present Parliament, That no manner of person or persons, in any time coming, administrate any of the Sacraments secretly, in any manner of way, but they that are admitted, and having power to that effect; Nor say Masse, nor yet heare Masse, nor be present thereat, under the pain of confiscation of all their goods, and punishing of their bodies at the discretion of the Magistrates within whose Jurisdiction such persons happeneth to be apprehended for the first fault; banishing out of the Realme for the second fault, and chastising by death for the third fault. And Ordaineth all Sheriffs, Stewards, Baylies, and their Deputies, Provosts and Bayliffs of Burroughs, and other Judges within this Realm, to make diligent sute and inquisition within their Bounds, where any such usurped Ministry is used, Masse-saying, or they that be present at the doing thereof, ratifying, and approving the same, and take, and apprehend them, to the effect, that the pains above written may be executed upon them.

Extractum de Libro Parliamenti, per me, &c.
Sic Subscribitur.
Jacobus Magill.

The

Anno

The Act for the abolishing of the Pope, and his usurped Authority in SCOTLAND.

This also was confirmed by one particular Act 1567. by the Parliament holden by the Earle *Murray*.

IN the Parliament holden at Edinburgh *the tenth of* July, *the year of God* 1560. *And thereafter continued to the first day of* August *next thereafter following, with continuation of dayes upon the* 24 *of the said Moneth of* August, *the three States then being present, understanding that the Jurisdiction and Authority of the Bishop of* Rome, *called the Pope, used in this Realm in times past hath been very hurtsome and prejudiciall to our Soveraigns Authority and Common-weale of this Realm. Therefore hath decreed and ordained, That the Bishop of* Rome *hath no Jurisdiction nor Authority in this Realm in times comming. And that none of our said Soveraigns Subjects, claim, and desire in any time herafter title or right by the said Bishop of* Rome, *or his sect, to any thing within this Realm, under the pains of Baratrie, that is to say, Proscription, banishment, and never to brook and enjoy honour, office, nor dignity within this Realm; and the contraveners hereof to be called before the Justice, or his Deputies, or before the Lords of the Session, and punished therefore, confirm to the Laws of this Realm; and the furnishers of them with fynance of money, and purchasers of their title of right, or maintainers or defenders of them, shall incur the same pains: And that no Bishop, nor other Prelat of this Realm, use any Jurisdiction in times to come, by the said Bishop of* Romes *Authority, under the pain aforesaid.*

Extractum de Libro Parliamenti, per me,
Ut supra.

These and other things orderly done in lawfull and free Parliament, we directed to *France* to our Soveraign Sir *James Sandelandes* Lord of Saint-*John*, with the Acts of the said Parliament, that by them they might be ratified, according to the promises of their Majesties Commissioners made to us, as by the Contract of Peace may evidently appear. But how the said Lord of Saint-*John* was received and used, we list not to rehearse: But alwayes no ratification brought he unto us, but that we little regarded, or yet do regard; for all that we did, was rather to shew our dutifull obedience, then to beg of them any strength to our Religion, which from God hath full power, and needed not the suffrage of man, but in so far as man had need to beleeve it, if that ever he shall have participation of the life everlasting. But somewhat must we answer to such as since hath whispered, that it was but a pretended Parliament, a privie Convention and no lawfull Parliament. Their reasons are, The King and Queen were in *France*, there was neither Scepter, Sword, nor Crown born, &c. And some Principall Lords were absent. We answer, That we rather wish the Papists to be quiet then too curiously to travell in that Point: for it may be, while they thinke to hurt us, they give the Queene and her authority

Note this diligently.

Quest.

Answ.

authority a great blow, and yet amend themselves nothing. For in whose default we pray you was the Queen absent from this Realm? We think they will not be so shamelesse as that they will blame the Protestants thereof. Her person was absent, and that to no small grief of our hearts: But were not the States of her Realm assembled in her name? Yea, had they not her full power and Commission, yea, the Commission and commandment of her head the King of *France*, to convocate that Parliament, and to do all things that may be done in lawfull Parliament? Even as if our Soveraigns had been there in proper persons: If they will limit the power of Princes to the places onely where their bodily presence is, it will be thought strange; for so not onely shall Kings be compelled to content them with one Realme, but also with one Citie: For the bodily presence of Kings can no more be in divers cities at one instant, then that they can be in divers Realms. Hitherto we have understood, that wheresoever the great Councellers of the King with his power and Commission are assembled, to do any thing at his just commandment, That there is the Kings sufficient presence and authority, wheresoever his own body be living at freedome and liberty; which if the Papists deny, we will finde faults with them, and with the Princes whom they have abused, that more will annoy them, then any thing that we can lose by the insufficiencie of that Parliament: Which nevertheleſſe we are bold to affirme to have been more lawfull and more free, then any Parliament that they are able to produce this hundred yeeres before it, or yet any that hath ensued since it was, (he meanes untill 1566. when this Book was written) for in it the voices of men were free, and given in conscience, in others they were bought, or given at the devotion of the misled Prince. All things in it concluded, are able to abide the triall, and not to be consumed at the proofe of the fire: of others the godly may justly call in doubt things determined. To the Sword and Scepter, nor yet to the absence of some Lords, we answer nothing. For our adversaries know well enough that the one is rather a pompe, and vaine-glorious ceremonie, then a substantiall point of necessitie required to a lawfull Parliament: And the absence of some prejudges not the powers of the present duely assembled: Providing, that due advertisement be made unto them. But now we return to our History.

Anno

Note this I pray you for these dayes sake.

The Parliament dissolved, consultation was had, how the Church might be established in a good and godly policie, which by the Papists was altogether defaced. Commission and charge was given to Master *John Winram* Sub-priour of S. *Andrews*, Master *John Spottiswood*, *John Willock*, Master *John Dowglas* Rectour of S. *Andrews*, Master *John Row*, and *John Knox*, to draw in a Volume the Policie and Discipline of the Church, as well as they had done the Doctrine, which they did, and presented it to the Nobility, who did peruse it many dayes. Some approved it, and willed the same to have been set forth by a Law, others perceiving their carnall liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impared thereby, grudged, in so much that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt imagi-

See how this agrees with the worldlings now adayes.

Anno

imaginations was termed in their mockage, Devout imaginations. The cause we have before declared, some was licentious, some had greedily griped the possessions of the Church; and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christs Coat, yea, and that before that ever he was Crucified, as by the Preachers they were oft rebuked. The chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord *Erskin*. And no wonder, for besides that, he had a very evill woman to his wife, if the Poore, the Schooles, and the Ministerie of the Church had their owne, his Kitchin would lack two parts and more, of that which he unjustly now possesseth. Assuredly some of us hath wondered how men that professe godlinesse could of so long continuance hear the threatnings of God against theeves and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty, in such things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any thing of that which long they had stollen and reft. There were none within the Realme more unmercifull to the poore Ministers then were they which had greatest rents of the Churches. But in that we have perceived the old Proverb to be true; *Nothing can suffice a wretch.* And again, *The belly hath no eares.* Yet the same Book of Discipline was subscribed by a great part of the Nobility; To wit, The Duke, the Earle of *Arrane*, the Earles *Argyle, Glencarn, Mershell, Menteth, Morton, Rothesse*, Lord *James* after Earle of *Murray*, Lords *Yeaster, Boyd, Uchiltrie*, Master of *Maxwell*, Lord *Lindsay* elder, and the Master after Lord Barrons, *Drunlaurige, Lothingwar, Garleisse, Bargany*, Master *Alexander Gordon* Bishop of *Galloway*, (this Bishop of *Galloway*, as he renounced Popery, so did he Prelacie, witnesse his subscription of the Book of Discipline, as the rest of the Prelats did who did joyne to the Reformation) *Alexander Campbell* Deane of *Marray*, with a great number moe subscribed and approved the said Book of Discipline in the Town-Buith of *Edinburgh*, the 27 day of January, the yeere of our Lord God 1560. by their approbation; In these words:

What blessings hath been since in the house of *Erskin*, they know best.

WE which have subscribed these presents, having advised with the Articles herein specified, and as is above-mentioned from the beginning of this Book, thinks the same good and conforme to Gods Word in all points conforme to the Notes and Additions thereto, asked, and promise to set the same forward at the uttermost of our powers. Providing that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and Beneficed men which else have adjoyned themselves to us, brooke the revenues of their Benefices during their life times, they sustaining and upholding the Ministerie and Ministers, as is heerein specified, for Preaching of the Word and Ministring of the Sacraments.

Note how although the Prelats being convinced of the truth, did subscribe unto it, yet it was with this Proviso, That they should enjoy their rents for their lives.

What be the contents of the whole Book, and how that this promise was illuded from time to time we shall after heare.

Shortly

Shortly after the said Parliament were sent from the Councell Ambassadours to *England*, the Earles *Morton* and *Glencarne*, together with *William Maitland* of *Lethington*, yonger. The chief point of their Commission was earnestly to crave the constant assistance of the Queens Majestie of *England*, against all forraigne invasion and common enemies. Anno

That same time was the Castle of *Semple* hard besieged and taken. Because the Lord thereof disobeyed the Lawes and Ordinances of the Councell in many things, and especially in that, that he would maintain the Idolatrie of the Masse, and also, that he beset the way to the Earle of *Arrane*, with a great gathering, as he was riding with his accustomed company. The Papists were proud, for they looked for a new Armie from *France* at the next Spring, and thereof was no small appearance, if God had not otherwise provided. For *France* utterly refused the confirmation of the Peace contracted at *Leith*, would ratifie no part of our Parliament, dismissed the Lord of *Saint-John*, without a resolute answer, began to gather new Bands of throat-cutters, and to make great preparation for Ships. They further sent before them certain practisers, (amongst whom the Lord *Seaton* who had departed with the French out of *Leith* was one) to raise up new troubles within this Realme. And all this came partly of the malice of the house of *Guise*, who had avowed to revenge the displeasure of their sister both upon *England* and *Scotland*, and partly by instigation of proud *Beton*, falsly called Bishop of *Glasgow*, of *Dury* Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, and *Saulles Seaton*, and Master *John Sinclair* Deane of *Restalrigey*, with such others of the French faction, who had openly spoken, That they had refused all portion of *Scotland*, unlesse that it were under the government of a French-man. *Recompence them (O Lord) as thou knowest most expedient for thine owne glory, and for the perpetuall shame of all Traitours to their Common-wealth.* The certain knowledge of all these things came to our eares, whereat many were afraid, and divers suspected that *England* would not be so forward in times to come, considering that their former expences were so great. The principall comfort remained with the Preachers, for they assured us in Gods Name that God would performe in all perfection that worke in our hands. The beginning whereof he had so mightily maintained, because it was not ours, but his own. And therefore exhorted us, That we should constantly proceed to reform all abuses, and to plant the Ministery of the Church, as by Gods word we might justifie it; and then commit the successe of all to our God, in whose power the disposition of Kingdoms standeth. And so we began to do, for troubles appearing, made us give eare to the admonitions of Gods servants. And while that we had scarcely begun again to implore the help of our God, and to shew some signes of our obedience unto his Messengers, and holy Word, Lo the mighty hand of God from above sent unto us a wonderfull and most joyfull deliverance: For unhappy *Francis*, husband to our Soveraigne, suddenly perished of a rotten eare. But because the death of that young man was not onely the cause of joy to us in *Scotland*, but also by it were the faithfull in *France* delivered as it were from the present death. We think expedient to speak of the same somewhat more largely.

Note men to their owne countrey.

Note this for our dayes.

Let this teach us to seek God.

The death of the yong King of *France* husband to our Queen.

Anno

These cruell and conjured enemies of God and of all godlinesse, the Duke of *Guise*, the Cardinall of *Loraine*, and their faction, who then at their owne appetite plaid the Tyrants in *France*, had determined the destruction of all that professed the true knowledge of Jesus Christ within that Realme. What tyrannie late before they had used at *Amboyse*, the History of *France* doth witnesse: now in *Orleance* in the moneth of November, conveaned the King, unhappy *Francis*, the Queen our Soveraigne, and the Queen mother of the King, the Duke of *Guise*, with all his faction: The King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condie*, his brother.

So that great was the confluence of the Nobilitie, but greater was the assembly of the murtherers, for there was not a Hang-man in all *France* which was not there. The prisons were full of the true servants of God: The King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condie* were constituted Prisoners. The Sheriffe of *Orleance*, a man fearing God, was taken, and so were many others of the Towne. Briefly, there was none that professed God or godlinesse within that Towne, that looked not for the extremity, for the Walles and Gates were night and day kept with the Garisons of the Guysians, miserable men were daily brought in, to suffer judgement, but none was suffered to depart forth, but at the devotion of the Tyrants.

And so they proceeded till the tenth or twelfth of December, when that they thought time to put their bloody councell in execution, and for that purpose conclusion was taken, That the King should depart out of the Towne, and lie at a certaine place; which was done to this intent, That there should no suite be made to the King for the safetie of any mans life, whom they thought worthy of death. And so was the Kings house in *Orleance* broken up, his beds, cofers, and tapistrie sent away, his owne bootes put on, he sitting at the Masse immediately hereafter to have departed, and so their tyrannie to have begun.

When all things, we say, were in this readinesse to shed the blood of innocents, the eternall, our God, *who ever watcheth for the preservation of his owne*, began to worke, and suddenly did put his own work in execution, for as the said King sat at Masse, he was suddenly stricken with an Aposthume, in that deaf ear that never would hear the Trueth of God, and so was he carried to a void and empty house, laid upon a palliase, unto such time as a Cannaby was set up unto him, where he lay till the fifteenth day of December, in the yeere of God 1560. When his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborne heart vanished in smoke; And so was the snare broken; The Tyrants disappointed of their cruelltie; Those that was appointed to death, raised, as it were, out of their graves; And we, who by our foolishnesse had made our selves slaves to strangers, were restored againe to freedome and libertie of a free Realme.

15. December 1560.

O that we had hearts deepely to consider what are thy wondrous works (O Lord) that we might praise thee in the midst of this most obstinate and wicked generation, and leave the memoriall of the same to our posterities, which alas, we feare shall forget these thy inestimable benefits.

Some

Anno

Some in *France*, after the ſudden death of *Francis* the 2. and calling to minde the death of *Charles* the 9 in blood; and the ſlaughter of *Henry* the 2. did remark the Tragicall ends of theſe three Princes, who had perſecuted Gods ſervants ſo cruelly by their inſtruments the *Guiſians*, and by their Pens both in Proſe and Verſe, did adviſe all other Princes not to authorize any Perſecution or wrong done unto Gods ſervants, leſt they ſhould have the like end. And indeed the following Kings of *France* unto this day, hath found this true by their infortunate and unexpected ends.

The death of this King made great alteration in *France*, *England* and *Scotland*; *France* was erected in ſome eſperance that the tyranny of the *Guiſians* ſhould no longer raigne above them, becauſe God at unawares had broken the ſtaffe whereupon they leaned; but alas, they were deceived: For the ſimplicity of ſome was ſo abuſed, that againſt the Lawes of the Realm, to the Queen mother was committed the Regiment, which lifted up as well the Duke of *Guiſe*, as the cruell Cardinall, for a ſeaſon. The Queen of *England*, and the Councell, remitted our Ambaſſadours. The pride of the Papiſts of *Scotland* began to be abated, and ſome that ever had ſhewn themſelves enemies unto us, began to think, and plainly to ſpeak (amongſt whom the old Sheriff of *Ayre* was one) That they perceived God to fight for us. The Earle of *Arrane* having ſuffered repulſe in his deſigne to marry the Queen of *England*, he began to fancie unto himſelfe that the Queen of *Scotland* bare unto him ſome favour: And ſo he wrote unto her, and ſent for credit a Ring, which the ſaid Queen our Soveraign knew well enough. The Letter and Ring were both preſented to the Queen, and by her received: Such anſwer was returned to the ſaid Earle, after the which he made no further purſuit in that matter: And yet nevertheleſſe he did bear it heavily in heart, and more heavily then his friends would have wiſhed; for grief he was troubled in his underſtanding.

The certainty of the death foreſaid was ſignified unto us both by Sea and Land. By Sea received *John Knox* (who then had great intelligence both with the Churches abroad, and ſome of the Court of *France*) That the King was mortally ſick, and could not well eſcape death. Which Letters received that ſame day at afternoon he paſſed to the Duke to his own lodging at the Church of *Field*, with whom he found the Lord *James* in conference alone: The Earle of *Arrane* was in *Jedburgh*, to whom he opened ſuch news as he had received, and willed them to be of good comfort; for, ſaid he, the advertiſer hath never deceived me: It is the ſame Gentleman that firſt gave us knowledge of the ſlaughter of *Henry* King of *France*; and ſhewed unto them the Letter, but would not expreſſe the mans name. While they were reaſoning in divers purpoſes, and he comforting them: For while (we ſay) they three were familiarly communing together, there came a meſſenger from the Lord *Gray* forth of *Barwick*, aſſuring him of the death of the K. of *France*. Which noyſed abroad, a generall Convention of the Nobility was appointed to be holden at

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Edinburgh the fifteenth day of *January* following, in the which the Book of discipline was perused newly over againe, for some pretended ignorance, by reason that they had not heard it. In that assembly was Master *Alexander Anderson* Subprincipall, and Under-Master of one of the Schools of *Aberdein*, a man more subtill and craftie than either learned or godly, called, who refused to dispute anent his faith, abusing a place of *Tertullian*, to cloak his ignorance. It was answered unto him, That *Tertullian* should not prejudge the Authoritie of the Holy Ghost, who by the mouth of *Peter* commandeth us to give reason of our faith to every one that requireth the same of us; It was farther answered, that we neither required him, neither yet any man to dispute in any point concerning our faith, which was grounded upon Gods Word, and fully expressed in his holy Scriptures, for all that we beleeved without controversie. But we required of him, as of the rest of Papists, that they would suffer their Doctrine, Constitutions, and Ceremonies to come to triall. And principally, that the Masse and the opinion thereof by them taught unto the people, might be laid to the square rule of Gods Word, and unto the right Institution of Jesus Christ, That they might understand whether that their Preachers offended, or not, in that, that they affirmed. The Action of the Masse to be expresly repugning unto the last Supper of the Lord Jesus; The sayer of it to commit horrible blasphemie in usurping up him the Office of Christ, The hearers to commit damnable Idolatry, and the opinion of it conceived to be a derogation, and as it were a disanulling of Christs death. While the said Master *Alexander* denied, that the Priest took upon him Christs office, to offer for sin, as he alleaged, a Masse book was produced, and in the beginning of the Canon were these words read, *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo & vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius Ecclesiæ vivorum & mortuum.* Now said the reasoner, if to offer for the sinnes of the whole Church, was not the Office of Christ Jesus, yea that Office that to him onely might, and may appertaine, let the Scripture judge. And if a vile Knave, whom ye call Priest, proudly taketh the same upon him, let your own Books witnesse. The said Mr. *Alexander* answered, Christ offered the propitiatory, and that could none do but he; but we offer the remembrance. Whereto it was answered, We praise God that ye have denyed a sacrifice propitiatorie to be in the Masse; and yet we offer to prove, that in moe than a hundreth places of your Papisticall Doctors this proposition is affirmed, *The Masse is said to be a Sacrifice propitiatory.* But the second part, where ye alleage that ye offer Christ in remembrance; we ask first, Unto whom do ye offer him? and next by what authority are ye assured of well-doing? In God the Father there falleth no Oblivion: And if ye will shift and say, that ye offer it not as God, were forgetfull, but as willing to apply Christs merits to his Church. We demand of you, What power & commandment have ye so to do? We know that our Master Christ Jesus commanded his Apostles to do that which he did *in remembrance of him*, But plain it is, that *Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake bread, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take ye, eate ye, this is my body which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me, &c.* Here we finde a commandment, to take, to

Note this well

Note.

Anno

to eat, to take and to drinke; but to offer Christs Body either for remembrance or application, we finde not: And therefore we say, To take upon you an Office which is not given unto you, is unjust usurpation, and no lawfull power. The said Master *Alexander* being more then astonished, would have shifted; but then the Lords willed him to answer directly, whereto he answered, That he was better seen in Philosophie, then in Theologie. Then was commanded M. *John Leslie* (who then was Parson of *Une*, and now Abbot of *Londors*, and after was made Bishop of *Rosse*) to answer to the former Argument; and he with great gravity began to answer, *If our Master have nothing to say to it, I have nothing; for I know nothing but the Cannon Law: And the greatest reason that ever I could finde there, is,* Nolumus *and* Volumus, *and yet we understand that now* he is the onely Patron of the Masse. But it is no marvell, for we understand that he is a Priests get and Bastard, and therefore we should not wonder, albeit that the old truan Verse be true*, Patrem sequitur sua proles. The Nobility hearing that neither the one nor the other would answer directly, said, *We have been miserably deceived heretofore; for if the Masse may not obtaine remission of sins to the quick and to the dead; Wherefore were all the Abbies so richly doted and endowed with our Temporall lands.*

Note *Lesly* his answer.

* That is, *Anno* 1566 when this book was written.

Thus much we thought good to insert here, because that some Papists are not ashamed now to affirm, That they with their reasons could never be heard, but that all we did, we did by meer force; when that the whole Realme knoweth, That we ever required them to speak their judgements freely, not onely promising unto them protection and defence, but also that we should subscribe with them, if they by Gods Scriptures could confute us, and by the same Word establish their assertions. *But who can correct the leasings of such as in all things shew them the sons of the Father of all lies. Preserve us, Lord, from that perverse and malicious Generation. Amen.*

At this same Assembly was the Lord *James* appointed to go to *France* to the Queen our Soveraigne, and a Parliament was appointed to begin the 20 of *May* next following; for at that time was the returne of the said Lord *James* looked for: and so was that Convention dissolved, without any other thing of importance concluded. The said Lord *James* prepared him for his journey (for albeit he past in the publike affairs, he sustained the charge of his own expences; and yet there never past from this Realme in the company of one man so many, and so honest thorow *England* to *France*.) Before he departed, he was forewarned, as well of the danger in *France*, as of the Queens craft (not that we then suspected her nature, but that we understood the malice of her friends) he was plainly premonished, That if ever he condescended that she should have Masse publikely or privately within the Realme of *Scotland*, that then betrayed he the Cause of God, and exposed the Religion even to the uttermost danger that he could do. That she should have Masse publikely, he affirmed that he would never consent: But to have it secretly in her Chamber, Who could stop her? The danger was shewn, and so he departed.

Note the liberality of the Earle *Murray*.

Note this diligently.

Anno

The Forme and Order of the Election of the Superintendent, and all other Ministers at Edinburgh, March *the* 9. 1560. John Knox *being then Preacher.*

FIrst, was made a Sermon, in the which these Heads were handled: First, The necessity of Ministers and Superintendents, or Overseers. The second, the crimes and vices that might unable them of the Ministry. Thirdly, the vertues required in them. Fourthly and lastly, Whether such as by publike consent of the Church were called to such Office, might refuse the same.

The Sermon finished, it was declared by the same Minister, maker thereof, That the Lords of the Secret Councell had given Charge and Power to the Churches of *Lowthian*, to to chuse Master *John Spottiswood* Superintendent or Overseer; And that sufficient warning was made by publike Edict to the Churches of *Edinburgh*, *Linliethquow*, *Sterlin*, *Tranent*, *Hadington*, and *Dumbar*, as also to the Earles, Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, and others, that have, or that might claim to have Vote in Election, to be present that day, and that same hour. And therefore enquiry was made, Who were present, and who were absent. After was called the said *John*, who answering the Minister, demanded, If he knew any crime or offence to the said Master *John*, that might unable him to be called to that Office? and that he demanded thrise. Secondly, question was moved to the whole multitude, If there was any other whom they put in Election with the said Master *John*: The people were asked, If they would have the said Master *John* Superintendent or Overseer? If they would honour and obey him as Christs Minister, and comfort and assist him in every thing pertaining to his Charge?

They answered:

We will and do promise unto him such obedience, as becometh Sheep to give unto their Pastor, so long as he remaineth faithfull in his Office.

Tne answers of the people, and their consent received, the questions were propounded to him that was to be elected.

Question.

Seeing that ye hear the thirst and desire of this people; Do ye not thinke your selfe bound in conscience before God to support them, that so earnestly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?

Answer.

If any thing were in me able to satisfie their desire, I acknowledge my selfe bound to obey God calling by them.

Question.

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Question.

Do ye seek to be promoted to this Office and charge, for any respect of worldly commodity, riches, or glory?

Where then are Pluralities and farnesse of Livings in our dayes.

Answer.

God knoweth the contrary.

Question.

Beleeve ye not that the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, contained in the Books of the Old and New Testaments, are the onely true, and most absolute foundation of the Universall Church of Christ Jesus, in so much that in the same Scriptures are contained all things necessary to be beleeved for the salvation of mankinde?

Answer.

I verely beleeve the same, and do abhorre and utterly refuse all Doctrine alleadged necessary to salvation, that is not expressedly contained in the same.

Question.

Is not Christ Jesus man of man, according to the flesh; to wit, The Sonne of *David*, The seed of *Abraham*, Conceived by the holy Ghost, Born of the Virgine his mother; and that he is the onely Head and Mediatour of his Church?

Answer.

He is, and without him there is neither salvation to man, nor life to Angel.

Question.

Is not the same Lord Jesus, The onely true God, The eternall Son of the eternall Father, in whom all that shall be saved were elected before the foundation of the world was laid?

Answer.

I confesse and acknowledge, and confesse him in the Unitie of his God-head, to be God above all things blessed for ever.

Question.

Shall not they whom God in his eternall Councell hath elected, be called to the knowledge of his Sonne, our Lord Jesus, and shall not they who of purpose are called in this life, be justified, and justification and free remission of sins is obtained in this life by free grace? Shall not the glory of the sons of God follow in the generall Resurrection, when the Son of God shall appear in his glorious Majestie?

Answer.

This I acknowledge to be the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the most singular comfort of Gods children.

Question.

Anno

Question.

Will ye not then containe your self in all Doctrine within the bounds of this foundation? Will ye not studie to promove the same, as well by your life, as by your Doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God shall grant unto you, professe, instruct, and maintaine the puritie of the Doctrine contained in the sacred Word of God, and to the uttermost of your power? Will ye not gain-stand and convince the gain-sayers, and the teachers of mens inventions?

Let the Church-men now adayes look to this.

Answer.

That do I promise in the presence of God, and of his Congregation heere assembled.

Question.

Know ye not that the excellencie of this Office to the which God hath called you, requireth that your conversation and behaviour be such, as that ye may be irreprehensible, yea, even in the eyes of the ungodly?

Answer.

I unfainedly acknowledge, and humbly desire the Church of God to pray with me that my life be not slanderous to the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus.

Question.

Because you are a man compassed with infirmities, will you not charitably and with lowlinesse of spirit receive admonition of your brethren? And if ye shall happen to slide or offend in any point, will ye not be subject to the Discipline of the Church, as the rest of your brethren.

The Answer of the Superintendent or Minister to be elected.

I acknowledge my self a man subjected to infirmity, and one that hath need of correction and admonition, and therefore I most willingly subject my selfe to the wholsome Discipline of the Church, yea, to the Discipline of the same Church by which I am now called to this Office and Charge, and here in Gods presence and yours, do promise obedience to all admonitions, secretly or publikely given; unto which, if I be found inobedient, I confesse my selfe most worthy to be rejected, not onely from this honour, but also from the societie of the faithfull in case of my stubbornnesse. For the vocation of God to beare charge within his Church, maketh not men Tyrants nor Lords, but appointeth them servants, Watch-men, and Pastors to the flock.

What can the Prelats say to this.

Thus ended, question must be asked again of the multitude.

Question.

Require ye any further of this your Superintendent, or Overseer and Minister.

If no man answer, let the Minister proceed.

Question.

Anno

Question.

Will ye not acknowledge this your brother for the Minister of Christ Jesus, your Overseer and Pastour? Will ye not reverence the Word of God that proceedeth from his mouth? Will ye not receive of him the Sermon of Exhortation with patience; not refusing the wholsome Medicine of your soules, although it be bitter and unpleasing to the flesh? Will ye not finally maintain and comfort him in his Ministerie and watching over you, against all such as wickedly would rebell against God and his holy Ordinance?

The people answered.

We will: as we will answer to the Lord Jesus, who hath commanded his Ministers to be had in reverence, as his Ambassadours, and as men that carefully watch for the salvation of our soules.

Let the Nobilitie be urged with this.

Ye have heard the dutie and profession of this our brother by your consents appointed to this charge, as also the dutie and obedience which God requireth of us towards him heere in his Ministerie. But because that neither of both are able to performe any thing without the especiall grace of our God in Christ Jesus, who hath promised to be with us present even to the consummation of the world, with unfained hearts let us crave of him his benediction and assistance in this work begun, to his glory, and for the comfort of his Church.

The Prayer.

O Lord, to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, thou that art the eternall Sonne of the eternall Father, who hast not onely loved thy Church, that for the redemption and purgation of the same, hast humbled thy selfe to the ignominious death of the Crosse, and thereupon hast shed thy most precious and innocent blood, to prepare to thy self a Spouse without spot; but also to retain this most excellent benefit in recent memory, hast appointed in thy Church, Teachers, Pastours, and Apostles, to instruct, comfort, and admonish the same: Look upon us mercifully, O Lord, thou that onely art King, Teacher, and high Priest, to thine own flock: and send unto this our Brother, whom in thy Name we have charged with the chief care of thy Church within the bounds of L. such portion of thy holy Spirit, as thereby he may rightly divide thy Word, to the instruction of thy flock, and to the confutation of pernicious errours and damnable Superstitions. Give unto him, good Lord, a mouth and wisdome, whereby the enemies of thy Trueth may be confounded, the Wolves expelled and driven from thy Fold, thy Sheep may be fed in the wholsome Pastures of thy most holy Word, the blinde and ignorant may be illuminated with thy true knowledge.

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Finally, that the degrees of Superstition and Idolatry which now resteth within this Realme, being purged and removed, we may all not onely have occasion to glorifie thee our onely Lord and Saviour, but also daily to grow in godlinesse and obedience of thy most holy will, to the destruction of the body of sin, and to the restitution of that image, to the which we were once created, and to the which after our fall and defection we are renewed by participation of thy holy Spirit, which by true Faith in thee we do professe, as the blessed of thy Father, of whom the perpetuall increase of thy graces we crave, as by thee our Lord, King, and onely Bishop we are taught to pray. *Our Father, &c.*

The Prayer ended, the rest of the Ministers, if any be, and Elders of that Church present, in signe of their consent, shall take the elected by the hand. The chiefe Minister shall give the Benediction, as followeth;

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath commanded his Gospel to be Preached, to the comfort of his Elect, and hath called thee to the Office of a Watch-man over his people, multiply his graces with thee, illuminate thee with his holy Spirit; comfort and strengthen thee in all vertue; governe and guide thy Ministerie, to the praise of his holy Name, to the propagation of Christs Kingdom, to the comfort of his Church; and finally, to the plaine discharge and assurance of thine owne conscience in the day of the Lord Jesus; to whom with the Father and with the holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory, now and ever. So be it.

The last Exhortation to the elected.

TAke heed to thy selfe, and unto the flock committed to thy charge, feed the same carefully, not as it were by compulsion, but of very love which thou beareſt to the Lord Jesus. Walk in simplicity and pureness of life, as it becometh the true servant and the Ambassadour of the Lord Jesus. Usurpe not dominion nor tyrannicall authority over thy brethren, be not discouraged in adversity, but lay before thy self the example of the Prophets, Apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, who in their Ministery sustained contradiction, contempt, persecution, and death: fear not to rebuke the world of Sin, Justice, and Judgement. If any thing succeed prosperously in thy Vocation, be not puft up with pride, neither yet flatter thy self, as that the good successe proceedeth from thy vertue, industrie or care. But let ever that sentence of the Apostle remain in thine heart; *What hast thou which thou hast not received? If thou have received, why glorieſt thou?* Comfort the afflicted, support the poore, and exhort others to support them. Be not carefull for things of this life, but be fervent in prayer to God for the increase of his holy Spirit. And finally, behave thy selfe in this holy vocation, with such sobriety as God may be glorified in thy Ministery. And so shalt thou shortly obtaine the Victory, and shalt receive the Crowne promised, when the Lord Jesus shall appeare in his glory, whose omnipotent Spirit assist thee and us to the end.

Sing 23. Psalme.

As

Anno

As the ſervants of God uprightly travelled to have vice puniſhed, and vertue planted; ſo did the devill ever ſtirre up ſome in the contrary of both. There was a Law made againſt fornicators and adulterers, that the one and the other ſhould be Carted thorow the Towns, and ſo baniſhed, till that their repentance was offered and received. And albeit this was not the ſeverity of Gods Law, eſpecially againſt adulterers, yet was it a great bridle to the malefactors, whereat the wicked did wonderouſly ſtorme. It chanced that one *Sanderſon* a Fletcher or Boutcher, was deprehended to have put away his lawfull wife (under colour that he was lawfully parted after the manner of the Papiſticall Religion) and had taken to him another in his houſe. The complaint and ſlander propoſed to the Church, and triall taken, That he was not married with the ſecond woman, neither that he was able to prove that he was divorced by any order of the Law from the firſt, he was committed to the hands of the Magiſtrates, who according to the Laws commanded him to be Carted. But the raſcall multitude enflamed by ſome ungodly Crafts-men, made inſurrection, brake the Cart, boaſted and threatned the Officers, and took away the malefactor. This was the beginning of farther evils, as we ſhall after hear. In this mean time, while Lord *James* (we ſay) was in *France*, there came an Ambaſſadour from *France*, ſuborned, no doubt, with all craft that might, to trouble the ſtate of Religion His Demands were, firſt, *That the League betwixt us and* England *ſhould be broken*. Secondly, *That the ancient League betwixt* France *and* Scotland *ſhould be renewed*. Thirdly, *And that the Biſhops and Church-men ſhould be reſtored in their former places, and be ſuffered to intermit with their Livings*. The Councell delayed anſwer, untill the Parliament appointed in *May*. In the mean time the Papiſts of *Scotland* practiſed with him. The Earls of *Huntlie*, *Atholl*, *Bothwell*, and others, intended to have taken *Edinburgh* before the ſaid Parliament. The whole Biſhops aſſembled, and held Councell in *Sterlin*. Some whiſpering there was, that the Duke, and the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* were too familiar; and ſome feared that the Authority of the Queen ſhould have been uſurped, by reaſon of her abſence, and that the Duke was the ſecond Perſon, for thereat had ſome of his preſſed immediately after the death of the King of *France*. The Proteſtants thereof advertiſed, prevented them, and came to *Edinburgh*. The Earle of *Arran* ſtood conſtant with his brethren; there were ſome that carefully and painfully travelled that nothing prejudiciall to the Queens Authority ſhould be done in the abſence of the Lord *James*, to whom the Queen hath recompenced evil for good ſervice. Maſter *James Magill* in that point did both ſtoutly and truely; for *Iohn Knox* and he were then fallen in familiarity, in which they yet continue, 20 *Octobris* 1567. by reaſon that the ſaid Maſter *Iames* had embraced the Religion, and profeſſed it publikely. The Papiſts and Biſhops diſappointed of their principall enterpriſe, did yet make broyle for trouble: For the raſcall multitude were ſtirred up to make a *Robin-Hood*, which enormity was of many yeers left off, and condemned by Statute and Act of Parliament; yet would they not be forbidden, but would diſobey and trouble the Town, eſpecially upon the night: Whereat the Bayliffs offended, took from them ſome Swords and Enſigne, which was occa-

Ambaſſadour from *France*, and his demands.

See the ſtudy of *France* to divide the two Kingdoms newly bound for mantenance of Religion againſt the common enemies.

Note.

The Proteſtants faithfulneſſe ill rewarded.

A fooliſh play uſed in time of darknes Hence we ſay any fooliſh thing to be like a play of *Robin-Hood*.

Anno

occasion that they that same night made a mutiny; kept the Gates of the Towne, and intended to have pursued some men within their owne houses; But that upon the restitution of their Swords and Ensigne, was stayed. And yet they ceased not to molest, as well the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, as divers Countrey-men, taking from them money, and threatning some with farther injuries: Wherewith the Magistrates of the Town highly offended, took more diligent heed to such as resorted to the Town, and so apprehended one of the principall of that disorder, named *Balon*, a Shoo-maker, whom they put to an Assizes; and being convinced (he could not be absolved, for he was the chief man that spoyled *John Mubray* of ten Crowns of the Sun) they thought to have executed Judgement upon him, and so erected a Gibbet beneath the Crosse. (Whether it came by Paction with the Provest and some other, or by instigation of the Crafts-men, who ever have been bent too much to maintain such vanity and riotousnesse, we fully know not) but suddenly there did arise a tumult, the Tolbuith was broken up, and not onely the said *Balon*, who before was condemned, was violently taken forth, but also all other malefactors were set at freedome, the Gibbet was pulled downe, and despightfully broken. And thereafter, as the Provest, and some of the Councell, assembled to the Clerks Chamber for consultation. The whole rascall banded together, with some knowne and honest Crafts-men, and intended invasion on the said Chamber; which perceived, the Provest, and such as were in his company, past to the Tolbuith, suspecting nothing that they would have been so enraged, to make new pursuit, after that they had obtained their intent: But they were suddenly deceived; for from the Castle hill they came with violence, and with stones, Guns, and such other Weapons as they had, and began to assault the said Tolbuith, ran at the door of it, till that partly by stones cast from above, and partly by a Pistoll shot by *Robert Norwell*, (which hurt one *Tuedy*) they were repulsed from the door. But yet ceased they not to cast and shoot in at the windows, threatning death to all that were within. And in very deed the malice of the Crafts-men, who were suspected to be the occasion of that tumult, bare no good will to divers of those that were with the Provest. The Arguments that the Crafts-men were the causes of that uprore, besides their first disorder that they had used before, in taking *Sandersone* from the execution of punishment, are two. The former, *Archibald Deware*, *Patricke Shaugzie*, with other six Deacons, came to *John Knox*, and willed him to solicite the Provest and the Towne to delay the execution. Who did answer, That he had so oft solicited in their favours, that his own conscience accused him, That they used his labours for no other end, but to be a Patron to their impiety; for he had before made intercession for *William Harlaw*, *John Frissell*, and others that were convinced of the former tumult: They proudly said, That if it was not stayed, both he and the Bayliffs should repent it. Who answered, He would not hurt his conscience for the fear of any man: And so they departed; and the tumult, as said is, immediately thereafter did arise. The second Argument is; The tumult continued from two at afternoon, till after eight at night.

Some say his name is *Killone*.

The

The Crafts-men were rquired to assemble themselves together for deliverance of the Provest; but they past to their *four hours penie*, or afternoons Pinte, and in their jesting, said, *They will be Magistrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone.* And so, contrary to the Oath which they had made, they denied their assistance, counsell, & comfort to the Provest and Bayliffs, which are arguments very probable that the said tumult rose by their procurement. The end thereof was, That the Provest and Bayliffs were compelled to give their hands writs, that they should never pursue any of those that were of that tumult, for any crime that was done in that behalf. And this was proclaimed at the Crosse, after nine of the clock at night; and so was that trouble quieted: But the Nobility vowed, That they would not spare it, nor forget it; and so a great number of that faction were absent from the Towne, till the arrivall of the Queen. The whole multitude were holden excommunicate, and were admitted to no participation of the Sacraments, untill such time as they satisfied the Magistrates, and made humble suit unto the Church. Of the death of the Queen Regent, we have heard before spoken; but of her Buriall was nothing heard. And it may appear, That such matters are unworthy of remembrance: And if all things should be rightly weighed, we shall perceive Gods just Judgements, how secret soever that they be. Before we heard the barbarous inhumanity that was used at *Leith* by the French, who exposed the naked carkasses of the slain, as it were in a spectacle despighting God. We have heard that the Queen Regent rejoyced at the sight, but her joy was suddenly turned into sorrow, as we have heard. The question was moved of her Buriall: The Preachers boldly gainstood, *That any Superstitious Rites should be used within that Realm, which God of his mercy began to repugne.* And so conclusion was taken, That her Buriall should be deferred till farther advertisement; and so was she wrapped in a Coffin of Lead, and kept in the Castle, from the ninth of *June*, untill the 19 of *October*, when she by Pynours was carried to a Ship, and so carried to *France*: what pomp was used there, we neither heard, nor yet regard: But in it we see, That she that delighted that others lay without Buriall, gat it neither so soon as she her selfe (if she had been of the counsell in her life) would have required it; neither yet so honourable in this Realm, as sometimes she looked for. *As men do, so they receive.*

Anno

Of the Queen Regents death.

Note.

Note.

The Papists, a little before the Parliament, resorted in divers Bands to the Town, and began to brag, as that they would have defaced the Protestants: Which thing perceived, the brethren assembled, and went in such Companies, and yet in peaceable manner, that the Bishops and their Bands forsook the calsay or street. The Brethren understanding what the Papists meant, convened in Councell in the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh* the seven and twentieth of *May*, the yeer of God 1561. and after consultation, concluded, That an humble Supplication should be presented unto the Lords of the Secret Counsell, and unto the whole Assembly that then was convened, in the which should these subsequent Heads be required, and a Law to passe thereupon.

 1. *First,*

Anno

1. *First, That Idolatry, and all Monuments thereof should be suppressed thorowout the whole Realme: That the sayers, hearers, maintainers, and hanters of the Masse, should be punished according to the Act of Parliament, as said is.*

2. *That speciall and certain provision be made for the maintenance of the Superintendents, Ministers, Exhorters and Readers: That Superintendents and Ministers should be planted where none were: That punishment should be appointed for such as disobeyed or contemned the Superintendents in their Function.*

3. *That punishment may be appointed for the abusers of the Sacraments, and for the contemners of the same.*

4. *That no Letters of the Session, or Warrant from the Judge, be given to answer or pay to any person of their Tenths, without especiall provision that the Parishioners retain so much in their owne hands, as is appointed for the maintenance of the Ministry: And that all such as are else given be called in and discharged; And likewise that no Sheriffs give Precepts to that effect.*

5. *That neither the Lords of Session, nor any other Judges, proceed upon such Precepts or Warnings past at the instance of them that of late have obtained sewis of Vicarages and Parsons Manses, and Church-yards: And that six akers (if so much there be of the Glebe) be alwayes reserved to the Minister, according to the appointment of the Book of Discipline.*

6. *That no Letters of Session, nor other Warrants, take place while the stipends contained in the Book of Discipline for maintenance of the Ministers, be first consigned in the hands at the least of the Principals of the Parishioners.*

7. *That punishment be appointed against all such as purchase, bring home, or execute within this Realme the Popes Bulls.*

The Tenour of the Supplication was this:

PLease your Honours, and the wisedoms of such as are presently convened with you in Councell, to understand, That by many arguments we perceive what the pestilent generation of that Romane Antichrist within this Realme pretendeth, to wit, That they would of new erect their Idolatry, take upon them Empire above our conscience, and so to command us, the true subjects of this Realme, and such as God of his mercy hath (under our Soveraigne) subject unto us, in all things to obey their appetites. Honesty craveth, and conscience moveth us, to make the very secrets of our hearts patent to your Honours in that behalfe, which is this; *That before ever those Tyrants and dumb dogges Empire above us, and above such as God hath subjected unto us, that we the Barons and Gentlemen professing Christ Jesus within this Realme, are fully determined to hazard life, and whatsoever we have received of God in Temporall things.* Most humbly therefore beseeching your Honours, That such order may be taken, that we have not occasion to take againe the Sword of just Defence into our hands, which we have willingly (after God had given Victory both to your Honours and us) resigned over into your hands; To the end that Gods Gospel may be publikely Preached within this Realme, The true Ministers thereof reasonably maintained, Idolatry suppressed, and the com-

Note diligently.

committers thereof punished, according to the Lawes of God and man. In doing whereof your Honours shall finde us not onely obedient unto you in all things lawfull, but also ready at all times to bring under order and obedience such as would rebell against your just authority, which in absence of our Soveraigne we acknowledge to be in your hands, beseeching your Honours with upright judgement and indifferencie, to look upon these our few Articles, and by these our brethren to signifie unto us such answer againe, as may declare your Honours worthy of that place, whereunto God (after some danger sustained) in his mercy hath called you. And let these enemies of God assure themselves, That if your Honours put not order unto them, that we shall shortly take such order, That they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet to live upon the sweat of the brows of such as are no debters unto them. Let your honours conceive nothing of us, but all humble obedience in God. But let the Papists be yet once againe assured, That their Pride and Idolatry we will not suffer.

Anno

Let this also be considered, and referred to our times.

Directed from the assembly of the Church the 28 of May 1561. And sent by these brethren; The Master of *Lindsay*, The Laird of *Lochinvar*, The Laird of *Pharmherst*, The Laird of *Whittingham*, *Thomas Menzeis* Provest of *Aberdeene*, and *George Lowell* Burgesse of *Dundie*.

Upon the which Request and Articles, the Lords and Counsell aforesaid, made an Act and Ordinance, answering to every head of the foresaid Articles, and commanded Letters to be answered thereupon, which divers Ministers raised and copied, as in the Books of secret Councell is yet to be found.

And thus gat Satan the second fall, after that he had begun to trouble the state of Religion, once established by Law. His first assault was by the rascall multitude, opposing themselves to the punishment of vice. The second was by the Bishops and their bands, in which he thought utterly to have triumphed: And yet he in the end prospered worse then ye have heard. In this meane time returned from *France* the Lord *James*, who beside his great expences, and the losse of a box wherein was his secret purse, escaped a desperate danger in *Paris*: for his returning from our Soveraigne (who then was with the Cardinall of *Loraine* her Uncle in *Rhemes*) understood of the Papists in *Paris*, they had conspired some treasonable act against him; for they intended either to have beset his house by night, or else to have assaulted him and his company as they walked in the streets: Whereof the said Lord *James* advertised by the *Rinegrave*, by reason of old familiaritie which was betwixt them in *Scotland*, he took purpose suddenly and in good order, to depart from *Paris*, as he did the second day after that he arrived there: And yet could not he depart so secretly, but that the Papists had their privie ambushes: For upon the new decayed *pont of change*, they had prepared a Procession, which met the said Lord and his Company even in the teeth; and knowing that they would not do the accustomed reverence to them and their Idols, they thought thereupon to have picked a Quarrell: And so as one part passed by,

Note.

Note.

Anno

by, without moving of hat to any thing that was there, they had suborned some to cry, *Hugonots*, and so cast stones. But God disappointed their enterprise; for the said *Rinegrave*, with other Gentlemen, being with the Lord *James*, rebuked the foolish multitude, and over-rode some of the formost, and so the rest were dispersed, and he and his companie safely escaped, and came with expedition to *Edinburgh*, while that yet the Lords and assembly were together, to the great comfort of many godly hearts, and to no little astonishment of the wicked: for from the Queen our Soveraigne he brought Letters to the Lords, praying them to entertain quietnesse, and to suffer nothing to be attempted against the contract of Peace which was made at *Leith*, till her own home coming, and to suffer the Religion publikely established, to go forward, &c. Whereupon the said Lords gave answer to the French Ambassadour, a Negative to every one of his Petitions.

The Lords Answer to the French Ambassadour.

Reader remark the advantages that *Scotland* hath from *France*.

1. *And first, That* France *had not deserved at their hands, that either they or their posteritie should enter with them againe in any League or Confederacie, offensive or defensive, seeing that so traiterously and cruelly they had persecuted them, their Realme and Liberties, under pretence of amitie and Marriage.*

2. *Secondly, That besides their conscience, they could not take such a worldly shame, as without offence committed to break the League, which in Gods Name they had made with them, whom he hath made instruments to set* Scotland *at freedome from the tyrannie of the French, at least of the Guisians and of their faction.*

A good Character of Bishops.

3. *And last, That such as they called Bishops and Church-men, they knew neither for Pastours of the Church, neither yet for any just possessours of the patrimony thereof. But understand them perfectly to be Wolves, Theeves, Murtherers, and idle Bellies; and therefore as* Scotland *hath forsaken the Pope and Papistry, so could not they be debters to his forsworn Vassals.*

With these answers departed the said Ambassador, and the Lords of secret Counsell made an Act, that all places and Monuments of Idolatry should be destroyed. And for that purpose was directed to the West, the Earl of *Arrane*, having joyned with him the Earls of *Argile* and *Glencarne*, together with the Protestants of the West, who burnt *Paslay* (the Bishop of Saint *Andrews*, who was Abbey thereof, narrowly escaped) cast down *Failfurd*, *Kylwinning*, and a part of *Cosraguell*: The Lord *James* was appointed to the North, where he made such Reformation, as nothing contented the Earle of *Huntly*, and yet seemed he to approve all things.

Let us stick to God, and he will not leave us.

And thus God so potently wrought with us, so long as we depended upon him, that all the World might see his potent hand to maintain us, and to fight against our enemies: yea, most to confound them, when that they promised to themselves victory without resistance. Oh that we would rightly consider the wondrous works of the Lord our God.

In

In the Treatie of Peace contracted at *Leith*, there were contained certain Heads that required the Ratification of both Queens. The Queen of *England*, according to her Promise, Subscription, and Seale, without any delay performed the same, and sent it to our Soveraigne, by her appointed Officers. But our Soveraigne (whether because her own crafte nature thereto moved her, or that her Uncles chiefe Counsellers so would, we know not) with many delayes frustrated the expectation of the Queen of *England*, as by the Copie of a Letter sent from the Ambassadour of *England* to his Soveraigne we may understand. Anno

The Ambassadours Letter.

MADAME,

I *Sent* Sommer *to the Queen of* Scots *for audience, who appointed me to come to her the same day after dinner, which I did. To her I did remember your Majesties hearty commendations, and declared unto her your Majesties like gladsomnesse of her recoverie from her late sicknesse, whose want of health, as it was grievous unto your Majestie, so, I told her, did you congratulate, and greatly rejoyce of the good termes of health she was in for the present. After these offices of civilitie, I put her in remembrance againe what had passed from the beginning, in the matter of your Majesties demand of Ratification, according to the Tenour of the said Treatie, as well by me at the first, as afterward by my Lord of* Bedford, *at his being here, and also followed sithence again by me in open audience, and by my Letter to her being in* Loraine, *adding hereto your Majesties further commandment, and re-charge to me again presently to renue the same demand, as before had been done.*

At *Paris* the 23 of June 1561.

The said Queen made answer as followeth.

Monsieur L'Ambassadour,

I Thank the Queen, my good sister, for this gentle visitation and congratulation of this my recoverie, and though I be not yet in perfect health, yet, I thank God, I feele my selfe in a very good case, and in way of a full recoverie. And for answer to your demand (quoth she) of my Ratification, I do remember all these things that you have recited unto me: And I would the Queen my good sister should think that I do deferre the resolute answer in this matter, and performing thereof, untill such time as I might have the advises of the Nobles and States of mine own Realme, which I trust shall not be long a doing, for I intend to make my voyage thither shortly. And though this matter (quoth she) doth touch me principally, yet doeth it also touch the Nobles and States of my Realm too: and therefore it shall be meet that I use their advises therein. Heretofore they have seemed to be grieved, that I should do any thing without them. And now they would be more offended, if I should proceed in this matter of my selfe without their advises. I do intend (quoth she) to send *Monsieur Dosell* to the Queen your Mistresse my good sister, who shall declare

Faire words to no purpose.

Anno

That was a secret Lardon

She meant she would seek a safe conduct.

* Ever till that she may shew her evill will.

If *France* would have sustained them they had not yet departed.

The second secret Lardon.

The Arms of *England* were usurped.

that unto her from me, that I trust shall suffice her. By whom I will give her to understand of my journey into *Scotland*, I mean to embarke at *Calice*. The King of *France* hath lent me certain Galleyes and Ships to convey me home, and I intend to require of my good Sister those favours that Princes use to do in those cases. And though the termes wherein we have stood heretofore, have been somewhat hard, * yet I trust that from henceforth we shall accord together as Cosins and good Neighbours. I mean (quoth she) to retire all the *French* men forth of *Scotland*, who had given jealousie to the Queen my Sister, and discontent to my Subjects; so as I will leave nothing undone to satisfie all parties, trusting the Queen my good Sister will do the like; and that from henceforth none of my disobedient Subjects (if there be any such) shall finde ayd or support at her hands. I answered, That I was not desirous to fall into the discourse how those hard termes first began, nor by what means they were nourished, because therein I must charge some party with injury, and perill offered to the Queen my Mistresse, which was the very ground of those matters. But I was well assured there could be no better occasion offered to put the former unkindnesse in forgetfulnesse, then by ratifying the Treatie of Peace, for that should repay all injuries past. And Madame, quoth I, where it pleased you to suspend and delay the ratification, untill you have the advices of the Nobles and States of your Realm, the Queen my Mistresse doth nothing doubt of their conformitie in this matter, because the Treatie was made by their consents. The Queen answered, yea, by some of them, but not by all; it will appeare, when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same minde that you say they were then of: But of this I assure you, Monsieur Lambassadour (quoth she) I for my part am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the Queen my good sister, and will use all the means I can, to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed. I answered, Madame, the Queen my Mistresse you may be assured will use the like towards you, to move you to be of the same opinion towards her. Then (said she) I trust the Queen your Mistresse will not support nor encourage none of my Subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor to take upon them things that appertain not to Subjects (this we may answer here, It appertaineth to Subjects to worship God as he hath commanded, and to suppresse Idolatry, by whom so ever it be erected or maintained.) You know (quoth she) there is much adoe in my Realme about matters of Religion. And though there be a greater number of a contrary Religion unto me then I would there were, yet there is no reason that Subjects should give a Law to their Soveraigne, and specially in matters of Religion, which I feare (quoth she) my Subjects shall take in hand (answer for the part of *Scotland*, and if so they had done, they had escaped Gods heavie indignation which hath been felt, and still hangeth over this Realm, for the Idolatry, and other abominations committed in the same, which shall not cease till that it be suppressed) I answered, Madame, your Realme is in none other case at this day, then all other Realms through Christendome are. The proofe whereof you see verified in this Realm. And you see what great difficultie it is to give order in this matter.

Your Papists and ours have practised, and still practise division.

So that she might have *England* to the Popes Religion I think she said not amisse.

The feare of God in the heart of *Elias* was disobedience to cursed *Iezibel*.

Note.

God giveth his Law as well to the Prince as to the subjects.

though

though the King of *France* and all his Councell be very desirous thereunto. Religion is of the greatest force that may be; you have been long out of your own Realm, so as the contrary Religion to yours had won the upper hand, and the greatest part of your Realme: Your mother was a woman of great experience of deep dissimulation and policy, as they terme it now adayes, and kept that Realme in quietnesse, till she began to constrain mens consciences; and as you think it unmeet to be constrained by your subjects, so it may please you to consider, The matter is as intolerable to them to be constrained by you, in matters of conscience; for the duty due to God cannot be given to any other, without offence of his Majesty. Why (said she) God doth command subjects to be obedient to their Princes, and commandeth Princes to read his Law, and governe thereby themselves, and the people committed to their charges. Answer. Yea, Madame (quoth I) in those things that be not against his Commandments. Well (quoth she) I will be plain with you: The Religion that I professe, I take to be most acceptable to God; and indeed, neither do I know, nor desire to know any other. Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better then Princes, and such as have rule over Realmes, and specially in matters of Religion (the Turke is as constant in his *Alcoran*, as the Pope and his Sect are in his Constitutions) I have been brought up (quoth she) in this Religion, and who might credit me in any thing, if I should shew my selfe light in this case. And though I be young, and not well learned, yet I have heard this matter oft disputed by my Uncle the Cardinall, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter; and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion (neither yet did the high Priest, when Christ Jesus did reason in his presence. But what was the Cardinall compelled to confesse at *Poysie?*) Madame (quoth I) if you will judge well in that matter, you must be conversant in the Scriptures, which are the Touch-stone to try the right from the wrong. Peradventure you are so partially affected to your Uncles arguments, that you could not indifferently consider the other party: Yet this I assure you, Madam (quoth I) your Uncle the Cardinall, in conference with me about these matters, hath confessed, That there be great errours and abuses come into the Church, and great disorder in the Priests and Clergie, in so much that he desired and wished that there might be a Reformation of the one, and of the other. I have oftentimes heard him say the like (quoth she.) Then I said, Well, I trust God will inspire all you that be Princes, that there may be some good order taken in this matter, so as there may be one Unity in Religion thorow all Christendom. God grant (quoth she) but for my part you may perceive I am none of those that will change my Religion every yeer. And, as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me. I will send Monsieur *Dosell* (quoth she) to you before he go, to know whether ye will any thing in *England*. I pray you so order your self in this matter betwixt the Queen my good sister and me, that there may be perfect and assured Amity betwixt us; for I know (quoth she) Ministers may do much good and harm. I told her I would faithfully

Anno

Note.

The third Lardon of accusing *England* of inconstancy in Religion.

Notwithstanding his own disorder.

Anno

and truely make declaration of all that she said unto me, unto your Majestie; and trusted that she would so satisfie your Majesty by Monsieur *Dosell* in all things, as I should hereafter have no more occasion to treat with her of any thing, but of the encrease of Amity, of which there should be no want on her behalf. This is the effect of the Queen of *Scotlands* answer to your Majesties demand of her said Ratification, and of my Negotiation with her at this time.

These advertisements somewhat exasperated the Queen of *England*, and not altogether without cause; for the Armes of *England* were before usurped by our Soveraigne, and by her husband *Francis*; and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* was of the *Guysians* reputed little better then a Bastard. It was appointed that this title should be renewed. But hereof had our ill counselled and misled Queen no pleasure, and especially after that her husband was dead; for, thought she, the shew of *England* shall allure many suiters to me. The *Guisians*, and the Papists of both Realms, did not a little animate her in that pursuit: The effect whereof will sooner appear then the godly of *England* would desire. Queen *Elizabeth*, we say, offended with the former answer, wrote unto the Nobility and States of *Scotland* in form as followeth.

The Queen of Englands *Letter to the States of* Scotland.

RIght Trusty, and Right entirely Beloved Cousins, We greet you. We doubt not, but as our meaning is, and hath alwayes been, since our Raigne, in the sight of Almighty God straight and direct towards the advancement of his Honour, and Truth in Religion; and consequently, to procure Peace, and maintain Concord betwixt both these Realms of *England* and *Scotland*; So also our outward acts have well declared the same to the world, and especially to you, being our neighbours, who have tasted and proved in these, our friendship and earnest good will, more then we think any of your antecessors have ever received from hence; yea, more then a great number of your selves could well have hoped for of us, all former examples being well weighed and considered. And this we have to rejoyce of, and so may ye be glad, That where in the beginning of the troubles in that Countrey, and of our succours meant for you, the jealousie, or rather the malice of divers, both in that Realme and in other Countreys was such, both to deprive both us in the yeelding, and you in requiring our ayd, that we were noted to have meant the surprise of that Realm, by depriving of your Soveraigne the Queen of her Crown; and you, or the greatest part of you, to have intended by our succour the like; and either to prefer some other to the Crown, or else to make of that Monarchie a Common-weale; matters very slanderous and false. But the end and determination, yea, the whole course and processe of the action on both our parts have manifested, both to the slanderers, and to all others, That nothing was more meant and prosecuted, then to establish your Soveraigne the Queen, our Cousin and Sister in her State and Crowne, the possession whereof was in the hands of strangers. And although no words could then well satisfie the malicious, yet our deeds do declare, That no other

Note this false lye, and see how it answers to the calumnies of these dayes.

thing was sought, but the restitution of that Realme to the ancient Liberty, and as it were to redeem it from Captivity. Of these our purposes and deeds, there remaineth among other arguments good testimony, by a solemne Treaty and Accord made the last yeer at *Edinburgh*, by Commissioners sent from us, and from your Queen, with full Authority in writing under both our Hands, and the great Seals of both our Realms, in such manner as other Princes our Progenitors have always used. By which Treaty and Accord, either of us have faithfully accorded with other, to keep Peace and Amity betwixt our selves, our Countreys and subjects. And in the same also a good Accord is made, not onely of certain things happened betwixt us, but also of some differences betwixt the Ministers of the late French King your Soveraigns husband and you the States of that Realm, for the alteration of Laws and Customs of that Countrey attempted by them. Upon which Accord there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, surety to your Soveraignes State, quietnesse to your selves, and a better Peace betwixt both Realms, then ever was heard of in any time past. Nevertheleſſe how it happeneth we know not (we can, for she in her conceit thinketh her selfe Queen of both) That your Soveraigne either not knowing in this part her owne felicity, or else dangerously seduced by perverse Counsell, whereof we are most sorry; being of late at sundry times required by us, according to her Bond with us, signed with her own Hand, and sealed with the great Seal of that Realme, and allowed by you, being the States of the same, to ratifie the said Treaty, in like manner as we by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh such delatory answers thereunto, as what we shall judge thereof, we perceive by her answer, That it is fit for us to require of you: For although she hath alwayes answered since the death of her husband, That in this matter she would first understand the mindes of certain of you, before that she would make answer. And so having now of long time suspended our expectation, in the end, notwithstanding that she hath had conference both by Messengers, and by some of your selves, being with her, yet she still delayed it, alleadging to our Ambassadour in *France* (who said that this Treaty was made by your consents) it was not by consent of you all; and so would have us to forbear, untill she shall returne into that her Countrey. And now seeing this her answer depended, as it should seem by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly let you all understand, That this manner of answer, without some more fruit, cannot long content us: We have meant well to our sister your Queen in time of offence given to us by her We did plainly, without dissimulation, charge her in her own doubtfull state: while strangers possessed her Realme, we stayed it from danger. And now, having promised to keep good Peace with her, and with you her subjects, we have observed it; and shall be sorry if either she or you shall give us contrary cause. In a matter so profitable to both the Realmes, we think it strange that your Queene hath no better advice: And therefore we do require you all, being the States of that Realme, upon whom the burden resteth, to consider this matter deeply, and to make us answer, whereunto we may trust. And if you

Anno

The Peace and Contract at *Leith*.

Many Princes little regarded that.

All power is not then in the Prince, if the States have any, as they have. Note this.

Anno

you shall think meet she shall thus leave the Peace imperfect, by breaking of her solemne promise, contrary to the order of all Princes, we shall be well content to accept your answer, and shall be as careless to see the Peace, as ye shall give us cause; And doubt not, by the grace of God, but whosoever of you shall incline thereto, shall soonest repent. You must be content with our plain writing. And on the other side, if you continue all in one minde, to have the Peace inviolably kept, and shall so by your advice procure the Queen to ratifie it, we also plainly promise you, That we will also continue our good disposition to keep the same in such good termes as now it is: And in so doing, the honour of Almighty God shall be duely sought and promoted in both Realms, The Queen your Soveraigne shall enjoy her State with your surety, and your selves possesse that which ye have with tranquility; to the encrease of your Families and Posteritie, which by the frequent Wars heretofore your antecessors never had long in one state. To conclude, we require you to advertise us of what minde you be, specially if you all continue in that minde, that you mean to have the Peace betwixt both the Realmes perpetually kept: And if you shall forbear any longer to advertise us, ye shall give us some occasion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow then good. *From, &c.*

These Letters received and perused, albeit the States could not be convened, yet did the Councell, and some others also in particular, return answers with reasonable diligence. The Tenour of our Letters was this:

MADAME,

PLease your Majestie, that with judgement we have considered your Majesties Letters: And albeit the whole States could not suddenly be assembled, yet we thought expedient to signifie somewhat of our mindes unto your Majestie. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us, That infamy before the world, or grudge of conscience before our God, that we should lightly esteem the observation of that Peace lately contracted betwixt these two Realmes. By what motives our Soveraigne delayed the ratification thereof, we cannot tell: But of us (of us, we say, Madame, that have protested fidelity in our promise) her Majesty had none. Your Majestie cannot be ignorant, That in this Realme there are many enemies; and farther, That our Soveraigne hath Councellors, whose judgements she in all such causes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth us, not onely reverently to speak and write of our Soveraigne, but also to judge and thinke: And yet your Majestie may be well assured, That in us shall be noted no blame, if that Peace be not ratified to your Majesties contentment: For God is witnesse, That our chief care in this earth, next the glory of God, is, That constant Peace may remain betwixt these two Realmes, whereof your Majestie and Realme shall have sure experience, so long as our counsell or votes may stop the contrary. The benefit that we have received is so recent, that we cannot suddenly bury it in forgetfulnesse. We would desire your Majesty rather to be perswaded of us, That we to our powers will studie to leave it in remembrance to our posterity. And thus with lawfull and humble commendation of our service, we commit your Majesty to the Protection of the Omnipotent. Of Edinburgh *the sixteenth day of July,* 1561.

Note.

Note the Scots acknowledgement.

There

Anno

There were ſome others that anſwered ſome of the Miniſters of *England* ſomewhat more ſharply, and willed them not to accuſe nor threaten ſo ſharply, till that they were able to convince ſuch as had promiſed fidelitie, of ſome evident crime, which although they were able to lay to the charge of ſome, yet reſpect would be had to ſuch as long had declared themſelves conſtant procurers of quietneſſe and peace. The ſudden arrivall of the Queen made great alteration even in the Councell, as after we will hear. In this mean time, the Papiſts by ſurmiſing troubled what they might, their Poſts, Letters, and Complaints were from day to day directed, ſome to the Pope, ſome to the Cardinall of *Loraine*, and ſome to our Queen. The principall of thoſe Curriers were Maſter *Steven Wilſon*, Maſter *John Leſlie*, called *Nolumus* and *Volumus*, Maſter *James Throgmorton*, and others, ſuch as lived, and ſtill live by the traffique of that Romane Antichriſt.

The Preachers vehemently exhorted us to eſtabliſh the Book of Diſcipline, by an Act and publike Law; affirming, That if they ſuffered things to hang in ſuſpence, when God had given unto them ſufficient power in their hand, they ſhould after ſob for it, but ſhould not get it. The Books of Diſcipline have been of late ſo often publiſhed, that we ſhall forbeare to Print them at this time, hoping that no good men will refuſe to follow the ſame, till God in a greater light eſtabliſh a more perfect.

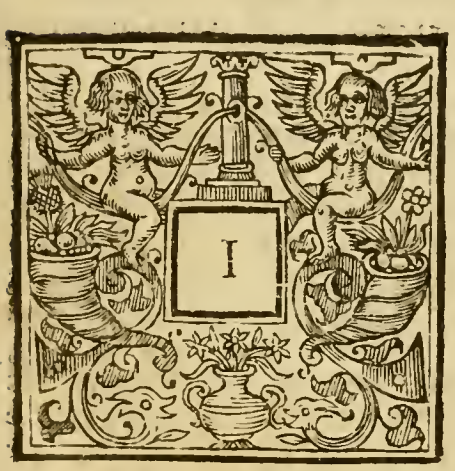
The end of the third Booke.

Anno

THE FOVRTH BOOK

OF

The Progresse and Continuance of true Religion *within* SCOTLAND.



IN the former Bookes (Gentle Reader) thou mayest clearly see how potently God hath performed in these our last and wicked dayes, as well as in the ages that have passed before us, the promises that are made to the servants of God, by the Prophet *Isaiah*, in these words, *They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as Eagles, they shall run, and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.* This promise, we say, such as Satan hath not utterly blinded, may see performed in us, the Professours of Christ Jesus, within this Realme of *Scotland*, with no lesse evidence, then it was in any age, that ever passed before us. For what was our force? What was our number? Yea, what wisdome or worldly policie was in us, to have brought to any good end so great an enterprise? our very enemies can bear witnesse. And yet in how great purity God did establish amongst us his true Religion, as well in Doctrine as in Ceremonies? To what confusion and fear were Idolaters, adulterers, and all publike transgressours of Gods Commandments within short time brought, the publike Orders of the Church, yet, by the mercie of God preserved, and the punishment executed against malefactours, can testifie unto the world. For as touching the administration of the Sacraments used in our Churches, we are bold to affirme, That there is no Realme this day upon the face of the earth, that hath them in greater puritie; yea, we can speak the Trueth, whomsoever we offend, there is none (no Realme I meane) that hath them in the like purity, for

Isaiah 40 31.

A true acknowledgment of mans weakness, to the glory of God; and as it was then, so hath it been in this last Reformation.

Anno

As it was then, so it is now, by Gods mercies to that Nation.

for all others, how sincere that ever the Doctrine be that by some is taught, retain in their Churches, and in the Ministers thereof, some footsteps of Antichrist, and dregs of Papistry: But we (all praise to God alone) have nothing within our Churches that ever flowed from that man of Sin. And this we acknowledge to be the strength given to us of God, because we esteemed not our selves wise in our owne eyes; but understanding our own wisedome to be but meer foolishnesse before our God, laid it aside, and followed onely that which we found approved by himselfe.

The first Petition of the Protestants of *Scotland*.

In this point could never our enemies cause us to faint; for our first Petition was, *That the Reverend face of the first, Primitive and Apostolike Church should be reduced again to the eyes and knowledge of men.* And in that point (we say) our God hath strengthned us, till that the Work was finished, as the world may see. And as concerning the suppressing of vice, yea, and of the abolishing of all such things as might nourish Impiety within the Realm, the Acts and Statutes of the principall Towns reformed, will yet testifie: For what Adulterer, what Fornicator, what known Masse-monger or pestilent Papist durst have been seen in publike, within any Reformed Town within this Realme, before that the Queen arrived? And this Victory to his Word, and terrour to all filthy livers, did God work by such as yet live, and remaine witnesses (whether they will or not) of the aforesaid works of God.

Let this be noted for example.

We say our God suffered none of these, whom he first called to the Battell to perish or to fall, the while that he made them Victors of their enemies: For even as God suffered none of those whom he called from *Egypt*, to perish in the Red Sea, how fearfull that ever the danger appeared; so suffered he none of us to be approved, nor yet to be taken from this life, till that now the *Pharaohs*, then one, was drowned, and we set at freedom, without all danger of our enemies; to let both us and our Posterity understand, That such as follow the conducting of God, cannot perish, albeit they walked in the very shadow of death. But from whence (alas) cometh this miserable dispersion of Gods people within this Realme this day, in *May* 1561? And what is the cause that now the just is compelled to keep silence, good men are banished, Murtherers, and such as are knowne unworthy of common Society) if Justice were put in execution) bear the whole Regiment and sway within this Realme?

The cause of the trouble within *Scotland*, flowed from the Courtiers who seemed to professe the Evangell.

We answer, Because that suddenly the most part of us declined from the purity of Gods Word, and began to follow the world, and so againe shake hands with the devill, and with Idolatry, as in the fourth Book we will heare.

For while that Papists were so confounded, that none within the Realme durst more avow the hearing or saying of Masse, then the theeves of *Tiddisdale* durst avow their stouth or stealing, in the presence of any upright Judge: Noware Protestants found who are not ashamed at Tables, and other open places, to aske, *Why may not these men have their Masse, and the forme of their Religion? What can that hurt us, or our Religion?* And from these two, *Why* and *What*, at last sprang

ſprang out this Affirmative, *The Queens Maſſe and her Prieſts will we maintain; This hand and this Rapier ſhall fight in their defence, &c.* Anno

The Inconveniences were ſhown both by Tongue and Pen; but the advertiſers were judged to be men of unequall Spirits; Their Credit was defaced at the hands of ſuch, as before were not aſhamed to have uſed their Counſell in matters of greater importance, to have refuſed the Maſſe.

But then my Lord, my Maſter may not be thus uſed; he hath that Honour to be the Queens Brother; And therefore we will that all men ſhall underſtand, That he muſt tender her as his Siſter: And whoſoever will counſell him to diſpleaſe her, or the leaſt that pertains unto her, ſhall not finde him their friend; yea, they are worthy to be hanged, that would ſo counſell him, &c. Theſe and the like reaſons took ſuch deep root in fleſh and blood, and was (as yet alas they are) preferred to God, and to his Meſſengers, rebuking vice and vanity, that from thence hath all our miſery proceeded.

He means the Lord *James*, Earle *Murray*.

For as before, ſo even yet, although the Miniſters be ſet to beg, the Guard and the men of Warre muſt be ſerved; Though the blood of the Miniſters muſt be ſpilt, yet it is the Queens Servants that did it. Although Maſſe be multiplied in all Quarters of the Realme, Who can ſtop the Queens Subjects to live of the Queens Religion? Although Innocent men be Impriſoned, it is the Queens pleaſure. So ſhe is offended at ſuch men, although under pretence of Juſtice, Innocents be murthered: The Lords ſhall weep, but the Queenes minde muſt be ſatisfied. Nobles of the Realme, Barons and Councellors are baniſhed, their Eſcheats diſpoſedof, and their lives moſt unjuſtly purſued. The Queen hath loſt her truſty Servant *David*, he was deare unto her; and therefore for her Honour ſake, ſhe muſt ſhow rigour to revenge his death. And yet farther, albeit that ſome knew that ſhe hath plainly purpoſed to wrack and undo the Religion within this Realme; That to that Romane Antichriſt ſhe hath made her promiſe; And that from him ſhe hath taken money to uphold his pomp within this Realme, yet will they let the people underſtand, That the Queen will eſtabliſh Religion, and provide all things orderly, if ſhe were once delivered.

The corruption that entred the Queens Court.

The Theologie of the Court, and their reaſons.

Wicked Councellors fathers all their miſchievous plots upon miſled Princes, and cauſeth them to take all things upon them.

This was written when the ſecond rank of the Lords was baniſhed, *Anno* 1560 after *Dances* ſlaughter.

If ſuch dealing, which is too common amongſt Proteſtants, be not to prefer fleſh and blood, to God, to his Truth, to Religion, and to the oppreſſed Liberty of the Realme, let the world judge. The plagues have been, and in ſome places are preſent, that were before threatned; the reſt approaches: And yet who from the heart cryeth; *I haue offended, Now thou Lord knowes, in thee onely is the truſt of the oppreſſed; for vain is the help of man.* But now to returne we to our Hiſtory.

The 19 day of *Auguſt*, 1561. betwixt ſeven and eight hours before noon, arrived *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, then widow, with two Gallies out of *France*: In her company (beſides her Gentlewomen called the *Maries*) were her Uncles, the Duke *Aumale* the grand Prior; the Marqueſſe *d'Albuff*. There accompanied her alſo, *d'Anville* ſon to the Conſtable of

The Queens Arrivall from *France* 1561.

Anno

Triste & lugubre cœlum.

France, with other Gentlemen of inferiour Condition, besides servants and Officers. The very face of the Heaven, at the time of her Arrivall, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this Countrey with her (to wit) Sorrow, Dolour, Darknesse, and all Impiety; For in the memory of man, that day of the yeer was never seen a more dolorous face of the Heaven, then was at her Arrivall, which two dayes after did so continue:. For besides the Surface Wet and Corruption of the Ayre, the Mist was so thick and dark, that scarce might any man espie another the length of two payre of Butts: the Sun was not seen to shine two dayes before, nor two dayes after. That forewarning gave God unto us; but alas the most part were blinde.

At the sound of the Cannons, which the Galleyes shot, the multitude being advertised, happy was he or she that first must have the presence of the Queen; the Protestants were not the slowest: And therein they were not to be blamed. Because the Palace of *Halyrudhouse* was not thorowly put in order (for her coming was more sudden then many looked for) she remained in *Leith*, till towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt *Leith* and the Abbey, met her the Rebells the Crafts-men, of whom we spake before; to wit, Those that had violated the Acts of the Magistrates, and had besieged the *Proveist*. But because shewas sufficiently instructed that all they did was done in spight of their Religion, they were easily pardoned.

The Queens first grace in despight of Religion.

Fires of joy were set forth at night, and a Company of most honest men with Instruments of Musick, and with Musitians, gave their Salutations at her Chamber Window; The Melody (as she alleadged) liked her well; and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence. The Lords repaired to her from all Quarters: and so was nothing understood but mirth and quietnesse, till the next Sunday, which was the 24 of *August*: When that preparations began to be made for that Idoll of the Masse to be said in the Chappell: Which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to be emboldened; and men began openly to speak, *Shall that Idoll be suffered again to take place within this Realme? It shall not.* The Lord *Lindsay* (then but Master) with the Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, and others, plainly cryed in the Close or Yard, *The Idolatrous Priests should die the death, according to Gods Law.* One that carried in the Candle was evill affrayed; but then began flesh and blood fully to shew it self. There durst no Papist, neither yet any that came out of *France*, whisper: But the Lord *James*, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the Chappell door: his best excuse was, That he would stop all Scotish-men to enter in to the Masse; But it was and is sufficiently known, That the doore was kept that none should have entry to trouble the Priest; who after the Masse was ended, was committed to the protection of the Lord *John* of *Coldingham*, and Lord *Robert* of *Halyrud-house*; who then were both Protestants, and had Communicate at the Table of the Lord: Betwixt them two was the Priest conveyed to his Chamber. And so the godly departed with grief of heart, and after noon repaired to the Abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification, That they could

The Queens, first Masse.

Lord *James*, notwithstanding his former zeal to the Truth, complying with Court, favoureth Idolatry.

A godly resolution.

could not abide that the Land, which God by his power had purged from Idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again: Which understood, there began complaint upon complaint. The old *Duntebors*, and others that had long served in the Court, and hoped to have no remission of sins, but by vertue of the Masse, cryed, They would away to *France* without delay, They could not live without the Masse: the same affirmed the Queens Uncles. And would to God that they all, together with the Masse, had taken goodnight at the Realme for ever: for so had *Scotland* been rid of an unprofitable burthen of devouring strangers, and of the malediction of God, that hath stricken, and yet will strike for Idolatry.

Anno

The end is not yet seen.

The Councell assembled, disputation was had of the next remedy: Politicke heads were sent unto the Gentlemen, with these and the like perswasions: *Why, alas, Will you chase our Soveraigne from us? She will incontinently returne to her Galleyes, and what then shall all Realmes say of us? May we not suffer her a little while? I doubt not but she will leave it: If we were not assured that she might be won, we should be also as great enemies to her Masse, as ye can be. Her Uncles will depart, and then shall we rule all at our pleasure: Would not we be also sorry to hurt the Religion, as any of you would be?* With these and the like perswasions (we say) was the fervency of the Brethren quenched. And an Act was framed, the Tenour whereof followeth.

The perswasions of the Courtiers.

Apud *Edinburgh*, 25 *Augustii*, 1561.

FOrasmuch as the Queens Majestie hath understood the great inconveniences through the division presently standing in this Realme, for the difference in matters of Religion, which her Majestie is most desirous to see pacified by any good order, To the Honour of God, and Tranquility of her Realm, and means to take the same, by Advice of her States, so soon as conveniently may be, to their serious Consideration. And lest that her Majesties godly Resolutions therein may be greatly hindered, in case any Tumult and Sedition be raised amongst the Lieges, if any Alteration or Innovation be Pressed or Attempted before that good Order may be Established; Wherefore, for the eschewing of the said Inconveniences, her Majestie Ordains Letters to be Directed, to Charge all and sundry her Lieges, by open Proclamation at the Market-Crosse of Edinburgh, *and other Places needfull, That they, and every one of them, contain themselves in all Quietnesse, keep Peace and Civill Society amongst themselves in the mean time, while the States of the Realm may be Assembled, and then her Majestie have taken a finall Order by their Advice, and publike Consent;*

Anno

which her Majestie hopes shall be to the Contentment of all, the Law bidding, That none of them should take in hand privately or openly, any Alteration or Innovation of the state of Religion, or attempt any thing against the same, which her Majestie found Publikely and Universally standing at her Majesties Arrivall in this her Realme, under Pain of Death. With Certification, That if any Subject of the Realme shall come in the contrary Thereof, he shall be esteemed and holden a Seditious Person, and Raiser of Tumult, and the same Pain shall be executed upon him with all Rigour, To the Example of others. And her Majestie, with the Advice of the Lords of the Secret Councell, Commands and Charges all her Lieges, That none of them take in hand to Molest or Trouble any of her Majesties Domesticke Servants, or Persons whatsoever come forth of France *in her Company at this time, in Word, Deed, or Countenance, for any Cause whatsoever, either within her Palace, or without, or make any assault or invasion upon any of them, under whatsoever Colour or Pretence, under the said Pain of Death. Albeit that her Majestie be sufficiently perswaded, That her Good and Loving Subjects would do the same, for the Reverence they bear to her Person and Acts, notwithstanding no such Commandment were published.*

This Act and Proclamation Penned, and put in Forme by such as before professed Christ Jesus (for in the Councell then had Papists neither power nor voyce) It was publikely Proclaimed at the Market-Crosse of *Edinburgh* upon Munday the day aforesaid. No man reclaimed, nor made repugnance to it, except the Earle of *Arrane* onely; who in open audience of the Herald, protested, *That he dissented that any Protection or Defence should be made to the Queens Domesticks, or to any that came from* France, *to offend Gods Majestie, and to violate the Laws of the Realme, more then any other Subjects: For Gods Law had pronounced death to the Idolater; and the Lawes of the Realme had appointed punishment for sayers and hearers of the Masse; which, said he, I here protest, be Universally observed; and that none be exempted, untill such time as a Law also publikely made, and also consonant to the Law of God, have disannulled the former.* Hereupon he took Documents and Acts, as the Tenour of this his Protestation witnesseth.

The Lord *Arrans* stout and godly Protestation against the Queens Masse.

IN so far as by this Proclamation it is made understood to the Church of God, and Members thereof, That the Queen is minded that the true Religion and Worship of God already established, proceed forward, that it may daily encrease: Unto the Parliament, that order may be then for extirpation of all Idolatry out of this Realme. We render most hearty thanks to the Lord our God for her Majesties good minde, earnestly praying that it may be encreased in her Majesty, To the Honour and Glory of his Name, and Weal of his Church within this Realme.

And

Anno

And as touching the moleſtation of her Highneſſe Servants, we ſuppoſe that none dare be ſo bold as once to move their finger at them, in doing of their lawfull buſineſſe: And as for us, we have learned at our Maſter Chriſts Shoole, *To keep Peace with all men.* And therefore for our part we will promiſe that obedience unto her Majeſtie (as is our dutie) That none of her ſervants ſhall be troubled, moleſted, or once touched, by the Church, or any member thereof, in doing their lawfull buſineſſe. But ſince that God hath ſaid, *That the Idolater ſhall die the death*; We Proteſt ſolemnely, in the preſence of God, and in the eares of all the people that heares this Proclamation, and eſpecially in the preſence of you, Lion Herauld, and the reſt of your Colleagues, maker of this Proclamation, That if any of her ſervants ſhall commit Idolatry, eſpecially ſay Maſſe, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof (which we are loath ſhould be in her Highneſſe company) in that caſe, That this Proclamation is not extended to them in that behalf, nor be not a ſafe-guard nor girth to them in that behalfe, no more then if they commit ſlaughter or murther, ſeeing the one is much more abominable and odious in the ſight of God, then is the other. But that it may be lawfull to inflict upon them the paines contained in Gods Word againſt Idolaters, where ever they may be apprehended, without favour. And this our Proteſtation we deſire you to notifie unto her, and give her the Copie hereof, leſt her Highneſſe ſhould ſuſpect an uproare if we ſhould all come and preſent the ſame.

Good reſolution, if followed.

At Edinburgh, *the day and yeere aforeſaid.*

This boldneſſe did ſomewhat exaſperate the Queene, and ſuch as favoured her in that point. As the Lords (then called of the Congregation) repaired to the Towne, at the firſt coming they ſhew themſelves wonderfully offended, That the Maſſe was permitted: So that every man as he came, accuſed them that were before him, but after they had remained a certaine ſpace, they were as quiet, as were the former: Which thing perceived, a zealous and godly man, *Robert Campbell* of *Kingzieclench*, ſaid unto the Lord *Uchiltrie*; (My Lord) now you are come, and almoſt the laſt of all the reſt; and I perceive by your anger, that the fire edge is not off you yet: but I feare, that after that the Holy-water of the Court be ſprinkled upon you, that you ſhall become as temperate as the reſt: For I have been heere now five dayes, and at the firſt I heard every man ſay, Let us hang the Prieſt: But after that they had beene twice or thrice in the Abbey, all that fervencie paſt. I think there be ſome inchantment, whereby men are bewitched. And in very deed ſo it came to paſſe: For the Queenes faire words upon the one part, ever ſtill crying, *Conſcience, Conſcience, It is a ſore thing to conſtraine the Conſcience*: And the ſubtill perſwaſions of her ſuppoſts (we meane, even of thoſe who were judged moſt fervent amongſt us) upon the other part; blinded all men, and put them in opinion, She will be content to heare the Preaching; and ſo no doubt but ſhe may be wonne. And this of all, it was concluded, To ſuffer her for a time.

Robert Campbell to the Lord *Uchiltrie.*

The Queens practiſe at the firſt.

The

Anno

The judgment of *John Knox* upon the suffering of the Masse.

The next Sunday; *John Knox* inveighing against Idolatry, shewed what terrible plagues God had taken upon Realmes and Nations for the same; and added, That one Masse (there were no more suffered at first) was more fearfull unto him, then if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the Realme, of purpose to suppresse the whole Religion; for (said he) in our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfainedly depend upon him; whereof heretofore we have had experience: But when we joyn hands with Idolatry, it is no doubt but both Gods amiable presence, and comfortable defence, will leave us; and what shall then become of us? Alas, I fear that experience will teach us, to the grief of many. At these words the guiders of the Court mocked, and plainly spake; That such fear was no point of their faith; it was besides his Text, and was a very untimely Admonition. But we heard the same *John Knox*, in the audience of these same men, recite the same words againe in the midst of troubles; and in the audience of many, asked God mercy that he was not more vehement and upright in the suppressing of that Idoll in the beginning: For (said he) albeit I spake that which offended some (which this day they see and feel to be true) yet did I not that which I might have done; for God hath not onely given unto me knowledge and tongue to make the impiety of that Idoll knowne unto the Realme, but he had given me credit with many who would have put in execution Gods Judgements, if I would onely have consented thereto: But so carefull was I (said he) of that common Tranquility, and so loth was I to have offended those of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that in secret conference with dearest and zealous men, I travelled rather to mitigate, yea to slacken that fervency that God had kindled in others, then to animate or encourage them to put their hands to the Lords Work; wherein I unfainedly acknowledged my self to have done most wickedly, and from the bottome of my heart do aske of my God grace and pardone, for that I did not what in me lay, to have suppressed that Idoll in the beginning. These and many other words did many heare him speake in publike in the moneth of *December*, 1565. when such as at the Queenes Arrivall onely maintained the Masse, were exiled the Realme, summoned upon Treason, and decreit of forfeiture intended against them. But to returne from whence we have digressed.

The Courtiers making.

Note diligently how wise and godly men are so mistaken oft, as to play after games: And this M. *Knox* doth acknowledge here.

The first reasoning betwixt the Queen and *John Knox*.

Whether it was by counsell of others, or of the Queens owne desire, we know not, but the Queen spake with *John Knox*, and had long reasoned with him, none being present, except the Lord *James*, two Gentlemen stood in the one end of the room. The sum of their reasoning was this: The Queen accused him, That he had raised a part of her subjects against her Mother and her self; That he had written a Book against her just Authority; (she meant the Treatise against the Regiment of Women) which she had and would cause the most learned in *Europe* to write against it; That he was the cause of great sedition, and great slaughter in *England*; And that it was said to her, That all that he did was by Necromancy. To the which the said *John* answered; Madame, it may please your Majestie patiently to hear my simple answers: And first (said he)

Note how that Princes are informed against Gods servants.

my ſimple Anſwers : And firſt, (ſaid he) if to teach the Word of God in ſincerity, if to rebuke Idolatry, and to will a people to worſhip God, according to his Word, be to raiſe Subjects againſt their Princes, then cannot I bee excuſed; for it hath pleaſed God of his mercy, to make me one (amongſt many) to diſcloſe unto this Realme the vanitie of the Papiſticall Religion, and the deceit, pride, and tyranny of that *Romane* Antichriſt: But Madame, if the true knowledge of God and his right worſhipping be the chief cauſe which muſt move men to obey their juſt Princeſſe from their heart, (as it is moſt certain that they are) wherein can I be reprehended? I thinke, and am ſurely perſwaded, that your Majeſtie has had, and preſently hath as unfained obedience of ſuch as profeſſe Chriſt Jeſus within this Realm, as ever your Father or Progenitours had of thoſe that were called Biſhops : And touching that Booke that ſeemeth ſo highly to offend your Majeſtie, it is moſt certaine, that if I wrote it, I am content that all the learned of the world judge of it: I heare that an Engliſhman hath written againſt it, but I have not read him; if hee hath ſufficiently confuted my reaſons, and eſtabliſhed his contrary Propoſitions, with as evident teſtimonies, as I have done mine; I ſhall not bee obſtinate but ſhall confeſſe mine errour and ignorance. But to this houre I have thought, and yet thinkes my ſelfe alone more able to ſuſtaine the things affirmed in that my Work, than any ten in Europe ſhall be able to confute it.

Anno

Let this be noted diligently.

Let the Prince note this.

You thinke (ſaid ſhee) that I have no juſt Authoritie : Pleaſe your Majeſtie, (ſaid he) that learned men in all ages have had their judgements free, and moſt commonly diſagreeing from the Common judgement of the world; Such alſo have they publiſhed, both with Pen and tongue, notwithſtanding they themſelves have lined in the common Societie with others, and have borne patiently with the errour and imperfections which they could not amend. *Plato* the Philoſopher wrote his Booke of the Common wealth, in the which hee condemnes many things that were maintained in the world, and required many things to have beene reformed : And yet notwithſtanding he lived under ſuch Politicks, as then were univerſally received without farther troubling any State: Even ſo Madame am I content to do, in uprightneſſe of heart, and with a teſtimony of good Conſcience, I have communicate my judgement to the world; if the Realme findes no inconveniencies in the Regiment of a woman, that which they approve, ſhall I not further diſallow, then within my owne breſt, but ſhall be all well content, and ſhall live under your Majeſtie, as *Paul* was to live under the *Roman* Emperour : And my hope is, that ſo long as ye defile not your hands with the Blood of the Saints of God, that neither I nor that Booke ſhall either hurt you or your Authoritie; for in very deed Madame, that Booke was written moſt eſpecially againſt that wicked *Mary* of *England*.

Let this wiſe reply be noted.

But (ſaid ſhee) you ſpeake of women in generall; moſt true it is Madame, (ſaid the other;) and yet plainly appeareth to me, that wiſedome ſhould perſwade your Majeſtie never to raiſe trouble

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for that which this day hath not troubled your Majestie, neither in person, nor in anxietie. For of late yeeres many things which before were holden Stable have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainely impugned. But yet, Madame, I am assured, That neither Protestant nor Papist, shall be able to prove, That any such Question was at any time moved, in publike or in private. Now, Madame, said he, if I had intended to trouble your State, because you are a woman; I might have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose then I can do now, when your own presence is within the Realme.

But now, Madame, shortly to answer to the other two accusations, I heartily praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that Satan, the enemy of mankinde, and the wicked of the World, have no other crimes to lay to my charge, then such as the very World it selfe knoweth to be most false and vaine. For in *England* I was resident onely the space of five yeeres. The places were *Barwick*, where I abode two yeeres; So long in *New-castle*; And a yeere in *London*. Now, Madame, if in any of these places, during the time that I was there, any man shall be able to prove, That there was either Battell, Sedition, or Mutinie, I shall confesse, That I my selfe was the Malefactour, and shedder of the blood. I am not ashamed further to affirme, That God so blessed my weake labours then in *Barwick* (wherein then commonly used to be slaughter, by reason of quarrells that used to arise amongst Souldiers) there was also great quietnesse, all the time that I remained there, as there is this day in *Edinburgh*.

Note this undertaking.

And where they slander me of Magick, Necromancie, or of any other Art forbidden of God, I have witnesse (besides mine owne conscience) all the Congregations that ever heard me, what I speak, both against such acts, and against those that use such impietie: But seeing the wicked of the world said, That my Master the Lord Jesus was possessed with *Beelzebub*, I must patiently beare; Albeit that I, wretched sinner, be unjustly accused, of those that never delighted in the Veritie.

The Queens second Objection.

But yet (said she) you have taught the people to receive another Religion then their Princes can allow: And how can that Doctrine be of God? Seeing that God commandeth Subjects to obey their Princes.

Answer.

Madame (said he) as right Religion tooke neither Originall nor Antiquity, from worldly Princes, but from the eternall God alone: So are not Subjects bound to frame their Religion according to the appetite of their Princes; For oft it is that Princes are the most ignorant of all others, in Gods true Religion, as we may reade in the Histories, as well before the death of CHRIST JESUS, as after: If all the seed of *Abraham* should have beene of the Religion of *Pharaoh*, to whom they had beene a long time Subjects, I pray you (Madame) what Religion should there have been in the world? Or if all men in the dayes of the Apostles, should have beene of the Religion of the Romane Emperours, What Religion should have been

been upon the face of the earth? *Daniel* and his fellows were subjects to *Nebuchad-nezzar*, and unto *Darius*, and yet (Madame) they would not be of their Religion, neither of the one, nor of the other; For the three Children said, *We make it knowne to thee, O King, That we will not worship thy Gods.* And *Daniel* did pray publikely unto his God, against the expresse Commandment of the King: And so, Madame, ye may perceive that Subjects are not bound to the Religion of their Princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience. Yea, (quoth she) none of these men raised their Sword against their Princes. Yet Madame (quoth he) ye cannot deny but they resisted: For those that obey not the Commandments given, in some sort resist. But yet (said she) they resisted not by the Sword. God (said she) Madame) had not given them the power and the meanes. Thinke you (said she) That Subjects, having power, may resist their Princes? If Princes do exceed their Bounds (quoth he) Madame, and doe against that wherefore they should be obeyed, there is no doubt but they may be resisted, even by Power: For there is neither greater Honour, nor greater Obedience to be given to Kings and Princes, then God hath commadned to be given to Father and Mother: But so it is, That the Father may be stricken with a Phrenzie, in the which he would slay his owne Children; Now, Madame, if the children arise, joyn themselves together, apprehend the Father, take the Sword or other Weapon from him, and finally, binde his hands, and keepe him in Prison till that his Phrensie be over-past, Thinke ye (Madame) that the children do any wrong? Or thinke ye, Madame, that God will be offended with them that have stayed their Father from committing wickednesse. It is even so (said he) Madame, with Princes that would murther the children of God, that are subject unto them. Their blinde zeale is nothing but a very mad phrenzie; and therefore to take the sword from them, to binde their hands, and to cast them into prison, till that they be brought to a more sober minde, is no disobedience against Princes, but just obedience, because that it agreeth with the Word of God.

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Note this comparison.

Blinde zeal, what it is.

When this was written there was no appearance of *Maries* imprisonment.

At these words the Queene stood, as it were amazed, more then a quarter of an houre; her countenance altered, so that the Lord *James* began to entreat her, and to demand, What hath offended you, Madame? At length she said, Well, then I perceive that my Subjects shall not onely obey you, and not me; And shall do what they list, and not what I command, and so must I be subject unto them, and not they to me. God forbid (answered he) that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set Subjects at liberty, to do whatsoever please them; but my travell is, That both Princes and Subjects obey GOD. And thinke not (said he) Madame, that wrong was done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto GOD, for

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it is he that subjects the people under Princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them; yea, God craves of Kings, That they be, as it were, Foster-Fathers to the Church, and commands Queens to be Nourishers unto his People. And this subjection (Madame) unto God, and to his troubled Church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth, for it shall carry them to everlasting glory.

The Queens Church.

Yea (quoth she) but ye are not the Church that I will nourish; I will defend the Church of *Rome*, for I think it is the true Church of God.

Your will (quoth he) Madame, is no reason, neither doth your thought make that Romane Harlot to be the Immaculate Spouse of Jesus Christ. And wonder not, Madame, that I call *Rome* an Harlot; for that Church is altogether polluted with all kinde of Spirituall Fornication, as well in Doctrine, as in Manners: yea, Madam, I offer my selfe further to prove; That the Church of the Jewes, who crucified Jesus Christ, when that they manifestly denied the Sonne of God, was not so farre degenerated from the Ordinances and Statutes which God gave by *Moses* and *Aaron* unto his People, as the Church of *Rome* is declined, and more then five hundred yeers hath declined from that Purity of Religion which the Apostles taught and planted. My conscience (said she) is not so. Conscience, Madame (said he) requires knowledge; and I fear that of right knowledge you have but little. But (said she) I have both heard and read. So, Madame (said he) did the Jewes that crucified Christ Jesus, reade both the Law and the Prophets, and heard the same interpreted, after their manner. Have ye heard (said he) any teach, but such as the Pope and his Cardinalls have allowed? And you may be assured, That such will speak nothing to offend their owne state. Ye interpret the Scriptures (said she) in one manner, and they in another; Whom shall I believe, and who shall be Judge? Believe (said he) God, that plainly speaketh in his Word: And further then the Word teacheth you, ye shall neither believe the one nor the other. The Word of God is plain in it self; And if there appear any obscurity in one place, the holy Ghost, which is never contrarious to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places: So that there can remaine no doubt, but unto such as obstinately will remaine ignorant. And now, Madame, (said he) to take one of the chief Points which this day is in controversie betwixt the Papists and us, for example. The Papists alleadge, and boldly have affirmed, That the Masse is the Ordinance of God, and the Institution of Jesus Christ, and a Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and the other, and affirme, That the Masse, as it is now used, is nothing but the Invention of man; and therefore it is an Abomination before God, and no Sacrifice that ever God commanded. Now (Madame) who shall judge betwixt us, two thus contending? It is not reason that either of the persons be further believed, then they are able to prove by insuspect witnessing: Let them lay downe the Book of God, and by the plain words prove their affirmatives, and we shall give unto them the play granted. But so long as they are bold to affirme, and yet do prove nothing, we must say, That albeit all the world

Strong Imagination, called conscience.

Question.

world believe them, yet believe they not God, but do receive the lyes of men for the Truth of God. What our Master Christ Jesus did, we know by his Evangelists: What the Priests do at the Masse, the world seeth. Now doth not the Word of God plainly assure us, That Christ Jesus neither said, nor yet commanded Masse to be said at his last Supper, seeing that no such thing as the Masse is made mention of within the whole Scriptures. You are over-hard for me (said the Queen) but if they were here whom I have heard, they would answer you. Madame, (said the other) would to God that the learnedest Papist in *Europe*, and he that you would best believe were present with your Majestie to sustain the argument; and that ye would abide patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end; for then I doubt not, Madame, but that you should hear the vanity of the Papisticall Religion, and what small ground it hath within the Word of God. Well (said she) ye may perchance get that sooner then you believe. Assuredly (said the other) if ever I get that in my self, I get it sooner then I believe; for the ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will never come in your audience (Madame) to have the ground of their Religion searched out; for they know they are not able to maintain any argument, except by fire and sword, and their own Laws be judges. So say you (quoth the Queen) and I believe it hath been to this day. (Quoth he) for how oft have the Papists in this and in other Realmes, been required to come to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unlesse themselves were admitted for Judges: and therefore I must yet say again, That they dare never dispute, but where themselves are both judges and party. And when you shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant my self to be deceived in that Point. And with this the Queen was called unto dinner; for it was afternoon. At departing, *John Knox* said unto her, I pray God, Madame, that you may be also blessed within the Common-wealth of *Scotland* (if it be the pleasure of God) as ever *Deborah* was in the Common-wealth of *Israel*. Of this long conference, whereof we onely touch a part, were divers opinions: The Papists grudged, and feared that which they needed not; the godly thinking at least, That she would have heard the preaching, rejoyceed; but they were utterly deceived, for she continued in her Massing, and despised, and quickly mocked all exhortation.

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Note this.

John Knox his owne judgement, being by some of his familiars demanded what he thought of the Queen, said, If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his Truth, my judgement faileth me: and this I say with a grieved heart, for the good I wish unto her, and by her, to the Church and State.

John Knox his judgement of the Queen at the first, and ever since.

When the whole Nobility were convened, the Lords of Privie Council were chosen, where were appointed the Duke, the Earles of *Huntley*, *Argyle*, *Atholl*, *Mortoun*, *Glencarne*, *Mershell*, *Bothwell*; Lords *Arskeme*, and Lord *James*, after Earle *Murray*; and these were appointed as certain to wait upon the Court by course: But that Order continued not long; Duke *d'Anville* returned with the Galleyes to *France*. The Queen entred in her Progresse, and in the Moneth of *September* travelled from *Edinburgh*, *Linlithgow*, *Sterlin*, S. *Johnston*, *Dundie*, S. *Androes*; all these parts

The Queens first Progresse.

Anno parts she polluted with the Idolatrous Masse: Fire followed the Court very commonly in that Journey, the Towns propined the Queen liberally, thereof were the French enriched.

About the beginning of *October* they returned to *Edinburgh*; and at the day appointed the Q. was received in the Castle: whereat preparations were made for her entry into the Town, in Farces, in Masking, and other Prodigalities: fain would our fools have counterfeited *France*: Whatsoever might set forth her glory, that she heard, and gladly beheld. The Keyes were delivered unto her by a pretty Boy, descending, as it were from a Cloud: The Verses of her own Praise she heard, and smiled; But when the Bible was presented, and the Praise thereof declared, she began to frowne; for shame she could not refuse it, but she did no better, for she gave it to the most pestilent Papist within the Realme, to wit, To *Arthur Arskeme*. *Edinburgh* since that day have reaped as they sowed: They gave her some taste of their Prodigality: And because the Liquor was sweet, she hath licked oft of that Box or Box, oftner then twice since. All men know what we mean; The Queen cannot lack, and the Subjects have.

Note the disposition of a misled soul.

Bolsours doctrine.

In *Edinburgh* it hath been an ancient and laudable Custome, That the Provests, Bayliffs, and Councell, after their Election, which used to be at *Michaelmas*, caused publikely proclaim the Statutes and Ordinances of the Town; And therefore *Archbald Dowglas* Provest, *Ed. Hope*, *Adam Fullartoun*, *&c.* Bayliffs, caused proclaim according to the former Statutes of the Town, That no Adulterer nor Fornicator, no noted Drunkard, no Massemonger, no obstinate Papist that corrupted the people, such as Priests, Friers, and others of that sort, should be found within 48 hours thereafter, under the Pains contained in the Statutes: Which blowne in the Queens eares, there began pride and maliciousnesse to shew it selfe; for without further cogitation of the cause, was the Provest and Bayliffes charged to Ward in the Castle, and immediately was Commandment given, That other Provests and Bayliffs should be elected.

Note this diligently.

Some gainstood for a while: The new Election alleadged, That the Provest and Bayliffs whom they had chosen, and to whom they had given their Oath, had committed no offence; therefore that justly they might be deprived. But while Charge was doubled upon Charge, and no man found to oppose himself to impiety, the misled Queens Letter and wicked will is obeyed, as just Law. And so was M. *Thomas Makalan* chosen Provest for the other. The man, no doubt, was both discreet, and sufficient for that Charge; but the deposition of the other was against all Law. God be mercifull to some of our owne, for they were not all blamelesse, that the Queens unreasonable will was so far obeyed.

A contrary Proclamation was publikely made, That the Town should be patent to all the Queens Lieges: And so Murtherers, Adulterers, Theeves, Whores, Drunkards, Idolaters, and all Malefactors, got protection under the Queens wings, under colour that they were of her Religion: And so got the devill freedome againe, where that before he durst not have been seen in day light upon the common streets. *Lord deliver us from this Bondage of sin.*

Yet in the Parliament holden 1563 there is an expresse Act for punishing of Adultery by death. It is the Act 74.

The

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The Devil finding his raines loose, ran forward in his course, and the Queen (evil men abusing her name and authority) took upon her greater boldnesse, then she, and *Balaams* bleating Priests durst have attempted before; for upon *All-Hallow* day they bended up their Masse with all mischievous solemnitie. The Ministers thereat offended, in plaine and publike place, declared the inconvenience that thereupon would ensue. The Nobility were sufficiently admonished of their duties; but affection caused men to call that in doubt, wherein oft before they seemed most resolute; to wit, *Where that the Subjects might have hand to suppresse the Idolatry of their Prince?* And upon this Question conveaned in the house of Master *James Mackgill*, the Lord *James*, Earle of *Morton*, the Earle of *Marshall*, Secretary *Lethington*, the Justice *Clarke*, and the foresaid Master *James* Clarke of the Register; who all reasoned for the part of the Queen, affirming, *That the Subjects might not take her Masse lawfully from her:* In the contrary judgement were the principall Ministers, Master *John Row*, Master *George Hay*, Master *Robert Hamilton*, and *John Knox*. The reasons of both parties we will omit, because they will be explained after, where the said Question and others, *Concerning the Obedience due to Princes*, were long reasoned in open assembly: The conclusion of that first reasoning was; *That the Question should be formed*; *Letters directed to* Geneva *for the resolution of that Church*; Wherein *John Knox* offered his labour. But Secretary *Lethington*, alleadging, That there stood much in the information, said, That he should write: But that was onely to drive time, as the trueth declared it selfe. The Queenes partie urged, *That the Queen should have her Religion free in her own Chappell, to do, she and her houshold, what they list.* The Ministers affirmed, and Voted the contrary; adding, *That her liberty should be their thraldome, ere it be long.* But neither could reason nor threatning move the affections of such as were creeping in Credit, and so did the Votes of the Lords prevaile against the Ministers.

The devil getting entry to his little finger will screw in his whole arm.

Note this.

For the punishment of Theft and Reafe, which had encreased upon the border: and in the South from the Queenes arrivall, was the Lord *James* made Lieutenant, some suspected that such honour and charge proceeded from the same heart and counsell that *Saul* made *David* Captain against the Philistines; but God assisted and bowed the hearts of men, both to feare and obey him; yea, the Lord *Bothwell* himselfe at that time assisted him, but he had remission for *Liddisdall*, except that execution was there made in *Edinburgh*, for *her twenty eight of one clan, and other*, were hanged at that Justice Court, bribes, budds, or sollicitation, saved not the guilty, if he might be apprehended. And therefore God prospered him in that his integrity that same time the Lord *James* spake with the Lord *Gray* of *England* at *Kelsoe*, for good rule to be kept on both the borders, and agreed in all things.

Before his returning, the Queene upon a night tooke a fright in her bed, as if horsemen had been in the Close, and as if the Palace had been enclosed about; whether it proceeded of her own womanly fantasie, or if men put her in feare, for displeasure of the Earle of *Arrane:* And for other purposes, as for the electing of the Guard, we know not; but the feare was so great, that the Towne was called to the Watch; Lord *Robert* of

The Queenes first fray in *Hallyrud-house.*

Anno

of *Hallyrud-house*, and *John* of *Coldingham* kept the Watch by course; Skouts were set forth, and Sentinels, upon pain of death, were commanded to keep their Stations. And yet they feared where there was no fear, neither yet could ever any appearance or suspition of such things be tried. Shortly after the returning of the Lord *James*, there came from the Queen of *England*, Sir *Peter Mewtes*, with Commission to require the Ratification of the Peace made at *Leith*. Her answer was, even such as we have heard before; That she behoved to advise, and then she should answer. In presence of her Councell she kept her selfe grave; for under the mourning weed and apparell she could dissemble in full perfection: but how soon that ever the French people had her alone, they told her, That since she came to *Scotland*, she saw nothing there but gravity, which repugned altogether to her breeding, for she was brought up in joviality, so tearmed she her Dancing, and other things thereto belonging.

The generall Assembly of the Church approached, holden in December, after the Queens arrivall, in the which began the rulers of the Court to draw themselves apart from the Societie of their brethren, and began to strive and grudge, That any thing should be consulted upon, without their advices, Master *John Wood*, who before had shewed himselfe very fervent in the Cause of God, and forward in giving of his councell in all doubtfull matters, refused to assist the Assembly again, whereof many did wonder; The Courtiers drew unto them some of the Lords, and would not conveane with their Brethren, as before they were accustomed, but kept themselves in the Abbey; The principall Commissioners of the Church, the Superintendents, and some Ministers, past unto them, where they were assembled in the Abbots Lodging within *Hallyrud-house*, both the parties began to open their griefes; The Lords complained, That the Ministers drew the Gentlemen into secret, and held Councell without their knowledge: The Ministers denied, That they had done any thing in secret, otherwise then the common Order commanded them; And accused the Lords (the flatterers of the Queen we meane) that they kept not the Convention with their Brethren; considering, That they knew the Order, and that the same was appointed by their own advice, as the Book of Discipline subscribed with the most part of their own hands would witnesse; some began to deny, That ever they knew such a thing as the Book of Discipline: And called also in doubt, Whether it was expedient, that such Assemblies should be or not: for gladly would the Queen and her secret Councell have had all Assemblies of the godly discharged; The reasoning was sharpe and quicke on either side: The Queens faction alleadged, That it was suspicious to Princes, that Subjects should assemble themselves, and keep Conventions without their knowledge. It was answered, That without knowledge of the Princes, the Church did nothing, for the Princes perfectly understood, That within this Realme was a Reformed Church; and that they had their Orders and appointed times of Convention. And so without knowledge of the Princes, they did nothing: Yea (said *Lethington*) the Queen knew, and knoweth well enough; But the Question is, Whether that the Queen alloweth such Conventions: It was answered, If the Libertie of the Church should stand upon the Queens

Division between the Lords and the Ministers.

The Queen fain would have had all Assemblies discharged.

Queens allowance or disallowance, we are assured, not onely to lacke Assemblies, but also to lacke the publike Preaching of the Evangell, that affirmative was mocked, and the contrary affirmed, *Well* (said the other) *time will try the truth*; But to my former words, this I will adde; *Take from us the freedomes of assemblies, and take from us the Evangell; for without assemblies, how shall good order and unity in Doctrine be kept?* It is not to be supposed, That all Ministers shall be so perfect, but that they shall need admonition, as well concerning Manners as Doctrine: As it may be, that some be so stiffe-necked, that they will not admit the admonition of the simple; As also, it may be that fault may be found with Ministers without just offence committed: And if order be not taken both with the Complainer, and with the persons complained upon: It cannot be avoided but that many grievous offences shall arise; For remedy whereof, of necessity it is, That generall Assemblies must be. In the which, the judgements and gravitie of many may occurre, to correct or represse the follies or errours of a few. Hereunto consented the most part, as well of the Nobility as of the Barrons, and willed the reasoners for the Queen to be sent to her Majestie, if that she stood in suspition of any thing that was to be handled in their assemblies, that it would please her Majestie to send such as he would appoint, to hear whatsoever was propounded or reasoned.

Anno

Note this diligently.

Hereafter was the Book of Discipline proposed, and desired to have been ratified by the Queens Majestie, but it was stopped, and the Question demanded, How many of those that subscribed to that Book would be subject unto it? It was answered, All the godly: Will the Duke, said *Lethington*? If he will not, answered the Lord *Uchiltrie*, I would that he were scraped out, not onely of that Book, but also out of our number and company; for what purpose shall labour be taken to put the Church in order, and to what end shall men subscribe, and then never mean to keep a word of that which they promise? *Lethington* answered, Many subscribe there *in fide Parentum*, as Children are baptized. One, to wit *John Knox*, answered, Albeit ye think that scoffe proper, yet as it is most untrue, so it is most improper: That Book was read in publike audience; and by the space of divers dayes, the hearers thereof were resolved, as all that here sit know well enough, and you your selves cannot deny; So that no man was required to subscribe that which he understood not: Stand content, said one, that Booke will not be obtained: Let God (said the other) require the lack and want which this poor Common-wealth shall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of such as stop the same.

Note this diligently.

Note this passage.

Thomas Borrows perceiving that the Book of discipline was refused, presented unto the Councill certain Articles, requiring Idolatry to be suppressed, their Churches to be planted with true Ministers, and some certain propositions to be made for them, according to equitie and Conscience, for unto that time the most part of the Ministers, had lived upon the benevolence of men; for many had into their owne hands the profits that the Bishops, and others of that Sect had before abused, and so some part was bestowed upon the Ministers:

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But when the Bishops began to gripe again to that, which most unjustly they called their own: for the Earle of *Arrane* was discharged of Saint *Andrews* and *Dumfermling*, wherewith before by vertue of a Factory and Commission, he had intromitted and medled: And so were many others. Therefore the Barons requi'd, That order might be taken for the Ministers, or else they would no more cause Rents to be paid unto any, that formerly belonged to the Church-men, nor suffer any thing to be collected for the use of any whosoever, after the Queenes arrivall, then that they did before; for they verily supposed, that the Queens Majestie would keep promise made to them, which was, Not to alter their Religion, which could not remain without Ministers; and Ministers could not live without provision: And therefore they heartily desired the Councell to provide some convenient order in that behalf. This somewhat moved the Queens flatterers, for the Rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her and their hands. And so began they to practise how they might please the Queen, and yet seem somewhat to satisfie the faithfull; And so devised they, That the Church-men should have intromission and medling with the two parts of their Benefices; and that the third part should be gathered by such men as thereto should be appointed for such uses; As in these subsequent Acts are more fully expressed.

Apud Edinburgh vicesimo Decemb. Anno 1561.

THe which day; Forasmuch as the Queens Majestie, by the advice of the Lords of her secret Councell, foreseeing the imminent troubles, which apparantly threaten to arise amongst the Lieges of this Realme for matters of Religion, to stay the same, and shun all incommodities that might thereupon ensue, having intercommuned and spoken with a part of the Clergie, or State Ecclesiasticall, with whom then, reasoning being had, It was thought good and expedient by her Highnesse, That a generall Assembly should be appointed, the 15 day of December instant, whereto the rest of the States might have appeared: and by the advice of Lawyers, one reasonable overture be made, and order taken for staying of the approaching trouble, and quieting of all the Countrey; which Assembly, being by her Majestie appointed, and sundry dayes of Counsell kept; and the said Ecclesiasticall State oft-times required, That the said Order might be taken, and overture made for staying of the trouble, and quieting of the Countrey. Last of all, in presence of the Queens Majesty, and Lords of the Councell aforesaid, and others of the Nobility of this Realm, compeired, *John* Arch-bishop of Saint *Andrews*, *Patrick* Bishop of *Murray*, *Henry* Bishop of *Rosse*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Dunkeld*: And for themselves respectively offered unto the Queens Majestie, to be content with the two parts of the Rents of their Benefices; and the third part to be imployed as her Majestie thought expedient. And because the certaintie thereof was not knowne, not yet what summes of Money would sustaine the Ministery, and Ministers of Gods Word within this Realme, neither yet how much was necessary to support the Queenes Majesty

Majesty above her own Rents, for the common affairs of the Countrey, Therefore it is Ordained, Concluded, and Determined by the Queens Majesty, and the Lords of the Councell aforesaid, and others of the Nobility present, That if the fourth part of the whole Benefices within this Realm, may be sufficient to sustain the Ministers thorowout this whole Realme, and support the Queens Majesty to maintain and set forwards the common affairs of the Countrey failing thereof, the third part of the said Profits, and more, if it be found sufficient for the effect aforesaid, to be taken up yeerly in time coming, that a generall order may be taken therewith, and so much thereof to be employed to the Queens Majesties use, for entertaining and setting forward of the common affairs of the Countrey; and so much thereof to the Ministers, and sustentation of the Ministry, as may reasonably sustain the same, at the sight and discretion of the Queens Majesty, and Councell aforesaid, and the excrescens and superplus to be assigned to the old Possessors. And to the effect that the Rents and yeerly Profits of the whole Benefices within this Realme may be cleerly known to the Queeens Majesty and Councell aforesaid, It is Statuted and Ordained, That the whole Rentals of the Benefices of this Realm be produced before her Majesty and Lords aforesaid, at the time under-written: that is to say, The Rentalls of the Benefices on this side of the Water, before the 24 of *January* next coming: And those beyond the water, the 10 of *February* next thereafter; and ordains Letters to be directed to the Sheriffs in that part, to passe charge, and require all and sundry Archbishops, Bishops, Commendators, Abbots, Priors, on this side of the Water, personally to be apprehended, and failing thereof, at their dwelling places, or at the Parish Churches where they should remain, Cathedrall Churches or Abbeyes: And all Archdeacons, Deans, Chanters, sub-Chanters, Provests, Parsons and Vicars, and other Beneficed men whatsoever, their Chamberlains and Factors, personally, or at their dwelling places, or at the Parish Churches where they should remain, To exhibite and produce before the Queens Majesty and Lords aforesaid, before the said 24 day of *January* next coming, the just and true Rentals of the values and rents of their Benefices, to the effect aforesaid: And to chare the Prelats, and the other Beneficed men on the other side of the Water in manner aforesaid, to exhibite and produce the just and true Rentals of their Benefices before the Queens Majesty and Lords aforesaid, the said 10 of *February*, to the effect aforesaid; with certification to them, That if any fails to appeare, the Queens Majesties and Councels wills are, That they should be proceeded against here, as the matter requires: And likewise to charge the whole Superintendents, Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the principall Towns and Shires of this Realm, to give in before the Queens Majesty and Lords of the Councell aforesaid, before the said 24 of *January* next coming, a formall and sufficient Roll and Memoriall, what may be sufficient and reasonable to sustain Ministry, and whole Ministers of this Realme, that her Majesty, and Lords of the Councell aforesaid, may rightly and diligently weigh and consider what necessary support is required to be taken yeerly of the

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fruits of the said Benefices (by her Majesties own yearly Rent) to entertain and set forward the common affairs of this Realme, against the said 24 day of *January* next coming, that it may be proceeded in the said matter, all parties satisfied, and the whole Countrey, and Lieges thereof set in quietnesse.

Apud *Linlithgow*, 24 *Januarii, &c.*

FOrasmuch as the Queens Majesty, with the advice of the Lords of her Secret Councell, directed her Letters, commanding all and sundry Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, &c. and all other Beneficed men, their Factors, Farmors, Takesmen, to appear before her Highnesse and Lords aforesaid at *Edinburgh*, or where it should happen them to be for the time, so many as dwells upon this side of the water, before the 24 day of *January* instant; and them that dwells beyond the water, the 10 of *February* next coming, that the just value of their Benefices might be knowne; so that hereafter her Highnesse may take order for the Sustentation of the Ministry of the Church, and the publike businesse of the Realme. And because the Queens Majesty is presently busied with other affairs, and may not her self attend upon the receipt of the said Rent, therefore her Highnesse hath given and granted, and by these Presents gives and grants full power and Commission to Master *James Mackgill* of *Rankellor* nether, Clerk of the Register, Sir *John Ballenden* of *Archnenell*, Knight, Justice Clerk to the Treasurer, Secretary of State, Advocate of the Crowne, and Laird of *Pittarrow*, to call before them within the City of *Edinburgh*, all and sundry Prelates, and Beneficed men, which are charged by vertue of the said Letters, now presently being in *Edinburgh*, or shall happen hereafter to repair thereto, their Factors or Farmers, and there enquire of them the Rentalls of their Benefices, and receive the same from them to the effect aforesaid. And likewise that the said Commissioners cause warne all Seperintendents, Over-seers, Ministers, Elders and Deacons, to give unto them the names of all the Ministers of this Realme, that the just Calculation being made and considered by the said Commissioners of the value of the said Benefices, they may report the same unto the Queens Majesty, that her Highnesse may take order herein, according to the just Tenour of the first Ordinance made thereupon.

Apud *Edinburgh*, 12 *February*, 1561.

FOrasmuch as by Statute and Ordinance made by the Queens Majesty, and Lords of the Secret Councell, and her Highnesse Letters directed thereupon, all and sundry Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, &c. and other Beneficed men, were charged to produce the Rentalls of their Benefices before her Majesty and Lords aforesaid, in manner following (that is to say) The said Beneficed men dwelling on this side of the Water, before the four and twentieth of *January* last past: And on the other side of the Water, before the tenth of *February* instant;

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to the effect that order might be taken therin to conform to the Ordinance; With certification to them, that if they fayled, the Queens Majestie, and Counsell aforesaid, would take order therein, as the same Ordinance bears. Notwithstanding of the which the Queens Majestie, and Counsell, and others appointed, for receiving of the said Rentalls, have continually since the said 24 of *January* aforesaid, waited upon the receiving of them; yet a very small number of them have produced their Rentalls, thereby not onely contemning her Majesties Ordinance and Proclamation aforesaid, but also her selfe and her Authoritie, as they were Princes and not Subjects, expresse against Equitie, Reason, and Justice; For remedy whereof the Queene Majestie ordains, with advice of the Lords of her secret Councill, That Factors, Chamerlains or Stewards bee appointed to intromett, gather, uplist and receive, to our Soveraign Ladies use, all and sundry mailles, tythes or tiends, farmes, rents, provents, emoluments, fruits, profits, and due tyes of whatsoever benefices, whereof the Rentalls are not produced conforme to the said Ordinance. And if any Retalls already produced bears not the just value, but is Fraudulently made, to intromet and uptake as much of the profits and fruits of the said benefices, as are omitted forth of the said Rentalls, and the In-givers of the Rentalls, and Professors of the Benefices thereof, shall never have action to claime, crave or receive from the Tenants and Occupiers further then is contained in the same Rentals, already produced by them; and the Tenants and Possessors shall be holden to pay no more than is contained in the same Rentalls, already produced, as aforesaid: And the said Chamerlains and Factors to be appointed by the Queenes Majestie, shall have sufficient power to intromitt and uptake the fruits and profits aforesaid, in such fulnesse as if speciall Letters of Factory and Chamerlancie were granted to them thereupon; and ordains the Lords of the Session to direct forth Letters at the said Factors and Chamerlaines instancies either of horning or poynding, as shall be thought expedient, for causing of them to bee answered of fruits of the said Benefices to be forth-commanded to the Queenes Majesties behalf and use, while further order be taken therein.

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Apud Edinburge, 15. *February* 1561.

FOr as much as the Queenes Majestie by the advice of the Lords of her secret Councell, and others, divers of the Nobility had of before the two and twentieth day of *December* last past, ordained, that if the fourth part of the fruits, and Rents of all the Benefices within this Realme were not sufficient for the Supporting of her Majesties present wants, and the particular Charges under-written, necessary to be borne for the weale of the Countrey, than the third of the said fruits more or lesse should be taken up to the effects aforesaid; and ordained Letters to be directed, charging all and sundry Beneficed men on this side of the Water, to produce their Rentalls before the foure and twentieth day of *January* last past. And the tenth of

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February instant, were prefixed by the said Letters, for the bringing in all Rentalls of the Benefices beyond the water; with certification, That who produced not the said Rentalls at the dayes aforesaid respectively, the Queens Majesty and her Councell would provide remedy: according to the which Certification, her Highnesse, with advice of her Councell aforesaid, hath Ordained, That they who have not produced their Rentalls whole and full, intromission shall be had of their fruits, by them whom her Majesty shall direct thereto: And who have not given their just Rentalls, whatsoever part omitted forth of their said Rentall, shall be intromitted in like manner. And further, having consulted rightly, and diligently advised upon the common affairs, and necessities concerning the Queens Majesty, and charges to be borne for the Common-weale of the Realme, and sustentation and maintenance of the Preachers and Readers, conform to the said Ordinance made thereupon of before, hath Ordained and Declared the whole third part of all Benefices, of the which Rentalls are produced, to be taken up by the person or persons to be nominated by her Majesty, and to begin upon this last Crop of the yeer of God 1561. the same to be employed to the effect aforesaid: Together with the whole Profits of the Benefices whereof the Rentalls are not produced; And also, all that is omitted out of the Rentalls produced: And that order be directed by the Queens Majesty to the Lords of the Session, That the old Possessors may be answered of the remnant fruits of the said Benefices; providing, That the third part aforesaid, be full and whole taken up by the persons to be deputed to the taking thereof; And this Order to continue and stand, while further order be taken by the Queens Majesty, with the advice of the States. Moreover, her Highnesse, with the advice of the Councell aforesaid, hath Statuted and Ordained, That Annuells, Marles, and Duties within free Burroughs, or other Townes of this Realme, as well pertaining to Chaplanries, Prebendaries, as to Friers, together with the Rents of the Friers Lands, where-ever they be, setting and disposing thereupon, be intermedled with, and taken by such as her Majesty shall depute thereto, for employing of the same by her Highnesse to Hospitalls, Schools, and other godly uses, as shall seeme best to her Highnesse, with advice of her Councell. And knowing that nothing is more commodious for the foresaid Hospitality, then the places of Friers that are yet undemolished; and also to the entertainment of Schools, Colledges, and other uses aforesaid, ordains the Provests and Bayliffs of *Aberdeine, Elgmen, Murray, Inneresk, Glasgow*, and other Burroughs of this Realme, where the same are not demolished, to entertain and uphold the said Friers places standing in the said Townes, upon the Common goods thereof, and to use the same to the Common weale and service of the said Townes, untill the Queenes Majesty be further advised, and take finall order in such things, notwithstanding of any Gift, Title, or Entryes, given to whatsoever persons of the said places, with their Yards and Orchards, and other Pertinents, by our Soveraign Lady of before.

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The Lords of secret Councell that were present at the Voting and making of the aforesaid Acts, were *James* Duke of *Chattellarault*, *George* Earle of *Huntley*, *Archibald* Earle of *Argyle*, *William* Earle *Mershall*, *John* Earle *Atholl*, *William* Earle of *Montrosse*, *James* Earle *Morton*, *Alexander* Earle of *Glencarne*, *James* Commendator of Saint *Andrews*, *John* Lord *Erskin*, The Treasurer, The Justice Clerke, The Steward and Controller.

For the first Acts, the Earle of *Huntley* said jestingly, *Good morrow, my Lords of the two parts.* The whole Rentals being gathered, the sum of the third, according to their own calculation, was found to extend to, &c. The Ministers even in the beginning of publike Sermons opposed themselves to such corruption, for they foresaw the purposes of the Devill, and clearly understood the Butt whereat the Queene and her flatterers Shot. And so in the chaire of *Edinburgh John Knox* said, *Well, if the end of this Order, pretended to be taken for sustentation of the Ministers, be happy, my judgement failes me; for I am assured, That the Spirit of God is not the Authour of it, for first I see two parts freely given to the Devill, and the third must be d vided between God and the Devill.*

John Knox his judgement of the thirds.

Well, said he, beare witnesse to me, that this day I said it, Ere it be long the Devil sha'l have three parts of the third; and judge you then, what Gods portion will be. This was an unsavory saying in the eares of many; Some were not ashamed to affirme, *That the Ministers being sustained, the Queen will not get at the yeers end, to buy her a paire of new shoes.* And this was Secretary *Lethington.*

There were appointed to modifie the Ministers stipends, The Earle of *Argyle*, *Murray*, and *Morton*, *Lethington*, Justice *Clarke*, and Clerke of the Register. The Laird of *Pittaro*, was appointed to pay the Ministers Stipends, according to their Modification: Who would have thought that when *Joseph* ruled *Egypt*, that his brethren should have travelled for Victuals, and have returned with empty Sacks unto their families; men would rather have thought that *Pharaohs* Pose, Treasure, and Gilnells should rather have been diminished then that the houshold of *Jacob* should stand in danger to starve for hunger.

Let this be noted.

But so busie and circumspect were the Modificators (because it was a new Office the terme must also be new) that the Ministers should not be over-wanton; That a hundred *Marks was sufficient to a single man, being a common Minister: Three hundred Marks was the highest that was appointed to any, except the Superintendents, and a few others; shortly, Whether it was the ingratitude of their own hearts, or the care that they had to enrich the Queene, we know not: But the poore Ministers, Readers and Exhorters, cryed out to the heaven (as their complaints in all assemblies do witnesse) That neither were they able to live upon the Stipends appointed, neither could they get payment of that small thing that was appointed, so faine would the Controllers have played the good Vallet, and have satisfied the Queen, or else their own profit: *The good Laird of* Pittaro *was an earnest Professour of Christ, but the great Devill receive the Controller*, for he and his Collectours are become greedy factors. To put an end to this unpleasing matter; When the brethren complained of

* That is, five old pieces.

A proverb upon *Pittaro*, Controller.

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of their poverty; it was disdainfully answered of some, There are many Lairds that have not so much to spend, when men did reason, that the Vocation of Ministers craved of them, books, quietnesse, study, and travell to edifie the Church of Christ Jesus, when many Lairds were waiting upon their worldly businesse; and therefore that the stipends of Ministers, who had no other industry, but to live upon that which was appointed, ought not to be mollified according to the living of other common men, who might and did daily augment their Rents by some other industry. When such reasons were laid before them, they got none other answer, but, The Queen can spare no greater Sums; Oft was it cryed out in their ears, *O happy servants of the Devill, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ, if after this life there were nor Hell nor Heaven:* For to the servants of the Devill, these dumbe Dogs, and horrid Bishops; To one of those idle bellies, I say, ten thousand was not enough, but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach his Evangell, a hundreth will suffice; how can that be sustained?

One day in reasoning of this matter, the Secretary burst out in a piece of his collor, and said, The Ministers have thus much payed unto them by year, who ever yet said to the Queen, Grand mercies for it? was there ever a Minister that gave thanks to God for her Majesties liberalitie towards them? One singled, and answered, Assuredly, I think, that such as receive any thing *gratis* of the Queen, are unthankfull if they acknowledge it not, both in heart and minde: But whether the Ministers be of that rank, or not, I greatly doubt; *gratis* I am sure they receive nothing, and whether they receive any at all from the Queen, wise men may reason; I am assured, that neither third nor two parts ever appertained to any of her Predecessors within this Realm these thousand years last past, neither yet hath the Queens Flatterers better title to that which she usurpes, be it in-giving to others, or taken it to her self, then the souldiers who crucified Jesus Christ had to divide his Garments amongst them. And if the truth may be spoken, she hath not so good Title as they had, for such spoile ought to be the reward of such men. And in that point the Souldiers were more gentle than the Queenes Flatterers, for they parted not the Garments of our Saviour, till that he himself was hung upon the Crosse; but her Flatterers do part the spoil whilest that poor Christ is yet preaching amongst you. But the wisedome of our God taketh tryall of us by this meanes, knowing well enough what the Court faction have purposed to do: Let the Papists, who have the two parts, some that have their thirds free, and some that have gotten Abbeys, and few Lands, thanke the Queen, and King, *Placebo Domine*, the poore Preachers will not yet flatter, for feeding of their bellies. These words were judged proud and intollerable, and ingendred no small displeasure to the Speaker.

The right that Princes have to the Patrimony of the Church.

Note. This we put in memory, that the posterity to come may know that God once made his truth to triumph, but because some of our selves delighted more in darknesse, than in light, God hath restrained our freedom, and put the whole body in bondage, yea, the greatest Flatterers have not escaped so free as they supposed, yea, the latter plagues appear yet to be worse than the first. Be mercifull unto us, (O Lord) and deal with us not according

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ing to our deſervings, but look thou to the equitie of the cauſe which thou hath put in our hands, and ſuffer not iniquitie to oppreſſe thy Trueth, for thy own names ſake, O Lord. Anno

In this mean while, to wit, in *February*, 1561. was Lord *James*, firſt made Earl of *Murray*, and then marryed one *Agnes Keith*, daughter to the Earl Marſhall. The marriage was publike in the Church of *Edinburgh*; at the bleſſing of the marriage they both got one admonition to behave themſelves moderately in all things: For ſaid the Preacher to him, The Church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day. In the which, if hereafter you ſhall be found fainter then you have been formerly, it will be ſaid, That your Wife hath changed your nature. The greatneſſe of the Bankquet, and the vanitie uſed thereat, offended many Godly; There began the Masking, which from yeer to yeer, hath continued ſince. Maſter *Randolph*, Agent for the Queen of *England* was then, and ſometime after in no ſmall eſteem with our Queen: For his Miſtris ſake, ſhe did drink to him in a Cup of Gold, which he poſſeſſed with great joy, more for the favour of the giver, then of the gift, and value thereof, and yet it was honourable. The things that then were in handling betwixt the two Queens, whereof *Lethington*, Secretary *Cecill*, and Maſter *Randolph*, were Miniſters, were of great weight, as we will after heare. The marriage of the Earl of *Murray*.

This Winter the Earl of *Bothwell*, the Marquis *D'albuff*, and Lord *John* of *Coldingham* committed ryot in *Edinburgh*, and diſordered the whole Town, brake *Cuthbert Ramſeyes* Gates and Doors, ſearched his Houſe for his Daughter in law, *Aliſon Craige*. And this was done in deſpight of the Earl of *Arrane*, who was ſuſpected to have been in love with the ſaid *Aliſon*, the horrours of this fact, and the veritie of it highly commoved all godly hearts. The Aſſembly, and alſo the Nobilitie, for the moſt part were in the Town; and ſo they concluded to crave juſtice, and ſo they did, as by this ſubſequent ſupplication doth appear.

To the Queens Majeſtie, Her ſecret Councell, Her Highneſſe faithfull and obedient Subjects, The profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus, his holy Evangell, wiſh the Spirit of righteous judgement.

THe fear of God conceived of his holy Word; the naturall and unfained love we bear unto your Majeſtie; the duetie which we owe to the quietneſſe of our Country; and the terrible threatnings which our God pronounceth againſt every Realm, and Citie; in the which horrible Crimes are openly committed, and then by the Committers obſtinately defended, compells us, a great part of our Subjects, humbly to crave of your Majeſties, upright and true judgement againſt ſuch perſons as have done, what in them lye, to kindle Gods wrath againſt this whole Realm. The impiety by them committed, is ſo haynous, and ſo horrible, That as it is a fact moſt vile and rare to be heard of within this Realm, and principally within the Bowels of this Citie; So ſhould we thinke our ſelves guiltie of the ſame, if negli-

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gently, or yet for worldy fear we put it over with silence; and therfore your Majestie may not think that we crave any thing, while that we crave open Malefactors condignly to be punished; But that God hath commanded us to crave, and also hath commanded your Majestie to give to every one of your Subjects; for by this Lynk hath God knit together the Prince and people, that as he commands honour, fear and obedience to be given to the powers established by him; so doth he in expresse words command and declare what the Prince oweth unto the Subjects, to wit, That as he is the Minister of God, bearing the sword for vengeance to be taken on evill doers, and for the denfence of peaceable and quiet men; so ought he to draw the sword without partialitie, so oft as in Gods Name he is required thereto. Seeing so it is (Madame) that this crime so recently committed, and that in the eyes of the whole Realm now publikely assembled, is so hainous; for who heretofore hath heard within the bowels of *Edinburgh*, Gates and Doors under silence of night broken, Houses ripped or searched, and that with hostillity, seeking a woman, as appeareth to oppresse her. Seeing (we say) that this crime is so hainous, that all godly men fear not onely Gods dispeasure to fall upon you and your whole Realm; but also that such licentiousnesse breed contempt, and in the end sedition, if remedie in time be not provided, which in our judgement is possible, if severe punishment be not executed for the crime committed. Therefore we most humbly beseech your Majestie, that all affection set aside, you declare your self so upright in this case, that ye may give evident demonstration to all your Subjects, that the fear of God, joyned with the love of common tranquility, hath principall seat in your Majesties Heart. This, further Madame, in conscience we speak, That as your Majesty in Gods Name doth crave of us obedience, which to render in all things lawfull we are most willing; so in the same name doe we the whole Professors of Christs Evangell within this your Majesties Realme, crave of you and of your Councell sharp punishment of this crime. And for performance thereof, that without delay the most principall Actors of this haynous crime, and the perswaders of this publike Villany, may be called before the Chief Justice of this Realm, to suffer an Assise, and to be punished according to the Laws of the same; and your Majesties Answer most humbly we beseech.

Note this diligently.

Note this diligently.

These Supplications was presented by divers Gentlemen; the Flatterers of the Court at first stormed, and asked who durst avow it? To whom the Master, after Lord *Lyndesay*, answered, A thousand Gentlemen within *Edinburgh*: others were ashamed to oppose themselves thereto in publike; but they suborned the Queen to give a gentle answer, untill such time as the Convention was dissolved; and so she did: and then after in fair words, shee alleaged, That her Uncle was a Stranger, and that he had a young Company with him; but she should put such order unto him, and unto all others, that hereafter they should have no occasion to complain: And so deluded she the just Petition of her Subjects: And no wonder, for how shall she punish in *Scotland* that vice, which in *France* she did see so free without punishment, and which Kings and

Cardinalls

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Cardinalls commonly use, as the Mask and Dancing of *Orleans* can witnesse; wherein virgins and mens wives were made common to King *Harry*, *Charles* the Cardinall, and to their Courtiers and Pages, as common women in *Bordells* are unto their Companions. The manner was thus: At the entry of King *Henry* of *France* in the Town of *Orleans*, the Matrons, Virgins, and mens wives were commanded to present themselves in the Kings Palace to dance: And they obeyed; for commonly the French Nation *is not very hard to be entreated to vanity*. After Fidling and Flinging, and when the Cardinall of *Loraine* had espied his prey, he said to the King, *Sire le premiere est a vous, & fault que je soy le second*: that is, *Sir, the first choyce is yours, and I must be the second*. And so the King got the preeminence, that he had his first Election. But because Cardinalls are companions to Kings, the Cardinall had the next. And thereafter the Torches were put out, and every man commanded to provide for himself the best he might. What cry there was of husbands for their wives, and wives for their husbands, of ancient matrons for their daughters, of virgins for their friends, for some honest men to defend their pudicity, *Orleance* will remember more Kings dayes then one. This horrible villany, a fruit of the Cardinalls good Catholike Religion, we shortly touch, to let the world understand, what subjects may look for of such Magistrates; for such Pastime to them is Jollity. It had been good for our Queene, that she had been brought up in better company, both for her credit, and for the course of her life: And it may be, that her excellent naturall enduements had been better employed for her reputation and happinesse, then they were to her great misfortune, and to the grief of those that wished her truely well. But punishment of that enormity, and fearfull attempt, we could get none. Yea, more and more they presumed to do violence, and frequented nightly Masking, and began to bear the matter very heavily. At length the Dukes friends began to assemble in the night time on the calsay or street. The Abbot of *Kylwinning*, who then was joyned to the Church, and so, as we understand, yet abideth, was principall man at the beginning. To him repaired many faithfull, and amongst others, came *Andrew Stewart*, Lord *Uchiltrie*, a man rather borne to make peace, then to brag upon the calsey, he demanded the quarrell: And being informed of the former enormity, said, *Nay, such impiety shall not be suffered, so long as God shall assist us: The Victory that God hath in his owne mercy given us, we will by his grace maintaine*. And so he commanded his son *Andrew Stewart*, then Master, and his servants, to put themselves in order, and to bring forth their spears and long weapons; and so did others. The word came to the Earle *Bothwell* and his son, that the *Hamiltons* were upon the street: vows was made, that the *Hamiltons* should be driven, not onely out of the Town, but also out of the Countrey. Lord *John* of *Coldingham* married the E. *Bothwels* sister (a sufficient woman for such a man) Alliance drew Lord *Robert*, and so they joyned with the E. *Bothwell*. But the stoutnes of the Marq. *le Beuf* (*d'Albuff* they call him, is most to be commended; for in his Chalmer in the Abbey, he start to an Halbert, and ten men were scarce able to hold him that night, and the danger was betwixt the Crosse and Tron; and so he was a long quarter of a mile from the shot & sklenting of Bolts. The M. of *Maxw.* (after L. *Herreis* gave declaratiō

The Mask of *Orleance*.

The *Hamiltons* against *Bothwell* and the Marquesse.

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to the Earle *Bothwell*, That if he stirred forth of his Lodging, he, and all that assist him, should resist him in the face. Whose words did somewhat beat down that blast. The Earles of *Murray* and *Huntley* being in the Abbey, where the Marquesse was, came with their company sent from the Queen, to stay that tumult; as they did, for *Bothwell* and his were commanded under pain of Treason, to keep their lodgings.

It was whispered by many, That the Earle of *Murray's* displeasure was as much sought, as any hatred that the *Hamiltons* did bear against the Earle of *Bothwell*, or yet he against them. And in very deed, either had the Duke very false servants, or else by *Huntley* and the *Hamiltons* the Earle of *Murray's* death was oftener conspired then once; the suspition whereof burst forth so far, that upon a day the said Earle being upon horse to have come to the Sermon, was charged by one of the Dukes own servants, to turn and abide with the Queen. The fame whereof spread over all: What ground it had, we cannot say; but shortly after, the Duke, and some of the Lords, remained at *Glasgow*; their conclusion was not known. The Earle of *Arrane* came to *Edinburgh*, where the Earle *Bothwell* lay. The Queen and the Court were departed to *Fyfe*, and remained sometimes in S. *Androes*, and sometimes in *Falkland*.

The Earle *Bothwell*, by means of *James Barron* Burgesse, and then Merchant of *Edinburgh*, desired to speak with *John Knox* secretly; which the said *John* gladly granted, and spake with him upon a night, first in the said *James* his lodging, and after in his own Study: The sum of all their conference and communication was; The said Lord lamented his inordinate life; and especially, That he was provoked by the enticements of the Queen Regent, to do that which he sore repented, as well against the Laird of *Ormestoun*, whose blood was spilt, albeit not by his faults: But his chief grief was, That he had misbehaved himself toward the Earle of *Arrane*, whose favour he was most willing to redeem, if possible it were that so he might: For (said he) if I might have my Lord *Arranes* favour, I would aye wait upon the Court with a Page and a few servants, to spare my expence; where now I am compelled to keep for my own safety a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destruction of my state that is left. To which the said *John* answered, My Lord, would to God that in me were Counsell and Judgement, that might comfort and relieve you; for albeit that to this hour it hath not happened to me to speak with your Lordship face to face, yet have I born a good minde to your house; and have been sorry at my heart of the trouble that I have heard you to be involved in; for (my Lord) my great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father, have served your Lordships Predecessors, and some of them have died under their standers; and this is a part of the Obligation of our Scotish kindenesse: but this is not the chiefe; But as God hath made me his publike Messenger of glad Tydings, so it is my earnest desire that all men may embrace it, which perfectly they cannot, so long as there remaineth in them rankor, malice, or envie: I am sorry that you have given occasion unto men to be offended with you: But more sorrowfull, That you have offended the Majesty of God; wherefore he often punisheth the other sins of man: And therefore my counsell

The Earle of *Bothwe's* communication with *Iohn Knox* 1562.

Note the complement.

counſell is, That you begin at God, with whom if you enter into perfect reconciliation, I doubt not but he ſhall bow the hearts of men to forget all offences. And as for me, if you will continue in godlineſſe, your Lordſhip ſhall command me as boldly, as any that ſerves your Lordſhip. The ſaid Lord deſired him that he would trie the Earle of *Arrans* minde, If he would be content to accept him in his favour: Which he promiſed to do. And ſo earneſtly he travelled in the matter; and it was once brought to ſuch an end, as all the faithfull praiſed God for ſuch agreement: The greateſt ſtay ſtood upon the ſatisfaction of the Laird of *Ormeſtoune*, (who beſide his former hurt, as is before declared, was even at that time of the coming, purſued by the ſaid Earle *Bothwell*, and his ſon Maſter *Alexander Cockburne* was taken by him, and carried by him to *Berwicke*, but courteouſly enough ſent back again. The new trouble ſo greatly diſpleaſed *Iohn Knox*, that he almoſt gave over further travelling for amity: But yet upon excuſe of the ſaid Earle, and upon declaration of his minde, he re-entred into labour, and ſo brought it to paſſe, that the Laird of *Ormeſtoun* referred his ſatisfaction in all things to the Judgement of the Earles of *Arrane* and *Murray*, to whom the ſaid Earle ſubmitted himſelfe in that Head: And thereupon delivered his hand writing; and ſo was conveyed by vertue of his friends, to the Lodging of the Church of *Field*, where the Earle of *Arrane* was with his friends, and the ſaid *Iohn Knox* with him, to beare witneſſe and teſtification of the end of the Agreement. As the Earle of *Bothwell* entred the Chamber, and would have done thoſe Honours that friends had appointed, Maſter *Gabriel Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwinning*, and the Laird of *Richardton*, were the chief friends that communed, the ſaid Earle of *Arrane* gently paſt unto him, embraced him, and ſaid, If the hearts be upright, few Ceremonies will ſerve, and content me. The ſaid *Iohn Knox*, in audience of them both, and of their friends, ſaid, Now, my Lords, God hath brought you together by the labour of ſimple men, in reſpect of ſuch as would have travelled therein: I know my labours are already taken in evill part; but becauſe I have the teſtimony of a good conſcience before God, That whatſoever I have done, it is in his fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of none, and for the tranquility of this Realm: Seeing therefore that my conſcience beareth witneſſe to me what I have ſought, and do continually ſeek, I the more patiently bear the miſreports, and wrongfull judgements of men. And now I leave you in Peace, and deſire you who are the friends, to ſtudy that Amity may encreaſe, all former hatred forget. The friends on either party embraced other; and the two Earles departed to a window, and talked by themſelves a reaſonable ſpace. And thereafter the Earle of *Bothwell* departed for that night, and upon the next day in the morning returned with ſome of his honeſt friends, and came to the Sermon with the ſaid Earle, whereat many rejoyced. But God had another work to work, then the eyes of men could eſpie. The Thurſday next they dined together; and thereafter the ſaid Earle *Bothwell*, and Maſter *Gabriel Hamilton*, rode to the Duke, who then was in *Enmell*: what communication was betwixt them,

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Reconciliation betwixt the Earle of *Arrane*, and Earle of *Bothwell*.

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them, it is not certainly knowne; but by the report which the said Earle of *Arrane* made to the Queen, and unto the Earle of *Murray*, by his writings; for upon the third day after their Reconciliation, the Sermon being ended, the said Earle of *Arrane* came to the house of the said *John Knox*, and brought with him Master *Richard Strange*, and *Alexander Guthrie*, to whom he opened the grief of his minde before that *Iohn Knox* was called; for he was busie, as commonly he used to be after his Sermon, in directing of writings: Which ended, the said Earle called the three together, and said, I am reasonably betrayed, and with these words began to weep. *Iohn Knox* demanded, My Lord, Who hath betrayed you? One *Iudas* or other (said he) I know it is but my life that is sought; I regard it not. The other said, My Lord, I understand no such dark manner of speech; if I shall give you any answer, you must speak more plainly. Well (said he) I take you three to witnesse, That I open this unto you, and I write it unto the Queen: An act of Treason is laid to my Charge. The Earle *Bothwell* hath showne to me in Councell, That he shall take the Queen and put her in my hands, in the Castle of *Dumbartane*; And that he shall slay the Earle of *Murray*, *Lethinton*, and others that now misguide her, and so shall he and I rule all. But I know this is devised to accuse me of Treason; for I know he will informe the Queen of it: But I take you to witnesse, That I open it here unto you: And I will passe incontinent, and write to the Queens Majesty, and unto my Brother the Earle of *Murray*. *Iohn Knox* demanded, Did you consent (my Lord) to any part of that Treason? He answered, No. Then (said he) in my judgement his words, although they were spoken, can never be Treason to you; for the performance of the Fact depends upon your will, whereunto ye say ye have disassented; and so shall that purpose vanish and die of it selfe, unlesse that you waken it; For it is not to be supposed, That he will accuse you of that, which he himselfe hath devised, and whereunto you would not consent. Oh (said he) you understand not what craft is used against me: It is Treason to conceale Treason. My Lord (said he) Treason must import consent and determination, which I hear on neither of your parts: And therefore (my Lord) in my judgement, it will be more sure, and more Honourable unto you, to depend upon your your Innocency, and to abide the unjust accusation of any other (if any follow thereof) as I thinke there shall not) then to accuse, especially after so late reconciliation. I know (said he) That he will offer the Combate unto me, but that would not be suffered in *France*: But I will do that which I have purposed. And so he departed, and took with him to his Lodging the said Master *Alexander Guthrie*, and Master *Richard Strange*, from whence was written and endited a Letter to the Queens Majestie, according to the former purpose: which Letter was directed with all diligence unto her Majesty, who then was in *Falkland*. The Earle himselfe rode after to *Kinneill* to his Father the Duke; but how he was used, we have but the common bruit. But from thence he wrote a Letter with his owne hand in

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Cyphers to the Earle of *Murry*, complaining of his rigorous handling and entertainment by his owne father and friends. And assured further, That he feared his life, in case he got not sudden rescue. But thereupon he remained not, but broke the Chamber wherein he was put, and with great pain passed to *Sterling*, and from thence was conveyed to the Haly-yards, where he kept till that the Earle of *Murray* came unto him, and conveyed him to the Queen, then being in *Falkland*, who then was sufficiently instructed in the whole matter; and upon suspition conceived, had caused to apprehend Master *Gawan Hamilton* and the Earle *Bothwell* aforesaid, who knowing nothing of the former advertisements, came to *Falkland*, which augmented the former suspition. But yet the Letters of *John Knox* made all things to be used more circumspectly, for he did plainly forewarne the Earle of *Murray*, that he espyed the Earle of *Arran* to be stricken with phrensie, and therefore willed not over great credit to be given unto his words and inventions. And as he advertised, so it came to passe forthwith in few dayes, his sicknesse increased, he talked of wondrous signes that he saw in heaven; he alleaged that he was bewitched, he would have been in the Queens Bed, and affirmed that he was her husband; and finally, in all things he behaved himself so foolishly, that his phrensie could not be hid.

And yet were the Earl *Bothwell* and Master *Gawan* Abbot of *Kilming* kept in the Castle of Saint *Andrews*, and convent before the Councill with the Earl *Arran*, who ever stood firm, that the Earl of *Bothwell* proposed to him such things as he advertised the Queens Majestie of; but stiffely denyed that his father, the said Abbot, or his friends knew any thing therof, either yet that they intended any violence against him; but alleaged that he was inchanted, so to think and write. Whereat the Queen, highly offended, committed him to prison, with the other two, first in the Castle of Saint *Andrews*; and thereafter caused them to be conveyed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*; *James Stewart* of *Cardonhall*, called Captain *James*, was evill bruited for the rigorous entertainment that he shewed to the said Earle in his sicknesse, being appointed Keeper unto him.

To consult upon these occasions the whole Counsell was assembled at Saint *Andewes*, the eighteenth of *April* 1562. years; in which it was concluded, that in consideration of the former suspition, the Duke should render to the Queen the Castle of *Dunbartan* the custody thereof was granted unto him by appointment, till that lawfull succession should be seene of the Queens body: But Will prevailed against Reason and promise, and so was the Castle delivered to Captain *Anstruther*, as having power from the Queen and Councill to receive it.

Things ordered in *Fyfe*, the Queen returned to *Edinburgh*, and then began mirth to grow hot, for her friends began to triumph in *France*: The certainty hereof came to the ears of *John Knox*, for there were some that then told him from time to time the state of things, and amongst others he was assured, That the Queen had been merry, excessively dancing till after midnight, because that she had received Letters, that pacification was begun again in *France*, and that her Uncles were beginning to stirre their taile, and to trouble the whole Realme of *France*, upon occasion

of

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Psal. 2.

of this Text, *And now understand O ye Kings, and be learned ye that judge the Earth*; he began to taxe the ignorance, the vanity and despite of Princes, against all vertue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of vertue appeared; the report hereof made unto the Queen, the said *John Knox* was sent for, Master *Alexander Cokburne*, who before had been his Schollar, and was very familiar with him, was the messenger who gave him some knowledge, both of the report, and of the reporters. The Queen was in her Bed-Chamber, and with her (besides the Ladies and common servants) were the Lord *James*, the Earle *Morton*, Secretary *Lethington*, and some of the Guard that had made the report; he was accused as one that had irreverently spoken of the Queene, and that travelled to bring her into hatred and contempt of the people; and that he had exceeded the bounds of his Text; and upon these three heads made the Queene a long Oration; whereto the said *John* answered as followeth, Madame, this is oftentimes the just recompence which God gives the stubborn of the world; that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false report of others, to their great displeasure. I doubt not, but that it came to the Ears of *Herod*, that our Master Jesus Christ called him a *Fox*, but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God to murther an Innocent, as he had lately done before, causing to behead *Iohn* the Baptist to reward the dancing of an Harlots daughter: Madame, if the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have reported my words and the circumstances of the same; but because they would have credit in Court, and wanting vertue worthy thereof, they must have somewhat to please your Majestie, if it were but flatteries and lies: But such pleasure (if any your Majestie take in such persons) will returne to your everlasting displeasure; for (Madame) if your own Ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you any spark of the Spirit of God, yea, of honestie and wisedome, you would not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake. And because you have heard their report, please your Majesty to hear my self rehearse the same so near as memory will serve, (it was even upon the next day after that the Sermon was made;) My Text (said he) Madame, was this, *And now, O Kings, understand, be learned ye Judges of the Earth*: After (Madame said he) that I had declared the dignity of Kings and Rulers, the honour wherein God hath placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being Gods Lieutenants, I demanded this question; But oh (alas) what account shall the most part of Princes make before that Supreme Judge, whose Throne and Authoritie so manifestly and shamefully they abuse, the complaint of *Solomon* is this day most true, to wit, *That violence, and oppression do occupie the Throne of God here in this Earth*; for whilest that murtherers, blood-thirsty men, oppressors and Malefactors dare be bold to present themselves before Kings and Princes, and that the poor Saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say, but that the Devill hath taken possession in the Throne of God, which ought to be fearfull to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent, oppressed: and how can it otherwise be, for Princes will not understand, they will not be learned, as God commands

The second communing of *Iohn Knox* with the Queen.

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commands them; but Gods Law they despise, his Statutes and Holy Ordinances they will not understand, for in fidling and flinging they are more exercised than in reading or hearing Gods most blessed Word; and Fidlers and Flatterers (which commonly corrupt the Youth) are more precious in their eyes then men of wisedome and gravitie, who by wholesome admonitions may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride wherein we all are born, but in Princes take deep root and strength by evill education. And of dancing (Madame) I said, That albeit in Scriptures I found no praise of it, and in prophane Writers, that it is termed the gesture rather of those that are Mad, and in phrensie, then of sober men; yet do I not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoyded; the former, That the principall Vocation of those that use that exercise, be not neglected for the pleasure of Dancing. Secondly, That they dance not as the Philistins their Fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of Gods people; for if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of Dancers, and that will be to drink in Hell, unlesse they speedily repent; so shall God turne their mirth into sudden sorrow: For God will not alwayes afflict his people, neither will he alwayes wink at the Tyranny of Tyrants. If any (Madame, said he) will say that I spake more, let him publikely accuse me, for I think I have not onely touched the summe, but the very words as I spake them. Many that stood by did bear witnesse with him, that he had recited the very words that publikely he spake.

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The Queen looked about to some of the Reporters, and said, Your words are sharpe enough as you have spoken them, but yet they were told me in another manner; I know (said she) that my Uncles and you are not of one Religion, and therefore I cannot blame you to have no good opinion of them; but if you hear any thing of my self that mislikes you, come to my self and tell me, and I shall hear you. Madame (quoth he) I am assured, that your Uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jesus Christ, and for maintenance of their own pompe and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many Innocents; and therefore I am assured, that these enterprises shall have no better successe than others have had, that before them have done as they doe now. But as to your own person, (Madame) I would be glad to doe all that I could to your Majesties contentment, providing that I exceed not the bounds of my Vocation: I am called (Madame) to a publike function within the Church of God, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and sins of all; I am not appointed to come to every man in particular to shew him his offence, for that labour were infinite; if your Majestie pleaseth to frequent the publike Sermons, then I doubt not but that you shall fully understand both what I like and mislike, as well in your Majesty, as in all others: Or if your Majesty will assigne unto me a certaine day and houre when it will please you to hear the form and substance of Doctrine, which is proposed in publike to the Churches of this Realm, I will most gladly wait upon your Majesties pleasure, time and place; but to come to wait upon your chamber door, or elswhere, and then to have no further liberty but to whisper my minde in your Majesties eare, or to tell you what others

Let Princes note this.

Let Court-Chaplains and unthrifts of the time, note this.

 think

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think and speak of you, neither will my conscience, nor the vocation whereto God hath called me, suffer it: for albeit at your Majesties commandment I am here now, yet I cannot tell what other men will judge of me, that at this time of the day I am absent from my book, and waiting at the Court. You will not alwayes (said she) be at your Booke, and so turned her back; And the said *Iohn* departed, with a reasonable merry countenance; whereat some Papists offended, said, He is not afraid; which heard by him, he answered, Why should the pleasant face of a Lady afray me: I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure; and so left he the Queen, and the Court for that time.

In this mean time the negotiation was great betwixt the Queen of *England* and our Soveraigne, Letters, Curriours and Posts ran frequent, great bruit there was of the interviewe and meeting at *Yorke*, and some preparation was made therefore in both the Realmes; but that failed upon the part of *England*, and that by occasion of the troubles moved in *France*, (as was alleaged;) which caused the Queene of *England*, and the Councill attend upon the South parts of *England*, for avoyding of Inconveniences.

This Summer there came an Embassadour from the King of *Sweden*, requiring marriage of our Soveraigne to his Master the King; His entertainment was Honourable; but his Petitions liked not our Queene one whit, for as yet she could not resolve to be Wife to the King of *Sweden*, having been lately Queen of *France*: And yet she refused not one much inferiour to a Soveraigne King. The Earle of *Lennox* and his Wife were committed to the Tower of *London*, for traffiquing with Papists; the young Laird of *Barre* was a stickler in that businesse, and was apprehended with some Letters, which was the cause of his and their trouble.

The Earle of *Lennox*, and his Lady imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, for traffiqaing with Papists.

The Earle of *Murray* made a private journey to *Hawicke* upon the Fayre day thereof, and apprehended fifty Theeves, of which number were seventeen drowned, others were executed in *Iedburgh*, the principall were brought to *Edinburgh*, and there suffered, according to their merits upon the *Burrow* Mure.

The Queene was no whit content of the prosperitie and good successe that God gave to the Earle of *Murray* in all his enterprises, for she hated his upright dealing, and the Image of God that evidently did appear in him; but at that time she could not well have been served without him.

The assembly of the Church at Midsommer the four and twentieth day of *Iune*, 1562. approached, in the which were many notable heads handled concerning good Order to be kept in the Church, and for the Papists, and for the Idolatry of the Queen which troubleth the former good order; Some Ministers, such as Master *Iohn Sharpe*, had left their charges, and entered into other Vocations, more profitable for the belly, against whom were Acts made, although this day they have not put them in execution. The tenour of the Supplication, read in open audience, and approved by the whole Assembly, to be presented to the Queens Majesty, was this:

Sharp lost preaching, and took him to the Law.

To

To the Queens Majesty, and her most honorable Privy Councell. Anno

The Superintendents and Ministers of the Evangell of Christ Jesus within this Realme, together with the Commissioners of the whole Churches, desire Grace and Peace, from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous Judgement.

HAving in minde that the fearfull sentence pronounced against the Watch-men that see the Sword of Gods punishment approach, and do not in plain words forewarn the people, yea, the Princes and Rulers, that they repent, we cannot but signifie unto your Highnesse, and to your Councell, That the state of this Realme is such for this present, that unlesse redresse and remedy be shortly provided, Gods hands cannot long spare in his anger, to strike the Head and the Tayle; the inobedient Prince, and sinfull People: For as God is unchangeable and true, so must he punish, in these our dayes the grievous sins which before, we reade, he hath punished in all Ages, after that he hath long called for repentance, and none is showne. And that your Majesty and Councell may understand what are the things we desire to be reformed, we will begin at that which we know assuredly to be the Fountain and Spring of all other evils that now abound in this Realme: To wit:

Note.

That Idoll and base service of God, the Masse, the fountain, we call, of all Impiety, not onely because many take boldnesse to sin, by reason of that opinion which they have conceived of that Idoll, to wit, That by vertue of it they get remission of their sins; But also because that under this colour of the Masse, are Whores, Adulterers, Drunkards, Blasphemers of God, of his holy Sacraments, and such other manifest Malefactors, maintained and defended: For let any Masse-sayer, or earnest maintainer thereof be deprehended in any of the fore-named crimes, no execution can be had; for all is done in hatred of his Religion: And so are wicked men permitted to live wickedly, cloked and defended by that wicked Idoll. But supposing that the Masse was occasion of no such evils, yet in it self it is so odious in Gods presence, that we cannot cease with all instance to desire the removing of the same, as well from your selfe, as from all others within this Realm; Taking Heaven and earth, yea, your own Consciences to record, That the obstinate maintenance of that Idol, shall in the end be to you, destruction of soul and body, if you do not repent.

This causeth the Queens Religion to have many favourers.

If your Majesty demand, Why that now we are more earnest, then we have been heretofore? We answer (our former silence no wayes excused) Because we finde our selves frustrate of our hope and expectation; which was, That in processe of time your Majesties heart should have been mollified, so farre, as ye would have heard the publike Doctrine taught within this Realme; by the which, our further hope was, That Gods holy Spirit should so have moved your heart, that you would have suffered your Religion (which before God is nothing but abomination and vanity) to be tryed by the true Touch-stone, the written Word

Anno of God; And that your Majesty finding it to have no ground nor foundation in the same, should have given that glory unto God: that you would have preferred his Truth to your own preconceived vain opinion, of what antiquity that ever it hath been, whereof we in part now discharged, can no longer keep silence, unlesse we would make our selves criminall before God of your blood, perishing in your own iniquity; for we plainly admonish you of the danger to come.

Note.

The second thing that we require, is, Punishment of horrible vices, such as are Adultery, Fornication, open Whoredome, Blasphemy, Contempt of God, of his Word and Sacraments. Which in this Realme do even so abound, that sin is reputed to be no sin. And therefore, as we see the present signes of Gods wrath now manifestly appear, so do we forewarn, that he will strike ere it be long, if his Law without punishment be permitted thus manifestly to be contemned. If any object, That punishment cannot be commanded to be executed without a Parliament; we answer, That the Eternall God in his Parliament, hath pronounced death to be the punishment of Adultery, and for Blaspheming: whose Act if we put not in execution (seeing that Kings are but his Lieutenants, having no power to give life, where he commands death) as that he will repute you, and all others that foster vice, patrons of Impiety, so will he not fail to punish you, for neglecting the execution of his judgements.

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Our third request concerning the poor, who be of three sorts: The poor labourers of the ground, the poor desolate Beggers, Orphans, Widows and Strangers, and the poor Ministers of Christ Jesus his holy Evangel; which are so cruelly used by this last pretended Order taken for sustentation of Ministers, that their latter misery farre surmounteth the former; for now the poore labourers of the ground are so oppressed by the cruelty of those that pay their hire, that they for the most part encroach upon the poore, in whatsoever they pay unto the Queen, or to any other. As for the very indigent and poor, to whom God commands a sustentation to be provided of the Tenths, they are so despised, that it is a wonder that Sun giveth heat and light to the earth, where Gods Name is so frequently called upon, and no mercy (according to his Commandment) showne to his Creatures. And also for the Ministers, their Livings are so appointed, that the most part shall live but a Beggers life: And all cometh of that impiety, that the idle bellies of Christs enemies, must be fed in their former delicacy. We dare not conceal from your Majestie, and honours our conscience, which is this, That neither by the Law of God, neither yet by any just Law of man, is due unto them, who now most cruelly do exact of the poor and rich, the two parts of their Benefices, as they call them. And therefore we most humbly require, That some other Order may be taken with them, that they be not set up againe to empire above the people of God; for we fear that such usurpation of their former state, will be neither in the end pleasant to themselves, nor profitable to them that would place them in that Tyranny. If any think that a competent Living is to be assigned to them, we repugne not, provided that

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that the Labourers of the ground be not oppressed, the poor be not utterly neglected, and the Ministers of the Word so hardly used, as now they are. And finally, That those idle bellies, who by Law can crave nothing, shall confesse, that they receive their sustentation and maintenance, not of debt, but of benevolence. Our humble request is therefore, That in every Parish some part of the Tythes may be assigned to the sustentation and maintenance of the poor within the same: And likewise that some publike relief may be provided for the poor within Burroughs, that Collectors may be appointed to gather; And that strict Accounts may be taken, as well for their Recepts, as of the disbursements. The further consideration to be had of our Ministers, we in some part remit to your wisedoms, and to their particular complaints.

Anno

Our fourth Petition is for the Mause-Yards and Gleebs justly appertaining to the Ministers, without the which it is impossible unto them quietly to serve their Charges; and therefore we desire that order be taken without delay.

Our fifth concerns the disobedience of certain wicked persons, who not onely trouble, and have troubled Ministers in their Functions, but also disobey the Superintendents in their Visitation: wherefore we humbly crave remedy; which we doubt, not so much for the feare that we and our Ministers have of the Papists, but for the love that we bear to the common tranquility. For this we cannot hide from your Majesty and Councell, That if the Papists thinke to triumph where they may, and to do what they list, where there is not a party able to resist them: that some will thinke, That the godly must begin where they left, who heretofore have borne all things patiently, in hope that the Lawes should have bridled the wicked; whereof if they be frustrate (albeit that nothing is more odious to them then Tumults, and domestick Discord) yet will men attempt the uttermost, before that in their owne eyes they behold the house of God demolished, which with travell and danger God hath within this Realm erected by them.

Note this for our times.

Sixthly, we desire, That such as receive release of their Thirds, be compelled to sustain the Ministers within their Bounds, or else we forewarne your Majesty and Councell, that we feare, That the people shall retain the whole in their hands, untill such time as their Ministers be sufficiently provided.

Seventhly, we desire the Churches to be repayred, according to an Act set forth by the Lords of the Secret Councell, before your Majesties Arrivall into this Countrey: That Judges be appointed to heare the causes of Divorcement; for the Church can no longer sustain the burden, especially, because there is no punishment for the offenders: That sayers and hearers of Masses, prophaners of the Sacraments; such as have entred into Benefices by the Popes Bulls, and such other transgressors of the Law made at your Majesties Arrivall within this Realme, may be severely punished; for else men will think there is no truth meant in making of such Laws.

Anno

Eighthly, We most humbly desire of your Majesty and your honourable Councell, a resolute answer to every one of these Heads afore-written, that the same being known, we may somewhat satisfie such as be grievously offended at manifest iniquity now maintained at, oppression, under pretext of Law, done against the poore, and at the rebellious disobedience of many wicked persons, against Gods Word, and holy Ordinance.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, so rule your hearts, and direct your Majesty and Councels judgements by the judgement and illumination of his holy Spirit, that you may answer so, as your offences may be absolved in the presence of that righteous Judge, the Lord Jesus; and then we doubt not but your selves shall finde felicity, and this poor Realme, that hath long been oppressed by wicked men, shall enjoy tranquility and rest, with the true knowledge of God.

These things read in publike Assembly as aforesaid, were approved of all: And some wished that more sharpnesse had been used, because that the time so repuired. But the Minions of the Court, and Secretary *Lethington* above others, could not abide such hard spoken words; for whoever shall write (said he) to a Prince, That God would strike the head and the tayle; That if Papists do what they list, men would begin where they left: But above all others, that was most offensive That the Queen was accused, as that she would raise up Papists and Papistry again; To put that in the people heads, was no lesse then Treason: yea, Oathes was made, That she never meaned such thing. To whom it was answered, That the Prophet *Isaiah* used such manner of speaking; And it was no doubt but that he was acquainted in the Court, for it was supposed that he was of the Kings Stock: but howsoever it was, his words make manifest that he spake to the Court, and to the Courtiers, to Judges, Ladies, Princes and Priests; and yet, saith he, *The Lord shall cut away the head and the tayle, &c.* And so said the first writer, I finde that such phrase was once used before us: And if this offend you, that we say, Men must begin where they left, in case the Papists do as they do, we would desire you to teach us, not so much how we shall speak, but rather what we shall do, when our Ministers are stricken, our Superintendents disobeyed, and a plain Rebellion decreed against all good Orders. Complain, said *Lethington*. To whom? said the other. To the Queen, said he. How long shall we do so? quoth the other. Till that you get remedy, said the Justice Clerke: Give me their names, and I shall give you Letters. If the Sheep, said one, shall complain to the Wolfe, That the Wolfs whelps have devoured their Lambs, the Complainer may stand in danger, but the offender we fear, shall have leave to hunt after his prey. Such Comparisons (said *Lethington*) are very unsavoury; for I am assured, That the Queen will not erect nor maintaine Papistry. Let your assurance (said the other) serve your selfe, but it cannot assure us; for her manifest pra-

Note this for our times.

An answer to *Lethington*.

Note this diligently.

proceedings ſpeaketh the contrary. After ſuch cautious reaſoning on both ſides, the pluralitie concluded, That the ſupplication as it was conceived, ſhould be preſented, unleſſe that the Secretary would make one more fit to the preſent neceſſitie; he promiſed to keep the ſubſtance of ours, but he would uſe other termes, and aske things in a more gentle manner. The firſt Writer anſwered, That he ſerved the Churches at their commandment, and was content, That in his ditement, men ſhould uſe the libertie that beſt pleaſed them; providing, That he were not compelled to ſubſcribe to the flattery of ſuch, as more regarded the perſons of men, then the ſimple truth of God: And ſo was this former ſupplication given to be reformed, as *Lethingtons* wiſedome thought beſt. And in very deed, he framed it ſo, That when it was delivered by the Superintendents of *Lothain* and *Fyfe*. And when the Queen had read ſomewhat of it, ſhe ſaid, Here are many faire words, I cannot tell what the hearts are; And ſo for our painted Oratory we were termed by the next name, Flatterers and diſſemblers; but for that Seſſion, the Church received no other anſwer. Anno

Short after the Convention of the Church, chanced that unhappy perſuite which *John Gordon*, Laird of *Finlater*, made upon the Lord *Ogilvie*, who was evill hurt, and was for a long time mitilate; The occaſion was for certain Lands, and Rights, which old *Finlater* had reſigned to the Lord, which he was purſuing by Law, and was in appearance to obtain his purpoſe; wherear, the ſaid *John*, and his ſervants were offended, and therefore made the ſaid purſuite, upon a Saterday, at night, betwixt nine and ten. The friends of the ſaid Lord, were either not with him, or elſe not willing to fight that night, for they took ſtroakes, but gave few that left markes. *Iohn Gordonne* and *Ogilvie*.

The ſaid *John* was taken and put in the *Tolbuith*, where he remained certain dayes, and then broke the Priſon: Some judged, at his Fathers commandment; for he was making preparation for the Queens coming to the North, as we will after heare.

The enterview and meeting of the two Queens delayed till the next yeer. Our Soveraign took purpoſe to viſite the North, and departed from *Sterlin* in the moneth of *Auguſt*; whether there was any paction and confederacy betwixt the Papiſts of the South, and the Earle of *Huntly* and his Papiſts in the North (or to ſpeak more plainly) betwixt the Queen her Self, and *Huntly*: We cannot certainly affirme, But the ſuſpitions were wondrous vehement, that there was no good will borne to the Earle of *Murray*, nor yet to ſuch as depended upon him, at that time. The Hiſtory we ſhall faithfully declare, and ſo leave the judgement free to the Readers.

That *John Gordon* broke the Priſon, we have already heard, who immediately repaired to his Father *George*, Earle of *Huntly*; and underſtanding the Queens coming, made great proviſion in *Strabogie*, and in other parts, as it were to receive the Queen. At *Aberdeine*, the Queen and Court, remained certaine dayes to deliberate upon the Affaires of the Countrey, where ſome began to ſmell, that the Earle of *Huntly* was privately gathering men, as hereafter ſhall be declared.

Whileſt

Anno

Bothwell brake the ward or prison.

Whilest things was so working in the North, the Earle of *Bothwell* broke his prison, and came forth of the Castle of *Edinburgh* the eight and twentieth day of *August*; some say he broke the Stancheours of the Window; others whispered, that he got easie passage by the gates: one thing is certain, to wit, The Queen was little offended at his escaping. There passed with him a servant of the Captains, named *James Porterfield*. The said Earle shewed himself not very much afraid, for his common residence was in *Louthain*. The Bishop of Saint *Andrews* and Abbot of *Crosrainell* kept secret convention that same time in *Paisley*, to whom resorted divers Papists; yea, the said Bishop spake to the Duke, unto whom also came the Lord *Gordon* from the Earle of *Huntly*, requiring him to stirre his hands in the South, as he should do in the North, and so it should not be *Knox* crying and preaching that should stay that purpose: The Bishop, be he never so close, could not altogether hide his minde, but at his own Table said, The Queen is gone into the North, belike to seek disobedience, she may perchance finde the thing she seeks. It was constantly affirmed, That the Earle *Bothwell* and the said Lord *Gordon* spake together, but of their purpose we heard no mention.

Note another wavering of the *Hamiltons*.

That same year, and in that same instant time, were appointed Commissioners by the Generall Assembly, to *Carrick* and *Cunningham*; Master *George Hay*, who with great profit preached the space of a moneth in all the Churches of *Carrick*. To *Kyle* and to the parts of *Galloway* was appointed *John Knox*, who besides the doctrine of the Evangell, shewne to the common people, forewarned some of the Nobilitie and Barrows, of the dangers that he feared, and that were appearing shortly to follow; and exhorted them to put themselves in such order, as that they might be able to serve the authoritie, and yet not to suffer the enemies of Gods truth to have the upper hand: Whereupon a great part of the *Barons* and Gentlemen of *Kyle*, *Cunningham* and *Carrick*, professing the true doctrine of the Evangell, assembled at *Ayre*; and after the exhortation made, and conference had, subscribed this Bond, the Tenour whereof followeth:

A new Covenant, 1562.

WE whose Names are under-written, do promise in the presence of God, and in the presence of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that we and every one of us, shall and will maintain the preaching of his holy Evangell, now of his mercy offered and granted unto this Realm; and also will maintaine the Ministers of the same against all persons, power and authoritie that will oppose themselves to the Doctrine proposed, and by us received: And further, with the same solemnitie, we protest and promise, that every one of us shall assist another, yea, and the whole Body of the Protestants within this Realme, in all lawfull and just occasions, against all persons; So that whosoever shall hurt, molest or trouble any of our bodies, shall be reputed enemies to the whole, except that the offender will be content to submit himself to the Government of the Church now established amongst us: and this

Note.

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we do, as we desire to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jesus, and accepted worthy of credit and honesty in the presence of the godly. At the Burgh of Aire the fourth day of September, in the year of God, 1552. *Subscribed by all these with their hands, as followeth:* Anno

The Earle Glencairne, *Lord* Boyde, *Lord* Uchiltrie *and* Failfurd, Mathew Cambell *of* Lowdoune *Knight*, Allaine *Lord* Cathcart, Caprington *elder and younger*, Cuninghameheid, Rowallan, Waterston, Craigie, Lefnoreis, Achinharvy, Middleton, *Master* Michael Wallace *Provest of* Ayr, *with fourty more of the honestest Burgesses of that Towne. The Master of* Boyd, Graitgirth, Barr, Carnell, Dreghorne, Heste l, Skeldon, Wolston, Carsland, Fergnshill, Polquhairne, Stair, Barkskyning, Kinganelech, *with a hundred more Gentlemen of worth*; Iohn Dumbar *of* Blantyre, Carleton *and his brother*, Halrig Cers, Kirckmichael, Dalyaroich, Crosclayes, Horsclench, Carbiston, Kelwood, Tarmganoich, &c.

THese things done at *Ayr*, the said *John* passed to *Nithsdaill*, and *Galloway*, where, in conference with the Master of *Maxwell*, a man of great judgement and experience; he communicated with him such things as he feared, who by his motion wrote to the Earle of *Bothwell* to behave himself as it became a faithfull Subject, and to keep good quietnesse in the places committed to his charge, and that his crime of breaking the Ward would be the more easily pardoned. *John Knox* wrote unto the Duke, and earnest exhorted him neither to give ear to the Bishop his Bastard brother, nor yet to the perswasions of the Earle of *Huntly*; for if he did, he assured him, that he and his house should come to a sudden ruine. By which meanes was the South parts kept in reasonable quietnesse during the time that the troubles were a brewing in the North; and yet the Bishop and the Abbot of *Cosraynell* did what in them lay to have raised some trouble; for, besides the fearfull bruits that they spearced abroad, sometime that the Queen was taken, sometimes that the Earle of *Murray* and all his were slain, and sometimes that the Queen had given her self to the Earle of *Huntly*; besides such bruits the Bishop to break the Countrey of *Kyle*, where quietnesse then was greatest, raised the *Crawfords*, against the *Reides*, for the payment of the Bishops Paschfynes; but that was pacified by the labor of indifferent men, who favoured peace. The Abbot of *Cosrainell* required disputation of *John Knox* for maintenance of the *Masse*, which was granted unto him; and the dispute held in *Mayboll* three dayes: The Abbot had the advantage that he required, to wit, he took in hand to prove, That *Melchisedec* offered Bread and Wine unto God; which was the ground that the *Masse* was built upon

Anno

to be a Sacrifice,&c. But in the work of three dayes there could no proofe be produced for *Melchizedecks* Oblation; as in the disputation, (which was afterwards Printed) clearly may appeare. The Papists looked for a revolt, and therefore they would have some brag of reasoning; the Abbot further presented himself to the Pulpit, but the voyce of Master *George Hay* so affrayed him, that after once he was wearied of that exercise.

After that the Queene was somewhat satisfied of hunting, and other pastimes, she came to *Aberdein*, where the Earle of *Huntly* met her, and his Ladies, with no small Train, who remained in Court, and was supposed to have the greatest credite, departed with the Queen to *Buchan*, met her againe at *Rothemay*, looking that shee should have passed with him to *Strabogy*; but in the journey certain word came to her, that *John Gordon* had broken promise in not re-entring in ward; for his Father the Earle had promised, that he should enter againe within the Castle of *Sterlin*, and there abide the Queens pleasure; but whether with his Fathers knowledge and consent, or without the same, we know not; but he refused to enter: which so offended the Queen, that she would not go to *Strabogy*, but passed thorow *Straithla* to *Innernesse*, where the Castle thereof was denyed unto her; the Captaine was commanded to keep it, and looked for relief; for so had *John Gordon* promised; but being thereof frustrate, the Castle was rendred, and the Captain called; *Gordon* was executed upon the place, the rest were condemned, and the hands of some bound, but escaped.

This was the beginning of further trouble, for the Earle of *Huntly* thereat offended, began to assemble his Folkes, and spared not to speak that he would be revenged; But alwayes his Wife bare a faire countenance to the Queen; and it is verily supposed, that no other harme then the Queen her self could easily have stood content with, was meaned unto her own person. But the whole matter lay upon the Earle of *Murray*, Secretary *Lethington* and the Laird of *Pittaro*; yet the Queene began to be afraid, and by Proclamation, caused to warn *Sterling* Shire, *Fyfe*, *Anguis*, *Mernes*, and *Stratherne*, charging all substantiall men to be in *Aberdein* the fifth day of *October*, there to remaine the space of twenty dayes; In her return from *Innernesse* she required the Castle of *Finlater*, which was likewise denyed, and so was *Anchndowne*; which more angred the Queen. The Earle of *Huntly* was charged to cause deliver the said house, under the pain of Treason; to shew some obedience, he caused the Keyes of both to be presented by his servant Master *Thomas Keir*; But before had the Queen sent young Captaine *Stewart*, son to *James*, (who to this day hath neither been stout, happy, nor true) with sixscore to lye about the places of *Finlater*. They lodged in *Culan*, not farre distant from the said place. But upon a night *John Gordon* came with a company of Horsemen, took the Captain, slew certain of the Souldiers, and disarmed the rest.

This fact done (as the Queen alleaged) under trust, so inflamed her, that all hope of reconciliation was past; and so the Earl of *Huntly* was charged under the pain of putting him to the Horn, to present himselfe, and the said *John* before the Queen and Councill within six dayes; which charge he disobeyed,

disobeyed, and so was denounced Rebell: Whether it was Law or not, we dispute little thereof; but it was a preparative to others, that after were served with the like measure: he was sought at his Place of *Stragobie*, but escaped. The evil encreased, for the Earle assembled his fellowes out of all parts of the North: He marched forwards towards *Aberdiene*, and upon the two and twentieth of *October*, 1562. came to the Lough of *Skeine*.

Anno

So was the Duke, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray*, and *Glencarne*, with all their Company after served

His Army was judged to be seven or eight hundred men. The Queens Army, both in number and man-hood, far surmounting his, and yet he took no fear; for he was assured of the most part of them which were with the Queen; as the issue did witnesse: Within the Town they stood in great fear, and therefore it was concluded, That they would assayle the uttermost upon the fields. The *Forbesses*, *Hayes*, and *Lesleyes* took the Vantguard, and promised to fight with the said Earle, without anyother help. They passed forth of the Towne before ten hours in the morning; they put themselves in aray, but they approached not the enemy, till that the Earle of *Murray* and his Company were come to the fields, and that was after two after noon; for he was appointed with his Company, onely to have beholded the Battell: but all things turned otherwise then the most part of men supposed.

The day of *Correthie* field. *Octob.* 22. 1562

The Earle of *Huntley* was the night before determined to have retired himselfe and his Company: But that morning he could not be wakened, before it was ten hours; and when he was upon his feet, his spirits failed him, by reason of his corpulency, so that rightly, a long time he could do nothing: Some of his friends fearing the danger, left him. When that he looked upon both the Companies, he said, This great Company that approacheth neerest to us, will do us no harme, they are our friends: I onely feare that small Company that stands on the hill side, they are our enemies: But we are enough for them, if God be with us. And when he had thus spoken, he fell upon his knees, and made his Prayer in this form:

O Lord, I have been a blood-thirstie man, and by my means hath much innocent blood been spilt: But wilt thou give me Victory this day, and I shall serve thee all the dayes of my life.

The Earle of *Huntlies* prayer.

Note and observe, good Reader, he confesseth that he hath beene a blood-thirsty man; and that he had been the cause of the shedding of much innocent blood; but yet would he have had Victory: And what was that else, but to have had power to have shedded more, and then would he have satisfied God for altogether; wherein is expressed the nature of hypocrites, which never fear nor love God further then present danger or profit perswadeth. But to our History.

Note.

The *Lesleyes*, *Hayes*, and *Forbisses*, espying the Earle of *Murray* and his to have lighted upon their feet, and made forward against the Earle of *Huntley* and his, who stood in *Correthieburne* (some call it *Farabanke*) But ere they approached nigh, by the space of the shot of an Arrow, they cast from them their Spears and long Weapons, and fled directly in the face of the Earle of *Murray* and his Company: The

Corrithieburne, or *Farabank*.

Anno

danger espied, the Laird of *Pittarrow* (a man both stout, and of a ready wit) with the Master, after Lord *Lyndsey*, and Tutor of *Pitcur*, said, *Let us cast down Spears to the foremost, and let them not come in amongst us; for there is no doubt but this flying is but Treachery:* And so they did, so that they that fled of *Huntley* seeing the Vaunt-guard flie, said unto his Company, *Our friends are honest men, they have kept promise; Let us now encounter the rest.* And so he and his, as sure of Victory, marched forward. The Secretary in few words, made a vehement Oration; and they willed every man to call upon his God, to remember his duty, and not to fear the multitude: And in the end concluded thus: *O Lord, thou that rulest the heaven and the earth, look upon thy servants, whose blood this day is most unjustly sought, and to mans judgement, are sold and betrayed, our refuge is now unto thee, and our hope is in thee: Judge thou, O Lord, betwixt us and the Earle of* Huntlie, *and the rest of our enemies: If ever we have justly sought his or their destruction and blood, let us fall on the sword. And, O Lord, if thou knowest our innocency, maintain thou and preserve us, for thy great mercies sake.*

Secretary *Lethingtons* Oration.

Shortly after the speaking of these and the like words, the former Rank rejoyced; for *Huntlies* Company made great haste: They were repulsed by the Master of *Lyndsay*; and the Companies of *Fyfe* and *Angus*, some of them that had fled, returned, and followed the Earle of *Murray*, but gave no stroke, till that *Huntlies* Company gave back. In the Front there was slain eighteen or four and twenty men; and in the flying there fell 100. There were taken 100. and the rest were spared: The Earl himselfe was taken alive; his two sons, *John* aforesaid, and *Adam Gordon*, were taken with him. The Earle, immediately after his taking, departed this life, without any wound, or yet appearance of any stroke, whereof death might have ensued: And so, because it was late, he was cast overthwart or upon a payre of Creilles, and so was carried to *Aberdeine*, and was laid in the Tolbuith thereof, that that which his wives Witches had given, might be fulfilled; who all affirmed (as the most part say) That same night he should be in the Towne of *Aberdeine*, without any wound upon his body. When his Lady got knowledge thereof, she blamed her principall Witch, called *Iannett*; but she stoutly defended her selfe (as the devill can do) and affirmed, That she gave a true answer, albeit she spake not all the truth; for she knew that he should be there dead, but that could not profit my Lady. She was angry and sorry for a season: But the devill, the Masse, and Witches, have all great credit with her this day, the twelfth of *Iune*, 1566. as they had seven yeers agoe.

The Earle of *Murray* sent a Message unto the Queen, of the marvellous Victory; and humbly prayed her to shew that obedience to God, as publikely to convene with them, to give thanks unto God for his notable deliverance. She glomed and frowned both at the Message, and at the Request, and scarcely would give a good word, or blythe and merry countenance to any that she knew earnest favourers of the Earle of *Murray*, whose prosperity was, and yet is a very venome to her boldned heart: For many dayes she bare no better countenance; whereby it might have been easily espied, That she rejoyced not greatly of the successe of that

that matter; And albeit she caused to execute *Iohn Gordon*, and divers others, yet it was the destruction of others that she sought. Anno

Upon the morrow after the discomfiture, the Lady *Forbesse*, a woman both wise, and fearing God, came, amongst many others, to visite the Corps of the said Earle; and seeing him lie upon the cold stones, having onely upon him a Doublet of Canvas, a payre of Scotch gray Hose, and him covered with an Arras work. She said, *What stability shall we judge to be in this world? There lieth he that yesterday in the morning was esteemed the wisest, the richest, and man of greatest power that was within Scotland.* And in very deed she lyed not; for in mans opinion, under a Prince, there was not such a one these three hundred yeers in this Realme produced: But felicity and worldly wisedom so blinded him, that in the end he perished in them, as shall all those that despight God, and trust in themselves.

The Lady *Forbesse* her words.

Let others, that yet live mark this.

Iohn Gordon, at his death, confessed many horrible things, devised by his father, by his brother, and by himself. There were Letters found in the Earles pocket, that disclosed the Treason of the Earle of *Sutherland*, and of divers others. Master *Thomas Keir*, who before was the whole Councellor of the said Earle, disclosed whatsoever he understood might hurt the *Gordons* and their friends, and so Treason plainly disclosed; which was, That the Earle of *Murray* should have been murthered in *Stragobie*; the Queen should have been taken, and kept at the devotion of the said Earle of *Huntley*. These things, we say, revealed, the Queen left the North, and came to *Dundie*, Saint *Iohnston*, *Sterlin*, and then to *Edinburgh*: The Earle of *Huntleys* body was carryed about in a Boat, and laid without Buriall in the Abbey of *Halyrud-house*, till the day of his Forefaltor, as after shall be declared. The Duke apprehended the Lord *Gordon* his son in Law, because that the Queen had straitly commanded him so to do, if that he repaired within his bounds. Before that he delivered him, the Earle of *Murray* laboured at the Queens hands for the safety of his life, which hardly was granted; and so was he delivered within the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the eight and twentieth day of *November*. 1562. where he remained till the eighth day of *February*; when he was put to an Assise, accused and convinced of Treason; but was restored againe, first, to the Castle aforesaid, and thereafter was transported to *Dumbar*, where he remained prisoner till the moneth of *August*, in the yeer of God 1565. as we will after hear.

In the mean time the troubles were hot in *France*, and the intelligence and outward familiarity betwixt the two Queens was great; *Lethington* was directed with large Commission, both to the Queene of *England*, and to the *Guisians*.

The Marriage of our Queen was in all mens mouthes; some would have the Infant of *Spaine*, some the Emperours Brother, some Duke *Denemours*, and some truely guessed at the Lord *Darley*.

Mens judgement of the Queens Marriage.

What *Lethingtons* Credit was, we know not; but shortly after there began much to be talked of the Earle of *Lenox*, and of his son

Anno

the Lord *Darley*. It was said that *Lethington* spake to the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*; And that *Robert Melvill* received a horse to the Secretaries use from the Earle of *Lenox*, or from his wife. Howsoever it was, Master *Fouller* servant to the said Earle, came with Letters to the Queene, by which, License was permitted to the Earle of *Lenox* to come to *Scotland*, to travell in his lawfull businesse. That same day the Queens License was granted, the Secretary said, This day I have taken upon me the deadly hatred of all the *Hamiltons* within *Scotland*, and have done unto them no lesse displeasure, then if I had cut their throats. The Earle *Bothwell*, who before had broken Ward, fearing apprehension or taking, prepared to passe to *France*; but by storm of Weather was driven into *England*, where he was stayed, and was offered to have been rendred by the Queen of *England*: But our Queens answer was, That he was no Rebell, and therefore she requested that he should have liberty to passe whither he pleased. And thereto *Lethington* helped not a little, for he travelled to have friends in every faction of the Court. And so obtained the said Earle Lincense to passe to *France*.

The Winter after the death of the Earle of *Huntley*, the Court remained for the most part at *Edinburgh*. The Preachers were wondrous vehement in reprehension of all manner of Vice, which then began to abound; and especially Avarice, Oppression of the poore, Excesse, Ryotous Cheer, Banquetting, immoderate Dancing, and Whoredome, that thereof ensues. Whereat the Courtiers began to storme and to pick quarrells against the Preachers, alleadging that all their Preaching was turned to Rayling; whereunto one of them gave answer as followeth: It comes to our eares that we are called Raylers, whereof albeit we wonder, yet we are not ashamed, seeing that the most worthy servants of God that before us have travelled in this Vocation, have so been stiled: But unto you do I say, That the same God, who from the beginning hath punished the Contempt of his Word, and hath poured forth his Vengeance upon such proud mockers, shall not spare you; yea, he shall not spare you before the eyes of this same wicked Generation, for the pleasure whereof ye despise all wholesome Admonitions: Have you not seen greater then any of you sitting where presently ye sit, pick his nayles, and pull down his Bonnet over his eyes, when Idolatry, Witchcraft, Murther, Oppression, and such Vices, were rebuked: Was not this his common talke? When these Knaves have rayled their fill, then will they hold their peace: Have ye not heard it affirmed to his owne face, That God should revenge that his Blasphemie, even in the eyes of such as were witnesse to his iniquity.

Note this. The Preachers railed upon the Courtiers.

The Preachers Admonition after the Earle of *Huntlies* death.

Meaning of *Huntley*.

Then was the Earle of *Huntley* accused by you, as the maintainer of Idolatry, and onely hinderer of all good Orders; him hath God punished, even according to the threatnings that his and your ears heard, and by your hands hath God executed his Judgements: But what amendment can be espied in you? Idolatry was never in greater quiet, Vertue and vertuous men were never in more contempt; Vice was never

never more bold, nor punishment lesse feared. And yet who guides the Queene and Court; who but the Protestants. O horrible slanderers of God, and of his holy Evangell; Better it were unto you, plainely to renounce Christ Jesus, then thus to expose his blessed Evangell to Mockage: if God punisheth not you, That this same age shall see and behold your punishment, the spirit of righteous judgement guides me not.

Anno

The end declared their words to be true.

This vehemency provoked the hatred, not onely of the Courtiers, but also of divers others against the Speaker, which was *John Knox*; for such as be in credit, never lack flatterers. *Their Brethren of the Court were irreverendly handled.* What was that, but to raise the hearts of the people against them; They did what they could. Such speaking would cause them to do lesse. And this was the fruit that the Preachers gathered of their just reprehensions; The generall Assembly of the Church held on the 25 of *December*, 1562. approached. In the which, great complaints were made; That Churches lacked Ministers; That Ministers lacked their Stipends; That wicked men were permitted to be Schoole-Masters; and so to infect the youth amongst them, whom one Master *Robert Cunning* Schoole-master in *Aberbrothoke*, was complained upon by the Laird of *Dun*, and sentence pronounced against him. It was further complained, That Idolatry was erected in divers parts of the Realm: For redresse hereof, some thought best, That a new supplication should be presented to the Queen; others demanded, what answer was received of the former. The superintendent of *Lowthian* confessed the delivery of it; but (said he) I received no answer. It was answered for the part of the Queene, (for her supposts were ever there) that it was well known to the whole Realm, what troubles had occurred since the last Assembly; and therefore, That they should not wonder, albeit that the Queen had not answered, but betwixt that and the Parliament, which was appointed to be in *May*, they doubted not but such order should be taken, as all men should have occasion to stand content. This satisfied for that time the whole Assembly. And this was the practice of the Queene, and of her Councell, with faire words to drive time, as before we have said.

The defence of the Courtiers.

The Queens practise.

The Assembly notwithstanding proceeded forward in establishing of such orders, as whereby vice might be punished, and vertue might be maintained, And because there was a great slander risen upon *Paul Meffane* of whom mention is made in the second Booke of the Historie, Commissions and charge was given unto *John Knox*, Minister of *Edinburgh*, and unto certain of the Elders of the Church of *Edinburgh*, to passe to the Town of *Jedwart*, where the slander was raised, and to be found there, the third of *January* next, was the tryall to be taken of the slander raised, and to hear the Articles and complaint of the said *Paul*: and after the tryall, to report the truth to the Session of the Church of *Edinburgh*; To whom with the assistance of the superintendent of *Lowthian* Commission was given to discerne therein. The tryall and examination of that crime was difficile, the slander was universall in that Towne and Country; the servant woman of the said *Paul*, had betwixt that and *Christmas* left his House, she had borne a child, no father to it could she

The tryall of *Pauls Meffanes* fact.

finde,

Anno

finde, but alleaged her self to have been suppressed late in an Evening; the said *Paul* constantly affirmed himself innocent, and would have given his publike purgation; but because his Accusators had taken on them to prove ther accusation that was denyed, many witnesses were produced, of whom some deposed so clearly, that the Commissioners suspected, that they had been suborned, and therefore they required to have inspection of the places, where some said they saw, and some said they heard them in the very act of iniquitie. The sight and consideration of the place augmented greatly the suspition; but one thing was most suspitious of all other, for the Wife of the sad *Paul* (an ancient Matron) was absent from him the space of eight or nine weeks in *Dundie*; which time (or at least a great part thereof) they suspected, and he lay nightly in one house without other company then a Childe of seven or eight yeers of age. The Judges, notwithstanding these suspitions, having a good opinion of the honestie and godlinesse of the man, travelled what they could (conscience not hurt) to purge him of the slander: But God, who would not that such a Villanie should be cloaked and concealed within his Kirk, otherwayes had decreed, for he brought the brother of the guilty woman to the Towne, having no minde of such matters, who being produced by the Accusators, as one that was privy to the fact; and knew the veritie of all circumstances; this witnesse, we say, (which could not be suspected) being produced, made the matter so plain and clear, that all suspition was removed; for he it was that conveyde the woman away, he it was that caused the Childe to bebaptised, alleaging it to be his own; he it was that carried frequent message betwixt them, and from *Paul* carryed money and clothes divers times: How soon that ever the said *Paul* saw that man produced, as Witnesse, he withdrew himselfe and left the Town, by that means plainly taking upon him the Crime; And so the Commissioners with full information, returned to *Dundie*, and notified the same unto the Kirke, who caused publikely to summon the said *Paul* to hear the sentence pronounced; who not appearing in the end, for his odious Crime and contumacy, was publikely excommunicated, and was deprived of all functions within the Kirke of *Scotland*, and so left the Realme. For two causes we insert this horrible fact, and the order kept in punishing of the same; the former to forewarn such as travell in that Vocation, that according to the admonition of the Apostle, *Such as stand, take heed lest they fall.* No man in the beginning of the Evangell, was judged more fervent and more upright; and yet we have heard how far Sathan has prevailed against him; God grant that we may hear of his repentance; neither yet should this fall do any thing to prejudice the Authoritie of the Doctrine which he taught, for the Doctrine of God hath its authority of no creature, but hath the assurance of God himselfe, how weak or imperfect soever the Instruments be by whom it pleaseth God to publish the same. The treason of *Judas*, the Adultery of *David*, and abnegation of *Peter* did derogate nothing from the glory of Christs Evangell, nor yet the Doctrine which before they had taught; but declared the one to be a Reprobate, and the other to be Instruments in whom mercy must surmount judgement. The other cause is, that the World may see what difference there is betwixt the uprightnesse of the Kirke of God, and the

the corruption that reignes in the Synagogue of Sathan, the Papisticall rabble; for how many of that sort hath been, and still remaine openly knowne Whoremongers, Adulterers, Violators of Virgines, yea, and committers of such abominations as we will not name; and yet are they called and permitted to be Bishops, Archbishops, Cardinalls and Popes themselves: For what sinnes can unable the sworne servants of *Symonie*, and of their Father the Devill? For bragg what they list of Christ, of *Peter*, and of *Paul*, their lives and conversation bear witnesse to whom they belong. But we return to our History of things done in Court.

Anno

Amongst the Menizoons of the Court, there was one named Monsieur *Chattelet*, a Frenchman, that at that time passed all others in credit with the Queene: In dancing of the *purpose*, so terme they that dance, in the which man and woman talketh secretly, wise men would judge such fashions not agreeable to the gravity of honest women. In this dance the Queen choose *Chattelet*, and *Chattelet* took the Queen, for he had the best dresse. All this winter *Chattelet* was so familiar with the Queen, that the Nobilitie being by this means stopped to have so free accesse as they thought fit and due unto them, were highly offended; at length *Chattelet* having conveyed himselfe privately under the Queens Bed, but being espied, was commanded away: The Bruit arising, the Queene called the Earle of *Murray*, and bursting in a womanly affection, charged him, that as he loved her, he should slay *Chatelet*, and let him never speak word. The other at the first made promise so to doe; but after calling to minde the judgement of GOD pronounced against the shedders of innocent blood, and also that none should die without the testimonie of two or three witnesses, returned, and fell upon his knees before the Queen, and said, Madame, I beseech your Majestie cause not me to take the blood of this man upon me; Your Majestie hath used him so familiarlie before, that you have offended all your Nobilitie; and now if he shall be secretly slain at your owne commandment, what shall the world judge of it? I shall bring him to the presence of Justice, and let him suffer by Law according to his deserving. Oh, said the Queene, you shall not let him speake. I shall doe (said he) Madame, what in me lyeth, to give your Majestie content. Poor *Chattelet* was brought back from *Kingorne* to Saint *Andrews*, examined, put to an Assize, and so beheaded the two and twentieth day of *February*, *Anno Dom.* 1562. He begged license to write to *France* the cause of his death; which said he, in his Tongue was *Pour estre trouve en lien trop suspect*; that is, *Because I was found in a place too much suspected.* At the place of Execution, when he saw that there was no remedie, but death, he made a godly confession, and granted, that his declining from the truth of God, and following of vanitie and impietie, was justly repayed unto him: But in the end he concluded, looking unto the Heavens, with these words, *O cruelle Dame!* What that complaint imported I leave it to conjecture; and so received *Chattelet* the reward of his dancing, for he lost his Head, that his Tongue should not utter

Chattelet and the Queen.

The Queens desire concerning *Chattelet*.

Anno

the secrets of our Queen; deliver us, O Lord from the rage of so inordinate a Court.

The punishment of God for maintaining and erecting of the *Masse*, death and famine.

The year of God, 1563. there was a universall death in all *Scotland*, but in the North, where (the Harvest before) the Queene had been, there was a great Famine, of which may died in that Countrey. the dearth was great over all, but the Famine in the Wheat, the Beare or Barley, the Meale, the Oates, Beefe, Mutton, &c, were exceeding dear and scant; yea, all things appertaining to the sustentation of man, in triple, and more exceeded, their accustomed prices. And so did God according to the threatning of the Law punish the Idolatry of our wicked Rulers, and our ingratitude that suffered them to defile the Land with that abomination again, that God so potently had purged by the power of his Word; for the riotous Feasting and excessive Banquetting used in City and Countrey, wheresoever that the prophane Court repaired, provoked God to strike the Staffe of Bread, and to give his maledictions upon the fruits of the earth. But alas, who looked, or yet looks to the true cause of our Calamitie?

Lethington was absent (as before we have heard) in the Queens affairs; the Papists at that *Pasch. Ann.* 1563. in divers parts of the Realm, had erected that Idoll the *Masse*, amongst whom the Bish. of S. *Andrews*, the Prior of *Quihithorn*, with divers others of that faction would avow it. Besides the first Proclamation, there had Letters past in the contrary with certification of death to the contraveiner.

The Brethren universally offended, and espying that the Queene by Proclamation did but delude them, determined to put to their own hands, and to punish for example of others; and so some Priests in the West-Land were apprehended; Intimation made unto others, as to the Abbot of *Cosragnell*, the Parson of *Sangohar*, and such, that they should neither complaine to the Queene nor Counsell, but should execute the punishment that God has appointed to Idolaters in his Law, by such means as they might, where ever they should be apprehended.

The Queen stormed at such freedom of speaking, but she could not amend it, for the Spirit of God, of boldnesse, and of wisdome had not left the most part of such as God had made Instruments in the beginning, they were of one minde to maintaine the truth, and to suppresse Idolatry, particularities had not divided them; and therefore could not the Devill working in the Court, and in Papists, do then what they would; and therefore the Court began to invent a new craft; The Queen advised, to send for *John Knox* to come to her where she lay, at *Lochlevin*; She dealt with him earnestly two houres before supper, that he would be the Instrument to perswade the people, and principally the Gentlemen of the West, not to put hand to punish any man for the using of themselves in their religions as pleased them. The other perceiving her craft willed her Majestie to punish Malefactors according to the Laws, and he durst promise quietnesse upon the part of all them that professed the Lord Jesus within *Scotland*; But if her Majestie thought to delude the Laws, he said, he feared some would let the Papists understand, that without punishment they should no be suffered so manifestly to offend Gods Majestie. Will ye (quoth she) allow that they shall take

John Knox sent for by the Queen.

Reasoning between *I. Knox* and the Queen

take my Sword in their hand. The Sword of Justice(quoth he) Madame, is Gods, and is given to Princes and Rulers for one end : which if they transgresse, sparing the wicked, and oppressing the Innocents. They that in the fear of God execute Judgement where God hath commanded, offend not God, although Kings do it not ; neither yet sin they that bridle Kings to strike innocent men in their rage : The examples are evident ; for *Samuel* spared not to slay *Agag*, the fat and delicate King of *Amelek*, whom King *Saul* had saved: Neither spared *Elias*, *Jezabels* false Prophets, and *Baals* Priests, albeit that King *Achab* was present : *Phineas* was no Magistrate , and yet feared he not to strike *Zimri* and *Cozbi*, in the very act of filthy Fornication. And so, Madame, your Majesty may see that others then chief Magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished the vice and crimes that God commands to be punished : For Power by Act of Parliament is given to all Judges within their own bounds, to search the Masse-mongers, or hearers of the same, and to punish them according to the Law. And therefore it shall be profitable to your Majesty to consider what is the thing your Majesties subjects look to receive of your Majesty ; and what it is you ought to do unto them by mutuall Contract. They are bound to obey you ; and that not, but in God ye are bound to keep Laws unto them : Ye crave of them service, They crave of you Protection and Defence against wicked doers. Now, Madame, if ye shall deny your Duty unto them, who especially crave that ye punish Malefactors ; Think ye to receive full Obedience of them ? I fear, Madame, ye shall not. Herewith she being somewhat offended, past to her Supper. The said *John* left her, and informed the Earle of *Murray* of the whole reasoning, and so departed, of finall purpose to have returned to *Edinburgh*, without any further communication with the Queen : But before the Sun rising on the morne were two directed (*Wat Melvill* was the one) to him, commanding him not to depart, whilst he hed spoken with the Queens Majesty ; which he did, and met her at the Hawking by West *Kinros*. Whether it was the nights sleepe, or a deep dissimulation locked in her brest, that made her to forget the former anger, wise men may doubt ; But thereof she never moved word, but began divers other purposes, such as the offering of a Ring to her by the Lord *Ruthuen*, whom (said she) I cannot love (for I know him to use Enchantment ; and yet he is one of my Privy Councell. Whom blameth your Majesty (said the other) thereof ? *Lethington* (said she) was the whole cause. That man is absent for this present (said he) Madame, and therefore I will speak nothing in that behalfe. I understand (said the Queen) That ye are appointed to go to *Dumfreis*, for the Election of a Superintendent to be established in those Countreyes. Yes (said he) those Quarters have great need, and some of the Gentlemen so require. But I heare (said she) That the Bishop of *Caithnes* would be Superintendent. He is one (said the other) Madame, that is put in Election. If ye knew him (said she) as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that Office, nor yet to any other within your Kirk. What he hath been (said he) Madame, I never knew, nor yet will I enquire ; for in time of darknesse, What could we do

Anno

Note diligently.

Anno

but grope and go wrong, even as darknesse carryed us; but if he feare not God now, he deceives many more then me: And yet said he, Madame, I am assured, God will not suffer his Church to be so farre deceived, As that an unworthy man shall be Elected, where free Election is, and the Spirit of God is earnestly called upon, to decide betwixt the two: Well said she, do as ye will, But that man is a dangerous man, and therein was not the Queen deceived; For he had corrupted the most part of the Gentlemen, not onely to nominate him, but also to Elect him, which perceived by the said *John*, Commissioner, delayed the Election, and left it with the Master of *Maxwell*, Master *Robert Pont*, who was put in Election (with the foresaid Bishop) to the end that his Doctrine and Conversation might be the better tryed of these that had not known him before; and so was this Bishop frustrate of his purpose for that present; and yet was he at that time the man that was most familiar with the said *John* in his house, and at Table. But now to the former conference, When the Queen had long talked with *John Knox*, and he being oft willing to take his leave, she said, I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came in this Realm, to open unto you, and I must have your help into it. And she began to make a long discourse of her Sister, the Lady *Argile*, how that she was not so circumspect in all things, as she wished her to be; and yet said she, my Lord, her husband whom I love, useth her not in many things so honestly, and so godlily, as I thinke ye your self would require: Madam said he, I have been troubled with that matter before, and once I put an end to it (and that was before your Majesties arrivall) that both she and her friends, seemed fully to stand content; and she her self promised before her friends, That she would never complain to any Creature, till that I should first understand the controversie by her own mouth, or else by one assured Messenger: I now have heard nothing of her part; and therefore, I think there is nothing but concord: Well said the Queen, it is worse then ye beleeve; but do this much for my sake, as once again to put them at Unitie; and if she behave not her self, so as she ought to do, she shall finde no favour of me; but in any wise said she, let my Lord know, That I have requested you in this matter; For I would be very sorry to offend him in that, or in any other thing. And now said she, as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as ye required. I shall cause to summon all offenders, and yee shall know that I shall minister Justice. I am assured then said he, That ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquilitie within your Realm, which to your Majesty is more profitable, then all the Popes power can be. And thus they departed.

The Queens judgement of the Bishop of *Caithnes*.

The Lady *Argile* was naturall Sister to the Queen, as the Earle *Murray* was naturall Brother.

This Conference we have inserted, to let the World see how deeply *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, can dissemble; and how that she could cause men to thinke, That she bare no indignation for any controversie in Religion, which that yet in her heart was nothing but venome, and destruction, as shortly after did appeare. *John Knox* departed, and prepared himself for his journey, appointed to *Dunfreis*. And from

from *Glasgow*, according to the Queens Commandment, he wrote this Letter to the Earle of *Argyle*, the Tenour whereof follows. Anno

My Lord,

THe Lord *cometh, and shall not tarry*. After commendation of my service unto your Lordship: If I had known of your Lordships sudden departing, the last time it chanced me to see and speak with you, I had opened unto you some of my grief: But supposing that your Lordship should have remained still with the Queen, I delayed at that time to utter any part of that which now my conscience compelleth me to do. Your behaviour towards your wife is very offensive unto many godly: Her complaint is grievous, That ye altogether withdraw your conversation from her: If so, ye have great need to look well to your own state; for albeit that ye within your self felt no more repugnancie then any flesh this day on the earth, yet by promise made before God, are ye debtour unto her in all due benevolence. But if that ye burne on the one side, (albeit ye do no worse) and she in your default on the other, ye are not onely men sworn before God, but also doth what in you lieth, to kindle against your self his wrath and heavie displeasure. The words are sharp, and God is witnesse in dolour of heart I write them: But because they are true, and pronounced by God himself, I dare not but admonish you, perceiving you, as it were sleeping in sin. The proud stubbornnesse whereof your Lordship oft complained, will nothing excuse you before God; for if ye be not able to convince her of any fault, ye ought to bear with her imperfections, as that ye would she should bear with you likewise. In the bowells of Christ Jesus, I exhort you, my Lord, to have respect of your own salvation, and not to abuse the lenity and long-suffering of God; for that is a fearfull treasure that ye heap up upon your own head, while that he calleth you to repentance, and ye obstinately continue in your own impiety; for impiety it is, that ye abstract your comfort and company from your lawfull wife. I write nothing in defence of her misbehaviour towards your Lordship in any sort; but I say, If ye be not able to convince her of any fault committed since your last reconciliation, which was in my presence, that ye can never be excused before God, of this rude and strange usage of your wife. And if by you such impiety be committed as is bruted, then, before God, and unto your owne conscience, I say, That every moment of that filthy pleasure, shall turne to you, in a yeers displeasure; yea, it shall be the occasion and cause of everlasting damnation; unlesse speedily ye repent: and repent ye cannot, except ye desist from that impiety. Call to minde, my Lord, That the servant knowing his masters will, and doing the contrary, shall be plagued with many plagues. Sin, my Lord, is sweet in drinking; but in digesting, more bitter then the gall. The Eternall move your heart earnestly to consider how fearfull a thing it is, ever to have God to be enemy. In the end, I pray your Lordship not to be absent from *Edinburgh*, the 19 of this instant, for such causes as I will not write. Thus much onely I warne your Lordship, that it will not be profitable for the common quietnesse of this Realme, that the Papists brag,

Anno and Justice be mocked that day. And thus I cease further to trouble your Lordship, whom God assist.

In haste from *Glasgow*, the 7 of *May*, 1563.

Your Lordships to command in godlinesse,
Sic subscribitur, JOHN KNOX.

THis Letter was not well accepted of the said Earle, and yet did he utter no part of his displeasure in publike, but contrarily shewed himself most familiar with the said *John Knox*: He kept the Diet, and sate in Judgement himself, where the Bishop, and the rest of the Papists, were accused as after follows.

The Summons were directed against the Masse-mongers with expedition, and in the straitest forme: The day was appointed, the 19 of *May*, a day onely before the Parliament of Popes Knights appeared. The Bishop of Saint *Androes*, the Prior of *Quinthorne*, the Parson of *Sanguhair*, *William Hamilton* of *Camskeneth*, *John Gordon* of *Barskuch*, with divers others. The Protestants convened whole, to crave for Justice. The Queen asked counsell of the Bishop of *Rosse*, and of the old Laird of *Lethington* (for the younger was absent, and so the Protestants had fewer friends) who affirmed, That she must see her Laws kept, or else she would get no obedience: and so was preparations made for their accusations. The Bishop, and his band of the exempted sort, made nice to enter before the Earle of *Argyle*, who sate in Judgement; but at last he was compelled to enter within the Barre. A merry man, who now sleeps with the Lord, *Robert Horwell*, instead of the Bishops Crosse, bore before him a Steel Hammer: Whereat the Bishop and his Band were not a little offended, because the Bishops priviledges were not then currant in *Scotland* (which day God grant our posterity may see of longer continuance then we possessed it.) The Bishop and his fellows, after much ado, and long drift of time, came in the Queens will, and were committed to Ward, some to one place, and some to another. The Lady *Arskine* got the Bishops for her part. All this was done of a most deep craft, to abuse the simplicity of the Protestants, that they should not presse the Queen with any other thing concerning the matters of Religion.

The Clergie did pretend to be free from all Jurisdiction, save the Popes.

At that Parliament, which began within two dayes thereafter, she obtained of the Protestants whatsoever she desired; for this was the reason of many, We see what the Queen hath done, the like of this was never heard within this Realme; we will bear with the Queen, we doubt not but all shall be well. Others were of contrary judgement, and forespake things, as after they came to passe; to wit, That nothing was meant but deceit; and that the Queen, how soon that ever the Parliament was past, should set the Papists at freedome: And therefore willed the Nobility not to be abused. But because many had their private businesse to be handled at that Parliament, the common Cause was the lesse regarded.

The judgment of some.

The

The Earle of *Huntley*, whose Corps had been unburied till the time it was brought to the Tolbuith; he was accused his Arms rent off; himself, the Earle of *Sutherland*, and eleven Barons, and Earles, bearing the surname of *Gordon*, were that day forfeited; the Lady *Huntley* craftily protested and asked the support of a man of Law, or Counsellor.

Anno

Huntly forfeited.

Such stinking pride of women, as was seen at that Parliament, was never seen before in *Scotland*. Three sundry dayes the Queen rode to the Tolbuith; The first day she made a painted Oration, and there might have been heard amongst her flatteries, *Vox Dianæ*, The voyce of a goddesse, for it could not be *Dei*, and not of a Woman: God save that sweet face; Was there ever Orator spake so properly and so sweetly, &c.

The pride of Women at that Parliament.

All things misliked the Preachers; They spake boldly against the superfluities of their Cloathes, and against the rest of their vanitie, which they affirmed should provoke Gods vengeance, not onely against these foolish Women, but against the whole Realme; and especially against those that maintained them in that odious abusing of things that might have been better bestowed. Articles were presented for orders to be taken for Apparrell, and for Reformation of other Enormities, but all was winked at.

The Earledome of *Murray*, needed confirmation, and many things were to be ratified that concerned the helpe of friends and servants; and therefore they might not urge the Queene, For if they so did; she would hold no Parliament; and what then should become of them that had medled with the slaughter of the Earle of *Huntley*, let that Parliament passe over; and when the Queene shall aske any thing of the Nobilitie, as she must do before her marriage; then shall Religion be the first thing that shall be established. It was answered, That the Poets and Painters erred not altogether, that fained and painted Occasion with a bald Hind-head: For the first, when it is offered, being lost, is hard to be recovered againe. The matter fell so hot betwixt the Earl of *Murray*, and some others of the Court, and *John Knox*, That familiarly after that time, they spake not together more then a yeer and a half; For the said *John* by his Letter, gave a discharge to the said Earle of all further intromission or care with his affaires. He made unto him a discourse of their first acquaintance, in what estate he was, when that first they spake together in *London*, how God had promoted him, and that above mans judgement, and in the end made this conclusion: But seeing that I perceive my self frustrate of my expectation, which was, That ye should ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of his Truth, to your owne commoditie, I commit you to your wit, and to the conducting of those which can better please you. I praise my God, I leave you this day victor of your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in credite and authority with your Soveraigne. If so yee long to continue, none shall be more glad then I shall be. But that after this, ye decay, (as I feare ye shall) then call to minde, by what means God exalted you; which was neither by plying with impiety; neither yet by maintaining of pestilent Papists.

Note diligently.

And so was Religion and the Common-wealth, both neglected.

Occasion painted with a bald Hind-head.

Variance betwixt the Earle of *Murray* and *Iohn Knox*.

Iohn Knox discharge to the Earl of *Murray*.

This

Anno

This Letter and discharge was so pleasing to the Flatterers of the said Earle, that they triumphed of it, and were glad to have gotten their occasion; for some envyed, that so great familiaritie was betwixt them; and therefore from the time they got once that occasion to separate, they ceased not to cast Oyle in the burning Flame, which ceased not to burne, till that God by water of affliction began to slacken it, as we shall after heare.

God knowes if our times be better.

But least that they should altogether have been seen to have forsaken God, (as in very deed, both God and his Word was vey farre from the hearts of the most part of the Courtiers of that Age, a few excepted) they began a new Schift, to wit, To speak of the punishment of Adultery, of Witchcraft, and to seek the restitution of Gleibes or Manses to the Minister of the Church, and of the reparation of the Churches; and thereby they thought to have pleased the Godly that were highly offended at their slacknesse.

The Act of Oblivion passed, because some of the Lords had entresse; but the Acts against adulterie, and for the Manses and Gleibes, were so modified, that no Law, and such a Law might stand *in eodem predicamento*; To speak plain, no Law and such Acts were both alike: The Acts are in Print, let wise men read, and then accuse us, if without cause we complain.

In the progresse of this corruption, and before the Parliament dissolved, *John Knox* in his Sermon before the most part of the Nobilitie, began to enter in a deep discourse of Gods mercies which that Realme had felt, and of that ingratitude which he espied in the whole multitude which God had marvellously delivered from the bondage and tyrannie both of body and soule: And now my Lords, (said he) I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that in your own presence I may powre forth the sorrows of my heart; yea, your selves shall be witnesse if I make any lie in things by-past from the beginning of Gods mighty Works within this Realme: I have been with you in your most desperate temptations. Aske your own Consciences, and let them answer you before God, if that I (not I, but Gods Spirit by me) in your greatest extremity willed you not ever to depend upon your God, and in his Name promised unto you victory and preservation from your enemies, so that onely ye would depend upon his protection, and preferre his glory before your lives and worldly commoditie; in your most extreme danger I have been with you; Saint *Johnstoun Cowper-More*, and the charges of *Edinburgh*, are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night wherein all you my Lords with shame and feare left this Town, is yet in my minde, and God forbid that ever I forget it: What was (I say) my Exhortation unto you? and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye your selves live and testifie. There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatned, perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes; shall this be the thankfulnesse that ye shall render unto your God? To betray his Cause when ye have it in your own hands, to establish it as you please? The Queen sayes you will not agree with us; aske ye of her that which by Gods Word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you

you in God, you are not bound to agree with them in the Devill; Let her plainly understand so farre of your mindes, and steal not from your former stoutnesse in God, and he will prosper you in your enterprises: But I can see nothing but a recalling from Christ Jesus, that the man that first and most speedily fleeth from Christs Ensigne, holdeth himselfe most happy; yea, I hear some say, That we have nothing of our Religion Established, neither by Law nor Parliament: Albeit the malicious words of such can neither hurt the truth of God, nor yet us that thereupon depend; yet the speaker of this Treason, committed against God, and against this poore Common-wealth, deserves the Gallows; for our Religion being commanded, and so established by God, is received with this Realme in publike Parliament. And if they will say, That it was no Parliament, we must, and will say, and also prove, That that Parliament was also as lawfull as ever any that passed before it within this Realme. I say, if the King then living was King, and the Queen now in this Realm be lawfull Queen, that Parliament cannot be denyed.

Anno

The Speaker was the Dean of *Restarak*.

And now my Lords to put end to all, I hear of the Queens marriage, Dukes, Brethren to Emperours, and Kings strive all for the best gain: But this my Lords will (I say) note the day, and beare witnesse after, Whensoever the Nobilitie of *Scotland* who professe the Lord Jesus, consents that an Infidell (and all Papists are Infidels) shall be Head to our Soveraigne, ye do, so farre as in you lyeth, to banish Christ Jesus from this Realme, yea, to bring Gods vengeance upon the Countrey, a plague upon your selves, and perchance you shall do small comfort to your Soveraigne.

John Knox his affirmation.

These words and this manner of speaking was judged intollerable, Papists and Protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiars disdained him for that speaking, *Placeboes* and Flatterers posted to the Court, to give advertisement, That *John Knox* had spoken against the Queens Marriage. The Provest of *Glencludan*, *Douglas* by sirname, of *Drumlangrig*, was the man that gave the charge, That the said *John* should present himselfe before the Queen, which he did immediately after Dinner. The Lord *Uchiltrie* and divers of the faithfull bare him company to the Abbey, but none past in to the Queen with him in the Cabinet, but *John Arskin* of *Dun* then super-intendent of *Angus* and *Mernes*.

The Queen in a vehement fume began to crie out, That never Prince was used as she was; I have (said she) born with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against my selfe, and against my Uncles; yea, I have sought your favours by all possible means; I offered unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleased you to admonish me; and yet I cannot be quit of you; I Vow to God I shall be once revenged: and with these words scarce could *Marnocke*, one of her Pages, get Handkirchiefs to hold her Eyes drie, for the Tears and the howling, besides womanly weeping stayed her Speech. The said *John* did patiently abide all this fume, and at opportunitie answered; True it is Madame, your Majesty and I have been at divers controversies, into the which

Anno

I never perceived your Majestie to be offended at me; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darknesse and errour, wherein ye have been nourished for the lack of true doctrine; your Majestie will finde the libertie of my tongue nothing offensive; without the preaching-place (Madame) I thinke few have occasion to be offended at me; and there (Madame) I am not Master of my selfe, but must obey him who commands me to speak plaine, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the Earth.

But what have you to do (said she) with my marriage?

If it please your Majestie (said he) patiently to hear me, I shall shew the truth in plaine words. I grant your Majestie offered unto me more then ever I required, but my answer was then as it is now, That God hath not sent me to awaite upon the Courts of Princes, or upon the Chamber of Ladies, but I am sent to preach the Evangell of Jesus Christ, to such as please to hear; it hath two points, *Repentance* and *Faith*: Now (Madame) in preaching repentance, of necessity it is that the sinnes of men be noted, that they may know wherein they offend. But so it is that the most part of your Nobilitie, are so addicted to your affections, that neither Gods Word, nor yet their Common-wealth are rightly regarded; and therefore it becometh me to speake, that they may know their dutie.

Let this serve for our times.

What have you to do (said she) with my marriage, or what are you within the Common-wealth?

A subject, borne within the same, (said hee) Madame; and albeit I be neither Earle, Lord, nor Barron within it, yet hath God made me, (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable and usefull Member within the same; Yea, Madame, to me it appertaineth no lesse to forewarne of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, then it doth to any one of the Nobility; for both my Vocation and Office craveth plainnesse of me: and therefore (Madame) to your selfe I say, that which I spake in publick, Whensoever the Nobilitie of this Realme shall be content, and consent that you be subject to an unlawfull husband, they doe as much as in them lieth, to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedome of this Realme, and perchance shall in the end doe small comfort to your selfe.

Let the Papists judge this day 1567.

At these words howling was heard, and teares might have beene seene in greater abundance then the matter required: *John Arskin* of *Dun*, a man of meeke and gentle spirit, stood beside, and did what he could to mittigate the anger, and gave unto her many pleasant words, Of her Bounty, of her Excellencie, and how that all the Princes in *Europe* would be glad to seek her favours; but all that was to cast Oyl into the flaming fire. The said *John* stood still, without any alteration of countenance for a long time, while that the Queen gave place to her inordinate passions; and in the end he said, Madame, in Gods presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of Gods Creatures, yea, I can scarcely well abide the teares of mine own Boyes, when my own hands corrects them; much lesse can I rejoyce in your Majesties weeping; but seeing I have offered

unto

unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my Vocation craves of me: I must sustaine your Majesties teares, rather then I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the Common-wealth by silence. Herewith was the Queene more offended, and commanded the said *John* to passe forth of the Cabinet, and to abide further of her pleasure in the Chamber. Anno

The Laird of *Dun* tarried, and Lord *John* of *Coldinghame* came into the Cabinet, and so they remained with her neere the space of one houre. The said *John* stood in the Chamber, as one whom men had never seene (so were all afraid) except that the Lord *Uchiltrie* bare him company; And therefore began he to make discourse with the Ladies who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparell: Which when he espied, he merrily said, Fair Ladies, How pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide; and then in the end that we might passe to Heaven with this geare: But fie upon that knave, Death, that will come whether we will or not; and when he hath laid on the Arrest, then foule wormes will be busie with this flesh, be it never so faire and so tender. And the silly soule, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it Gold, Garnishing, Targating, Pearle, nor precious Stones. And by such and the like discourse entertained he the Ladies, and past the time, till that the Laird of *Dun* willed him to depart to his house, till new advertisement. Note Women.

The Queen would have had the sentiment of the Lords of the Articles, if that such manner of speaking deserved not punishment. But shee was counselled to desist; And so that storme quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Short after the Parliament, *Lethington* returned from his Negotiation in *England* and *France*. GOD in the *February* before had stricken that bloodie Tyrant the Duke of *Guise*; which somewhat brake the heat of our Queene for a season: But short after the returning of *Lethington*, Pride and Malice began to shew themselves againe. The Queene set at liberty the Bishop of Saint *Andrewes*, and the rest of the Papists that before were put in prison for violating of the Lawes.

Lethington at his returning, shewed himselfe not a little offended that any brute should have beene raised of the Queenes Marriage with the King of *Spaine*; for he took upon him to affirme, That any such thing had never entered into her heart; But how true that was, we shall hereafter heare. The end of his acquaintance and complaint was, To discredit *John Knox*, who had affirmed, That such a Marriage was both proposed, and upon the part of the Queen, by the Cardinall accepted. *Lethington* in his absence had run into a very evil brute among the Nobility, for

Anno

too much serving the Queens affections against the Common-wealth: And therefore had he, as one that lacked not worldly wisedome, made provision both in *England* and *Scotland*; for in *England* he travelled for the Freedome of the Earle *Bothwell*, and by that means obtained promise of his favour: He had there also taken order for the home coming of the Earle of *Lenox*, as we shall after hear. In *Scotland* he joyned with the Earle of *Atholl*; him he promoted, and set forward in Court; and so began the Earle of *Murray* to be defaced: And yet to the said Earle, *Lethington* at all times shewed a fair countenance. The rest of that Summer, the Queen spent in her Progresse thorow the West Countrey, where in all Towns and Gentlemens places, she had her Masse; which coming to the ears of *John Knox*, he began that forme of prayer which ordinarily he saith after thanks-giving at his Table: (1.) *Deliver us, O Lord, from the bondage of Idolatry.* (2.) *Preserve and keep us from the tyranny of strangers.* (3.) *Continue us in Peace and Concord amongst our selves, if they good pleasure be, O Lord, for a season.* Whilst that divers of the familiars of the said *John* asked of him, Why he prayed for quietnesse to continue for a season, and not rather absolutely, that we should continue in quietnesse: His answer was, *That he durst not pray, but in faith; and faith in Gods Word assured him, That constant quietnesse would not continue in that Realme, wherein Idolatry had been suppressed, and then was permitted to be erected againe.*

Lethington's practice.

From the West Countrey, the Queen past into *Argyle* to the Hunting, and after returned to *Sterlin*. The Earle of *Murray*, the Lord *Robert* of *Halyrud-house*, and Lord *John* of *Coldingham*, past to the Northlands, where Justice Courts were holden. Theeves and Murtherers were punished: Two Witches were burnt; the eldest was so blinded with the devill, that she affirmed, That no Judge had power over her. The same time Lord *John* of *Coldingham* departed this life in *Innernes*: It was affirmed, That he commanded such as were beside him to say to the Queen, That unlesse she left her Idolatry, God would not fail to plague her: He asked God mercy that he had so far born with her in her impiety, and had maintained her in the same; and that no one thing did him more grief, then that he had flattered, fostered, and maintained in her fury against God and his servants. And in very deed, great cause had he to have lamented his wickednesse: For besides all his other infirmities, he in the end, for the Queens pleasure, became enemy to vertue, and all vertuous men, and a patron to impiety, to the uttermost of his power; yea, his venome was so kindled against God and his Word, that in his rage he burst-ed forth these words; *Do I see the Queens Majesty so troubled with the railing of these knaves? I shall leave the best of them sticked in the Pulpit.* What further villany came forth of his stinking throat and mouth, modesty will not suffer us to write: whereof if he had grace unfainedly to repent, it is no small document of Gods mercies: But however God wrought with him, the Queen regarded his words as winde, or else thought them to have been forged by others, and not to have proceeded from himself; and affirmed plainly, They were invented by the Laird of *Pittarrow*, and Master *John Wood*, both whom she hated, because they flattered her not in her dancing

Note diligently

The last commendation of Lord *Iohn* to the Queen.

dancing, and other things. One thing in plain words ſhe ſpoke, That God took alwayes from her thoſe perſons in whom ſhe had greateſt pleaſure; and that ſhe repented. But of farther ſins no mention. Anno

Whilſt the Queen lay at *Sterlin*, with her Idolatry in her Chappell in the Palace of *Hályrud-houſe*, were left certain *Duntiberis*, and others of the French Menzie, who raiſed up their Maſſe more publikely then they had done at any time before: For upon the ſame Sundayes that the Church of *Edinburgh* had the Miniſtration of the Lords Table, the Papiſts in a great number went to the Abbey to their Abomination: Which underſtood, divers of the Brethren being ſore offended, conſulted how to redreſſe that enormity: And ſo were appointed certain of the moſt zealous, and moſt upright in Religion, to wait upon the Abbey, that they might note ſuch perſons as reſorted to the Maſſe; and perceiving a great number to enter into the Chappell, ſome of the Brethren thruſt in alſo: Whereat the Prieſt and French Dames being afraid, made the Showt to be ſent to the Town; and Madame *Baylie*, Miſtris to the Queens *Dountibures* (for maids that Court would not then well bear) poſted on with all diligence to the Comptroller the Laird of *Pittarrow*, who then was in Saint *Geills* Church at the Sermon, and cryed for his aſſiſtance, to ſave her life, and to ſave the Queens Palace: Who, with greater haſte then need required, obeyed her deſire, and took with him the Proveſt and Baylies, and a great part of the faithfull; but when they came where the fear was bruted to have been, they found all things in quiet, except the tumult they brought with themſelves, and peaceable men talking to the Papiſts, forbidding them to tranſgreſſe the Laws. True it is, a zealous brother, named *Patrick Cranſton*, paſt into the Chappell, and finding the Altar covered, and the Prieſt ready to go to his abominable Maſſe, ſaid, *The Queens Majeſty is not here; How dare you then be ſo malapert, as openly to do againſt the Law?* No further was done or ſaid, and yet brute hereof was poſted to the Queen (with ſuch information as the Papiſts could give: Which found ſuch credit as their hearts could have wiſhed for) which was ſo haynous a crime in her eyes, that ſatisfaction for that ſin was there none, without blood; And therefore without delay were ſummoned *Androe Armſtrong*, and *Patrick Cranſton*, to finde ſurety to under-lie the Law; for fore-thought Fellony, having made violent invaſion into the Queens Palace, and for ſpoliation of the ſame. Theſe Letters divulgate, and the extremity feared, the few Brethren that were within the Towne, conſulted upon the next remedy, and in the end concluded, That *John Knox* (to whom the charge was given to make advertiſements, whenſoſoever danger ſhould appear) ſhould write to the Brethren in all quarters, giving information as the matter ſtood, and requiring their aſſiſtance, which he did, in manner as here enſueth.

Anno

The Superscription.

Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.

TIs not unknown unto you (dear brethren) what comfort and tranquility God gave unto us in times most dangerous, by our Christian Assemblies, and godly Conference, as oft as any danger appeared to any member or members of our own Body; And how that since we have neglected, or at least not frequented our Conventions and Assemblies; The adversaries of Christ Jesus his holy Evangell, have enterprised and boldned themselves, publikely and secretly to do many things odious in Gods presence, and most hurtfull to the true Religion, now of Gods great favour granted unto us: The holy Sacraments are abused by prophane Papists; Masses have been, and yet are said openly, and maintained: The blood of some of our dearest Ministers hath been shed, without fear of punishment or correction craved by us. And now last are two of our dear Brethren; *Patrick Cranston*, and *Androe Armstrong*, summoned to under-lie the Law in the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh* the four and twentieth of this instant of *October*, for a fore-thought Fellony, pretended Murther, and for invading of the Queens Majesties Palace of *Halyrud-house*, with unlawfull convocation, &c. These terrible Summons are directed against our Brethren, because that they, with two or more, passed to the Abbey, upon Sunday the five and twentieth of *August*, to behold and note what persons repaired to the Masse. And because that upon the Sunday before (the Queen being absent) there resorted to that Idoll a rascall multitude, having openly the least devillish Ceremony (yea, even the conjuring of their accursed water) that ever they had in the time of greatest blindenesse: But because (I say) our said Brethren past, and that in most quiet manner, to note such abusers, these fearfull Summons are directed against them, to make, no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a doore may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. And if so it come to passe, God, no doubt, hath justly recompenced our former negligence and ingratitude towards him and his benefits, in our owne bosomes. God gave us a most notable Victory of his and our enemies: he brake their strength, and confounded their counsells; he left us at freedome, and purged the Realme, for the most part, of open Idolatry; To the end that we, ever mindefull of so wondrous a deliverance, should have kept this Realme cleane from such vile filthinesse, and damnable Idolatry. But we, alas, preferring the pleasure of flesh and blood, to the Pleasure and Commandment of God, have suffered that Idoll the Masse publikely to be erected againe: And therefore justly suffers he us now to fall in that danger, That to look to an Idolater going to his Idolatry, shall be reputed a crime little inferiour to Treason; God grant that we fall not farther. And now

M. *Rob. Pont* stricken in the head with a weapon by Cap. *Lawder*.

now I, whom God of his mercy, hath made one amongst many, to travell in setting forward his true Religion within this Realme, seeing the same in danger of ruine, cannot but in conscience crave of you, my brethren of all states, that have professed the truth, your presence, comfort, and assistance at the said day in the Town of *Edinburgh*, even as ye tender the advancement of Gods glory, the safety of your brethren, and your own assurance; together with the preservation of the Church, in these appearing dangers: It may be (perchance) that perswasions be made to the Countrey, and that ye may be informed, that either your assembly is not necessary, or else that it will offend the upper Powers, and my good hope is that neither flattery nor fear shall make you so farre to decline from Christ Jesus, as that against your publike promise, and solemne Band, you will leave your Brethren in so just a cause; and albeit there were no great danger, yet cannot our Assembly be unprofitable, for many things requiring consultation, which cannot be had unlesse the wisest and godliest convene. And thus doubting nothing of the assistance of our God, if that we uniformly seek his glory, I cease farther to trouble you, committing you heartily to the protection of the Eternall.

Anno

Bond to a mutuall defence in the cause of Religion.

From Edinburgh *the eighth day of October.* 1563.

JOHN KNOX.

THe Brethren advertised by this Letter, prepared themselves, so many as was thought expedient for every Towne and Province, to keep the day appointed; but by the means of some false brethren, the Letter came to the hands of the Queene, and the manner was this, It was read in the Towne of *Ayre*, where was present Master *Robert Cunningham*, stiled Minister of *Faitfurd*, who then was holden a professor of the Evangell, (by what meanes we know not) gat the said Letter, and sent it with his token to Master *Henry Sincleare*, then President of the Seat and Colledge of Justice, stiled Bishop of *Rosse*, a perfect Hypocrite, and a conjured Enemie to Christ Jesus, whom God after stroke according to his deservings. The said Master *Henry* being Enemy to all that unfainedly professed the Lord Jesus, but chiefly to *John Knox*, for the libertie of his Tongue, for he had affirmed, as ever still he doth affirme, That a Bishop that receives profit and feeds not the Flock, (even by his owne labours) is both a Thiefe and a Murtherer: The said Master *Henry* (we say) thinking himselfe happie that he had found so good occasion to trouble him, whose life he hated, posted the said Letter, with his counsell, to the Queen, who then lay in *Sterlin*. The letter being read, it was concluded by the Councell of the *Cabinet*, that is, by the most secret Councell, That it imported Treason; whereof the Queen did not a little rejoyce, for she thought once to be avenged of that her great Enemy. It was concluded, that the Nobilitie should be written for; that the condemnation should have the greater Authoritie, the day was appointed, about the midst of *December*; which was kept of the whole Councell, and of divers others, such as the Master of *Maxwell*, the old Laird of *Lethington*, and the said President.

Note Pastors.

In,

Anno

The Master of *Maxwell's* discharge to *John Knox*, and their reasoning together.

In the meane time the Earle of *Murray* returned from the North, to whom Secretary *Lethington* opened the matter, as best pleased him. The Master of *Maxwell* (after made Lord *Heris*) gave unto the said *John* as it were a discharge of the familiaritie which before was great betwixt them, unlesse that he would satisfie the Queen at her own will. The answer of *John Knox* was, that he knew no offence done by him to the Queens Majestie, and therefore he knew not what satisfaction to make. No offence, (said he) Have you not written Letters, desiring the brethren from all parts to convene, to *Andro Armstrong* and *Patrick Cranstons?* That I grant, (said the other) but therein I acknowledge no offence done by me. No offence (said he) to convocate the Queens Leidges. Not for a just cause (said the other) for greater things were reputed no offence within these two yeers. The time (said he) is now other, for then our Soveraigne was absent, and now she is present. It is neither the absence nor the presence of the Queen (said he) that rules my conscience, but God plainly speaking in his Word; what was lawfull to me the last yeer, is yet lawfull, because my God is unchangeable.

Well (said the Master) I have given you my counsell, doe as you list, but I think you shall repent it if you bow not unto the Queen.

I understand not (said he) what you meane; I never made my selfe an adverse partie unto the Queens Majestie, except in the point of Religion, and thereunto I think you will not desire me to bow.

Well (said he) you are wise enough, but you will not finde that men will beare with you in times to come, as they have done in times by-past.

If God stand my friend, (said the other) as I am assured he of his mercy will, so long as I depend upon his promise, and preferre his glory to my life and worldly profit, I little regard how men behave themselves towards me, neither yet know I wherinto any one man hath born with me in times by-past, unlesse it be, that of my mouth they have heard the Word of God, which in time to come if they refuse, my heart will be perfect, and for a season I will lament; but the incommodity will be their owne. And after these words (hereunto the Laird of *Lochinvar* was witnesse) they departed, but unto this day, the seventeenth day of *December*, 1571. yea, never in this life met they in such familiarity as before.

The bruit of the accusation of *John Knox* being devulgate, Master *John Spence* of *Condie* Advocate, a man of gentle nature, and one that professed the doctrine of the Evangell, came as it were in sectet to *John Knox*, to enquire the cause of that great bruite; to whom the said *John* was plain in all things, and shewed unto him the double of the Letter; which heard and considered, he said, I thank God, I came unto you with a fearfull and sorrowfull heart, fearing that you had done such a Crime as Lawes might have punished, which would have been no small trouble to the heart of all such as have received the Word of life which you have preached; but I depart greatly rejoyced, as well because I see your own comfort, even in the midst of the troubles, as that I clearly understand, that you have committed no such Crime as you are bruited with; you will be accused (said he) but God will assist you; and so he departed.

The

The Earle of *Murray* and the Secretary sent for the said *Iohn* to the Clerk of the Registers house, and began to lament that he had so highly offended the Queens Majestie, for the which they feared should come a great inconvenience to him, if the businesse were not wisely foreseen; they shew what pains and travel they had taken to mittigate her anger, but they could finde nothing but extremity, unlesse that he himself would confesse his offence, and put him in her Majesties will. To which Heads the said *Iohn* answered, as follows:

Anno

Before they disdained not to come to his own house.

I praise my God through Jesus Christ, (said he) I have learned not to crie Conjuration and Treason at every thing that the godlesse multitude doth condemn, nether yet to fear the things that they fear; I have the testimony of a good conscience, that I have given no occasion to the Queens Majestie to be offended with me, for I have done nothing but my duty, and so whatsoever shall thereof ensue, my good hope is, that my God will give me patience to bear it; but to confesse an offence where my Conscience witnesseth there is none, far be it from me. How can it be defended (said *Lethington*) have you not made a Convocation of the Queens Leiges? If I have not (said he) a just defence for my fact, let me smart for it. Let us hear (said they) your defences, for we would be glad that you might be found innocent. Nay, (said the other) *I* am informed by divers, that even by you my Lord Secretary, *I* am already condemned, and my cause prejudged, therefore *I* might be reputed a fool, if *I* would make you privie to my Defences. At these words they seemed both offended, and so the Secretary departed, but the said Earle remained still, and would have entred into further discourse of the state of the Court with the said *Iohn*; who answered, My Lord, *I* understand more then *I* would of the state of the Court, and therefore it is not needfull that your Lordship trouble me with the recounting thereof; if you stand in good case, *I* am content, and if you do not, as *I* fear you do not already, or else you shall not do it ere it be long, blame not me, you have the Councellors whom you have chosen, my weak judgement both they and you despised: *I* can do nothing but behold the end, which I pray God it be other then my troubled heart feareth.

Iohn Knox his answer.

Note a wise Reply.

This was the first time the Earle *Murray* spake with *Iohn Knox* after the Parliament

Within four dayes the said *Iohn* was called before the Queen and Councell, betwixt 6 and seven a Clock at night; the season of the year was the midst of *December*; the report rising in the towne, That *I. Knox* was sent for by the Queen. The Brethren of the Town followed in such number, that the inner Close was full, and all the Staires, even to the Chamber door where the Queen and Counsell sate, who had been reasoning amongst themselves before, but had not fully satisfied the Secretaries minde. And so was the Queen retired to her Cabbinet, and the Lords were talking one with another, as occasion served. But upon the entry of *Iohn Knox* they were desired to take their places, as they did, sitting as Councellors one against another.

Iohn Knox called before the Queen and Counsell in *Decemb.* 1563.

The Duke, according to his dignity, began the one side, upon the other side sate the Earle of *Argile*, and consequently followed the Earle of *Murray*, the Earle of *Glencarne*, the Earle of *Mershall*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the common Officers, *Pittaro* then Controller, the Justice *Clerk*, with Master *Iohn Spence* of *Condie* Advocate, and divers

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others stood by; removed from the Table, sate old *Lethington* father to the Secretary, Master *Henry Sinclare* then Bishop of *Rosse*, and Master *James Makgill* Clerke of the Register.

Things thus put in Order the Queen came forth, and that with no little worldly pompe, was placed in a Chaire having two faithfull Supporters, the Master of *Maxwell* upon the one Torre, and Secretary *Lethington* upon the other Torre of the Chaire, whereon hee waited diligently; at the time of the Accusation, sometime the one was speaking in her Eare, and sometime the other: Her pompe lacked nothing of an womanly gravitie; for when she saw *John Knox* standing at the other end of the Table bare-headed; at the first she smiled, and after gave a guaf of laughter; whereunto her *Placebois* gave their *Plaudite*, assenting with like countenance.

This is a good beginning (she said) but know you whereat I laugh? Yon man caused me to crie, and shed never a Tear himself; I will see if I can cause him to grieve. At that word the Secretary whispered her in the Eare, and she him again, and with that gave him a Letter; after the inspection whereof, he directed his visage and speech to *John Knox* in this manner.

The Queens Majesty is informed, That you have travelled to raise a Tumult of her Subjects against her; and for Certification thereof, there is presented to her your owne Letter, subscribed in your name: Yet because her Majesty will do nothing without good advertisement, she hath convened you before this part of the Nobilitie, that they may witnesse betwixt you and her.

Let him acknowledge (said she) his owne hand-writing, and then shall we judge of the Contents of the Letter; and so was the Lettet sent from hand to hand to *John Knox*, who taking inspection of it, said, I acknowledge this to be my hand-writing; and also I remember, that I indited a Letter in the month of *October*, giving signification to the Brethren in divers Quarters, of such things as displeased me; and so good opinion have I of the fidelity of the Scribes, that willingly they would not adulterate my originall; albeit that I left divers blanks subscribed with them. And so I acknowledge both the Hand-writing, and the Dictatement.

You have done more (said *Lethington*) then I would have done. Charity (said the other) is not suspitious. Well, well, (said the Queen) read your own Letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you. I shall do the best I can (said the other) and so with a loud voice he began to reade, as before is expressed. After that the Letter was read, it was presented again to M. *Iohn Spence* her Advocate; for the Queen commanded him to accuse, as he did, but very gently. After (we say) that the Letter was read, the Queen beholding the whole Table, said, Heard you ever (my Lords) a more dispightfull and Treasonable Letter? While that no man gave answer, *Lethington* addressed himself to *Iohn Knox*, and said, M. *Knox*, are you not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent that such a Letter hath passed your Pen, and from you hath come to the knowledge of others? *I. Knox* answered, My Lord Secretary, before I repent I must be taught of my offence. Offence, (said *Lethington*) if there were no more

more but the vocation of the Queenes Leiges, the offence cannot be denyed. Remember your selfe (my Lord) said the other, there is a difference betwixt a lawfull Vocation and an unlawfull: If I have been guilty in this, I have oft offended since I came last in *Scotland*; for what Vocation of Brethren hath ever been this day, unto which my Pen hath not served? and before this no man laid it to my charge as a crime. Then was then, and now is now (said *Lethington*) we have no need of such Vocation, as sometimes we have had. *John Knox* answered, The time that hath been, is even now before my eyes; for I see the poor Flock in no lesse danger, then it hath been at any time before, except that the devill hath gotten a Vizard upon his face: Before he came in with his own face, discovered by open Tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused Idolatry; and then, I think, you will confesse the Brethren lawfully assembled themselves for defence of their lives: And now the devill comes, under the cloke of Justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength. What is this (said the Queen) methinks you trifle with him: Who gave you Authority to make Convocation of my Lieges? Is not that Treason? No, Madame (said the Lord *Ruthuen*) for he makes Convocation of the people, to hear Prayer and Sermon, almost dayly: And what ever your Majestie or others thinke thereof, we think it no Treason. Hold your peace (said the Queen) let him answer for himself. I began Madame (said *Iohn Knox*) to reason with the Secretary (whom I take to be a better Dialectationer then your Majestie is) That all Convocation is not lawfull: And now my Lord *Ruthuen* hath given the instance; which if your Majestie will deny, I shall make my selfe ready for the proof. I will say nothing (said the Queen) against your Religion, nor against your convening to your Sermons: But what Authority have you to Convocate my subjects when you will, without any Commandment? I have no pleasure (said *Iohn Knox*) to decline from my former purpose; And yet, Madame, to satisfie your Majesties two questions, I answer, That at my will I never convened four persons in *Scotland*, but at the Order that the Brethren hath appointed, I have given divers Advertisements, and great multitudes have assembled thereupon. And if your Majestie complaineth, That this was done without your Majesties Commandment; I answer, So hath all that God hath blessed within this Realme, from the beginning of this action: And therefore, Madame, I must be convinced by a just Law, that I have done against the Duty of Gods Messenger, in writing of this Letter, before that I either be sorry, or yet repent for the doing of it, as my Lord Secretary would perswade me; for what I have done, I have done at the Commandment of the Generall Church of this Realme. And therefore I thinke I have done no wrong. You shall not escape so (said the Queene) Is it not Treason, my Lords, to accuse a Prince of cruelty; I thinke there are Acts of Parliament to be found, against such Whisperers. This was granted to be true of many: But wherein (said Master *Iohn Knox*) can I be accused? Reade this part of your Letter (said the Queene) which began, This fearfull Summons is directed against them (to wit, the Brethren aforesaid) to make,

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Note this diligently.

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no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. Lord (said the Queen) What say you to that? While many doubted what the said *John* should answer, he said unto the Queen, Is it lawfull for me, Madame, to answer for my selfe? Or shall I be condemned before I be heard? Say what you can (said she) for I thinke you have enough ado. I will first then desire (said he) of your Majestie, Madame, and of this Honourable audience, Whether if your Majestie knows not that the obstinate Papists are deadly enemies to all that professe the Evangel of Jesus Christ; And that they most earnestly desire the extirpation of all them, and of the true Doctrine that is taught within this Realme? The Queen held her peace; but all the Lords with common consent and voyce, said, God forbid that either the life of the faithfull, or yet the staying of the Doctrine, stood in the power of the Papists; for just experience hath taught us what cruelty is in their hearts. I must proceed then (said *John Knox*) seeing that I perceive that all will grant, That it were a barbarous cruelty to destroy such a multitude as professed the Evangell of Jesus Christ within this Realme, which oftner then once or twice they attempted to do by force, as things done of late dayes do testifie: Whereof they being (by Gods providence) disappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, to wit, To make the Prince party, under colour of Law; and so, what they could not do by open force, they shall performe by crafty deceit: For who thinks (my Lords) That the insatiable cruelty of the Papists (within this Realme, I mean) shall end in the murthering of those two, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? I thinke no man of judgement can so esteem, but rather the direct contrary; that is, By this few number, they intend to prepare a way to their bloody enterprise against the whole. And therefore (Madame) cast up when you list, the Acts of your Parliaments; I have offended nothing against them; For I accuse not in my Letter your Majestie, nor yet your nature, of cruelty: But I affirm yet again, That the pestilent Papists, who have enflamed your Majestie without cause against these poore men at this present, are the sons of the devill, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who hath beene a Murtherer from the beginning. You forget your selfe (said one) you are not in the Pulpit. I am in the place (said the other) where I am commanded in my conscience to speak the truth; and therefore the truth I speak, impugne it who so lists: And hereunto I adde (Madame) that honest, meeke and gentle natures (in appearance) by wicked and corrupt Councellors, may be changed and altered to the direct contrary. Example we have of *Nero*, whom in the beginning of his Empire we finde, having some naturall shame; but after that his flatterers had encouraged him in all impiety, alleadging that nothing was either unhonest, or yet unlawfull in his Person, who was Emperour above others: When he had drunken of this Cup (I say) to what enormies he fell, the Histories beare witnesse. And now, Madame, to speak plain, Papists have your Majesties ear patent at all times; assure your Majestie, they are dangerous Councellors, and that your Mother found. As this was said, *Lethington* singled, and spake

Note.

As the Irish Papists have done to Protestants in *Ireland.*

Let this be noted for this day.

Let the world judge what ensued.

ſpake ſecretly to the Queene in her eare, What it was, that the Table heard not: But immediately ſhe addreſſed her viſage and ſpeech to *John Knox*, and ſaid, Well, you ſpeak fair enough here, before my Lords, but the laſt time I ſpake with you ſecretly, you cauſed me to weep many tears, and ſaid to me ſtubbornly, Ye cared not for my weeping. Madame, (ſaid the other) becauſe now the ſecond time your Majeſty hath burthened me with that crime, I muſt anſwer, leſt for my ſilence I be holden guilty: If your Majeſtie be ripely remembred, the Laird of *Dun*, yet living to teſtifie the truth, was preſent at that time, whereof your Majeſty complaineth. Your Majeſty accuſed me, That I had irreverently ſpoken of you in the Pulpit. That I denied. You ſaid, What had I to do to ſpeak of your Marriage? What was I, that I ſhould meddle with ſuch matters? I anſwered, As touching Nature, I was a worm of this earth; and yet a ſubject to this Common-wealth: But as touching the Office wherein it hath pleaſed God to place me, I was a Watch-men both over the Realme, and over the Church of God gathered within the ſame; by reaſon whereof, I was bound in conſcience to blow the Trumpet publikely, ſo oft as ever I ſaw any appearance of danger, either of the one, or of the other. But ſo it was, that a certaine brute affirmed, That a Traffique of Marriage was betwixt your Majeſtie and the Spaniſh *Allia*. Whereunto I ſaid, That if your Nobility and State did agree, unleſſe that both you and your husband ſhould be ſtraitly bound, that neither of you might hurt the Common-wealth, nor yet the poor Church of God within the ſame; in that caſe I ſhould pronounce, That the conſenters were troublers of the Common-wealth, and enemies unto God, and unto his Truth planted within the ſame. At theſe words, I grant, your Majeſtie ſtormed, and burſt forth in an unreaſonable weeping: what mitigation the Laird of *Dun* would have made, I ſuppoſe your Majeſty hath not forgot: But while that nothing was able to ſtay your weeping, I was compelled to ſay, I take God to witneſſe, I never took pleaſure to ſee your Majeſtie make ſuch regret; But ſeeing I have offered to your Majeſtie no ſuch occaſion, I muſt rather ſuffer your Majeſtie to take your own pleaſure, then I dare conceale the truth, and ſo both betray the Church, and the Common-wealth. Theſe were the moſt extreme words I ſpake that day. After that the Secretary had conferred with the Queen, he ſaid, Maſter *Knox*, you may returne to your houſe for this night. I thank God and the Queens Majeſty (ſaid the other.) And (Madame) I pray God to purge your heart from Papiſtry, and to preſerve you from the counſell of flatterers; for how pleaſant that ere they appear to your ear, and corrupt affections for the time, experience hath taught us in what perplexity they have brought famous Princes. *Lethington*, and the Maſter of *Maxwell*, were that night the two ſtoups of her Chayre. *John Knox* being departed, the Tables of the Lords, and others that were preſent, were demanded every one their voyce, If *John Knox* had not offended the Queens Majeſtie? The Lords voted uniformly, That they could finde no offence (the Queen was paſt to her Cabinet.) The flatterers of the Court (and principally *Lethington*) raged. The Queen was brought again, and placed in the Chayre: And they commanded

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manded to vote over again: Which thing highly offended the whole Nobility, and began to speak in open audience, What? shall the Laird of *Lethington* have power to controll us? Or shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemne an innocent against our consciences, for the pleasure of any creature? And so the whole Nobility absolved *John Knox* againe, and praised God for his modestie, and for his plain and sensible answers. Yet before the end, one thing is to be noted; to wit, That amongst so many *Placeboes* (we mean the flatterers of the Court) there was not one that plainly durst condemne the said poore man, that was accused; God ruling their tongues, that sometimes ruled the tongue of *Balaam*, when gladly he would have cursed Gods people.

Note diligently

This perceived, the Queen began to upbraid Master *Henry Sinclare*, then Bishop of *Rosse*, and said (hearing his vote to agree with the rest) Trouble not the barne, I pray you, trouble him not, for he is newly wakened out of his sleep; Why should not the old fool follow them that past before him? The Bishop answered coldly, Your Majesty may consider, That it is neither affection to the man, nor love to his Profession, that moved me to absolve him, but the simple truth (which plainly appears in his defence) drawes me hereunto, albeit that others would have condemned him and it. This being said, the Lords and whole Assistants arose and departed. That night was neither dancing nor fidling in the Court, for our Soveraigne was disappointed of her purpose; which was, To have had *John Knox* in her will, by voice of her Nobility. *John Knox* absolved by the greatest part of the Nobility, from the crime intended against him, even in the presence of the Queen, she raged, and her *Placeboes* stormed: And so began new assaults to be made at the hands of the said *John Knox*, to confesse an offence, and to put him in the Queens will, and she should promise, That his greatest punishment should be, But to go within the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and immediately to returne to his own house: He answered, God forbid that my confession should condemne these Noble-men, who in their conscience, and in displeasure of the Queen, have absolved me; And further I am assured, ye will not in earnest desire me to confesse an offence, unlesse that therewith you would desire me to cease from Preaching: For how can I exhort others to Peace, and Christian quietnesse, if I confesse my self an author and mover of sedition.

Note the craft of the Court.

The generall Assembly of the Church approached, which began the five and twentieth of *December*, 1563. But the just Petitions of the Ministers, and Commissioners of Churches, were despised at the first, and that with these words; As Ministers will not follow our counsell, so will we suffer Ministers to labour for themselves, and see what speed they come. But then the whole Assembly said, If the Queen will not, we must; for both third and two parts are rigorously taken from us, and from our Tenants. If others (said one) will follow my counsell, the Guard and the Papists shall complaine, as long as our Ministers have done. At these words, the former sharpnesse was coloured, and the Speaker alleadged, That hee meant not of all Ministers:

Christo-

Christopher Goodman answered, My Lord Secretary, if you can shew me what just Title either the Queene hath to the Third, or the Papists to the two parts, then I think I should resolve you whether she were Debtor to Ministers within *Burgh*, or not: But thereto he received this check for answer; *Ne sit Peregrinus curiosus in aliena Republica*; that is, *Let not a Stranger be curious in a strange Common-wealth.* The man of God answered, Albeit I be a Stranger in your policy, yet so am I not in the Church of God; and therefore the care doth no lesse appertain to me in *Scotland*, then if I were in the middest of *England.* Many wondred at the silence of *John Knox*, for in all these quick reasonings he opened not his mouth; the cause thereof he himself expressed in these words:

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Note.

I. *Knox* falsly reported of, his answer.

I have travelled (Right Honourable and beloved Brethren) since my last arrivall within this Realme, in an upright conscience before my God, seeking nothing more (as he is witnesse) than the advancement of his glory, and the stability of his Church within this Realme; and of late dayes I have been accused as a seditious man, and as one that usurpeth to my selfe power that becometh me not: True it is that I have given advertisment unto the Brethren in divers Quarters, of the extremity intended against divers faithfull, for looking to a Priest going to Masse, and for observing of those that transgresse against just Laws; but that therein I have usurped further power then is given me, till that by you I be condemned, I utterly deny; for (I say) that by you, that is, By the charge of the Generall Assembly, I have all just power to advertise the Brethren from time to time of dangers appearing, as I have power to preach the Word of God in the Pulpit of *Edinburgh*; for by you was I appointed to the one, and to the other; and therefore in the Name of God I crave your judgements. The danger that appeared to me in my Accusation was not so fearfull, as the words that came to my Ears were dolorous to my heart; for these words were plainly spoken, and that by some Protestants, What can the *Pope* do more, then to send forth his Letters, and require them to be obeyed. Let me have your judgements therefore whether I have usurped any power to my self; or if I have obeyed your commandment.

The Flatterers of the Court (amongst whom the Justice *Clerk* then not the least) began to storme, and said, shall we be compelled to justifie the rash judgements of men; My Lord (said *John Knox*) you shall speak your pleasure for the present, of you I crave nothing, but the if Church that is here present, do not either absolve me, or else condemne me, never shall I in publike or in private, as a publike Minister, open my mouth in doctrine or reasoning.

After long contention the said *Iohn* being removed, the whole Church found, that a charge was given unto him, To advertise the Brethren in all Quarters, as oft as ever danger appeared; and therefore avowed that fact not to be his onely, but the fact of the whole assembly. Thereat were the Queens Claw-backs more enraged then ever they were, for some of them had promised the Queen to get the said *Iohn* convinced, both by the Councell, and by the Church; and being frustrate of both, she and they thought themselves not a little disappointed.

Remark false brethren.

In the very time of the generall Assembly there comes to publike knowledge

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Murther and Whoredome in the Court.

ledge, or naynous murther committed in the Court, yea not far from the Queens Lap; for a French-woman that served in the Queens Chamber had played the Whore with the Queens own Apothecary; the woman conceived and bare a Childe, whom with common consent the father and the mother murthered; yet were the cries of a new borne Childe heard, search was made, the Childe and the Mother were both apprehended, and so was both the man and the woman condemned to be hanged in the publike Street of *Edinburgh*. The punishment was notable because the Crime was hainous. But yet was not the Court purged of Whores and Whoredoms, which was the fountaine of such enormities, for it was well known, that shame hasted Marriage, betwixt *John Sempill* called the Dancer, and *Mary Leringston* sirnamed the Lusty, what bruit the *Maries* and the rest of the Dancers of the Court had, the Ballads of that age did witnesse, which we for modesties sake omit, but this was the common complaint of all godly and wise men, That if they thought that such a Court should long continue, and if they looked for no better life to come, they would have wished their Sonnes and Daughters rather to have been brought up with Fidlers and Dancers, and to have been exercised in flinging upon a Floore, and in the rest that thereof followes, then to have been exercised in the company of the godly, and exercised in vertue, which in that Court was hated; and filthinesse not onely maintained, but also rewarded; witnesse the Abbacie of *Abercone*, the Barony of *Anchvermuchtie*, and divers others pertaining to the Patrimony of the Crowne given in heritage to Skippers, and Dancers, and Dalliers with Dames. This was the beginning of the Regiment of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and these were the fruits that she brought forth of *France*. *Lord look upon our miseries, and deliver us from the wickednesse of this corrupt Court, for thy own Names sake.*

Maries Regiment.

God from Heaven, and from the face of the Earth did declare, that he was offended at the iniquitie committed within this Realme; for upon the twentieth day of *January* there fell rain in great abundance, which in the falling freezed so vehemently, that the earth was but a shot of Ice; the Fowls, both great and small freezed, and might not flie, many dyed, and some were taken and laid beside the fire, that their feathers might dissolve; and that same moneth the Sea stood still, (as was clearly observed) and never ebbed nor flowed the space of foure and twenty hours: In the moneth of *February*, the fifteenth and eighteenth dayes thereof, there was seen in the Firmament battels arrayed, spears, and all other weapons, as it had been the joyning of two Armies: These things were not onely observed, but also spoken of and constantly affirmed by men of judgement, and credit. But the Queen and our Court made merry, there was banquetting upon banquetting; the Queen would banquet with the Lords; and that was done onely upon policy to remove her displeasure against them, because they would not at her devotion condemne *John Knox*. To remove (we say) that jealousie, she made the Banquet to the whole Lords, whereat she would have the Duke amongst the rest. It behoved them to banquet her again; and so did banquetting continue till Lent ever after. But the poor Ministers were mocked, and reputed as

Great Wet and Frost in *Ian.* 1563.

The Sea stood still, neither ebbed nor flowed for 24 houres.

as Monsters; the Guard, and the Affairs of the Kitchin were so gripping, that the Minsters stipends could not be had; and yet at the Assembly last past, solemne promise was made in the Queens Name, by the mouth of Secretary *Lethington*, in the audience of the Nobilitie, and of the whole Assembly, who affirmed that he had commandment of her Highnesse, to promise full content unto all the Ministers within the Realme, and of such Order to be kept in all times to come, that the whole body of the Protestants should have occasion to stand content; The Earle of *Murray* affirmed the same, with many other faire promises given by writing, by *Lethington* himself; as in the Register of the Acts of the generall Assembly may be seene; but how that or yet any other thing promised in her name, to the Church of God, was observed, the world can witnesse. Anno

The Ministers perceiving all things to tend to ruine, discharged their consciences in publike and in private, but they received for their labour hatred and indignation; and amongst others, that worthy servant of God Master *John Craig*, speaking against the manifold corruption that then (without shame or fear declared it self, said, Sometimes was Hypocrites known by their noted habits, and we had men to be Monks, and women to be Nuns; but now all things are so changed, that we cannot discerne the Earle from the Abbot, nor the Nunne from him that would be esteemed the Nobleman; so that we have gotten a new order of Monkes and Nunnes; But, said he, seeing you are not ashamed of that unjust profit, would to God that you had therewith the Kowll, the Vaile and the Tayle joyned withall, that so you might appear in your own colours. This libertie did so provoke the choler of *Lethington*, that in open audience he gave himself to the Devill, If that after that day he should regard what became of the Ministers, but he would do what he could, that his companion should have a share with him: And let them bark and blow (said he) as loud as they list. And so that was the second time that he had given defiance unto the servants of God. *Cucullus.*

Whereupon arose whisperings and complaints, although the Flatterers of the Court, complaining that men were not charitably handled, might not since be reproved in generall, albeit men were not specially taxed, that all the world might know of whom the Preacher speakes; whereunto was this answer made, Let men be ashamed publikely to offend, and the Ministers shall abstain from specialities; but so long as Protestants are not ashamed manifestly to do against the Evangell of Jesus Christ, so long cannot the Ministers of God cease to crie, that God would be avenged upon such abusers of his holy Word.

Thus had the servants of God a double battaile, fighting upon the one side against the Idolatry and the rest of the abominations mentioned by the Court; and upon the other part, against the unthankefulnesse of such as sometimes would have been esteemed the chief Pillars of the Church within the Realme. The threatnings of Preachers was fearfull, but the Court thought it self in such security, that it could not miscarry.

The Queen after the Banquetting, kept a dyet (Monsieur *Luserie* a French-

Anno

Note how this agrees with our time.

man, who had been accustomed with her malady before, being her Physitian) and therefore she for the second time made her progresse in the North, and commanded to Ward in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Earle of *Caithnes*, for a Murther committed by his servants upon the Earle *Mershals* men; he obeyed, but he was suddenly released; for such blood-thirsty men, and Papists (such as he is) are good subjects thought at Court. Thy Kingdom come (O Lord) for in this Realme is nothing amongst such as should punish vice and maintain vertue, but abomination abounding without Bridle. The Flatterers of the Court did daily enrage against the poor Preachers; happiest was he that could invent the most bitter taunts, and disdainfull mocking of the Ministers; and at length they began to jest at the Terme of Idolatry, affirming that men knew not what they spake when they called the Masse Idolatry; yea, some proceeded further, and feared not at open Table to affirme, That they would sustaine the Argument that the Masse was no Idolatry. These things coming to the ears of the preachers, they were proclaimed in publike Pulpit of *Edinbugh*, with this complaint, directed by the speaker to his God;

O Lord, how long shal the wicked prevail against the just? how long wilt thou suffer thy Self and thy blessed Evangell to be despised of men? Of men (we say) that boast themselves Defenders of the truth; for of thy manifest and known Enemies we complain not, but of such as unto whom thou hast revealed thy light; for now it cometh to our Ears, that men (not Priests we say, but chief Protestants) will defend the *Masse* to be no Idolatry; if it so were, miserably have I been deceived, and miserably (alas, O Lord) have I deceived thy people; which thou knoweest, (O Lord) I have ever more abhorred then a thousand deaths. But said he, (turning his face towards the Room where such men as had so affirmed, sate) If I be not able to prove the *Masse* to be the most abominable Idolatry that ever was used from the beginning of the world, I offer my self to suffer the punishment appointed by God to a false Preacher. And it appeareth unto me (saith the Preacher) that the Affirmers should be subject to the same Law; for it is the truth of God, that you persecute as a blasphemy; and it is the invention of the Devill, that obstinately against his Word you maintaine; whereat albeit you now flute and flyre, as if so be all that were spoken were but winde; yet am I all fully assured, as I am assured that my GOD liveth, That some that hear this your defection, and railing against the truth and the servants of God, shall see a part of Gods judgement powred forth upon this Realm, (and principally upon you that fastest cleave unto the favour of the Court;) for the abominations that are by you maintained. Albeit that such vehemency provoked tears from the eyes of some, yet these that knew themselves guilty, in a mocking manner, said, We must recant, and burne our Bill, for the Preachers are angry.

Lethingtons countenance at the threatnings of the preacher.

Let the world judge whether this hath come to pass, or not, what hath fallen since that time.

The generall assembly holden in *June*, 1564. approached, unto the which a great part of the Nobilitie (of those that are called Protestants) convened, some for assistance of the Ministers, and some to accuse them, as we shall

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ſhall after hear. A little before theſe troubles, which Sathan raiſed in the Body of the Church, began one *David* an Italian, to be great in the Court; the Queen uſed him for Secretary, for things that appertained to her ſecret affairs, or elſewhere: great men made ſuit unto him, and their ſuits were the better heard: But of his beginning and progreſſe, we delay now further to ſpeak, and refer it unto another fitter occaſion of time and place, becauſe that his end will require the deſcription of the whole. The firſt day of the generall Aſſembly, neither the Courtiers, nor the Lords that depended upon the Court, preſented themſelves in Seſſion with their Brethren; whereat many wondred. One ancient and honourable man, the Laird of *Lundie*, ſaid, Nay, I wonder not at their abſence; but I wonder that at our laſt Aſſembly they drew themſelves apart, and joyned not with us, but drew from us ſome of our Miniſters, and willed them to conclude ſuch things as were never propoſed to the publike Aſſembly, very prejudiciall to the Liberty of the Church; and therefore my judgement is, That they ſhall be informed of this offence, which the whole Brethren have conceived of their former Fact; Humbly requiring, That if they be Brethren, that they would aſſiſt their Brethren with their preſence and counſell, for we had never greater need: And if they be minded to fall back from us, it were better we knew it now, then afterwards. Thereto agreed the whole Aſſembly, and gave Commiſſion to certaine Brethren, to ſignifie the mindes of the Aſſembly unto the Lords; which was done that ſame afternoon. The Courtiers at the firſt ſeemed a little offended, that they ſhould be as it were ſuſpected of defection; yet nevertheleſſe upon the morning they joyned with the Aſſembly, and came unto it; but they drew themſelves (like as they did before) apart, and entred into the inner Councell-Houſe. They were the Duke, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray*, *Mortoune*, *Glencarne*, *Merſhall*, Lord *Roſſe*, the Maſter of *Maxwell*, Secretary *Lethington*, the Juſtice Clerk, the Clerk of the Regiſter, and the Laird of *Pittarrow* Comptroller.

After a little conſultation, they directed a Meſſenger, M. *George Hay*, the Miniſter of the Court, requiring the Superintendents, and ſome of the learned Miniſters, to confer with them. The Aſſembly anſwered, They convened to deliberate upon the common affairs of the Church, and therefore that they could not lack their Superintendents, and chiefe Miniſters, whoſe judgements were ſo neceſſary, that the reſt ſhould ſit (as it were) idle, without them; And therefore willed them, as oft before, That if they acknowledged themſelves Members of the Church, that they would joyn with their Brethren, and propoſe in publike ſuch things as they pleaſed, and ſo they ſhould have the aſſiſtance of the whole, in all things that might ſtand with Gods Commandment: But to ſend from themſelves a portion of their company, they underſtood, That thereof hurt and ſlander might ariſe, rather then any profit or comfort to the Church; for they feared that all men ſhould not ſtand content with the concluſion, where the conference and reaſonings were heard but of a few.

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This answer was not given without cause; for no small travell was made, to have drawn some Ministers to the faction of the Courtiers, and to have sustained their Arguments and Opinions: But when it was conceived by the most politick amongst them, That they could not travell by that means, they prepared the matter in other termes, purging themselves, That they never meant to divide themselves from the Society of their Brethren, but because they had certain Heads to confer with certain Ministers. But the Assembly did still reply, That secret Conference would they not admit, in those Heads that should be concluded by generall Voice. The Lords promised, That no Conclusion should be taken, neither yet Vote required, till that both the Propositions and the Reasons should be heard and considered by the whole Body; and upon that condition were directed unto them, with expresse charge, To conclude nothing, without the knowledge and advise of the Assembly, The Laird of *Dun*, Superintendent of *Angus*, the Superintendents of *Lothain* and *Fyfe*, Master *John Row*, Master *Iohn Craig*, *William Christieson*, Master *David Lyndsay*, Ministers; with the Rector of Saint *Androes*, and Master *George Hay*, the Superintendent of *Glasgow*: Master *John Willock* was Moderator, and *John Knox* waited upon the Scribe; And so were they appointed to sit with the Brethren: And yet because the principall complaint touched *John Knox*, he was also called for.

Lethington his *Harangue* at the Assembly, *Anno* 1564.

Secretary *Lethington* began the *Harangue*, which contained these Heads; first, How much we are indebted unto God, by whose providence we have liberty of Religion, under the Queens Majestie, albeit that she is not perswaded in the same. Secondly, How necessary a thing it is, That the Queens Majestie by all good Offices of the part of the Church (so spake he) and of the Ministers principally should be retained in that constant opinion, that they unfainedly favoured her advancement, and procured her subjects to have a good opinion of her. And last, How dangerous a thing it is, That the Ministers should be noted one to disagree from another in form of Prayer for her Majestie: And in these two last Heads (said he) we desire you all to be circumspect: But especially, we most crave of you our Brother *Iohn Knox*, to moderate your selfe, as well in form of praying for the Queens Majesty, as in Doctrine that you propose, touching her State and Obedience: Neither shall ye take this (said he) as spoken to your reproach, *quia mens pulchra, interdum in corpore pulchro*; But because that others, by your example, may imitate the like liberty, albeit not with the same discretion and foresight; and what opinion that may engender in the peoples heads, wise men may foresee.

Iohn Knox his answer.

The said *Iohn* prepared himself for answer as follows: If such as fear God, have occasion to praise him, because that Idolatry is maintained, the servants of God despised, wicked men placed again in Honour and Authority (Master *Henry Sinclare* was of short time before, made President, who before durst not have sitten in Judgement) And finally, if we ought to praise God, because that vice and impiety over-floweth the whole Realm, without punishment, then we have occasion to rejoyce and praise God: But if these and the like, use to provoke Gods vengeance against Realms and Nations, then in my judgement, the godly within

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Scotland ought to lament and mourn, and so to prevent Gods Judgements, lest that he finding all in a like security, strike in his hot indignation, beginning, perchance, at such as think they offend not. Anno

That is one Head (said *Lethington*) whereunto you and I never agreed; for how are you able to prove, That God ever struck or plagued any Nation or People for the iniquity of their Prince, if that they themselves lived godlily? I looked (said he) my Lord, to have audience till that I had absolved the other two parts: But seeing it pleaseth your Lordship to cut me off before the midst, I will answer to your question. The Scripture of God teacheth me, That *Jerusalem* and *Juda* were punished for the sins of *Manasses*. And if you alleadge, That they were punished because they were wicked, and offended with their King, and not because their King was wicked; I answer, That albeit the Spirit of God makes for me, saying in expresse words, *For the sins of Manasses*, yet will I not be so obstinate, as to lay the whole sin, and plagues that thereof ensued, upon the King, and utterly absolve the people; but I will grant withall, That the whole people offended with their King; but how, and in what fashion, I fear that ye and I shall not agree: I doubt not but the great multitude accompanied him in all the abomination that he did; for Idolatry and false Religion, hath ever been, and will be, pleasing to the most part of men: But to affirm, That all *Judah* committed really the acts of his impiety, is but to affirm that which neither hath certainty, nor yet appearance of any truth; for who can think it to be possible, That all those of *Jerusalem* should so shortly turn to Idolatry, considering the notable Reformation lately before had, in the dayes of *Hezekias*: But yet (sayes the Text) *Manasses made Juda, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem to erre*. True it is, the one part (as I have said) willingly followed him in his Idolatry, the other suffered him to defile *Jerusalem* and the Temple of God with all abominations, and so were they criminall of his sin; the one by act and deed, the other by suffering and permission, even as *Scotland* is this day guilty of the Queens Idolatry; and ye, my Lords, in speciall, above others. Well (said *Lethington*) that is the chief Head wherein we never agreed; but of that we shall speak hereafter: What will ye say as touching the moving of the people to have a good opinion of the Queens Majesty, and as concerning obedience to be given to her Authority? as also of the form of Prayer which ye commonly use? My Lord (saith he) more earnestly to move the people, or yet otherwise to pray, then heretofore I have done, a good conscience will not suffer me; for he who knows the secrets of hearts, knows, That privately and publikely I have called to God for her conversion, and have willed the people to do the same, shewing unto them the dangerous state wherein not onely she her self stands, but also the whole Realm, by reason of her indurate blindnesse. That is (said *Lethington*) wherein we finde the greatest fault, your extremity against her Masse in particular, passeth measure; ye call her a slave to Sathan; ye affirm that Gods vengeance hangs over the Realm, by reason of her impiety: And what is this else, but to raise up the hearts of the people against her Majesty, and against them that serve her. Then there was heard an acclamation of the rest of the flatterers, that such extremity could not pro-

Note diligently, and see how the Bishops did forbid to pray for the conversion of the Queen that now is in *Britain*.

Anno

M. *Maxwells* words in the Assembly.

fit. The Master of *Maxwell* said in plain words, If I were in the Queen's Majesties place, I would not suffer such things as I hear. If the words of Preachers (said *John Knox*) shall be alwayes wrested in the worst part, then will it be hard to speak any thing so circumspectly (providing that the truth be spoken) which shall not escape the censure of the calumniator. The most vehement (as ye speak) and most excessive manner of Prayer that I use in publike, is this: *O Lord, if thy good pleasure be, purge the heart of the Queens Majestie from the venome of Idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thraldom of Satan, into the which she hath been brought up, and yet remains, for the lack of true Doctrine; and let her see, by the illumination of thy holy Spirit, That there is no means to please thee, but by Jesus Christ thy only Son; and that Jesus Christ cannot be found, but in thy holy Word; nor yet received, but as it prescribes; which is, To renounce our own wisedom, and preconceived opinion, and worship thee as it commands: that in so doing, she may avoid the eternall damnation which is ordained for all obstinate and impenitent to thee; and that this poor Realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably followeth Idolatry, maintained against thy manifest Word, and the light thereof.* This (said he) is the form of common Prayer, as your selves can witnesse: Now what is worthy of reprehension in it, I would hear. There are three things in it (said *Lethington*) that never liked me; and the first is, Ye pray for the Queens Majesty with a condition, saying, *Illuminate her heart, if thy good pleasure be*; Wherein it may appear, That ye doubt of her conversion; Where have ye the example of such Prayer? Wheresoever the examples are (said the other) I am assured of the Rule, which is this, If we shall ask any thing according to his Will, he shall grant us: And our Master Christ Jesus commands us to pray unto our Father, *Thy will be done.* But (said *Lethington*) Where ever finde ye any of the Prophets so to have prayed? It sufficeth me (said the other) my Lord, that the Master and Teacher both of Prophets and Apostles, hath taught me so to pray. But in so doing (said *Lethington*) ye put a doubt in the peoples heads of her conversion. Not I (said the other) but her own obstinate rebellion, causeth more then me to doubt of her conversion. Wherein (said he) rebells she against God? In all the actions of her life (said M. *Knox*) but in these two Heads especially; The former is, That she will not hear the Preaching of the blessed Evangel of Jesus Christ. 2. That she maintaineth that Idol the Masse. She thinks not that rebellion (said *Lethington.*) So thought they (said the other) that sometimes offered their children unto *Molech*; and yet the Spirit of God affirms, That they offered them unto devils, and not unto God: And this day the Turks think they have a better Religion then the Papists have; and yet I think ye will excuse neither of both from committing rebellion against God; neither yet can ye do the Queen, unlesse ye will make God to be partiall. But (said *Lethington*) Why pray ye not for her, without moving any doubt? Because (said the other) I have learned to pray in faith; now faith (ye know) depends upon the Word of God; and so it is that the Word teacheth me, That prayer profiteth the sons and daughters of Gods Election; of which number if she be one or not, I have just cause to doubt; and therefore I pray that God would illuminate her heart, if his good pleasure be so to do: But yet (said *Lethington*) ye can produce the

John Knox his prayer for the Queen.

Note.

the example of none that so hath prayed before you. Thereto I have already answered (said *John Knox*) But yet for further declaration, I will demand a question, which is this, Whether ye think that the Apostles prayed themselves, as they commanded others to pray, or not? who doubts of that, said the company that were present. Well then, said *John Knox*, I am assured, that *Peter* said these words to *Simon Magus*, *Repent therefore of this thy wickednesse, and pray God, That if it be possible, the thoughts of thy heart may be forgiven thee.* Here we may cleerly see, That *Peter* joynes a condition with his Commandment, That *Simon* should repent and pray; to wit, If it were possible that his sin might be forgiven, for he was not ignorant, that some sinnes are unto death, and so without all hope of repentance, or remission. And think ye not (my Lord *Secretary*, said he) but that same doubt may touch my heart; as touching the Queens conversion, that then touched the heart of the Apostle; I would never (said *Lethington*) heare you, or any other call that in doubt: But your will (said the other) is no assurance to my conscience. And to speak freely, My Lord, I wonder if yee your self doubt not of the Queens conversion; for more evident signes of Induration have appeared, and do appear in her, then *Peter* outwardly could have espyed in *Simon Magus*; for albeit sometimes, he was a Sorcerer, yet joyned he with the Apostles, beleeved, and was baptized. And albeit, That the venome of Avarice remained in his heart, and that he would have bought the holy Ghost; yet, when he heard the fearfull threatnings of God pronounced against him, he trembled; desired the assistance of the Prayers of the Apostles; and so humbled himself, so farre as the judgement of man could peirce, like a true penitent; and yet we see that *Peter* doubts of his conversion; Why then may not all the godly, justly doubt of the conversion of the Queen, who hath used Idolatry, which is also most odious in the sight of the most jealous God, and still continues in the same; yet she despises all threatnings, and refuseth all godly admonitions. Why say ye, That she refuseth admonition, (said *Lethington*) she will gladly hear any man: But what obedience (said the other) to God or to his word ensues of all that is spoken unto her, or when shall she be seen to give her presence to the publike Preaching; I think never (said *Lethington*) so long as she is thus used. And so long (said the other) yee, and all others must be content, that I pray so, as I may be assured to be heard of my God; that is, That his good will may be done, either in making her comfortable to his Church; or if that he hath appointed her to be a scourge to the same, That we may have patience, and she may be bridled. Well, (said *Lethington*) Let us come to the second head? Where finde ye, that the Scriptures calls any the bond slaves of Satan, or that the Prophets of God spake of Kings and Princes, so irreverently. The Scripture, said *John Knox*, saith, That by nature wee are all the sonnes of wrath: Our Master Christ affirmes, That such as doe sinne, are servants to sinne, and that it is the onely Sonne of God that sets men at freedome; now what difference there is betwixt the sonnes of wrath, the servants of sinne, &c. And the slaves of Satan, I understand not, except I be taught; And if the sharpnesse of the terme offend you, I have

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have not invented that phrase of speech, but have learned it out of Gods Scriptures; for these words I finde spoken unto *Paul, Behold I send thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turne from darknesse unto light, and from the power of Sathan unto God.* Mark the words, my Lord, and stirre not at the speaking of the holy Ghost. And the same Apostle writing to his Scholler *Timothius;* sayes, *Instruct with meeknesse those that are contrary minded, if that God at any time will give them repentance, that they may know the truth, and come to amendment out of the snare of the Devill, which are taken of him at his will.* If your Lordship do rightly consider these sentences, you shall not onely finde my words to be the words of the holy Ghost, but also the condition which I use to adde, to have the assurance of Gods Scriptures.

2 Tim.2.

But they speak nothing against Kings in Scripture in speciall (said *Lethington*) and your continuall crying is, The Queens Idolatry, The Queens *Masse* will provoke Gods vengeance.

In the former sentence (said the other) I hear not Kings and Queens excepted, but all unfaithfull are pronounced to stand in one rank, and to be in bondage to one Tyrant the Devill. But beleeve me, my Lord, you little regard the state wherein they stand, when you would have them so flattered, that the danger thereof should neither be knowne, neither yet declared to the people.

Where will you finde (said *Lethington*) that any of the Prophets did so use Kings, Queens, Rulers or Magistrates.

In more places then one, (said the other;) *Ahab* was a King, and *Iezabel* a Queen, and yet what the Prophet *Elias* said to the one, and to the other I suppose you are not ignorant.

That was not cried out before the people, (said *Lethington*) to make them odious unto their subjects.

That *Elias* said, *Doggs shall lick the blood of Ahab,* (said *John Knox*) *and eate the flesh of Jezabell*, the Scriptures assures me; but that it was whispered in their Eares, or in a Corner, I read not; but the plain contrary appears to me, which is, that both the people and the Court understood well enough what the Prophet had promised; for so witnessed *Jehu* after that Gods vengeance had stricken *Jezabell.*

These were singular motions of the Spirit of God (said *Lethington*) and appertaineth nothing to our age.

Then hath the Scripture (said the other) deceived me, for Saint *Paul* teacheth me, that *whatsoever is written within the holy Scriptures, the same is written for our instruction*; And my Master saith, *That every learned Scribe brings forth of his Treasure, both things old and things new*; and the Prophet *Jeremy* affirmes, *That every Realme or Citie that likewise offends,* (as then did *Ierusalem*) *should likewise be punished.*

Why then, that the facts of ancient Prophets, and the fearfull judgements of God, executed before us, upon the disobedient, appertain not unto our age, I neither see, nor yet can understand.

Note. But now to put an end to this Head, my Lord, (saith he) the Prophets of God have not spared to rebuke Kings, as well to their faces as before the people and subjects; *Elizeus* feared not to say to King *Iehoram*, *What have*

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I to doe with thee, get thee to the other Prophets of thy Mother; for as the Lord of Hostes liveth, in whose sight I stand; if it were not that I regard the presence of Jehosaphat, the King of Judah, I would not have looked toward thee, nor seene thee? Plaine it is, that the Prophet was a Subject in the Kingdome of *Israel*, and yet how little reverence he giveth to the King; we heare *Jeremy* the Prophet was commanded to *Cry to the King and Queene, and to say, Behave your selves lowly, execute justice, and judgement, &c. or else your Carcasses shall be casten to the heate of the day, and unto the frost of the night.* Unto *Conias*, *Sullim*, and *Zedekias*, he speaketh in speciall, and shewes to them in his publike Sermons their miserable ends; and therefore yee ought not to thinke strange my Lord (said he) albeit the servants of God, taxe the vices of Kings and Queenes, even as well as of other offenders; and that because their sinnes be more noysome to the Common-wealth, then are the sinnes of inferiour persons. Anno

The most part of this reasoning, Secretary *Lethington* leaned upon the Master of *Maxwells* Breast, who said, I am almost weary, I would some other would reason in the chief head, which is yet untouched.

Then the Earle of *Mortoune*, Chancellor, commanded Master *George Hay* to reason against *John Knox* in the head of obedience due to Magistrates, who began so to doe; Unto whom *John Knox* said, Brother, that ye shall reason in my contrary, I am well content, because I know you to be both a man of learning, and of modesty; but that you shall oppose your selfe unto the Trueth, whereof I suppose your owne conscience is no lesse perswaded, then is mine, I cannot well approve; for I would be sorry, that yee and I should be reputed to reason, as two Schollers of *Pythagoras*, to shew the quickenesse of our wit, as it were to reason on both parts: I protest here before God, That whatsoever I sustaine, I doe the same in conscience; yea, I dare no more sustaine a proposition, knowne to my selfe untrue, then I dare teach false Doctrine, in the publike place; And therefore Brother, if Conscience move you to oppose your selfe to that Doctrine which yee have heard out of my mouth, in that matter, doe it boldly, it shall never offend me; But that yee shall bee found to oppose your selfe unto mee, yee being perswaded in the same Trueth; I say yet againe, it pleaseth me not; for therein may be greater inconveniency, then either yee or I doe consider for the publike. *Note.*

The said Master *George* answered, That I will not oppose my selfe unto you, as one willing to impugne or confute that Head of Doctrine, which not onely yee, but many others; yea, and my selfe have affirmed, farre be it from me, for so should I be found contrarious to my selfe; for my Lord Secretary knows, my judgement in that Head.

Marry, said the Secretary, you are (in my opinion) the worst of the two, for I remember that your Reasoning when the Queen was in *Carricke*.

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Well said *Iohn Knox*, seeing Brother, God hath made you one to fill the chaire of verity; wherein I am assured, we agree in all principall Heads of Doctrine; Let it never be said, That we agree not in disputation. *Iohn Knox* was moved thus to speake, because he understood more of the craft then the other did. Well (said *Lethington*) I am somewhat better provided in this last Head, then I was in the other two: Master *Knox*, said he, yesterday we heard your Judgement upon the thirteenth to the *Romanes*; we heard the minde of the Apostle well opened; we heard the causes why God hath established powers upon the earth; we heard of the necessitie that mankinde hath of the same; and wee heard the dutie of Magistrates sufficiently declared; But in two things I was offended, as I thinke some other more of my Lords that were present: which was, Ye made difference betwixt the Ordinance of God, and the persons that were placed in Authoritie: And ye affirmed, That men might refuse the persons, and yet not offend against Gods Ordinance; This is one, the other yee had no time to explaine; but this me thought ye meant, That Subjects were not bound to obey their Princes, if they command unlawfull things, but that they might refuse their Princes; and that they were not ever bound to suffer.

In very deed, said the other, ye have rightly both marked my words, and understood my minde; for of that same Judgement I have long been, and yet so remaine.

Let this be noted diligently.

How will ye prove your division and difference (said *Lethington*,) and that the persons placed in Authoritie, may be resisted, and the Ordinance of God not transgressed, seeing that the Apostle saith, *He that resisteth, resisteth the Ordinance of God.*

My Lord said he, The plaine words of the Apostle makes the difference, and the facts of many approved by God, prove my affirmative. First the Apostle affirmes, That the powers are ordained of God, for the preservation of quiet and peaceable men, and for the punishment of malefactors; whereof it is plaine, That the Ordinance of God and the power given unto man, is one thing, and the person clad with the Authoritie, is another; For Gods Ordinance is the conservation of mankinde, The punishment of vice, and the maintenance of vertue, which in it self, is holy, just, constant, stable, and perpetuall; but men clad with the Authoritie, are commonly prophane and unjust; yee, they are mutable, transitory, and subject to corruption, as God threateneth by his Prophet *David*, saying, *I have said yee are gods, and every one of you the sonnes of the most high; but yee shall dye as man, and the Princes shall fall like others.* Here I am assured, That the persons, yee soule and body are threatned with death; I think that so ye will not affirm, is the Authothority, the Ordinance, and the Power, wherewith God endeued such persons; for (as I have said) it is holy, so is the permanent will of God. And now, my Lord, that the Prince may be resisted, and yet the Ordinance of God not violated: It is evident that the people resisted *Saul*, when he had sworn by the living God that *Jonathan* should die; The people (I say) swore in the contrary, and delivered *Jonathan*, so that a hair of his head fell not: Now *Saul* was the Anoynted King, and they were

Psal. 82.

Note this.

were his subjects, and yet they resisted him, that they made him no better then men sworn. I doubt (said *Lethington*) That in so doing, the people did well. The Spirit of God (said the other) accuses them not of any crime, but rather praises them, and condemnes the King, as well for his foolish vow and Law made without God, as for his cruell minde, that so severely would have punished an innocent man: But herein will I not stand; this that followeth shall confirme the former. This same *Saul* commanded *Abimelech* and the Priests of the Lord to be slain, because they had committed Treason (as he alleadged) for intercommuning with *David*: His Guard, and principall servants, would not obey his unjust commandment; But *Doeg* the flatterer put the Kings cruelty in execution. I will not ask your judgement, Whether that the servants of the King, in not obeying his Commandment, resisted the Ordinance of God, or not; or, Whether *Doeg*, in murthering the Priests, gave obedience to a just Authority: For I have the Spirit of God, speaking by the mouth of *David*, for assurance, as well of the one, as of the other; for he in his 52 *Psalme*, condemnes that fact, as a most cruell murther; and affirms, That God would punish, not onely the commander, but also the mercilesse executer: And therefore I conclude, That they who gainstood his commandment, resisted not the Ordinance of God. And now (my Lord) to answer to the place of the Apostle, who affirms, That such as resist the Power, resist the Ordinance of God; I say, That the power in that place is not to be understood of unjust commandment of men, but of the just power wherewith God hath armed his Magistrates and Lieutenants, to punish sin, and maintain vertue. And if any man should enterprise to take from the hands of the faithfull Judge a murtherer and adulterer, or any malefactor that deserved death, this same resisteth Gods Ordinance, and procureth to himself vengeance and damnation, because that he stayed Gods Sword from striking. But so it is, if men in the fear of God oppose themselves to the fury and blinde rage of Princes; for so they resist not God, but the devill, who abuses the Sword and Authority of God. I understand sufficiently (said *Lethington*) what ye mean; unto the one part I will not oppose my self, but I doubt of the other; for if the Queen would command me to slay *John Knox*, because she is offended at him, I would not obey her: But if she would command others to do it, or yet by colour of Justice take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be bound to defend him against the Queen and her Officers. With protestation (said the other) That the auditors think not that I speak in favour of my self, I say, my Lord, That if ye be perswaded of my innocency, and if God have given unto you such power and credit as might deliver me, and yet suffered me to perish, that in so doing, ye should be criminall and guilty of my blood. Prove that, and win the play (said *Lethington.*) Well, my Lord (said the other) remember your promise, and I will be short in my probation: The Prophet *Jeremy* was apprehended by the Priests and Prophets (who were a part of the Authority within *Jerusalem*) and by the multitude of the people, and this sentence was pronounced against him, *Thou shalt die the death; for thou hast said, This House shall be like* Siloh, *and this City shall be desolate,*

Anno

1 Sam. 22.

Note this Discourse diligently.

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without any Inhabitant, &c. The Princes hearing the uprore, came from the Kings house, and sate down in Judgement in the entry of the new Gate of the Lords House; And there the Priests and Prophets, before the Princes, and before all the people, intented their Accusation in these words; *This man is worthy to die; for he hath prophesied against this City, and your eares have heard.* *Jeremiah* answered, That whatsoever he had spoken, proceeded from God; and therefore said he; *As for me, behold, I am in your hands, do with me as ye thinke good and right; But know ye for certaine, That if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your soules, and upon this Citie, and upon the inhabitants thereof: For of a truth, the Lord hath sent me unto you to speake all these words.* Now, my Lord, if the Princes and the whole people should have been guilty of the Prophets blood, How shall ye, or others, be judged innocent before God, if ye shall suffer the blood of such as have not deserved their blood to be shed, when ye may save it. The causes were nothing alike (said *Lethington.*) And I would learn (said the other) wherein the dissimilitude stands. First (said *Lethington*) the King had not condemned him to death; And next, The false Prophets, the Priests, and the People, accused him without a cause, and therefore they could not be guilty of his blood. Neither of these (said *John Knox*) fights against my argument; For albeit the King was neither present, nor yet had condemned him, yet were the Princes and chiefe Councellors there sitting in Judgement, who represented the Kings Authority, hearing the accusation laid unto the charge of the Prophet; And therefore he forewarns them of the danger, as before is said; to wit, That in case he should be condemned, and so put to death, That the King, the Councell, and the whole City of *Jerusalem*, should be guilty of his blood, because that he had committed no crime worthy of death: And if ye thinke that they all should have been criminall, onely because that they all accused him, the plain Text witnesseth the contrary; for the Princes defended him, and so (no doubt) did a great part of the People; and yet he boldly affirmed, That they should be all guilty of his blood, if he should be put to death. And the Prophet *Ezekiel* gives a reason, Why all are guilty of common corruption, Because (saith he) *I sought a man amongst them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the Land, that I should not destroy it, but I found none; Therefore have I poured forth my indignation upon them.* Hereof, my Lord, (said he) it is plain, That God craves, not onely that man should do no iniquity in his owne person; but also that he oppose himself to all iniquity, so farre as in him lieth. Then will ye (said *Lethington*) make subjects to controll their Princes and Rulers. And what harme (said the other) should the Common-wealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant Rulers were moderated, and so bridled by the wisedome and discretion of godly subjects, that they should do no wrong, nor no violence to any man. All this reasoning (said *Lethington*) is out of the purpose; For we reason as if the Queen should become such an enemy to our Religion, that she should persecute it, and put innocent men

God craves of us, That we should oppose our selves to iniquity.

men to death; while I am assured, she never thought, nor never will do; For if I should see her begin at that end, yea, if I should suspect any such thing in her, I should be as farre forward in that argument, as ye, or any other within the Realme: But there is no such thing; Our Question is, Whether that ye may suppresse the Queens Masse; or, Whether that her Idolatry shall be laid to our charge. What ye may (said *John Knox*) by force, I dispute not: But what ye may and ought to do by Gods expresse Commandment, that I can tell Idolatry ought not onely to be suppressed, but the Idolater also ought to die the death: But by whom? By the people of God (said the other) for the Commandment was given to *Israel*, as ye may reade, *Heare Israel*, (sayes the Lord) *the Statutes and the Ordinances of the Lord thy God, &c.* Yea, a Commandment is given, that if it be heard that Idolatry is committed in any one City, inquisition shall be taken; and if it be found true, That then the whole Body of the People arise and destroy that City, sparing in it neither man, woman, nor childe. But there is no Commandment (said the Secretary) given to punish their King. If he be an Idolater, I finde no priviledge granted unto Kings (said the other) by God, more then unto the people, to offend Gods Majestie. I grant (said *Lethington*) but yet the people may not be judges to their King to punish him, albeit he be an Idoter. God (said the other) is the Universall Judge, as well unto the King, as to the People: So that what his Word commands to be punished in the one, is not to be absolved in the other. We agree in that (said *Lethington*) But the people may not execute Gods Judgements, but mst leave it unto himselfe, who will either punish it by Death, by Warre, by Imprisonment, or by some other kinde of his Plagues.

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I know (said *John Knox*) the last part of the reason to be true: But for the first, That the people, yea, or a part of the people, may not execute Gods Judgements against their King, being an offendor: I am assured ye have no other Warrant, except your own imaginations, and the opinion of such as more fear to offend their Princes then God.

Why say ye so (said *Lethington*) I have the judgement of the most famous men in *Europe*, and of such as ye your selfe will confesse both godly and learned.

And with that he called for his Papers, which produced by Master *Maitland*, he began to reade with great gravity the Judgements of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, the mindes of *Bucer*, *Musculus*, and *Calvin*, how Christians should behave themselves in time of Persecution; yea, the Book of *Baruc* was not omitted, with this conclusion, The gathering of those things (said he) hath cost me more travell then I thinke this seven yeers in reading Commentaries.

The more pity (said the other) and yet wha you have profited your own cause, let others judge. But as for my argument, I am assured you have infirmed it in nothing; for your first two witnesses speak against the Anabaptists, who deny that Christians should be

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subject to Magistrates; or yet that it is lawfull for a Christian to be a Magistrate: whose opinion, I no lesse abhor, then ye do, or any other that liveth. The others speak of Christians subject to Tyrants and Infidels, so dispersed, that they have no other force, but onely to sob unto God for deliverance; that such (indeed) should hazard any further then these godly men wills them, I cannot hastily be of counsell: But my argument hath another ground; for I speak of a people assembled in one Body of a Common-wealth, unto whom God hath given sufficient force, not onely to resist, but also to suppresse all kinde of open Idolatry: And such a people yet again I affirme, are bound to keep their Land clean and unpolluted. And that this my division shall not appear strange unto you, ye shall understand that God required one thing of *Abraham* and of his Seed, when he and they were strangers and Pilgrims in *Egypt* and *Canaan*; and another thing required he of them, when they were delivered from the Bondage of *Egypt*, and the possession of the Land of *Canaan* granted unto them: The first, and during the time of their Bondage, God craved no more, but that *Abraham* should not defile himselfe with their Idolatry; neither was he, nor his Posterity commanded to destroy the Idolls that were in *Canaan*, or in *Egypt*: But when God gave unto them possession of the Land, he gave unto them this strait Commandment, *Beware that thou make not League or Confederacie with the inhabitants of this Land: give not thy sonnes unto their daughters, nor yet give thy daughters unto their sonnes, &c. But this ye shall do unto them, Cut down their Groves, destroy their Images, breake downe their Altars, and leave thou no kinde of remembrance of these Abominations which the Inhabitants of the Land used before; for thou art a holy People unto the Lord thy God; defile not thy selfe therefore with their gods, &c.* To this Commandment, I say, are ye, my Lords, and all such as have professed the Lord within this Realme, bound; for God hath wrought no lesse miraculously upon you, both Spiritually and Corporally, then he did unto the Carnall Seed of *Abraham*: For in what state your Bodies, and this poor Realme were, within these seven yeers, your selves cannot be ignorant; you, and it were both in the Bondage of a strange Nation, and what Tyrants did raigne over your consciences, God perchance may yet again let you feel, because that ye do not rightly acknowledge and esteeme the benefits received, when our poore Brethren that were before us, gave up their bodies to the flames of fire, for the Testimony of Gods Truth. And when scarcely could be found ten in a Country that rightly knew God, it had been foolishnesse to have craved, either of the Nobility, or of the mean Subjects, the suppressing of Idolatry; for that had been nothing, but to have exposed the simple Sheep in a prey to the Wolves: But since that God hath multiplyed knowledge, yea, and hath given the victory to his Truth, even in the hands of his servants, if yee suffer the Land again to be defiled, yee, and your Princes shall both drinke the cup of Gods indignation. The Queen, for her obstinate abiding in manifest Idolatry, in this great light of the Evangell of Jesus Christ; And ye, for your permission and maintaining her in the same. (*Lethington* said,) In that point we will never agree.

Let this be noted for our times.

Whether this hath come to passe or not, let the world judge.

And

And where finde ye (I pray you) that ever any of the Prophets, or of the Apostles, taught such Doctrine, That the people should be plagued for the Idolatry of the Prince; or yet, That the Subjects might suppresse the Idolatry of the Rulers, or them for the same. What was the Commission given unto the Apostles? My Lord, (said he) we know it was to preach, and plant the Evangell of Jesus Christ where darknesse before had Dominion; And therefore it behoved them to let them see the light, before that they should will them, to put their hands to suppresse Idolatry: What precepts the Apostles gave unto the faithfull in particular, other then that they commanded, all to fly from Idolatry, I will not affirme: But I finde two things which the faithfull did; The one was, They assisted their Preachers, even against the Rulers and Magistrates; The other was, They suppressed Idolatry, wheresoever God gave unto them force; asking no leave of the Emperour, nor of his Deputies. Read the *Ecclesiasticall* Histories, and ye shall finde examples sufficient? And as to the Doctrine of the Prophets, we know they were Interpreters of the Law of God; and we know, They spake as well unto the Kings, as unto the People. I read that neither of both would heare them; and therefore came the plague of God upon both; but that they flattered the Kings, more then they did the people, I cannot be perswaded. Now Gods Law pronounces death (as before I have said) to Idolaters without exception of persons. Now, how the Prophets could rightly interpret the Law, and shew the cause of Gods Judgements, which ever they threatned, should fall for Idolatry, and for the rest of the abhominations that did accompany it (for it is never alone, *but still corrupt Religion brings with it, a filthy, and corrupt life.*) How (I say) the Prophets could reprove the Vice, and not shew the people their duty, I understand not; And therefore, I constantly beleeve, That the Doctrine of the Prophets was so sensible, That the Kings understood their own abhominations; and the people understood, what they ought to have done in punishing and repressing them. But because that the most part of the People was no lesse Rebellious unto God, then were their Princes; Therefore the one, and the other, conjured against God, and against his servants. And yet my Lord, The facts of some Prophets are so evident, That thereby we may collect what Doctrine they taught; For it were no small absurdity to affirme, that their facts did repugne to their Doctrine. I think (said *Lethington*) ye meane of the History of *Jehu*, What will yee prove thereby? The chief head (said *John Knox*) that ye deny, to wit, That the Prophets never taught, that it appertained to the people to punish the Idolatry of their Kings: The contrary whereof I affirme; and for the probation, I am ready to produce the fact of a Prophet. For ye know my Lord (said he) that *Elizeus*, sent one of the children of the Prophets to annoint *Jehu*, who gave him a commandment to destroy the house of his Master *Achab* for the Idolatry committed by him; and for the innocent blood that *Jezabell* his wicked Wife had shed. While he obeyed and put in full execution (for the which) God promised unto him, the stability of the Kingdome, unto the fourth Generation.

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Note this diligently.

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Now (said he) here is the fact of a Prophet, that proves, that Subjects were commanded to execute Gods judgements upon their King and Prince. There is enough (said *Lethington*) to be answered thereto; For *Jehu* was a King before he put any thing in execution. And besides, That the fact is extraordinary, and ought not to be Imitate: My Lord (said the other) he was a meere Subject, and no King, when the Prophets servant came unto him; yea, and albeit that his fellow Captaines hearing of the Message, blew the Trumpet, and said, *Jehu* is King; yet I doubt not, but *Jezabel* both thought, and said, that he was a Traytor; and so did many others that were in *Israel*, and in *Samaria*.

And as touching, That ye alleadge, that the fact was extraordinary, and is not to be imitate: I say, That it had the ground of Gods ordinary judgement, which commandeth the Idolater to dye the death. And therefore, I yet againe affirme, That it is to be Imitate of all those that preferres the true Honour of the true Worship and Glory of God, to the affection of flesh, and wicked Princes. We are not bound (said *Lethington*) to follow extraordinary examples, unlesse we have the like commandment and assurance. I grant (said the other) if the example repugne to the Law; As if an avaritious and deceitfull man would borrow Silver, Rayment, or other necessaries from his Neighbour, and withhold the same; alleadging, that so he might do, and not offend God; because the *Israelites* at their departure forth of *Egypt*, did so to the *Egyptians*. The example served to no purpose, unlesse that they could produce the like cause, and the like commandment that the *Israelites* had; and that because their fact repugned to this Commandment of God, *Thou shalt not steale*: But where the example agrees with the Law, and is, as it were the execution of Gods judgement, expressed within the same; I say, That the example approved of God, stands to us in place of a Commandment; For as God in his Nature, is constant and immutable, so can he not condemne in the Ages subsequent, that which he hath approved in his servants before us; but in his servants before us, he by his own word confounds all such as crave further approbation of Gods will, then is already expressed within his Scriptures; For *Abraham* said, They have *Moses* and the Prophets, whom if they will not beleeve, neither will they beleeve, albeit that any of the dead should rise. Even so (I say) my Lord, that such as will not be taught what they ought to do by the Commandment of God once given, and once put in practise, will not beleeve nor obey, albeit, that God should send Angels from Heaven to instruct that Doctrine.

Note.

Yee have produced but one example (said *Lethington*) one sufficeth (said the other;) but yet God be praised we lacke not others; for the whole people conspired against *Amasiah* King of *Iuda*, after that he had turned away from the Lord, and followed him to *Lachis*, and slew him, and took *Uzziah* and annointed him King in steed of his father. The people had not altogether forgotten the League and Covenant, which was made betwixt their Kings and them, at the Inauguration of *Iohas* his Father; to wit, That the King and the People should be the People of the Lord, and then should they be his faithfull Subjects. From the which

2. Paral. 25.

which Covenant when first the Father, and after the sonne had declined, they were both punished to death, *Ioas* by his own servants, and *Amasias* by the whole people.

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When the Prince does serve God sincerely in private and publike, and hath a care that the people do the same, then assuredly they are faithfull to him; but if he faile in these or in either of them, he findes disobedience in his people, because he is not carefull to obey God, and to see him obeyed. Deut. 13. 2 Paral 26.

I doubt (said *Lethington*) whether they did well, or not.

It shall be free for you (said the other) to doubt as you please, but where I finde execution according to Gods Law, and God himselfe not to accuse the doers, I dare not doubt of the equity of their cause. And farther it appeareth to me, that God gave sufficient approbation and allowance of their fact, for he blessed them with victory, peace and prosperity the space of fiftie two yeers after.

But prosperity (said *Lethington*) does not alwayes prove that God approves the facts of men.

Yes, (said the other) when the facts of men agree with the Law of God, and are rewarded according to his owne promise expressed in his Law; I say, that the prosperitie succeeding the fact, is a most infallible assurance that God hath approved that fact. Now so it is That God hath pronounced in his Law, That when the people shall exterminat and destroy such as decline from him, that hee will blesse them and multiplie them, as he hath promised unto their Fathers. But so it is that *Masiah* turned from God (for so the Text doth witnesse, and plaine it is the people slew their King; and like plain it is, that God blessed them: Therefore yet againe conclude I, that God himselfe approved their fact, and so farre as it was done according to his commandement, it was blessed according to his promise.

Let this be applyed to the late affairs of *Scotland*.

Well, (said *Lethington*) I thinke not the ground so sure, as I durst build my Conscience thereupon.

I pray God (said the other) that your Conscience have no worse ground then this is whensoever you shall begin the like work which God in your owne eyes hath already blessed. And now, my Lord, (saith hee) I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reasoning, because I am weary longer to stand. Commaudment was given that he should sit downe; but he refused, and said, Melancholly reasons would have some mirth intermixed: My last example, (said he) my Lord is this, *Uzziah* the King not content with his Royall Estate, malapertly took upon him to enter within the Temple of the Lord to burn Incense upon the Altar of Incense; and *Azariah* the Priest, went in after him, and with him fourscore Priests of the Lord, valiant men, and they withstood *Uzziah*, and said unto him, *It appertaineth not unto thee*, (Uzziah) *to burn Incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests the Sonnes of* Aaron, *that are consecrated to offer Incense; Goe forth of the Sanctuary, for thou hast transgressed, and thou shalt have none honour of the Lord.* Hereof, my Lords, I conclude, That Subjects not onely may, but also ought to withstand and resist their Princes, whensoever they doe any thing that expressely repugnes to God, his Law, or holy Ordinance.

2 Paral. 26.

Note.

They that withstood the King (said *Lethington*) were not simple subjects, but were the Priests of the Lord, and figures of Christ, and

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such Priests have we none this day to withstand Kings if they doe any wrong.

That the High Priest was the figure of Christ (said the other) I grant, but that he was not a subject, that I deny; for I am assured, that he in his Priesthood had no Prerogative above those that passed before him; now so it is, that *Aaron* was subject to *Moses*, and called him his Lord; *Samuel* being both Prophet and Priest, subjected himselfe unto *Saul* after hee was inaugurated of the People; *Sadoc* bowed before *David*; and *Abiathar* was deposed from the Priesthood by *Solomon*, which all confessed themselves subjects to the Kings, albeit therewith they ceased not to be the figures of Christ. And whereas you say, we have no such priests this day, I might answer, That neither have we such Kings this day as then were annointed by Gods commandment, and sate upon the seate of *David*, and were no lesse the figure of Christ Jesus in their just administration, then were the Priests in their appointed Office; and such kings (I am assured) we have not now no more then wee have such Priests; for Christ Jesus being annointed in our nature of God his Father, both King, Priest and Prophet, hath put end to all externall unction. And yet I thinke you will not say that God hath now diminished his graces from those whom he appoints Ambassadours betwixt him and his people, then he doth from Kings and Princes; and therefore why the servants of Jesus Christ may not also justly withstand Kings and Princes that this day no lesse offend Gods Majestie then *Uzziah* did, I see not; unlesse that ye will not say, that we in the brightnesse of the Evangell, are not so straitly bound to regard Gods glory, nor his Commandments, as were the Fathers who lived under the dark shadows of the Law.

Well (said *Lethington*) I will dip no farther in that Head; but how resisted the Priests the King, they onely spake unto him, without further violence intended.

That they withstood him (said the other) the Text assures me, but that they did nothing but speak, I cannot understand; for the plain Text affirms the contrary, to wit, That they caused him hastily to depart from the sanctuary, yea, and that he was compelled to depart; which manner of speaking (I am assured) in the *Hebrew* Tongue, importeth more then exhorting, or commanding by word.

They did that (said *Lethington*) after he was espyed to be leprous.

They withstood him before, (said the other) but yet their last fact confirms my proposition so evidently, that such as will oppose themselves unto it, must needs oppose themselves unto God; for my assertion is, That Kings have no priviledge more then hath the people to offend Gods Majestie, and if so they do, they are no more exempted from the punishment of the Law, then is any other subject; yea, and that subjects may not onely lawfully oppose themselves to their Kings, whensoever they do any thing that expresly oppugnes Gods Commandment, but also that they may execute judgement upon them, according to Gods Law; so that if the King be a Murtherer, Adulterer, or an Idolater, he should suffer according

according to Gods Law, not as a King, but as an offender : And that the people may put Gods Law in execution, this History cleerly proveth; for how soon that the Leprosie appeared in his forehead, he was not onely compelled to depart out of the Sanctuary, but also he was removed from all publike society and administration of the Kingdom, and was compelled to dwell in a house apart, even as the Law commanded; and gat no greater priviledge in that case, then any other of the people should have done: And this was executed by the people; for it was no doubt but more were witnesses of his Leprosie then the Priests alone; but we finde none oppose themselves to the sentence of God pronounced in his Law against the Leprosie: And therefore yet again I say, That the people ought to execute Gods Law, even against their Princes, when that their open crimes by Gods Laws deserve punishment; but especially, when they are such as may infect the rest of the multitude. And now, my Lords, (said he) I will reason no longer, for I have spoken longer then I intended. Anno

And yet (said *Lethington*) I cannot tell what shall be the conclusion.

Albeit ye cannot (said the other) yet I am assured what I have proved; to wit,

1. *That subjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their King, and therefore offended not God.*

2. *That subjects have refused to strike innocents, when a King commanded, and in so doing, denied no just obedience.*

2. *That such as strook at the commandment of the King, were before God reputed mutherers.*

4. *That God hath not onely of a subject made a King, but also he armed subjects against their naturall King; and commanded them to take vengeance upon them, according to his Law.*

5. *And lastly, That Gods people hath executed Gods Law against their King, having no further regard to him in that behalf, then if he had been the most simple subject within the Realme.*

And therefore, albeit ye will not understand what should be concluded, yet I am assured, That not onely may Gods people, but also, That they are bound to do the same, where the like crimes are committed, and when he gives to them the like power.

Well (said *Lethington*) I think ye shall not have many learned men of your opinion.

My Lord, (said the other) the Truth ceaseth not to be Truth, howsoever it be, That men must either know it, or gainstand it. And yet (said he) I praise God, I lack not the consent and approbation of Gods servants in that Head. And with that he presented unto the Secretary

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the Apologie of *Magdeburgh*, and willed him to reade the names of the Ministers, who had subscribed the defence of the Town to be a most just defence; and therewith added, That to resist a misled King, is not to resist God, nor yet his Ordinance, &c. Who when he had read, he stouped and said, *Homines obscuri.* The other answered, *Dei tamen servi.* And *Lethington* arose, and said, My Lords, ye have heard the reasons upon both parts; it becomes you now to decide, and to put an order unto Preachers, that they be uniform in Doctrine. May we (think ye) take the Queens Masse from her?

While that some began to give, as it were, their Votes (for some were appointed, as it were, leaders of the rest) *John Knox* said; My Lords, I suppose you will not do contrary to your Lordships promise made to the whole Assembly, which was, That nothing should be voted in secret, till that first all matters should be debated in publike, and that then the Votes of the whole Assembly should put end to the controversie. Now have I onely sustained the argument, and have rather shewn my conscience in most simple manner, then that I have insisted upon the force and vehemency of any one argument: And therefore I for my part utterly disassent from all voting, untill the whole Assembly have heard the Propositions and the Reasons of both parties; for I unfainedly acknowledge, That many in that company are more able to sustain the argument then I am.

Think ye it reasonable (said *Lethington*) That such a multitude as are now convened, should reason and vote in such heads and matters that concerns the Queens Majesties own Person and Affairs.

I think (said the other) That whatsoever should binde the multitude, the multitude should hear it; unlesse they have resigned their power to Commissioners, which they have not done, so far as I understand; for my Lord Justice Clerk heard them with one voyce say, That in no wise would they consent that any thing there should be voted or concluded.

I cannot tell (said *Lethington*) if my Lords that be here present, and that bear the burthen of such matters, should be bound to their will: What say ye, my Lords, (said he) will ye vote in this matter, or will ye not vote?

After long reasoning, some that were made for the purpose, said, Why may not the Lords vote, and then shew unto the Church whatsoever is done?

That appears to me (said *John Knox*) not onely a backward order, but a tyranny usurped upon the Church: But for me, do as ye list (said he) for as I reason, so I wrote; yet protesting as before, That I disassent from all voting, till that the whole Assembly understand as well the questions as the reasons.

Well (said *Lethington*) that cannot be done now, for too much time is spent; And therefore, my Lord Chancellor (said he) ask ye the votes, and take ever, one of the Ministers, and one of us.

M. *John Douglas* Rector, his Vote.

And so was the Rector of Saint *Androes* commanded first to speak his conscience: Who said, I refer it to the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, for I think we are both of one judgement: and yet (said he) if ye will that I speake first,

first, my conscience is this, That if the Queen oppose her self to our Religion (which is the onely true Religion) that in that case the Nobility and States of this Realme, professors of the true Doctrine, may justly oppose themselves to her: But as concerning her Masse, I know it is Idolatry, but I am not yet resolved, Whether by violence we may take it from her, or not. The Superintendent of *Fyfe* said, That same is my conscience: And so affirmed some of the Nobility. But others voted frankly, and said, That as the Masse is abominable, so it is just and right that it should be suppressed; And that in so doing, men did no more hurt to the Queens Majesty, then they that should by force take from her a poysoned cup, when she were a going to drink in it. Last Master *John Craig*, fellow Minister with *John Knox* in the Church of *Edinburgh*, was required to give his judgement and vote; who said, I will gladly shew unto your Honours what I understand; but I greatly doubt, Whether my knowledge and conscience shall satisfie you, seeing you have heard so many reasons, and are so little moved by them: But yet I will not conceale from you my judgement, adhering first to the Protestation of my Brother, to wit, That our voting prejudge not the Liberty of the Generall Assembly. I was (said he) in the University of *Bonnonia*, in the yeer of our Lord 1554. where, in the place of the black-Friers of the same Town, I saw in the time of their Generall Assembly this Conclusion set forth; the same I heard reasoned, determined and concluded, to this sense.

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Master *John Craig* his Vote.

Conclusion.

All Rulers, be they Supreme or Inferiour, may and ought to be reformed or bridled (to speak moderately) by them by whom they are chosen, confirmed or admitted to their Office, so oft as they break that promise made by Oath to their subjects; Because that the Prince is no lesse bound by Oath to the subjects, then are the subjects to their Princes; And therefore ought it to be kept and reformed equally, according to Law, and Condition of the Oath that is made of either party.

This Conclusion (my Lords) I heard sustained and concluded, as I have said, in a most notable Auditory. The sustainer was a learned man, Master *Thomas de Finola*, Rector of the University, a man famous in that Countrey: Master *Vincentins de Placentia* affirmed the Conclusion to be most true and certain, agreeable both with the Law of God and man. The occasion of this disputation and conclusion, was a certain disorder and tyranny that was attempted by the Popes Governours, who began to make Innovations in the Countrie against the Laws that were before established, alleadging themselves not to be subject to such Laws, by reason that they were not instituted by the People, but by the Pope, who was King of that Countrey: And therefore they having full Commission and Authority of the Pope, may alter and change Statutes and Ordinances of the Countrey, without any consent of the people. Against this usurped Tyranny, the learned and the people opposed themselves: And when that all reasons which the Popes Governours could alleadge were

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heard and consulted, the Pope himself was fain to take up the matter, and to promise, not onely to keep the Liberty of the people, but also that he should neither abrogate any Law nor Statute, neither yet make any new Law, without their owne consent: And therefore, my Lord, (said he) my Vote and my Conscience is, That Princes are not onely bound to keep Lawsand Promises to their subjects; But also, That in case they fail, they justly may be bridled: For the Band betwixt the Prince and the People is reciprocall.

Note diligently

Then start up a claw-back of that corrupt Court, and said, Ye wot not what ye say; for ye tell us what was done in *Bononia*; we are a Kingdom, and they are a Common-wealth.

My Lord,(said he) my judgement is,That every Kingdom is,or at least should be a Common-wealth, albeit that every Common-wealth be not a Kingdom; And therefore I think that in a Kingdom no lesse diligence ought to be taken that Laws ought not to be violated, then they ought to be in a Common-wealth, because that the tyranny of Princes who continuing in a Kingdom, is more hurtfull to the subjects, then is the mis-government of those that from yeer to yeer are changed, in free Common-wealths: But yet, my Lord, to assure you, and all others, that Head was disputed to the uttermost; and then in the end was concluded, That they spake not of such things as were done in divers Kingdoms and Nations, by Tyrannie and negligence of people: But we conclude (said they) what ought to be done in all Kingdoms and Common-wealths,according to the Law of God,and unto the just Laws of man: And if by the negligence of the people, by the tyranny of Princes, contrary Laws have been made,yet may that same people, or their posterity, justly crave all things to be reformed according to the originall institution of Kings and Common-wealths; and such as will not so do, deserve to eat the fruit of their own foolishnesse.

Note diligently

M. *James Markgow*, then Clerk of the Register, perceiving the Votes to be different,and hearing the bold plainnesse of the foresaid servant ofGod, said, I remember that this same question was long debated on before in my house; and there, by reason we were not all of one minde, it was concluded,That M. *Knox* in all our names, should have written to M.*Calvin*, for his jugement in the controversie. Nay,(said M.*Knox*) my Lord Secretary would not consent that I should write,alleadging, That the greatest weight of the answer stood in the Narrative; and therefore promised,that he would write, and that I should seeit: But when divers times I required him to remember his promise,I found nothing but delay. Whereunto the Secretary answered,True it is,I promised to write; and true it is, That M. *Knox* required me so to do; but when I had ripely advised, and deeply considered the weight of the matter, I found more doubts then I did before: And this is one, amongst others; How durst I, being a subject, and the Queens Majesties Secretary, take upon me to seek resolution of controversies depending betwixt her Highnesse and her subjects, without her own knowledge and consent.

Then was an acclamation of the claw-backs of the Court, as if *Apollo* had given his Responce: It was wisely and faithfully done.

Well,

Anno

Well (said *John Knox*) let worldly men praise worldly wisdome so highly as they please, I am assured, that by such shifts Idolatry is maintained, and the truth of Jesus Christ is betrayed, whereof God one day will be avenged.

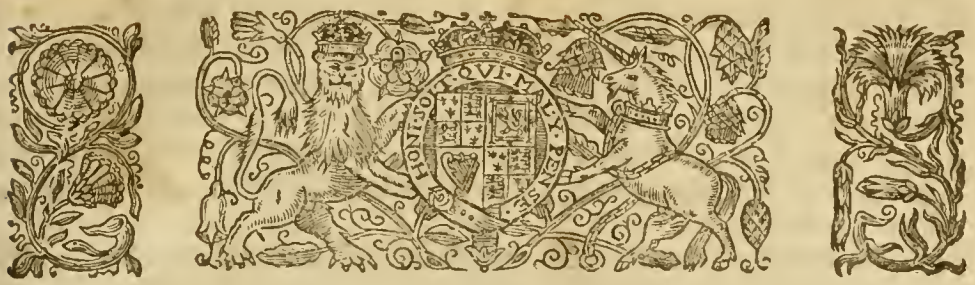
At the and at the like sharpnesse were many offended, the Voting ceased, and every Faction began to speak as affection moved; then *John Knox* in the end was commanded yet to write to Master *Calvin*, and to the learned in other Churches, to know their judgement in that Question; which he refused, shewing his Reason, I my self am not onely full resolved in conscience, but also I have heard their judgements, in this and all other things that I have affirmed within this Realme, of the most godly and most learned that he knew in *Europe*; I came not to this Realme without their Resolution; and for my assurance I have the hand-writing of many: And therefore if I should now move the said Questions again, what should I do other, but either shew mine own ignorance and forgetfulnesse, or else inconstancy: And therefore it may please you to pardon me, in that I write not. But I will teach you the surer way, which is, That you write and complain upon me, That I teach publikely, and affirme constantly such doctrine which offends you; and so shall you know their plain mindes, and ther that they and I agree in judgement nor not.

Divers said the offer was good, but no man was found that would be the Secretary, and so did that Assembly and long reasoning break up; After the which time the Ministers (that were called precise) were holden as Monsters of all the Courtiers. In all that time the Earle of *Murray* was so frame and strange to *John Knox*, that neither by word nor writ was there any Communication betwixt them, &c.

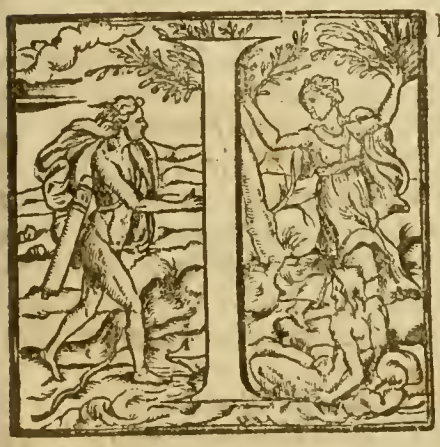
The end of the long reasoning betwixt John Knox *and the Secretary, in the moneth of* June, 1564.

The end of the fourth Book.

Anno



THE FIFTH BOOK
Of the Reformation of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.



IN the next Moneth, which was *July*, the Queen went into *Athole* to the Hunting; and from thence she made her Progresse into *Murray*, and returned to *Fyfe* in *September*. All this while there was appearance of love and tender friendship betwixt the two Queens; For there was many Letters, full of Civility and Complements sent from either of them to the other, in signe of Amity; besides costly Presents for Tokens. And in the mean time the Earle of *Lenox* laboured to come home forth of *England*, and in the moneth of *October* he arrived at *Halyrud-house*, where he was graciously received by the Queens Majestie; namely, When he had presented the Queen of *England* her Letters, written in his favour: And because he could not be restored to his Lands without Act of Parliament, therefore there was a Parliament procured to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 13 day of *December*: But before the Queen would cause to Proclaim a Parliament, she desired the Earle of *Murray*, by whose means chiefly the said Earle of *Lenox* came into *Scotland*, That there should no word be spoken, or at least concluded, that concerned Religion in the Parliament. But he answered, That he could not promise it. In the mean time, the *Hamiltons* and the Earle of *Lenox* were agreed.

There be two Epigrams extant, written by *George Buchanan*, of a rich Diamond sent from Qu. *Mary* to Queen *Elizabeth*.

At the day appointed, the Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, where the said Earle of *Lenox* was restored, after two and twenty yeers Exile: He was banished, and forfeited by the *Hamiltons*; when they had the rule.

Anno

There were some Articles given in by the Church, especially for the abolishing of the Masse universally, and for punishment of vice; but there was little thing granted, save that it was Statute, That scandalous livers should be punished first by prison, and then publikely shewne unto the people with ignominy; but the same was not put in execution. In the end of this moneth of *December*, the generall Assembly of the Church was held at *Edinburgh*, many things were ordained for setling of the affaires of the Church.

In the end of *January* the Queen past to *Fyfe*, and visiting the Gentlemens houses, was magnificently banquetted every where, so that such superfluity was never seen before within this Realme; which caused the wilde Fowl to be so dear, that Partridges were sold for a crown a piece. At this time was granted by an Act of Parliament, the confirmation of the Fewes of Church Lands, at the desire of divers Lords, whereof the Earle of *Murray* was chief. During the Queens absence, the Papists of *Edinburgh* went down to the Chappell to hear Masse; and seeing there was no punishment, they waxed more bold: some of them thinking thereby to please the Queen, upon a certain Sunday in *February* they made an Evensong of their own, setting two Priests on the one side of the Quire, and one or two on the other side, with *Sandy Stevin*, Menstrall (Baptizing their children, and making Marriages) who within eight dayes after convinced of Blasphemy, alleadging, That he would give no more credit to the New Testament, then to a *Tale of Robin-Hood*, except it were confirmed by the Doctors of the Church. The said superstitious Evensong was the occasion of a great slander, for many were offended with it; which being by the Brethren declared to the Lords of the Privy Councell, especially to the Earle of *Murray*, who lamented the cause to the Queens Majestie, shewing her what inconveniency should come, if such things were suffered unpunished: And after sharp reasoning it was promised, That the like should not be done hereafter: The Queen also alleadged, That they were a great number; and that she could not trouble their conscience.

About the 20 of this moneth arrived at *Edinburgh*, *Henry Stewart*, Lord *Darley*; from thence he past to *Fyfe*: And in the place of *Weemes* he was admitted to kisse the Queens hand; whom she liked so well, that she preferred him before all others; As shall hereafter, God willing, be declared. Soon after, in the Moneth of *March*, the Earle *Bothwell* arrived out of *France*; whereat the Earle of *Murray* was highly offended, because of the evil report made to him of the Lord *Bothwell*; And passing immediately to the Queens Majestie, demanded of her if it was her will, or by her advice, that he was come home; and seeing he was his deadly enemy, either he or the other should leave the Countrey, and therefore desired that he might have Justice. Her answer was, That seeing the Earle *Bothwell* was a Noble-man, and had done her service, she could not hate him: Nevertheless she would do nothing that might be prejudiciall to the Earle of *Murray*, but desired that the matter might be taken away: within few days she caused summon the Earl *Bothwell*, to answer to the course of Law the 2 of *May*, for the Conspiracy which the Earl of *Arrane* had alleadged two

yeers

yeers before, and for the breaking of the Ward of the Castle. In the mean while there was nothing in the Court, but Banquetting, Balling, and Dancing, and other such pleasures as were meet to provoke the disordered appetite; and all for the entertainment of the Queens Cousin from *England*, the Lord *Darley*, to whom she did shew all the expressions imaginable of love and kindenesse. Anno

Within few dayes, the Queen being at *Sterlin*, order was given to Secretary *Lethington* to passe to the Queen of *England*: The chief point of his Message was, to declare to the Queen of *England*, That the Queen was minded to marry her Cousin the Lord *Darley*; and the rather, because he was so neer of Blood to both Queens: For by his mother, he was Cousin German to the Queen of *Scotland*, also of neer kindred, and of the same name by his father: His mother was Cousin German to the Queen of *England*. Here mark Gods providence; King *James* the fifth having lost his two sons, did declare his resolution to make the Earl of *Lenox* his Heir of the Crown; but he prevented by sudden death, that designe ceased: Then come the Earle of *Lenox* from *France*, with intenion to marry King *James* his Widow; but that failed also: He marries *Mary Dowglas*, and his son marrieth *Mary*, King *James* the fifth his daughter: And so the Kings desire is fulfilled, to wit, The Crown continueth in the Name and in the Family. The Queen of *England*, nevertheless, shewed her self nothing pleased therewith, but rather declared, That she would in no wise suffer her subjects to make such Contracts or Alliance that might be prejudiciall to her, and for the same purpose sent a Post to the Queen with Letters, wherein she complained greatly of the mind of our Mistris, seeing the great affection she bare to her, intending to declare her Heretrix of her Realm of *England*, providing onely that she would use her counsell in Marriage; but she could not approve her Marriage with the Lord *Darley*, although he was their neer Cousin by Birth, since he was below the Rank of the Queen by Condition, being but a private subject. At the same time she wrote to the Earle of *Lenox*, and to his son, commanding them to repair both into *England*. Some write, That all this was but counterfeit by the Queen of *England*; and from her heart she was glad of the Marriage; for by that means the Succession of the Crown of *England* was secured, the Lord *Darley* being the right Heir after the Queen of *Scotland*: and Queen *Elizab.* was not angry to see her married to one of inferiour Rank, for by that means she thought the Scots Queen would be lesse proud. During this time, there were certain Letters directed to the Brethren of *Edinburgh*, to *Dundie*, *Fyfe*, *Angus* and *Mernes*, and other places, from the Brethren of *Kyle*, and other places in the West Countrey, desiring the professors of the Evangel in all places, to remember what the Eternall God had wrought, and how potently he had abolished all kinde of Idolatry and superstition, and placed his Word in this Realm; so that no man could say otherwise, but it was the Work of God; who also had delivered this Countrey from the bondage and tyranny of strangers: Nevertheless by our slothfulnesse, we have suffered that Idol the Masse, not onely to be planted again, but to encrease so, that the maintainers thereof are like, by all appearance, to get the upper hand, which would be the occasion of our destruction: And

Anno

for that the Papists purposed to set up their Idol at *Easter* following, in all places; which was to be imputed to the slothfulnesse, and want of godly zeal of the Professors: Ttherefore they admonished the Brethren to strive to avert the evil in time, & not to suffer such wickednesse to continue and encrease, lest that Gods heavie wrath come upon us unawares like a consuming fire. By these Letters many Brethren were animated, and their spirits wakened, minding to provide as God should give them grace: And first of all, by the advice of the most learned in *Edinb.* there was a Supplication made, and given to the Queens Majestie by the Superintendent of *Lowthiar*, containing in effect, That the Church in generall of the Realme had divers times most humbly craved of her Majesty, That committers of Adultery should be punished according to the Law of God, and the Acts of Parliament, nevertheless they continued in their wickednes; and the Papists of obstinate malice pretended nothing else, but to erect and set up their Idolatry and Superstition; and especially at *Easter* day following they intended to put the same in practice, which the Brethren and Professors of the Evangel could not suffer; Therefore wished her Majestie to take heed of the matter.

At this time an Italian, named *Davie*, entred in great familiarity with the Queen, so that there was nothing done without him.

This Supplication the Secretary received of the hands of the Superintendents of *Lowthian* and *Glosgow*, and told them, in the Queenes Name, That there should be such provision made, as should serve to their contentment: And for the same purpose, the Queens Majestie writ to all such places as were suspected, especially to the Bishop of Saint *Andrewes* and *Aberdeine* (as was said) not to use any Masse; And that they should not do any such thing as was feared by the Protestants, or convene any Councell, and thereto commanded them. Now the Communion was administred in *Edinburgh* the first day of *April*, 1565. At which time, because it was neer *Easter*, the Papists used to meet at their Masse: And as some of the Brethren were diligent to search such things, they having with them one of the Bayliffs, took one Sir *James Carvet* riding hard, as he had now ended the saying of the Masse, and conveyed him, together with the Master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the Tolbuith, and immediately revested him with all his Garments upon him, and so carried him to the Market-Crosse, where they set him on high, binding the Chalice in his hand, and himself fast tyed to the said Crosse, where he tarried the space of one hour; During which time, the boyes served him with his *Easter* egges. The next day following, the said *Carvet*, with his assistants, were accused and convinced by an Assize, according to the Act of Parliament: And albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment, he was set upon the Market-Crosse for the space of three or four houts, the hang-man standing by, and keeping him, the boyes and others were busie with egges casting; and some Papists there were, that stopped as far as they could: And as the preasse of people encreased about the Crosse, there appeared to have beene some tumult. The Provest, *Archibald Dowglas*, came with some Halberdiers, and carried the Priest safe againe to the Tolbuith. The Queen being advertised, and having received sinister information that the Priest was dead, suddenly thought to have used and inflicted some extreme punish-

punishment, for she thought that all this was done in contempt of her, and of her Religion; and it was affirmed, That the Towne should have beene sacked, and a great number executed to death; she sent to such as she pleased, commanding them to come to her at *Edinburgh* suddenly with their whole Forces; and in the mean time she sent her Advocate Master *Spence* of *Condie* to *Edinburgh*, to take a sure triall of the matter. The Provest and Councell wrote to the Queen the truth of the matter as it was, desiring her Majestie to take the same in good part, and not to give credit to false reports; and therewith sent to her Majestie the Processe and enrolment of the Court of the Priest Conviet. Thus the Queens Majesty being informed of the truth by her said Advocate, sent againe and stayed the said meeting of men, and sent to the Town a grave Letter, whereof the Copie followeth. Anno

The Queens Letter to the Provest, Bailiffe, and Councell of *Edinburgh*.

PRrovest, Bayliffe and Councell of our Citie of Edinburgh, *We received your Letter from our Advocate, and understand by this report what diligence you took to stay the Tumult in the late disorder attempted at* Edinburgh; *wherein, as you did your duty in suppressing the Tumult, so can we not take in good part, nor thinke our self satisfied of so notorious a thing, without certain seditious persons, who were pleased to do justice perforce and without the Magistrates Authoritie, be condignly and really punished for their rashnesse and misbehaviour; for if all private Persons should usurpe to take vengeance at their owne hands, What lies in ours? And to what purpose hath good Laws and Statutes been established? Since therefore we have never been obstinate to the due punishment of any offendors, prescribed by the Lawes, but have alwayes maintained Justice in that case without respect of persons. It is Our will, and We command you, as you will answer to Us upon your obedience and allegiance, That you will take before you certaine of the most responsall persons which are declared Authors of the said Sedition, and usurpers of our Auihority, and to administer Justice upon them, in such sort as We may know a sinceritie on your parts, and Our Authority no wayes slighted. But if you faile, perswade your selves, (and that shortly) we will not oversee it, but will account this Contempt not onely to be in the Committers thereof, but in your selves, who ought to punish it, and relieve us on our part, remitting the rest to your diligence and execution, which we look for so soon as reason will permit.*

Subscribed with Our Hand at STERLIN,
this 24 of *April*, *Anno* 1565.

By

Anno

BY this manner of writing and high threatning, may be perceived how grievously the Queens Majestie would have been offended if the said *Tarbot* and *Masse-monger* had been handled according to his demerite, being not onely a Papist Idolater, but a manifest Whoremaster, and a common Fighter and blasphemer; nevertheleſſe within few dayes the Queen charged the Provest and Bailiffs to set him at libertie, commanding them further, That no man should trouble nor molest him in any sort for whatsoever cause, and soon after rewarded him with a Benefice, and likewise his Assisters *John Low* and *John Kennedie* set at libertie in the same manner. At this *Easter*-Tyde in *Sterlin* the Queen made her domestick servants use Papisticall Rites and Ceremonies, and more, she perswaded others by faire means to do the same, and threatned those that were most constant at the Earle of *Cassels* House. Upon the second day of *May* 1565. conveened at *Edinburgh* the Earle of *Murray* with his friends, in great numbers to keepe the day of Law against the Earle *Bothwell*, who being called, appeared not, onely the Laird of *Rickerton* protested, That the personall absence of the Earle *Bothwell* should not be prejudiciall to him, by reason that for just fear, which might happen in the heart of any man, since he had so potent an enemy as the Lord of *Murray*, who, next the Queens Majesty was of greatest estimation and Authority of any man within this Realm, to whom assisted at this present day of Law, seven or eight hundred men, which Force he could not resist, and therefore had absented himself; which Protestation being made, those that had been Sureties for his appearance, were Outlawed. The said Earle *Bothwell* a few dayes after past into *France*, after he had been in *Liddesdale*, where suspecting almost every man, he was not in great assurance of his life, notwithstanding he was not put to the Horne, for the Queen continually bore a great favour towards him, and kept him to be a Souldier, as appeared within lesse then half a year; for she would not suffer the Lord *Morton*, nor my Lord *Ariskin*, my Lord of *Murrayes* great friends to keep the day; There assisted my Lord of *Murray*, the Earles of *Argyle*, *Glencarne*, and *Crawford*, with great numbers, and many Lords and Barons, who for the most part conveened the same Afternoon to Treat and Consult for the maintaining of Religion; where some Articles were devised, and delivered to the Lord of *Murray* to be presented to the Queens Majestie and privie Councell, which Articles were enlarged at the generall assembly following, as shall be declared. In the meane time, as they were informed in Court of this great Assembly of people in *Edinburgh*, they were affraid, for naturally the Queen hated and suspected all such Conventions as were not in her own presence, and devised by her self. The chief Counsellors in the Court, were the Earls of *Lenox* and *Athole*. The Queen writ incontinent for all the Lords to come to *Sterlin*, so soone as she was advertised that they had Treated in *Edinburgh* of Religion; She Writ likewise for the superintendants and other learned men who went thither, and being there they caused to keep the Ports or Gates, and make good Watch about the Towne. The speciall cause of this Convention was to give to the Lord *Darley* Title of Honour openly and solemnly, with consent of the Nobles, before the marriage. The fourth day of *May* the

the Earle of *Murray* came to *Sterlin*, where he was well received by the Queens Majestie, as appeared, and immediately, as he past with her to my Lord *Darleys* Chamber, they presented to him a Contract, containing in effect, That forasmuch, as, or since, the Queen had contracted Marriage with the Lord *Darley*, and that therefore sundry Lords of the Nobilitie had under-written, ratified and approved the same, and obliged themselves to grant unto him in full Parliament the Crowne *Matrimoniall*, (by a new Court Solecisme in Policie, the Crowne for the second time is sirnamed *Matrimoniall*; (before, when the Queen was first married, it was so called also) to serve and obey him and her as their Lawfull Soveraignes. The Queen desired my Lord *Murray* to subscribe, as many others had done before; which hee refused to do, Because (said he) it is required necessarily that the whole Nobility be present, at least the principall, and such as he himself was posteriour unto, before that so grave a matter should be advised and concluded.

Anno

The Queens Majesty no wayes content with this Answer, insisted still upon him, saying, The greatest part of the Nobilitie were there present and content with the matter, wished him to be so much a *Stewart*, as to consent to the keeping of the Crown in the Family, and the sirname, according to their Fathers Will and desire, as was said of him a little before his death: But he still refused for the causes above written.

Now as the Lords were assembled, an Ambassadour from *England* named sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* arrived at *Sterlin*, and in his company the Laird of *Lethington*; the Ambassadour was at the Castle Gate or ever they were aware; and as he stood there in the Entry, he was desired to passe to his Lodgings. The next day he had audience of the Queen, and was graciously received according to the dignity of his Message. The whole summe of this his Message was, to shew and declare to the Queene, how highly the Queene his Mistris was offended with this precipitated Marriage, and wondred what had moved her to take a man of inferiour rank and condition, to her selfe: And therefore diffswaded her therefrom. And specially desiring her most earnestly to send home her Subjects the Earle of *Lennox* and the Lord *Darley*: But all in vaine for the matter was well farre proceeded. In her heart Queen *Elizabeth* was not angry at this marriage; first, because if Q. *Mary* had married a forraigne Prince, it had been an accesse to her Greatnesse, and consequently she had been more redoubted by the other; next both *Harry* and *Mary* were alike and in equall degree of Consanguinitie unto her, the father of *Mary* and the mother of *Harry* being Children to her fathers sister.

With many fair words the Queen let the Ambassadour depart, promising to do all she could to satisfie the Queen of *England*; and for the same purpose she would send an Ambassador to her.

In the meane time the Queens marriage with the Lord *Darley*, was prepared and propounded in Councell, and the chief of the Nobilitie, such as the Duke, the Earles of *Argyle*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, with the rest, granted freely to the same, providing that they might have the Religion established in Parliament, by the Queene, and the

The Earl of *Murray* seeing the other Nobles consent, gave his, which before he refused.

Anno

Idolatrous *Masse* and Superstition abolished, shortly it was concluded, That they should convene again to Saint *Johnstoun*, where the Queen promised to take a finall order for Religion. The day was appointed, to wit, the last of *May* at *Perth*, my Lord of *Argile* came too late. The Queens Majestie communed with the Lords, who were very plain with her, saying, Except the *Masse* were abolished, there should be no quietnesse in the Countrey. The twelfth day of *May* the Lord *Darley* was Belted, (that is, Created) Earle of *Rosse*, with great solemnity, a Belt or Girdle being tyed about his waste or middle; and albeit all kinde of provision was made to make him Duke of *Rothesay*, yet at that time it came not to effect, albeit the Crown and Robe-Royall were prepared to him for the same. For the entertainment of this Triumph there were many Knights made, to the number of 14. The next day, which was the 13 of *May*, the Queen called for the Super-intendants, by name *John Willock*, *John Winram*, and *John Spotswood*, whom she cherished with fair words, assuring them that she desired nothing more earnestly then the glory of God and satisfying of mens consciences, and the good of the Common-wealth; and albeit she was not perswaded in any Religion but in that wherein she was brought up, yet she promised to them that she would hear Conference and Disputation in the Scriptures: And likewise she would be content to hear publike preaching, but alwayes out of the mouth of such as pleased her Majestie; and above all others she said she would gladly hear the Superintendant of *Angus* (for he was a milde and sweet natur'd man) with true honesty and uprightnesse. Sir *Ariskin* of *Dun*. Soon after the Queen past to Saint *Johnstons*, after that she had directed Master *John Hay* Prior of *Monimusk* to passe to *England*, who sped at the Queen of *Englands* hand even as sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* did in *Scotland*. Before the day, which was appointed for the meeting at Saint *Johnston*, my Lord of *Murray* most carefull of the maintenance of Religion, sent to all the principall Churches, advertising them of the matter, and desiring them to advise, and send the most able men in Learning and Reputation, to keep the day; but their craft and dissimulation appeared, for the Dean of *Restalrigge* who lately arrived out of *France*, with others, such as Mr. *John Lesley* Parson of *Vure*, afterward Bishop of *Rosse*, caused the Queen to understand that thing whereof she was easily perswaded, to wit, That there ought to be given to all men libertie of conscience, and for this purpose to shun or put off the first day appointed; The Queen writ to the Nobility, that because she was informed that there was great meetings out of every Shire and Town in great number; and then the other partie (so termed she the Papists) were minded together to the said Convention, which should apparently make trouble or sedition, rather then any other thing; therefore she thought it expedient, and willed them to stay the said meetings, and to deferre the same till such a day that she should appoint with advice of her Councell. At this time there was a Parliament proclaimed to be held at *Edinburgh* the twentieth day of *July*. By this Letter, some of the Protestants having best judgement, thought themselves sufficiently warned of the Inconveniences and troubles to come. Now her Councell at this time, was onely the Earles of *Lenox* and *Athole*, the Lord *Ruthen*, but chiefely *David Rizio* the *Italian* ruled all;

yet

yet the Earle of *Rosse* already in greatest credit and familiarity. These Letters were sent out to the Lords about the eight and twentieth day of *May*; and within twelve dayes thereafter, she directed new Missives to the chief of the Nobility, desiringor, commanding them, to come to Saint *Johnston* the three and twentieth day of *June* following, to consult upon such things as concerned Religion, and other things as her Majesty should propose; Which day, was even the day before that the generall Assembly should have been held in *Edinburgh*. This last Letter uttered the effect of the former; so that the Protestants thought themselves sufficiently warned. Always as the Earle of *Murray* was passing to Saint *Johnston* to have kept the said day, he chanced to fall sick of the Fluxes in *Lochlevin*, where he remained till the Queen came forth of Saint *Johnston* to *Edinburgh*, where the generall Assembly of the whole Church of *Scotland* was held, the four and twentieth day of *July*. The Earls of *Argyle* and *Glencarne* assisted the Church with a great company of Lords, Barons, and others: It was there ordered and concluded, That certain Gentlemen, as Commissioners from the Church National, should passe to the Queens Majesty, with certain Articles, to the number of six, desiring her most humbly to ratifie and approve the same in Parliament. And because the said Articles are of great weight, and worthy of memory, I thought good to insert the same word by word.

Anno

IMprimis, *That the Papisticall and Blaspemous Masse, with all Papisticall Idolatry, and Papall Jurisdiction, be universally suppreſt and abolisht thorowout this Realme, not onely in the Subjects, but also in the Queens own Person, with punishment against all persons that should be deprehended to transgresse and offend in the same: And that the sincere Word of God, and Christs true Religion now at this present received, be published, approved, and ratified, thorowout the whole Realm, as well in the Queens owne Person, as in the subjects: And that the people be to resort upon the Sundayes at the least, to the Prayers, and Preaching of Gods Word, even as they were before to the Idolatrous Masse: And these Heads to be provided by Act of Parliament, and ratified by the Queens Majesty.*

Secondly, *That provision be made for sustentation of the Ministry, as well for the time present, as the time to come: And that such persons as are presently admitted ot the Ministery, may have their Livings assigned unto them, in places where they travell in their Calling, or at least next adjacent thereto: And that the Benefices now vacant, or hath been vacant since the Moneth of* March, 1558. *or that hereafter shall happen to be vacant, be disposed to qualified and learned persons, able to preach Gods Word, and discharge the Vocation concerning the Ministery, by Tryall and Admission of the Superintendents and Overseers: And that no Benefice or Living, having many Churches annexed thereunto, be disposed altogether in any time to come, to any man, but at the least the Churches thereof be severally disposed, and that to severall persons; So that every man having Charge, may serve at his owne Church, according to his Vocation: And to that effect, likewise the Gleebs and the Manses, be given to the Ministers, that they may make residency at their Churches, whereby they may*

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discharge their consciences according to their Vocation; and also that the Kirks may be repaired accordingly; And that a Law be made and established hereupon by Act of Parliament, as said is.

Thirdly, *That none be permitted to have charge of Souls, Colledges, or Universities, neither privately or publikely teach & instruct the youth, but such as shall be tried by the Superintendents or Visitors of Churches, and found sound and able in Doctrine, and admitted by them to their Charges.*

Fourthly, *For the sustentation of the poor; That all Lands founded for Hospitality of old, be restored again to the same use: And that all Lands, Annals, Rents, or any other Emoluments pertaining any wayes sometimes to the Friers, of whatsoever Order they had been of; As likewise the Annuities, Alterages, Obits, and the other Duties pertaining to Priests, to be applied to the sustentation of the poor, and uphold of the Town-Schools in Towns, and other places where they be.*

Fifthly, *That such horrible crimes as now abound within this Realme without any correction, To the great contempt of God and his Word; such as Idolatry, Blasphemie of Gods Name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath day, Witchcraft, Sorcery, Inchantment, Adultery, manifest Whoredome, maintenance of Bordals, Murther, Slaughter, Oppression, with many other detestable Crimes, may be severely punished; and Judges appointed in every Province and Diocesse, for execution thereof, with power to do the same; and that by Act of Parliament.*

Lastly, *That some order be devised and established for ease of the poor Labourers of the Ground, concerning the reasonable payment of the Tythes, who are oppressed by the Leasers of the Tythes set over their heads without their own con-consent and advice.*

The persons who were appointed by the Church to carry these Articles and present them to the Queens Majestie, were the Lairds of *Cunningham-Head*, *Lundie*, *Spot* and *Grange* of *Angus*, and *James Baron* for the Broughs: These five past from *Edinburgh* to Saint *Johnston*, where they presented the said Articles to the Queens Majestie, desiring and requiring her Highnesse most humbly to advise therewith, and to give them answer. The next day, ere they were aware, the Queen departed to *Dunkeld*, and immediately they followed; And after they had gotten audience, they desired the Queens Majestie most humbly to give their dispatch. She answered, That her Councell was not there present, but she intended to be in *Edinburgh* within eight dayes, and there they should receive their answer. At the same time, as the generall Assembly was holden in *Edinburgh*, the Brethren perceiving the Papists to brag, and trouble like to be, they assembled themselves at Saint *Leonard Cragg*, where they concluded they would defend themselves; and for the same purpose, elected eight persons of the most able, two of every Quarter, to see that the Brethren should be ready armed.

And when the five Commissioners above named had waited upon the Court four or five dayes after her Majesties coming to *Edinburgh*, there the matter was proposed in Councell: And after long and earnest reasoning upon these Articles, at length it was answered to the Commissioners by the Secretary, That the Queens Majesties command was, That the matter

ter ſhould be reaſoned in her preſence; which for the gravity of the ſame, there could nothing be concluded at that time, albeit the Queens Majeſtie had heard more in that matter, then ever ſhe did before: But within eight dayes thereafter, ſhe underſtood that a great part of the Nobility ſhould be preſent in *Edinburgh*, where they ſhould have a finall anſwer. At length, the one and twentieth of *Auguſt*, they received the anſwer in Writing in her preſence, according to the Tenour hereof as followeth. Anno

The Queens Majeſties Anſwer to the Articles preſented to Her Highneſſe, by certain Gentlemen, in the Name of the whole Aſſemblie of the Church.

TO the firſt, Deſiring the Maſſe to be ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed, as well in the Head, as in the Members, with puniſhment againſt the Contraveners; As alſo, the Religion profeſſed to be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, it was anſwered, firſt for her Majeſties part, *That her Highneſſe is no way yet perſwaded in the ſaid* Religion, *nor yet that any impiety is in the Maſſe; and therefore believeth, That her loving ſubjects will not preſſe her to receive any Religion againſt her conſcience, which ſhould be unto her a continuall trouble by remorſe of conſcience, and therewith a perpetuall unquietneſſe. And to deale plainly with her Subjects, her Majeſty neither will, nor may leave the Religion wherein ſhe hath been nouriſhed and brought up; and believeth the ſame to be well grounded; Knowing, beſides the grudge of conſcience that ſhe ſhould receive, upon the change of her owne Religion, That ſhe ſhould loſe the friendſhip of the King of* France, *the married* Allia *of this Realme, and of other great Princes her Friends and Confederates, who would take the ſame in evil part, and of whom ſhe may look for their great ſupport in all her neceſſities; And having no aſſured conſideration that may countervaile the ſame, ſhe will be loth to put in hazard all her friends at an inſtant, praying all her loving ſubjects, ſeeing they have had experience of her goodneſſe, that ſhe hath neither in times paſt, nor yet intends hereafter, to preſſe the conſcience of any, but that they may worſhip God in ſuch ſort, as they are perſwaded in their conſcience to be beſt, That they will alſo not preſſe her conſcience. As to the eſtabliſhing of Religion in the Body of the Realme, they themſelves know, as appears by their Articles, That the ſame cannot be done onely by conſent of her Majeſtie, but requires neceſſarily the conſent of the States in Parliament, and therefore ſo ſoon as the Parliament holds, thoſe things which the States agree upon amongſt themſelves, her Majeſtie ſhall conſent unto the ſame; and in the mean time ſhall make ſure, That no man be troubled for uſing Religion according to conſcience; So that no man ſhall have cauſe to doubt, That for Religions ſake mens Lives and Heritage ſhall be in any hazard.*

To the ſecond Article, it is anſwered, *That her Majeſtie thinks it no wayes reaſonable, that ſhe ſhould defraud her ſelf of ſo great a part of the Patrimony of the Crowne, as to put the Patronage of Benefices forth of her own hands; for her owne neceſsity, in bearing of her Port and common Charges, will require the retention thereof, and that in a good part, in her owne*

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hands : Nevertheleſſe her Majeſtie is well pleaſed, That conſideration being had of her owne neceſsity ; And what may be ſufficient for the reaſonable ſuſtentation of the Miniſters, a ſpeciall Aſſignation be made to them in places moſt commodious and meet : With which her Majeſty ſhall not meddle, but ſuffer the ſame to come to them.

To the third Article it is anſwered, *That her Majeſtie ſhall do therein as ſhall be agreed by the States in Parliament.*

To the fourth Article, *Her Majeſties liberality towards the poore ſhall alwayes be ſo far extended, as can be reaſonably required at her hands.*

To the fifth and ſixth Articles, *Her Majeſty will refer the taking order therein, unto the States aſſembled in Parliament.*

As the Queens Majeſtie came from Saint *Johnſton*, over *Forth* to the *Callender*, ſhe was conveyed to the Water ſide of *Forth* with two hundred Spears : For at that time it was bruted, That there was ſome lying in wait at the Path of *Dron*. In the mean time the Earle of *Murray* was in *Locklevin*, and the Earle of *Argyle* with him. Now in the Callender the Lord *Levingſton* had deſired the Queens Majeſtie to be Witneſſe to the Chriſtning of a childe ; For his Lady was lately delivered and brought to Bed : And when the Miniſter made the Sermon and Exhortation concerning Baptiſme, the Queens Majeſtie came in the end, and ſaid to the Lord *Levingſton*, That ſhe would ſhew him that favour that ſhe had not done to any other before ; that is, That ſhe would give her preſence to the Proteſtant Sermon, which was reckoned a great matter.

The Queen being in the *Callender*, was informed both by word and Letters by falſe Brethren, That a great part of the Proteſtants of *Edinburgh* had lately convened upon Saint *Leonards Craigs*, and there made a Conſpiration againſt her ; And had choſen for the ſame purpoſe, certain Captains to governe the reſt ; And without any Tryall, or perfect notice taken in the Caſe, ſhe ſent to the Proveſt and Bayliffs of *Edinburgh*, commanding them to take and apprehend *Alexander Guthrie*, *Alexander Clerke*, *Gilbert Lawder*, and *Andrew Slater*, and put them in priſon in the Caſtle.

This new and unaccuſtomed faſhion of proceeding ſeemed to be very ſtrange : And becauſe the ſaid four perſons were not apprehended, ſhe ſent the next day a Charge to the Proveſt and Bayliffs, and to her owne great Treaſurer, to paſſe to the houſes of the ſaid foure men, and likewiſe to their Booths or Shops, and there to take Inventory of all their Goods and Chattells ; And commanded the ſaid Treaſurer to take the Keyes of the ſaid Houſes and Booths, together with the ſaid Inventory ; which was executed in effect, eſpecially upon the ſaid *Alexander Guthrie* his wife, he being then common Clerke, and one of the greateſt in eſtimation within the Towne ; his wife and children were ſhut out of their houſe, and compelled to ſeek ſome other lodging in the Town.

By this manner of proceeding, the hearts of all men of ſpirit and judgement were wonderfully abaſhed and wounded, ſeeing and perceiving

these things so furiously handled upon sinister and wrong Information, men never called to their answer, nor heard, nor any triall taken therein. Immediatly thereafter as she came to *Edinburgh*, she called to counsell such as pleased her Majestie, and there complains of the said matter, alleadging it to be a Conspiracy and manifest Treason. And another matter likewise was complained upon, That the Earle of *Argile* (as the Queen was surely informed) was riding with a great Army to invade the Earle of *Athole* and his Lands. For the first matter it was concluded by the Councell, That diligent inquisition should be made in the matter, and to that purpose appointed the Queens Advocates M. *John Spence* of *Condie*, and M. *Robert Crichton* to examine such as they would; and when the said Advocates had called before them, and examined a sufficient number, and their depositions subscribed and delivered to the Queen, there was nothing found worthy of death nor Treason; at length the said four persons were summoned to answer at Law.

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For the matter, That the Queens Majesty should send to the Earles of *Argyle* and *Athole* some of her Councell or familiar servants to take order touching it. And when the Secretary, the Justice *Clarke* and Lord of Saint *Colme* had past to the said Earle of *Argyle*, they found no such thing; but in *Athole* there was great fear come of a sudden fray; for after many Proclamations, the *Fire-Crosse* (which they made use of in lieu of *Beacons*) was raised in *Athole*.

Now as the day of the Parliament approached, the Lords pretending to consult before, what should be done, as well in Religion, as for the Commonwealth, the fifteenth day of *July* there conveened at *Sterlin* the Duke, the Earles of *Argyle* and *Murray*, *Rothes*, and other Lords and Barons, and as they were devising and consulting, the Queens Majesty taking their meeting in evill part, sent her Advocates Master *John Spence* and Master *Crichton* to them at *Sterlin*, requiring the cause of their meeting; they answered, That the speciall occasion of their meeting was for the cause of Religion and the assurance thereof, according as they had lately written to the Queens Majesty in *Seaton* from the town of *Edinburgh*, they desiring then to prorogate the day.

Finally, when the said Advocates could by no means perswade them to come to *Edinburgh*, they returned again to *Edinburgh* and declared to the Queens Majestie according as they had found.

In the mean time the Parliament was prorogated at the Queens Majesties command to the first of *September* next after following; for it was thought, That the least part and principall of the chiefe Nobility being absent, there could no Parliament be holden: at the same time the Queens Majestie perceiving that the matter was already come to a maturity and ripenesse, so that the mindes and secrecy of mens hearts must needs be disclosed, she wrote to a great number of Lords, Barons, Gentlmen, and others that were nearest in Fife, *Angus Lowthian*, *Mers Tevimdale*, *Perth*, *Lithgow Clidsdall*, and others to resort to her, in this forme of words hereafter following.

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The Queens Letter.

TRusty friend, We greet you well; we are grieved indeed by the evill bruite spread amongst our Lieges, as that we should have molested any man in the using of his Religion and Conscience freely, a thing which never entred into our minde; yet since we perceive the too easie beleeving such reports hath made them careless, and so we think it becomes us to be carefull for the safety and preservation of our state; wherefore we pray you most affectionately, That with all possible hast (after the receipt of this our Letter) you with your kindred, friends and whole Force, well furnished with Arms for Warre, be provided for, fifteen dayes after your coming, addresse you to come to us, to waite and attend upon us, according to our expectation and trust in you, as you will thereby declare the good affection you bear to the maintenance of our Authoritie, and will doe us therein acceptable service.

Subscribed with Our Hand at Edinburgh, *the seventeenth day of* July, 1565.

THere was likewise Proclamation made in *Edinburgh*, That the Queen minded not the trouble, nor alter the Religion; and also Proclamations made in the Shires above mentioned, for the same purpose, That all Freeholders andother Gentlemen should resort (in the aforesaid manner) to *Edinbronth*, where the Earle of *Rosse* was made Duke of *Rothesay*, with great triumph, the 23 day of *July*. The same afternoon the Queen complained grievously upon the Earle of *Murray* in open audience of all the Lords and Barons; and the same day the Bans of the Earle of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothesay*, and the Queens Marriage were proclaimed. About this time the Lord *Arskin* was made Earle of *Marre*. In the mean time there were divers Messages sent from the Queens Majestie to the Lord of *Murray*, first, Master *Robert Crichton* to perswade him by all meanes possible to come and resort to the Queens Majestie: his answer was, That he would be glad to come to her selfe, according to his bounden duty; yet for as much as such persons as were most privie in her company, were his capitall enemies, who also had conspired his death, he could no wayes come so long as they were in Court.

Soon after my Lord *Erskin* and the Master *Maxwell* past to him to S. *Andrews*, rather suffered and permitted by the Queen, then sent by her Highnesse; after them the Laird of *Dun*, who was sent by the means of the Earl of *Mar*, but all this did not prevail with him; and when all hope of his coming was past, an Herald was sent to him, charging him to come to the Queens Majesty, and answer to such things as should be laid to his charge within eight and fourty hours next after the Charge, under pain of Rebellion; and because he appeared not the next day after the eight and forty hours, he was denounced Rebell, and put to the Horne. The same order they used against the Earle of *Argyle*, for the Queen said she would serve him

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and the reſt with the ſame meaſure they had mete to others, meaning the ſaid *Argyle*. Anno

In the mean while, as the fire was well kindled, and enflamed, all means and wayes were ſought, to ſtir up enemies againſt the chief Proteſtants that had been lately at *Sterlin*; for the Earle of *Athole* was ready bent againſt the Earle of *Argyle*: the Lord *Lindſay* againſt the Earle *Rotheſſe* in *Fyfe*, they being both Proteſtants; for they had contended now a long time for the Heir-ſhip of *Fyfe*: And that no ſuch thing ſhould be left undone, the Lord *Gordon*, who now had remained neer three yeers in priſon in *Dumbar*, was, after ſome little travell of his friends, received by the Queen; and being thus received into favour, was reſtored firſt to the Lordſhip of *Gordon*, and ſoon after to the Earldom of *Huntley*, and to all his Lands, Honours and Dignities, that he might be a bar and a party in the North to the Earle of *Murray*.

The 18 of *July*, late in the evening, neer an hour after the Suns going down, there was a Proclamation made at the Market-Croſſe of *Edinburgh*, containing in effect:

The Diſpenſation being come from *Rome* for the Marriage: Before which, according to the Romiſh Law, it was unlawful to marry, being Couſin Germans, brother and ſiſters children, and ſo the degree of Conſanguinity forbidden.

THat foraſmuch as at the will and pleaſure of Almighty God, the Queen had taken to her husband a right excellent and illuſtrious Prince, Harry *Duke of* Rotheſay, *Earle of* Roſſe, *Lord* Darley, *Therefore it was her Will, That he ſhould be holden and obeyed, and reverenced as King: Commanding all Letters and Proclamations to be made in the Names of* Henry *and* Mary *in times coming.*

The next day following, at ſix hours in the morning, they were maryed in the Chappell Royall of *Halyrud-houſe*, by the Dean of *Leſtarrig*; the Queen being all clothed in Mourning: But immediately, as the Queen went to Maſſe, the King went not with her, but to his Paſtime. During the ſpace of three or four dayes, there was nothing but Balling and Dancing, and Banqueting.

In the mean time, the Earle *Rotheſſe*, the Laird of *Grange*, the Tutor *Pitcur*, with ſome Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, were put to the *Horne*, for none appearance; And immediately the Swaſh, Tabron, and Drum, were ſtricken or beaten, for men of War to ſerve the King and Queens Majeſtie, and to take their Pay. This ſudden alteration, and haſty creation of Kings, moved the hearts of a great number.

Now amongſt the people there were divers brutes; for ſome alleadged, That the cauſe of this alteration was not for Religion, but rather for hatred, envie of ſudden promotion or dignity, or ſuch worldly cauſes: But they that conſidered the progreſſe of the matter, according as is heretofore declared, thought the principall cauſe to be onely for Religion.

In this mean time, the Lords paſt to *Argyle*, taking apparantly little care of the trouble that was to come: Howbeit they ſent into *England* M. *Nicolas Elphinſton* for ſupport, who brought ſome Moneys in this Countrey, to the ſum of ten thouſand pounds *ſterlin*. There came one forth of *England* to the Queen, who got Preſence the ſeventh of *Auguſt* in *Halyrud-houſe*. He was not well, &c.

About the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, the Lords met at *Aire*, to wit, the Duke

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Hamilton, the Earles *Argile*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, *Rothesse*, the Lord *Boyd*, and *Ochiltrie*, with divers Barons and Gentlemen of *Fife* and *Kyle*, where they concluded to be in readinesse with their whole Forces the four and twentieth day of *August*. But the King and Queene with great cerity prevented them, for their Majesties sent thorow *Lowthian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Stratherne*, *Tividaile* and *Chiddisdaile* and other Shires, making their Proclamations in this manner, That forasmuch as certaine Rebels, who (under colour of Religion) intended nothing but the trouble and subversion of the Common-wealth, were to convene with such, as they might perswade to assist them; therefore they charged all manner of men under pain of Life, Lands, and Goods, to resort and meet their Majesties at *Linlithgow* the 24 day of *August*.

Note this for our time.

This Proclamation was made in *Lowthian* the third pay of the said moneth. Upon Sunday the ninteenth of *August*, the King came to the high Kirke of *Edinburgh*, where *John Knox* made the Sermon; his Text was taken out of the six and twentieth Chapter of *Esayas* his Prophesie, about the thirteenth Verse, where in the words of the Prophet, he said, *O Lord our God, other Lords then thou have ruled over us*. Whereupon he tooke occasion to speake of the government of wicked Princes, who for the sinnes of the people are sent as Tyrants and scourges to plague them: And amongst other things he said, That God sets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) Boyes and women. And so other words which appeared bitter in the Kings ears, as, That God justly punished *Ahab* and his Posterity, because he would not take order with that Harlot *Iezabel*. And because he had tarried an hour and more, longer then the time appointed, the King (sitting in a Throne made for that purpose) was so moved at this Sermon, that he would not Dine; and being troubled, with great fury he past in the afternoon to the *Hawking*.

The King, to make himself more popular, and to take from the Lords of the Congregation the pretext of Religion, he went to the Kirk to hear *John Knox* preach.

Immediately *John Knox* was commanded to come to the Councell, where in the Secretaries Chamber were convened the Earle of *Athole*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Secretary, the Justice *Clarke*, with the Advocate. There passed along with the Minister a great number of the most apparent men of the Towne. When he was called, the Secretary declared, That the Kings Majestie was offended with some words spoken in the Sermon, (especially such as are above rehearsed) desiring him to abstaine from preaching for fifteen or twenty dayes, and let Master *Craig* supply the place.

He answered, That he had spoken nothing but according to his Text, and if the Church would command him either to speake or abstain, he would obey so far as the Word of God would permit him.

In answering he said more then he had preached, for he added, That as the King had (to pleasure the Queen) gone to *Masse*, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should God in his justice make her an Instrument of his ruine; and so it fell out in a very short time: but the Queen being incensed with these words, fell out in Tears, and to please her *John Knox* must abstain from preaching for a time.

Within four dayes after, the King and Queen sent to the Councell of *Edinburgh*, commanding them to depose *Archibald Dowglas*, and to receive the Laird *Craigmiller* for their Provest, which was presently obeyed.

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The five and twentieth of *August* the King and Queens Majesties past from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*, and from thence to *Sterlin*, and from *Sterlin* to *Glasgow*. At their first arrivall, their whole people were not come. The next day after their arrivall to *Glasgow*, the Lords came to *Paisley*, where they remained that night, being in company about one thousand horses. On the morrow they came to *Hamilton*, keeping the high passage from *Paisley* hard by *Glasgow*, where the King and Queen easily might behold them. The night following, which was the *penult* of *August*, they remained in *Hamilton* with their Company; but for divers respects moving them, they thought it not expedient to tarry; especially, because the Earle of *Argyle* was not come; for his Diet was not afore the second of *September* following, to have been at *Hamilton*. Finally, they took purpose to come to *Edinburgh*, the which they did the next day. And albeit *Alexander Areskin*, Captain under the Lord his brother, caused to shoot forth of the Castle two Shot of Cannon, they being neer the Towne; And likewise that the Laird *Craigmiller* Provest, did his endeavour to hold the Lords forth of the Towne, in causing the common Bells to be rung, for the convening of the Towne, to the effect aforesaid, yet they entred easily at the West Port or Gate, without any molestation or impediment, being in number, as they esteemed themselves, one thousand three hundred Horses. Immediately they dispatched Messengers Southward and Northward to assist them; but all in vain: And immediately after they were in their Lodgings, they caused to strike or beat the Drum, desiring all such men as would receive Wages for the defence of the Glory of God, That they should resort the day following to the Church, where they should receive good Pay: But they profited little that way; neither could they in *Edinburgh* get any comfort or support, for none or few resorted unto them; yet they got more rest and sleep when they were at *Edinburgh*, then they had done in five or six nights before.

The Noble-men of this Company were, The Duke, The Earles *Murray*, *Glencarne*, and *Rothesse*; The Lords *Boyd* and *Uchiltrie*; The Lairds of *Grange*, *Cunningham-head*, *Balcomie*, and *Lavers*; The Tutor of *Pitcur*; The Lairds of *Barr*, *Carmell*, and *Dreghorn*; And the Laird of *Pittarow* Comptroller, went with them: Some said merrily, That they were come to keepe the Parliament, for the Parliament was continued till the first day of *September*: Upon the which day they wrote to the King and Queens Majesties a Letter, containing in effect, That albeit they were persecuted most unjustly, which they understood proceeded not of the King and Queens Majesties own Nature, but onely by evil Counsell, yet notwithstanding they were willing and content to suffer according to the Lawes of the Realm, providing that the true Religion of God might be established, and the dependants thereupon be likewise reformed: Beseeching their Majesties most humbly to grant these things: But otherwise, if their enemies would seek their blood, they should understand, It should be dear bought. They had written twice, almost to the same effect, to the King and Queens Majesties, after their passing from *Edinburgh*; for the

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Laird of *Preston* presented a Letter to the King and Queens Majestie, and was therefore imprisoned, but soon after released; nevertheless they got no answer. The same day that they departed out of *Hamilton*, the King and Queens Majesties issued out of *Glasgow* in the morning betimes: And passing towards *Hamilton*, the Army met their Majesties neer the Bridge of *Cadder*: As they mustered, the Master of *Maxwell* sate downe upon his knees, and made a long Oration to the Queen, declaring what pleasure she had done to them, and ever laid the whole burden upon the Earle *Murray*. Soon after, they marched forward in Battell aray: The Earle of *Lenox* took the Van-guard, the Earle of *Mortoun* the middle Battell, and the King and Queen the Reere: The whole number were about five thousand men, whereof the greatest part were in the Van-guard.

As the King and Queens Majesties were within three miles of *Hamilton*, they were advertised that the Lords were departed in the morning; but where they pretended to be that night, it was uncertain: Alwayes soon after their returne to *Glasgow*, the King and Queen were certainly advertised, That they were past to *Edinburgh*; and therefore caused immediately to warne the whole Army to passe with them to *Edinburgh* the next day; who early in the morning, long before the Sun was risen, began to march: But there arose such a vehement Tempest of winde and raine from the West, as the like had not been seen before in a long time; so that a little brook, turned incontinent into a great River; and the raging storme being in their face, with great difficulty went they forward: And albeit the most part waxed weary, yet the Queens courage encreased man-like so much, that she was ever with the foremost. There was divers persons drowned that day in the water of *Carren*; and amongst others, the Kings Master, a notable Papist, who for the zeal he bare to the Masse, carried about his neck a round god of bread, well closed in a Case, which alwayes could not serve him.

Before the end of *August*, there came a post to the Queens Majestie, sent by *Alexander Areskin*, who declared, That the Lords were in the Town of *Edinburgh*, where there was a multitude of innocent persons, and therefore desired to know if he should shoot. She commanded incontinent that he should return again to the said *Alexander*, and command him, in her name, That he should shoot so long as he had either Powder or Bullet, and not spare for any body.

At night, the King and Queen came well wet to the *Callender*, where they remained that night, and about eight hours at night, the first of *September*, the Post came again to the Castle, and reported the Queenes Command to *Alexander Areskin*, who incontinently caused to shoot six or seven shot of Cannon, whereof the marks appeared, having respect to no reason, but onely to the Queens Command.

The Lords perceiving that they could get no support in *Edinburgh*, nor Souldiers for money, albeit they had travelled all that they could; and

and being advertised of the Queens returning with her whole Company, they took purpose to depart: And so the next day betimes, long before day, they departed with their whole Company, and came to *Lanrik*, and from thence to *Hamilton*, where the Master of *Maxwell* came to them, with his Uncle the Laird of *Dumlanrick*. And after consultation, the said Master wrote to the Queens Majesty, That being required by the Lords as he was passing homeward, he could not refuse to come to them; and after that he had given them counsell to disperse their Army, they thought it expedient to passe to *Dumfreis* to repose them, where they would consult and make their Officers, and send to their Majesties: And thus beseeching their Majesties to take this in good part. The Town of *Edinburgh* sent two of the Councell of the Town to make their excuse. Anno

The next day the King and Queen past to *Sterlin*, and sent to *Edinburgh*, and caused a Proclamation to be made, commanding all men to returne to *Glasgow*, where having remained three or four dayes: And understanding that the Lords were past to *Dumfreis*, they returned to *Sterlin*, and from thence to *Fyfe*; And in their passage, caused to take in Castle *Campbell*, which was delivered without impediment to the Lord of *Sanquhar*.

Before the King and Queen went out of *Sterlin*, there came from *Edinburgh* two Ensignes of Foot-men, to convey them into *Fyfe*. In the mean time the Burroughs were taxed in great Sums unaccustomed, for the payment of these Souldiers: Farther, there was raised divers Troops of Horse-men, to the number of five or six hundred Horse. The Souldiers had taken two poor men that had received the Lords wages; which two men being accused and convinced of, at the Queens Command, were hanged at *Edinburgh*, the third day after the Lords departing.

At this time, M. *James Balfour*, Parson of *Flesk*, had gotten all the guiding in the Court. The third day after the Queens coming to *Fyfe*, the whole Barons and Lairds of *Fyfe*, convoyed her Majestie, till she came to S. *Andrewes*, where the said Lairds and Barons, especially the Protestants, were commanded to subscribe to a Band, containing in effect, That they obliged themselves to defend the King and Queens Persons, against Englishmen and Rebells: And in case they should come to *Fyfe*, they should resist them to their utmost power; Which Charge every man obeyed.

The second night after the Queens coming to S. *Andrews*, she sent a Band or Troop of Horse-men, and another of Foot, to *Lundie*, and at midnight took out the Laird, being a man of 80 yeers old: Then they past to *Fawside*, and took likewise *Thomas Scot*, and brought him to Saint *Andrewes*, where they, with the Laird of *Bavard*, and some others, were commanded to prison. This manner of handling and usage being onkend and strange, were heavily spoken of, and a great terrour to others, who thought themselves warned of greater severity to come.

In the mean time the houses of the Earles of *Murray*, *Rothesse*, and the houses of divers Gentlemen, were given in keeping to such as the Queen pleased, after that their children and servants had been cast out.

Anno

At the same time the Duke, the Earls of *Glencarne* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Uchiltrie*, with the Lord of *Cunningham-head*, and the rest, were charged to come and present themselves in S. *Andrews*, before the King and Queens Majesties, to answer to such things as should be laid to their charge, within six dayes, under the pain of Rebellion: And the day being expired, and they not appearing, were denounced Rebells, and put to the Horne.

As the Queen remained in Saint *Andrews*, the inhabitants of *Dundie*, being sore afraid, because of some evil report made of them to the Queen, as if they had troubled the Queen, in seeking men of War, and suffered some to be raised in their Town for the Lords; for there was nothing done in *Dundie*, but it was revealed to the Queen; especially that the Minister had received a Letter from the Lords, and delivered the same to the Brethren, perswading them to assist the Lords; which being granted by the Minister, the Queen remitted it. After great travell and supplication made by some Noble-men, at length, the King and Queen being in the Town, they agreed for two thousand marks, five or six of the principall left out, with some others, that were put to their shift. After the King and Queen had remained two nights in the Towne of *Dundie*, they came to S. *Andrews*; and soon after, they came over *Forth*, and so to *Edinburgh*. During this time, the Master of *Maxwell* wrote to the King and Queen, making offers for and in the name of the Lords.

The next day after the King and Queens coming to *Edinburgh*, there was a Proclamation made at the Market-Crosse: And because the same is very notable, I thought good to insert it here word by word, albeit it be somewhat long.

HEnry and *Mary*, By the Grace of God, King and Queen of *Scots*; To all and sundry Our Lieges and Subjects whom it may concerne, and to whose knowledge these Letters shall come, Greeting.

Forasmuch as in this Uprore lately raised up against us, by certaine Rebels; and their assistants, the authors thereof (to blinde the eyes of the simple people) have given them to understand, That the quarrell they have in hand is onely Religion, thinking with that cloke to cover their ungodly designes, and so, under that plausible argument, to draw after them a large train of ignorant persons, easie to be seduced. Now for the preservation of our good Subjects, whose case were to be pitied, if they blindely should suffer themselves to be induced and trapped in so dangerous a snare, it hath pleased the goodnesse of God, by the utterance of their own mouthes and writings to us, to discover the poyson that before lay hid in their hearts, albeit to all persons of cleer judgment the same was evident enough before: For what other thing [*is this, but to dissolve the whole Policy, and in a manner to invert the very order*] might move the principal raisers of this tumult to put themselves in Arms against us so unnaturally, upon whom we had bestowed so many benefits; But that the great honor we did them, they being thereof unworthy, made them misknow themselves; and their ambition could not be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, & honor upon honor, unlesse they retain in their hands us

Note how this agrees with our times.

us, and our whole Realme to be led, used, and disposed at their pleasure. But this could not the multitude have perceived, if God (for disclosing their Hypocrisie) had not compelled them to utter their unreasonable desire to Governe; for now by Letters sent from themselves to us, which make plain profession, that the establishing of Religion will not content them, but we must be forced to govern by Councell, such, as it shall please them to appoint us; a thing so farre beyond all measure, that we thinke the onely mention of so unreasonable a demand is sufficient to make their neareſt Kinsfolks their most mortall enemies, and all men to run on them without further scruple, that are zealous to have their native Countrey to remain still in the state of a Kingdome: For what other thing is this, but to dissolve the whole policie, and (in a manner) to invert the very order of nature, to make the Prince obey, and Subjects command. The like was never demanded by any of our most Noble Progenitors heretofore, yea, not of Governours and Regents; but the Prince and such as have filled their place chose their Councell of such as they thought most fit for the purpose. When we our selves were of lesse age, and at our first returning into this our Realme, we had free choice of our Councell at our pleasure, and now when we are at our full maturity, shall we be brought back to the state of Pupills, and be put under Tutory? So long as some of them bore the whole sway with us, this matter was never called in question; but now when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undoe all at their pleasure, they will put a Bridle into our mouthes, and give us a Councell chosen after their fantasie. This is the quarrell of Religion they made you beleeve they had in hand, This is the quarrell for which they would have you hazzard your Lands, Lives and goods, in the company of a certain number of Rebels against your naturall Prince. To speak in good language, they would be Kings themselves, or at the least leaving to us the bare Name and Title, and take to themselves the credit and whole administration of the Kingdome.

Anno

Let this be conferred with our times.

Note diligenly

We have thought good to make publication hereof, to shew, that you suffer not your selves to be deceived under pretence of Religion, to follow them, who prefering their particular advancement to the publike tranquilitie; and having no care of you, in respect of themselves, would (if you would hearken to their voice) draw you after them, to your utter destruction. Assuring you that you have heretofore good experience of our clemency, and under our Wings enjoyed in peace the possession of your Goods, and lived at liberty of your Conscience, so may you be in full assurance of the like hereafter, and have us alwayes your good and loving Princes to so many as shall continue your selves in due obedience, and do the office of faithfull and naturall Subjects.

Given under our Signet at Saint Andrews *the tenth of December, and of our Reignes the first and twentie three years.* 1565.

Now

Anno

NOw the Lords desired, next the establishing of Religion, That the Queens Majesty, in all the Affairs of the Realme and Commonwealth, should use the counsell and advice of the Nobility, and ancient blood of the same; whereas in the mean time the Councell of *David* and *Francisco* the *Italians*, with *Fowler* the Englishman, and Master *James Balfour* Parson of *Flisk*, was preferred before all others, save onely the Earle of *Athole*, who was thought to be a man of grosse judgement, but nevertheless in all things given to please the Queen. It was now finally come to this point, that in stead of Law, Justice and equity, onely Will ruled in all things; there was thorow all the Countie set out a Proclamation in the King and Queens names, commanding all persons to come and meet them at *Sterlin* the first day of *October* following, with twenty dayes provision, under pain of life, lands and goods. It was uncertain whether their Majesties intended to passe from *Sterlin* or not, and I beleeve the principall men knew not well at that time; for a report was, That by reason the Castles of *Hamilton* and *Draffen* were kept Fortified and Victualled at the Dukes command, that they would passe to siege the said houses, & give them some shot of a Canon; others said, They would passe towards my L. of *Argile*, who had his people alwayes armed, whereof his neighbours were afraid, especially the Inhabitants of *Athole* and *Lenox*; but at length it was concluded that they should passe to *Dumfreis*, as shall be declared.

During this time there were Propositions made continually to the King and Queen, by the Lords, desiring alwayes their Majesties most humbly to receive them into their hands: Their Articles tended continually to these two Heads, *viz.* To abolish the *Masse*, root out Idolatry, and Establish the true Religion, And that they and the affaires of the Realm should be governed by the advice and counsell of the true Nobility of the same; offering themselves and their cause to be tried by the Lawes of the Countrey. Yet nothing could be accepted nor taken in good part, albeit the Master of *Maxwell* laboured by all meanes to redresse the matter, who also entertained the Lords most honourably in *Dumfreis*, for he had the government of all that Countrey. But he himself incurred the Queens wrath so, that he was summoned to present himself and appear before the King and Queens Majesties, after the same form that the rest of the Lords were charged with, and also commanded to give over the House of *Lochmabben*, and the Castle which he had in keeping for the Queen. And albeit he obeyed not, yet was he not put to the Horne, as the rest. Nevertheless there was no man that doubted of his good will and partaking with the Lords, who in the mean time sent *Robert Melvin* to the Queen of *England*, and declared their state to her Majesty, desiring support.

Now the chief care and solicitude that was in the Court, was, By what means they might come to have money, for notwithstanding this great preparation for warre, and eminent appearance of trouble, yet were they destitute of the sinewes of Warre; albeit the Treasurers, and now Comptroller, to wit, the Laird of *Tilbardin*, had disbursed many thousands; yet there was no appearance of payment of souldiers, nor scarcely how the King and Queens Houses and pompous Trains should be upholden; there

was

was about 600. Horſmen, beſides the Guard and 3. Enſignes of ſootmen. The charge of the whole would amount to 1000.l. *ſter.* every moneth; a thing ſurpaſſing the uſuall manner of *Scotland.* At this time arrived the Earl of *Bothwell*, who was welcome, and graciouſly received by the Queen, and immediately placed in Councell, and made Lieutenant of the Weſt and middle Marches. Now as every one of the Barons compounded to be exempted from this meeting; the E. of *Athole* demanded of *Edinburgh* 200.l. *ſter.* but they refuſed to pay it; notwithſtanding *Octo.* 27. there was a certain number of the principall and rich perſons of the Town warned by a Macer to paſſe to the Palace of *Hallyrudhouſe* to the King and Queen, who declared to them by their own mouthes, ſpeaking that they had uſe for money, and therefore knowing them to be honeſt men and the inhabitants of the beſt Citie in their Countrey, they muſt needs charge them; and for ſecurity they ſhould have other men bound for pledges, or any Hand therefore. The ſum that they deſired was 1000 l. *ſterl.* and no leſſe. They being aſtoniſhed, made no anſwer; but Parſon *Fliſk* ſtanding by, ſaid, That ſeeing the King and Queens Majeſties deſired them ſo civilly, in a thing moſt lawfull in their neceſſitie, they did ſhew themſelves not honeſt to keepe ſilence and give no anſwer to their Majeſties, for that muſt needs be had of them which was required; and if they would not, they ſhould be conſtrained by the Laws, which they would not abide; for ſome of them had deſerved hanging (ſaid he) becauſe they had lent large ſumms of money to the King and Queens enemies, and Rebels; and therefore they muſt ſhortly ſuffer great puniſhment. Soon after they were called in one by one, and demanded how much they would lend? ſome made this excuſe, and ſome that, by reaſon there were that offered to lend money; amongſt whom there was one offered to lend 20 l. To him the Earle of *Athole* ſaid, Thou art worthy to be hanged that ſpeakeſt of 20 l. ſeeing the Princes charge thee ſo eaſily. Finally, they were all impriſoned, and ſouldiers ſet over them, having their Muskets ready charged, and their Match lighted, even in the houſe with them, where they remained all that night, and the next day till night; and then being changed from one priſon to another, there were ſix choſen out and ſent in the night to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, convoyed with Musketteers round about them, as if they had been Murtherers or moſt vile perſons. At length (the third day) by means of the Laird of *Craigmiller* Proveſt, and ſome others, the ſumme was made more eaſie, to wit, a 1000 Marks *ſterling*, to be paid immediately, and to have the ſuperioritie of *Leithin* in Pledge (to wit) upon condition of Redemption. And beſides the ſaid ſumme of 1000 Marks *ſterlin* they paid 1000 l. *ſterl.* For the meeting at *Dumfreis* at the day appointed, for electing the officers, the Queen ſent in a Ticket ſuch as ſhe would have them to chuſe for Proveſt, Bailiffs, and Councell, whereof there was a number of Papiſts, the reſt not worthy. Of the number given in by the Queen, they named ſuch as ſhould rule for that year; Notwithſtanding without free Election, the Laird *Craigmiller*, remained Proveſt, who ſhewed himſelf moſt willing to ſet forward Religion, to puniſh vice, and to maintain the Common-wealth. All this time the Miniſters cried out againſt the *Maſſe* and ſuch Idolatry, for it was more advanced by the Queen then before.

Anno

So was the Citie of *London* for warre againſt *Scotland*, vexed for the leavie of mony

Anno

The first day of *October* met in *Edinburgh* the Superintendant of *Lothian*, with all the Ministers under his charge, according to their ordinary custome; for every Superintendant used to convene the whole Ministery, and there it was complained on, That they could get no payment of their stipends, not only about the City, but thorow the whole Realm. Therefore after reasoning and consultation taken, they framed a supplication directed to the King and Queen, and immediately presented the same to their Majesties by M. *John Spottswood* Superintendant of *Lothian*, and Master *David Lindsey* Minister of *Leith*; it contained in effect, That forasmuch as it had pleased the King and Queens Majesties (with advice of the Privie Councell) to grant unto the Ministers of the Word their stipends to be taken of the Thirds of the Benefices, which Stipends are now detained from the said Ministers by reason of the troubles and changing of the Comptroller, whereby they are not able to live; and therefore most humbly craved the King and Queens Majesty to cause them to be paid. Their answer was, That they would cause order to be taken therin to their contentment. Soon after the Lord *Gordion* came to *Edinburgh*, and left the most part of his people at *Sterlin* with his carriage; the King and Queen for hope of his good service to be done, restored him to his Fathers place, to the Earledome of *Hintley*, the Lands and Heritage thereof. *October* 8. the King and Queene marched forth of *Edinburgh* towards *Dumfreis*, and as they passed from the Pallace of *Hallyrud-house* all men were warned with Jack and Spear. The first night they came to *Sterlin*, and the next to *Craford*; the day after the Lairds of *Drunlaurick* and *Lochinvar*, met the Queen, albeit they had been with the Lords familiar enough. The Lords perceiving, that all hope of reconciliation was past, they rode to *Ednam*, where they remained till the Queen came to *Dumfreis*, and then they past to *Carlile*. Now the Master of *Maxwell*, who had entertained the Lords familiarly, and subscribed with them, and had spoken as highly against their enemies as any of themselves, and had received large mony by that means, to wit, 1000.l. to raise a Band or Troup of Horsmen; and that the same day the King and Queen came to *Dumfreis*; the third day after their coming he came to them, conveyed by the Earle *Bothwell*, with divers other Noblemen. At length the Earles of *Athole* and *Hintley* were Sureties for him, and all things past remitted, upon condition, that he should be a faithfull and obedient subject hereafter. The same day they made Musters, the next day the Army was dispersed, being about 18000. men; the King and Queen past to *Lothinaben*, where the Master of *Maxwell* gave a Banquet, and then forthwith marched to *Tueddall*, so to *Peblis*, and then to *Edinburgh*.

The best and chief part of the Nobility of this Realme, who also were the principall Instruments of the Reformation of Religion, and therefore were called the Lords of the Congregation, in manner above rehearsed, were banished and chased into *England*; they were courteously received and entertained by the Earle of *Bedford* Lieutenant, upon the Borders of *England*. Soon after the Earle of *Murray* took Post towards *London*, leaving the rest of the Lords at *Newcastle*; every man supposed that the Earle of *Murray* should have been graciously received of the Queen of *England*, and that he should have gotten support according to his hearts desire; but farre beyond

Note diligently

beyond his expectation, he could get no audience of the Queen of *England*: But by means of the French Ambassadour, called Monsieur *de Four*, his true friend, he obtained audience. The Queen, with a fair countenance, demanded, How he, being a Rebell to her sister of *Scotland*, durst take the boldnesse upon him to come within her Realm? These and the like words got he, instead of the good and courteous entertainment expected. Finally, after private discourse, the Ambassadour being absent, she refused to give the Lords any support, denying plainly that ever she had promised any such thing as to support them, saying, She never meant any such thing in that way; albeit her greatest familiars knew the contrary. In the end, the Earle of *Murray* said to her, *Madame, whatsoever thing your Majestie meant in your heart, we are thereof ignorant; but thus much we know assuredly, That we had lately faithfull promises of ayd and support by your Ambassadour, and familiar servants, in your name: And further, we have your owne hand-writing, confirming the said promises.* And afterward he took his leave, and came North-ward from *London*, towards *Newcastle*.

Anno

Note diligently Qu. *Elizabeth*.

After the Earle of *Murray* his departure from the Court, the Queen sent them some ayd, and writ unto the Queen of *Scotland* in their favour: Whether she had promised it in private to the Earle of *Murray*, or whether she repented her of the harsh reception of the Earle of *Murray*.

Here mark either deep dissimulation, or a great inconstancy.

At this time *David Rizio* Italian, began to be higher exalted, insomuch as there was no matter or thing of importance done without his advice. And during this time, the faithfull within this Realme were in great fear, looking for nothing but great trouble and persecution to be shortly. Yet Supplications and Intercessions were made thorowout all the Congregations, especially for such as were afflicted and banished, That it would please God to give them patience, comfort, and constancy; and this especially was done at *Edinburgh*, where *John Knox* used to call them that were banished, The best part of the Nobility, Chiefe Members of the Congregation: Whereof the Courtiers being advertised, they took occasion to revile and bewray his sayings, alleadging, He prayed for the Rebels, and desired the people to pray for them likewise. The Laird of *Lethington* chief Secretary, in presence of the King and Queens Majesties and Councell, confessed that he heard the Sermons, and said, There was nothing at that time spoken by the Minister, whereat any man need to be offended: And further, declared plainly, That by the Scripture it was lawfull to pray for all men.

In the end of *November*, the Lords with their complices, were summoned to appear the fourth day of *February*, for Treason, and *læse Majestie*: But in the mean time, such of the Nobility as had professed the Evangell of Christ, and had communicate with the Brethren at the Lords Table, were ever longer the more suspected by the Queen, who began to declare her self in the Months of *November* and *December*, to be maintainer of the Papists; for at her pleasure, the Earles of *Lenox*,

Anno

Athole, and *Cassels*, with divers others, without any dissimulation known, went to the Masse openly in her Chappell: Yet nevertheless the Earles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* went not to Masse, albeit they were in great favour with the Queen. As for the King, he past his time in Hunting and Hawking, and such other pleasures as were agreeable to his appetite, having in his company Gentlemen willing to satisfie his will and affections.

About this time, in the beginning of as the Court remained at *Edinburgh*, the banished Lords by all means possible, by writings and their friends, made suit and means to the King and Queens Majesties, to be received into favour.

At this time the Abbot of *Kylwinning* came from *Newcastle* to *Edinburgh*, and after he had gotten audience of the King and Queen, with great difficulty he got Pardon for the Duke, and his friends and servants, upon this Condition, That he should passe into *France*; which he did soon after.

The five and twentieth of December convened in *Edinburgh* the Commissioners of the Churches within this Realme for the generall assemblie, There assisted to them the Earles of *Morton* and *Marre*, the Lord *Lindsay*, and Secretary *Lethington*, with some Barons and Gentlemen. The principall things that were agreed and concluded, were, That forasmuch as the Masse, with such Idolatry, and Papisticall Ceremonies, were still maintained, expresly against the Act of Parliament, and the Proclamations made at the Queens Arrivall; And that the Queen had promised that she would hear Conference and Disputation: That the Church therefore offered to prove by the Word of God, That the Doctrine preached within this Realme was according to the Scriptures; and that the Masse, with all the Papisticall Doctrine, was but the invention of men, and meer Idolatry.

Secondly, That by reason of the change of the Comptroller, who had put in new Collectors, forbidding them to deliver any thing to the Ministry, and by these means the Ministry was like to decay and fail, contrary to the Ordinance made in the yeer of God 1562. in favour and support of the Ministery. During this time, as the Papists flocked to *Edinburgh* for making Court, some of them that had been Friers, as black *Abercrommy* and *Roger*, presented supplication to the Queens Majesty, desiring in effect, That they might be permitted to preach; which was easily granted. The noyse was further, That they offered Disputation: For as the Court stood, they thought they had a great advantage already, by reason they knew the King to be of their Religion, as well as the Queen, with some part of the Nobility, who with the King after declared themselves openly: And especially the Queen was governed by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Athole*; but in matters most weighty, and of greatest importance, by *David Rizio* the Italian afore mentioned, who went under the name of the French Secretary; by whose means, all grave matters, of what weight soever, must passe; providing always, That his hands were anoynted. In the mean time he was a manifest enemy to the Evangell, and therefore a greater enemy to the banished Lords. And at this time, the principall Lords that waited at Court were divided in opinions; For the Earle of *Morton* Chancellor, with the Earle of

Marr,

Marr, and Secretary *Lethington*, were on the one part; and the Earles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* on the other part, so that a certain dryness was amongst them; nevertheless, by means of the Earle of *Athole*, they were reconciled. Now as there was preparation made by the Papists for Christmas, the Queen being then at Masse, the King came publikely, and bare company; and the Friers Preached the dayes following, alwayes using another stile then they had done seven yeers before, during which time they had not Preached publikely: they were so little esteemed, that they continued not long in Preaching. Anno

At the same time convened in *Edinburgh* the generall Assembly of the Ministers, and Commissioners of the Churches Reformed within this Realme: There assisted them of the Nobility, the Earles of *Morton* and *Marr*, the Lord *Lindsay*, and Secretary *Lethington*, with others. The chief things that were concluded in this Assembly, were, That for the avoyding of the plagues and scourges of God which appeared to come upon the people for their sins and ingratitude, there should be proclaimed by the Ministers a publike Fast, to be Universally observed thorowout all the Reformed Churches; which manner of Fasting was soon after devised by *John Knox*, at the Command of the Church, and put in Print, wherefore needs not here to be recited in this place. What followed upon the said Fast, shall be plainly, God willing, declared. The second thing that was ordained in this Assembly, was, concerning the Ministers, who for want of payment of their stipends, were like to perish, or else to leave their Ministry: wherefore it was found necessary, That supplication should be made to the King and Queens Majesties; And for the same purpose, a certain uumber of the most able men were elected to go to their Majesties aforesaid, to lament and bemone their case; Which persons had Commission to propose some other things, as shall be declared. The names of them that past from the Church to the King and Queens Majesties, were, M. *John Spotswood*, Superintendent of *Lowthian*; *John Winrame*, Superintendent of *Fyfe*; M. *John Row*, Minister of *Perth*; M. *David Lyndsay*, Minister of *Leith*, who easily obtained audience of the King and Queens Majesties: And after their reverence done, M. *John Row*, in name of the rest, opened the matter, lamenting & bewailing the miserable state of the poor Ministers, who by publike command had been reasonably satisfied three yeers or more, by vertue of the Act made with advice of the honorable Privie Councell, for the taking up of the Thirds of the Benefices, which was especially made in their favours: Nevertheless the Laird of *Tillibardin*, new Comptroller, would answer them nothing: Wherefore they besought their Majesties for relief. Secondly, seeing that in all Supplications made to the King and Queens Majesties by the Church at all times, they desired most earnestly that all Idolatry and superstition, and especially the Masse, should be rooted out and abolished quite out of this Realme; And that in the last generall Assembly of the Church, by their Commissioners, they had most earnestly desired the same; And that their answer was then, That they knew no impediment in the Masse; therefore the Assembly desired, That it might please their Highnesses to hear Disputation, to the end that such as now pretend to Preach in the Chappell Royall, and maintain

At the end of this Book you shall finde this

Anno

ſuch errours; the Truth being tryed by diſputation, that they might be known to be abuſers, ſubmitting themſelves alwayes to the Word of God written in the Scriptures. To this it was anſwered by the Queen, That ſhe was alwayes minded that the Miniſters ſhould be paid their Stipends; and if there was any fault therein, the ſame came by ſome of their own ſort, meaning the Comptroller *Pittarow*, who had the handling of the Thirds: Alwayes by the advice of her Councell ſhe ſhould cauſe ſuch order to be taken therein, that none ſhould have occaſion to complain. As to the ſecond, She would not jeopard her Religion upon ſuch as were there preſent; for ſhe knew well enough that the Proteſtants were more learned.

The Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Churches perceiving nothing but delay, and driving off time, in the old manner, went home every one to their own Churches, waiting upon the good providence of God, continually making Supplication unto Almighty God, that it would pleaſe him of his mercy to remove the apparant plague. And in the mean time the Queen was buſied with Banqueting about with ſome of the Lords of the Seſſion of *Edinburgh*, and after with all men of Law, having continually in her company *David Rizio*, who ſate at Table neer to her ſelf, ſometimes more privately then became a man of his Condition, for his over-great familiarity was already ſupected; and it was thought, That by his advice alone the Queens ſharpneſſe and extremity towards the Lords was maintained.

In the end of *January* arrived an Ambaſſadour from *France*, named Monſieur *Rambullet*, having with him about fourty Horſe in Trayn, who came thorow *England*: He brought with him the Order of the Cockle from the King of *France*, to the King, who received the ſame at the Maſſe, in the Chappell of the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*. There aſſiſted the Earles of *Lenox*, *Athole*, and *Eglington*, with divers ſuch other Papiſts as would pleaſe the Queen, who three dayes after cauſed the Herald to convene in Councell, and reaſoned what Armes ſhould be given to the King; ſome thought he ſhould have the Armes of *Scotland*; ſome others ſaid, Seeing it was not concluded in Parliament that he ſhould have the Crown Matrimoniall, he could have Armes but onely as Duke of *Rotheſay*, Earle of *Roſſe*, *&c.* The Queen bade give him onely his due; whereby it was perceived her love waxed cold towards him. Finally, his Arms were left blank; and the Queen cauſed put her own name before her huſbands in all Wrets; and thereafter ſhe cauſed to leave out his name wholly: And becauſe formerly he had ſigned every thing of any moment, ſhe cauſed to make a Seale like the Kings, and gave it to *David Rizio*, who made uſe of it by the Queens Command, alleadging, That the King being at his Paſtime, could not alwayes be preſent.

About the ſame time the Earle of *Glencarne* came from *Barwicke* to his owne Countrey. Soon after, the Earle of *Bothwell* was married unto the Earle of *Huntley* his ſiſter. The Queene deſired that the Marriage might be made in the Chappell at the Maſſe; which the Earle *Bothwell* would in no wiſe grant. Upon Sunday the third day of *March*, began the Faſting at *Edinburgh*. The ſeventh day of *March*, the Queen

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Queen came from the Pallace of *Hallirud-house* to the Town in wondrous gorgious apparell, albeit the number of Lords and Train was not very great. In the mean time the King accompanied with seven or eight horse, went to the *Leith* to passe his time there, for hee was not like to get the Crown Matrimoniall.

In the Tolbooth was devised and named the Heads of the Articles that were drawn against the banished Lords; Upon the morrow and Saturday following, there was great reasoning concerning the Attainder; some alleadged, That the Summons was was not well Libelled or Dressed; others thought the matter of Treason was not sufficiently proved; and indeed they were still seeking proof, for there was no other way but the Queen would have them all attainted albeit the time was very short; the twelfth day of *March* should have been the day, which was the Tuesday following.

Now the matter was stayed by a marvellous Tragedy, for by the Lords (upon the Saturday before, which was the ninth of *March*, about Supper-time) *David Rizio* the *Italian*, named the *French Secretary*, was slain in the Gallery below Stairs (the King staying in the room with the Queen, told her, That the Designe was onely to take order with that Villain) after that he had been taken violently from the Queens presence, who requested most earnestly for the saving of his life; which act was done by the Earle of *Morton*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Lord *Lindsay* the Master of *Ruthven*, with divers other Gentlemen. They first purposed to have hanged him, and had provided Cords for the same purpose; but the great haste which they had, moved them to dispatch him with Whingers or Daggers, wherewith they gave him three and fifty strokes. They sent away and put forth all such persons as they suspected.

The Earles *Bothwell* and *Huntley* hearing the noise and clamour, came suddenly to the Close, intending to have made work, if they had had a partie strong enough; but the Earle *Morton* commanded them to passe to their Chamber, or else they should doe worse: At the which words they retyred immediately, and so past forth at a back Window, they two alone, and with great fear came forth of the Towne to *Edmistone*, on foot, and from thence to *Crichton*.

This *David Rizio* was so foolish, that not onely he had drawne unto him the managing of all Affaires, the King set aside, but also his Equipage and Train did surpasse the Kings; and at the Parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be Chancellour; which made the Lords conspire against him: They made a Bond to stand to the Religion and Liberties of the Countreys, and to free themselves of the slavery of the Villain *David Rizio*: The King and his father subscribed to the Bond, for they durst not trust the Kings word without his Signet.

There was a *French* Priest (called *John Daniot*) who advised *David Rizio* to make his fortune, and be gone, for the *Scots* would not suffer him long. His answer was, That the *Scots* would bragg but not fight; then he advised him to beware of the Bastard. To this he answered, That the Bastard should never live in *Scotland*, in his time; (he meant the Earle *Murray*) but it happened, that one *George Dowlas* Bastard son to the Earle of

Angus

Anno *Angus* gave him the first stroke. The Queen when she heard he was dead, left weeping, and declared she would study revenge, which she did.

Immediatly it was noised in the Town of *Edinburgh*, that there was murther committed within the Kings Palace, wherefore the Provest caused to Ring the common Bell, or, *Sonner le toksain*, (as the *French* speaks) and straightway past to the Palace, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner; and as they stood in the utter Court, the King called to the Provest, commanding him to passe home with his company, saying, The Queen and he were merry. But the Provest desired to hear the Queen speak her self; Whereunto it was answered by the King, Provest, know you not that I am King? I command you to passe home to your houses; and immediately they retired.

The next day (which was the second Sunday of our Fast in *Edinburgh*) there was a Proclamation made in the Kings Name, subscribed with his hand, That all Bishops, Abbots, and other Papists should avoid and depart the Town; which Proclamation was indeed observed, for they had a *Flea in their Hose*.

There were Letters sent forth in the Kings Name, and subscribed with his hand, to the Provest and Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, the Bailiffs of *Leith* and *Cannogate*, commanding them to be ready in Armour to assist the King and his Company, and likewise other private writings directed to divers Lords and Gentlemen, to come with all expedition.

In the mean time the Queen being above measure enraged, offended and troubled, as the issue of the matter declared, sometime railing upon the King, and sometime crying out at the Windows, desired her servants to set her at libertie; for she was highly offended and troubled.

This same tenth of *March* the Earle of *Murray*, with the rest of the Lords and Noblemen that were with him, having received the Kings Letter, (for after the Bond, above named, was Subscribed, the King Wrote unto the banished Lords, to return into their Countrey, being one of the Articles of the said Bond) came at night to the Abbey, being also convoyed by the Lord *Hume* and a great company of the borderers, to the number of 1000 horses. And first, after he had presented himself to the King, the Queen was informed of his sudden coming, and therefore sent unto him, commanding him to come to her; and he obeying, went to her, who with a singular gravitie received him, after that he had made his purgation, and declared the over-great affection which he bore continually to her Majestie. The Earles of *Athole*, *Cathnes* and *Sutherland* departed out of the Town, with the Bishops, upon the Munday, the third day after the slaughter of *David Rizio*. The Earles of *Lenox*, *Murray*, *Morton*, and *Rothes*, Lords *Ruthven*, *Lindsay*, *Boyd*, and *Ocheltrie*, sitting in Councell, desired the Queen, That forasmuch as the thing which was done could not be undone, that she would (for avoiding of greater inconveniences) forget the same, and take it as good service, seeing there were so many Noblemen restored. The Queen dissembling her displeasure and indignation, gave good words, nevertheless she desired, That all persons armed or otherwise (being within the Palace at that time) should remove, leaving the Palace void of all, saving onely her domestick servants.

The

Anno

The Lords being perſwaded by the uxorious King, and and the facile Earle of *Murray*, condeſcended to her deſire, who finally the next morning, two hours before day, paſt to *Seaton*, and then to *Dumbar*, having in her company the ſimple King, who was allured by her ſugred words; from *Dumbar* immediately were ſent Purſuivants with Letters thorowout the Countrey; and eſpecially Letters to the Noble-men and Barons, commanding them to come to *Dumbar*, to aſſiſt the King and Queen within five dayes: In the mean time the Lords being informed of the ſudden departure, they were aſtoniſhed, and knew not what were beſt for them to do: But becauſe it was the ſelf-ſame day (to wit, the twelfth day of *March*) that they were ſummoned unto; therefore having good opportunity, they paſt to the Tolbooth, which was richly hung with Tapiſtry, and orned (but not for them) and ſet themſelves, making Proteſtations, the Earle of *Glencarne*, and ſome others, being preſent. The Earle of *Argyle*, who was written for by the King, came to *Lithgow*; and being informed of the matter, he remained there.

After this manner above ſpecified, to wit, by the death of *David Rizio*, the Noble-men were relieved of their trouble, and reſtored to their places and rooms: And likewiſe the Church Reformed, and all that profeſſed the Evangell within this Realm, after Faſting and Prayer, was delivered and freed from the apparant dangers which were like to have fallen upon them; For if the Parliament had taken effect, and proceeded, it was thought by all men of the beſt judgement, That the true Proteſtant Religion ſhould have been wrackt, and Popery erected; and for the ſame purpoſe, there were certain Woodden Altars made, to the number of twelve, found ready in the Chappell of the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*, which ſhould have been erected in Saint *Gyles* his Church.

The Earles *Bothwell* and *Huntley* being informed of the King and Queenes ſudden departure forth of *Edinburgh*, came to *Dumbar*, where they were moſt graciouſly received by the Queens Majeſty; who conſulting with them and the Maſter of *Maxwell*, together with Parſon *Owin*, and Parſon *Fluke*, chief Councellors, what was beſt to be done, and how ſhe ſhould be revenged upon the murtherers. At firſt they did intend to go forward, and leaving no manner of cruelty unpractiſed, putting to death all ſuch as were ſuſpected: This was the opinion of ſuch as would obey their Queens rage and fury for their own advantage; But in the end they concluded, That ſhe ſhould come to *Edinburgh* with all the force and power ſhe could make, and there proceed to Juſtice: And for the ſame purpoſe, ſhe cauſed to ſummon, by open Proclamation, all perſons of defence, and all Noble-men and Gentlemen, to come to her in *Dumbar* incontinent. In the mean time, the Captains laboured by all means to take up and enroll men and women. The Earles of *Morton*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, *Rotheſſe*, with the reſt that were in *Edinburgh*, being informed of the Queens fury and anger towards the committers of the ſlaughter, and perceiving they were not able to make any Party, thought it beſt to give place to her fury for a time; for they were divided in opinions, and finally, departed out of *Edinburgh*, upon *Sunday* the ſeventeenth of *March*, every one a ſeverall way; for the Queens

Anno

Majesty was now bent onely against the slayers of *David Rizio*; and to the purpose she might be the better revenged upon them, she intended to give pardon to all such as before had been attainted, for whatsoever crime.

The eighteenth day of *March*, the King and Queen came to *Edinburgh*, having in their company horse and foot, to the number of 8000 men; whereof there were four Companies of Foot-men of War. The Town of *Edinburgh* went out to meet them, for fear of War. And finally, coming within the Town, in most awfull manner they caused to place their men of War within the Town, and likewise certain Field-Pieces against their Lodging, which was in the middle of the Town, over against the Salt Trove: Now a little before the Queenes entrance into the Towne, all that knew of her cruell pretence and hatred towards them, fled here and there; And amongst others, Master *James Magill* the Clerk Register, the Justice Clerk, and the common Clerk of the Towne: The chief Secretary *Lethington* was gone before; likewise *John Knox* past West to *Kyle*: The men of War likewise kept the Ports or Gates. Within five days after their entry, there was a Proclamation made at the Market-Crosse, for the purgation of the King from the aforesaid slaughter; which made all understanding men laugh at the passages of things, since the King not onely had given his consent, but also had subscribed the Bond afore-named; and the businesse was done in his name, and for his Honour, if he had had wisedome to know it. After this Proclamation, the King lost his credit among all men, and so his friends, by this his inconstancy and weaknesse.

And in the mean time the men of War committed great outrages in breaking up doors, thrusting themselves into every house: And albeit the number of them were not great, yet the whole Town was too little for them. Soon after, the King and Queen past to the Castle, and caused to warne all such as had absented themselves, by open Proclamation, to appear before their Majesties and the Privy Councell within six dayes, under pain of Rebellion; which practice was devised in the Earle of *Huntleys* case, before the Battell of *Corrichy*: And because they appeared not, they were denounced Rebells, and put to the Horne, and immediately thereafter, their Escheats given or taken up by the Treasurer. There was a certain number of the Towns-men charged to enter themselves prisoners in the Tolbooth, and with them were put in certain Gentlemen: Where, after they had remained eight dayes, they were convoyed down to the Palace by the men of War, and then kept by them eight dayes more: And of that number was *Thomas Scot* Sheriff depute of S. *Johnston*, who was condemned to death, and executed cruelly; to wit, hanged and quartered, for keeping the Queen in prison, as was alleadged, although it was by the Kings command: And two men likewise were condemned to death, and carried likewise to the Ladder foot; But the E. *Bothwell* presented the Queens Ring to the Provest, which then was Justice, for safety of their life. The names of those two were *Jo. Mobray* Merchant, and *Will. Harlow* Sadler. About the same time, notwithstanding all this hurliburly, the Ministers of the Church, and professors of Religion ceased not; for the people, they convened to publike prayers & preaching with boldnesse; yea, a great number of Noble-men assisted likewise. The E. *Bothwell* had

had now, of all men, greateſt acceſſe and familiarity with the Queen, ſo that nothing of any great importance was done without him; for he ſhewed favour to ſuch as liked him; and amongſt others, to the Lairds of *Ormeſton*, *Hawton*, and *Calder*, who was ſo reconciled unto him, that by his favour they were relieved of great trouble. Anno

The Earles of *Argyle* and *Murray*, at the Queens Command, paſt to *Argyle*, where, after they had remained about a Moneth, they were ſent for by the Queene; and coming to *Edinburgh*, they were received by the Queene into the Caſtle, and banquetted, the Earles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* being preſent.

At this time the King grew to be contemned and diſeſteemed, ſo that ſcarcely any Honour was done to him; and his Father likewiſe.

About *Eaſter* the King paſt to *Sterlin*, where he was Shriven, after the Papiſt manner: And in the meane time, at the Palace of *Halyrudhouſe*, in the Chappell, there reſorted a great number to the Maſſe, albeit the Queen remained ſtill in the Caſtle, with her Prieſts of the Chappell Royall, where they uſed Ceremonies after the Popiſh manner.

At the ſame time departed this life Maſter *John Sinclar*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and Dean of *Leſtarrig*, of whom hath been oft mention, Preſident of the Colledge of Juſtice, called the Seſſion; who alſo ſucceeded in the ſaid Office and Dignity after the deceaſe of his brother Maſter *John Sinclar*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*, Dean of *Glaſgow*, who departed this life at *Paris*, about a yeer before: They were both learned in the Laws, and given to maintain the Popiſh Religion, and therefore great enemies to the Proteſtants. A little before died Maſter *Abraham Crithton*, who had been Preſident likewiſe now in their rooms.

The Queen placed ſuch as ſhe pleaſed, and had done her ſervice (alwayes very unfit) The Patrimony of the Kirk, Biſhopricks, Abbeyes, and ſuch other Benefices, were diſpoſed by the Queen to Courtiers, Dancers, and Flatterers. The Earle *Bothwell*, whom the Queen preferred above all others, after the deceaſe of *David Rizio*, had for his part *Melroſſe*, *Hadington*, and *New Bottell*; likewiſe the Caſtle of *Dumbar* was given to him, with the principall Lands of the Earldome of *Merche*, which were of the Patrimony of the Crown.

At the ſame time the Superintendents, with the other Miniſters of the Churches, perceiving the Miniſtery like to decay for lack of payment of Stipends to Miniſters, they gave this Supplication at *Edinburgh*.

The Supplication of the Miniſters to the Queene.

UNto your Majeſty, and your moſt honourable Councel, moſt humbly and lamentably complains your Highneſſe poor Orators, the Superintendents, and other Miniſters of the Reformed Church of God, travelling thorowout all your Highneſſe Realme, in teaching and inſtructing your Lieges in all Quarters, in the knowledge of God, and Chriſt Jeſus his Son; That where your Majeſtie, with the advice of the Councell and Nobility aforeſaid, moved by godly zeal, concluded and determined, That the travelling Miniſtery thorowout this Realme, ſhould be maintained upon the Rents of the Benefices of this Realme of *Scotland*;

Anno

and for that cause your Majesty, with the advice of the Councell and Nobility aforesaid, upon the 15 day of *December* 1562. in like manner concluded and determined, That if the said part of the Rents of the whole Benefices Ecclesiasticall within this Realme would be sufficient to maintain the Ministers thorowout the whole Realm, and to support your Majestie in the setting forward of your common affairs, should be employed accordingly: Failing thereof, the third part of the said fruits, or more, to be taken up yeerly in time coming, untill a generall Order be taken therein; as the Act made thereupon at more length bears: Which being afterward considered by your Majesty, the whole Thirds of the fruits aforesaid were propounded to the uses aforesaid, by Act of Councell. And we your Majesties poor Orators, put in peaceable possession of the part assigned by your Majestie to us, by the space of three yeers, or thereabouts, which we did enjoy without interruption; notwithstanding all this, now of late, we your Majestiespoor Orators aforesaid, are put wrongfully and unjustly from their aforesaid part of the above specified Thirds, by your Majesties Officers, and thereby brought to such extreme penury, and extreme distresse, as we are not able any longer to maintain our selves. And albeit we have given in divers and sundry complaints to your Majestie herein, and have received divers promises of redresse; yet have we found no relief: Therefore we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider our most grievous complaint, together with the right above specified, whereon the same is grounded. And if your Majestie, with the advice of your Councell aforesaid, findes our right sufficient to continue us in possession of our part assigned to us, while and untill a generall Order be taken; which possession was ratified by the yeerly allowance of your Majesties Exchequers accompt, That your Majesty would grant us Letters upon the aforesaid Act and Ordinance past thereupon, against all intromettors and medlers with the aforesaid Thirds, to answer and obey, according to the aforesaid Act and Ordinance of our possession proceeding thereupon; And likewise that we may have Letters, if need be, to arrest and stay the aforesaid Thirds in the possessors hands, while and untill sufficient caution be found to us, for our part aforesaid. And your answer most humbly we beseech.

This Supplication being presented by the Superintendent of *Lowthian*, and M. *John Craig*, in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, was graciously received by the Queen, who promised that she would take sufficient order therein, so soon as the Nobility and Councell might convene.

The 19 of *June*, the Queen was delivered of a man-childe (the Prince in the aforesaid Castle) and immediately sent into *France* and *England* her Posts, to advertise the neighbour Princes, and to desire them to send Gossips or Wintesses of the Princes Baptisme.

In the mean time there was joy and triumph made in *Edinburgh*, and such other places where it was known, after thanks and praises given unto God, with Supplications for the godly Education of the Prince; and principally, wishing that he should be Baptized according to the manner and forme observed in the Reformed Churches within this Realme.

About

Anno

About the ſame time, to wit, the 25 of *June*, the generall Aſſembly of the whole Church convened at *Edinburgh*; The Earles of *Argyle* and *Murray* aſſiſted at the Aſſembly: *Paul Methvin*, who before, as we heard, was excommunicate, gave in his Supplication, and deſired to be heard, as he had done divers times; for the ſaid *Paul* had written oft times out of *England* to the Laird of *Dun*, and to divers others, moſt earneſtly deſiring to be received again into the Fellowſhip of the Church. After reaſoning of the matter, it was finally granted, That he ſhould be heard; And ſo being before the Aſſembly, and falling upon his knees, burſt out with tears, and ſaid, He was not worthy to appear in their preſence; alwayes he deſired them, for the love of God, to receive him to the open expreſſion of his repentance. Shortly after, they appointed certain of the Miniſters to preſcribe to him the form of his declaration of Repentance, which was thus in effect, firſt, That he ſhould preſent himſelf barefoot and bare-head, arayed in Sack-cloth, at the principall entry of Saint *Gyles* Kirk in *Edinburgh*, at ſeven hours in the morning upon the next *Wedneſday*, and there to remain the ſpace of an hour, the whole people beholding him, till the Prayer was made, Pſalmes ſung, and Text of Scripture was read, and then to come into into the place appointed, for expreſſion of repentance, and tarry the time of Sermon; and to do ſo likewiſe the next Friday following, and alſo upon the Sunday; and then, in the face of the whole Church, to declare his repentance with his owne mouth. The ſame form and manner he ſhould uſe in *Jedwart* and *Dundie*; And that being done, to preſent himſelf again at the next generall Aſſembly following in Winter, where he ſhould be received to the Communion of the Church. When the ſaid *Paul* had received the ſaid Ordinance, he took it very grievouſly, alleadging, They had uſed over-great ſeverity; Nevertheleſſe, being counſelled and perſwaded by divers notable Perſonages, he began well in *Edinburgh* to proceed, whereby a great number were moved with compaſſion of his ſtate; and likewiſe in *Jedwart*: but he left his duty in *Dundie*, and paſſing again into *England*, the matter, not without offence to many, ceaſed.

The Miniſters complaining that they could not be paid their Stipends, were licenſed by the Aſſembly to paſſe to other Churches to Preach, but in no wiſe to leave the Miniſtery. And becauſe that the Queens Majeſty had promiſed often before to provide remedy, it was thought expedient that Supplication ſhould be yet made, as before, That the Queens Majeſty ſhould cauſe ſuch order to be taken, that the poor Miniſters might be paid their Stipends. The Biſhop of *Galloway*, who was brother to the Earle of *Huntley*, and now a great man in the Court, travelled much with the Queens Majeſty in that matter, and got of her a good anſwer, and fair promiſes. A few yeers before, the ſaid Biſhop of *Galloway* deſired of the generall Aſſembly to be made Superintendent of *Galloway*; but now being promoted to great Dignity, as to be of the number of the Lords of the Privy Councell, and likewiſe one of the Seſſion, he would no more be called Over-looker, or Over-ſeer of *Golloway*, but Biſhop: Alwayes truth it is, That he laboured much for his Nephew the Earle of *Huntley*, that he might be reſtored to his Lands and Honours; for the ſaid Earle

See in what ſenſe proud ambitious men takes the name of Biſhop.

Anno

was new Chancellor, since the slaughter of *David Rizio*, and had for his clawback the Bishop of *Rosse*, Master *John Lesley*, one of the chief Councellors to the Queen: But of all men the Earle *Bothwell* was most in the Queens favour, so far, that all things past by him; yea, by his means the most part of all those that were partakers in the slaughter of *David Rizio* got remission and relief. But from that day he was not present at any Sermon, albeit before he professed the Evangell by outward speaking, yet he never joyned to the Congregation. But this time the Earle of *Cassells* was contracted with the Lord of *Glanes* sister; by whose perswasion he became a Protestant, and caused, in the Moneth of *August*, to reform his Churches in *Carrick*, and promised to maintain the Doctrine of the Evangell.

As is said before.

The Queen not yet satisfied with the death of her man *David*, caused in *August* to be apprehended a man called *Hary*, who sometime had been of her Chappell Royall, but afterward became an exhorter in a Reformed Church; and for want of stipend, or other necessaries, past in service to my Lord *Ruthuen*, and chanced that night to be present when the said *David* was slaine; and so finally, he was condemned, and hanged, and quartered.

The King being now contemned of all men, because the Queen cared not for him, he went sometime to the *Lenox* to his father, and sometime to *Sterlin*, whither the Prince was carried a little before: Alwayes he was destitute of such things as were necessary for him, having scarcely six horses in Trayn. And being thus desolate, and half desperate, he sought means to go out of the Countrey: And about the same time, by the advice of *Forlish Cagets*, he wrote to the *Pope*, to the King of *Spain*, and to the King of *France*, complaining of the state of the Countrey, which was all out of order, all because that Masse and Popery were not againe erected, giving the whole blame thereof to the Queen, as not managing the Catholike Cause aright: By some knave this poor Prince was betrayed, and the Queen got a Copie of these Letters into her hands, and therefore threatned him sore; and there was never after that, any appearance of love betwixt them.

This inconstant yongman sometimes declared himself for the' Protestant; witnesse his last Band: And now for the Papist. And as he left God, so he was left by him.

The Churches of *Geneva*, *Berne* and *Basill*, with other Reformed Churches of *Germany* and *France*, sent to the whole Church of *Scotland*, the sum of the Confession of their Faith, desiring to know if they agreed in Uniformity of Doctrine, alleadging, That the Church of *Scotland* was dissonant in some Articles from them: Wherefore the Superintendents, with a great part of the other most qualified Ministers, convened in *September* in S. *Andrews*; and reading the said Letters, made answer, and sent word again, That they agreed in all points with those Churches, and differed in nothing from them: Albeit in the keeping of some Festivall days our Church assented not; for onely the Sabbath day was kept in *Scotland*.

In the end of this Month the Earl *Bothwell* riding in pursuit of the theeves in *Liddisdale*, was ill hurt, and worse terrified, by a thief; for he believed surely to have departed forth of this life, and sent word thereof to the Queens Majesty, who soon after past forth of *Jedwart* to the *Hermitage*, to visite him, and give him comfort: And within a few dayes after,

after ſhe took ſickneſſe in a moſt extreme manner, for ſhe lay two houres long, cold dead, as it were without breath, or any ſigne of life, at length ſhe revived, by reaſon they had bound ſmall Cords about her ſhackle bones, her knees and great toes, and ſpeaking very ſoftly, ſhe deſired the Lords to pray for her to God, ſhe ſaid the Creed in Engliſh, and deſired my Lord of *Murray*, if ſhe ſhould chance to depart that he would not be over extreme ſuch as was of her Religion; the Duke and he ſhould have been Regents. The bruit went from *Jedwart* in the month of *October*, 1565. that the Queen was departed this life, or at leaſt ſhe could not live any time, wherefore there was continually prayers publikely made at the Church of *Edinburgh*, and divers other places for her converſion towards God, and amendment. Many were of opinion, That ſhe ſhould come to the Preaching, and renounce Popery; But all in vain, for God had ſome other thing to doe by her. The King being advertiſed, rid Poſt from *Sterlin* to *Jedburgh*, where he found the Queen ſomewhat convaleſced, but ſhe would ſcarce ſpeak to him, and hardly give him preſence or a good word; wherfore he returned immediately to *Sterlin*, where the Prince was, and after to *Glaſcow* to his Father.

Anno

There appeared great trouble over the whole Realm, and eſpecially in the Countreys neer the borders, if the Queen had departed at that time. as ſhe began to recover, the Earle *Bothwell* was brought in a Charriot from the Hermitage to *Jedburgh*, where he was cured of his wounds; in whoſe preſence the Queen took more pleaſure then in all the reſt of the world; alwayes by his meanes moſt part of all that were out-lawed for the ſlaughter of *David Rizio* got reliefe, for there was no other meanes, but all things muſt needs paſſe by him; wherefore every man ſought to him, where immediately favour was to be had, as before to *David Rizio*.

Soon after, the Queen paſſing along the borders, ſhe came within the bounds of *Barwick*, where ſhe viewed the Town at her pleaſure a far off, being within half a Mile and leſſe; all the Ordnance within *Barwick* were Diſcharged: The Captain came forth with fourſcore Horſes bravely arrayed, to do her honour, and offer her lawfull ſervice. Then ſhe came to *Craigmiller*, where ſhe remained in *November* till ſhe was advertiſed of the coming of the Ambaſſadors to the Baptiſme of the Prince; and for that purpoſe there was great preparation made, not without the trouble of ſuch as were ſuppoſed to have money in ſtore, eſpecially of *Edinburgh*; for there was borrowed a good round ſumme of money for the ſame buſineſſe. All her care and ſolicitude was for that triumph. At the ſame time arrived the *Counte de Briance*, Embaſſadour of the King of *France*, who had a great Train. Soon after the Earle of *Bedford* went forth of *England* with a very gorgious company to the number of fourſcore Horſes, and paſſing to *Sterlin* he was humanly received of the Queens Majeſtie, and every day banquetted. The exceſſive expences and ſuperfluous apparell, which was prepared at that time, exceeded farre all the preparation that ever had been deviſed or ſet forth afore that time in this Countrey. The 17 of *December*, 1566. in the great Hall of the Caſtle of *Sterlin* was the Prince baptized by the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, at five a Clock at Even, with great Pompe, albeit with great paine could they finde men to beare the

Torches,

Anno Torches, wherefore they took Boyes. The Queen laboured much with the Noblemen to bear the Salt, Grease and Candle, and such other things, but all refused; she found at last the Earls of *Eglington*, *Athole*, and the Lord *Seaton*, who assisted at the Baptisme, and brought in the said Trash. The *Counte de Briance* (being the *French* Ambassadour) assisted likewise. The Earle of *Bedford* brought for a Present from the Queen of *England* a Font of Gold, valued to be worth three thousand Crownes. Soon after the said Baptisme, as the Earle was in communing with the Queen, who entertained him most reverently, he began to say merrily to her, amongst other talking, Madame, I rejoyce very greatly at this time, seeing your Majestie hath here to serve you so many Noblemen, especially twelve Earles, whereof two onely assist at this Baptisme to the Superstition of Popery. At the which saying the Queen kept good countenance. Soon after they banquetted in the said great Hall, where they wanted no prodigality. During the time of the Earle of *Bedfords* remaining at *Sterlin*, the Lords for the most part waited upon him, and conveyed him every day to the Sermon, and after to Banquetting.

The King remained in *Sterlin* all that time (never being present) kept his Chamber: his father hearing how he was used, writ to him to repaire unto him; who soon after went (without good-night) toward *Glasgow* to his Father; he was hardly a Mile out of *Sterlin* when the poyson (which had been given him) wroght so upon him, that he had very great pain and dolour in every part of his body. At length, being arrived at *Glasgow*, the Blisters brake out, of a blewish colour, so the Physitians presently knew the Disease to come by poyson; he was brought so low that nothing but death was expected; yet the strength of his youth at last did surmount the poison.

During the time of this Triumph the Queen was most liberall in all things that were demanded of her; amongst other things, she subscribed a writing for the maintenance of the Ministers in a reasonable proportion, which was to be taken up of the Thirds of Benefices: which writing being purchased by the Bishop of *Galloway*, was presented at the generall Assembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*, the five and twentieth day of *December*, 1566. where were conveened the Superintendents and other Ministers in reasonable number, but very few Commissioners. The first matter that was there proposed, was concerning the said Writing lately obtained; and the most part of the Ministers being demanded their opinions in the matter, after advice, and passing a little aside, they answered very gravely, That it was their duty to preach to the people the Word of God truly and and sincerely, and to crave of the Auditors the things that were necessary for their sustentation, as of duty the Pastour might justly crave of their Flock; and further it became them not to have any care. Nevertheless the Assembly taking in consideration, that the said Gifts granted by the Queens Majestie, was not to be refused; they ordained, That certaine faithfull men of every Shire should meet, and do their utmost diligence for gathering and receiving the said Corne and money, and likewise appointed the Superintendent of *Lowthian*, and Master *John Row* to waite upon the Bishop of *Galloway*, and concurre and assist him for further expedition

pedition in the Court, that the said Guift mist be dispatched through the Seales. Anno

In the same Assembly there was presented a Remonstrance by Writ by some Gentlemen of *Kyle*, containing in effect, That in asmuch as the Tythes ought to be given onely to the Ministers and Schooles of the Word, and for maintenance of the poor, that therefore the Assembly would Statute and Ordain, That all the Professors of the Evangell should keep the same in their own hands to the effects aforesaid, and no way permit the Papists to meddle therewith. This Writing took no effect at that time, for there was none else but the Gentlemen of *Kyle* of that opinion. It was Statuted in the said Assembly, That such publike Fornicators, and scandalous livers as would not confesse their offences, nor come to declare their repentance, should be declared by the Minister to be out of the Church, and not of the body thereof, and their names to be declared publikely upon the Sunday. After this Assembly, the Bishop of *Galloway* (with the Superintendent of *Lowthian* and M. *John Row*) passing to *Sterlin*, obtained their Demands in an ample manner at the Queens Majesties hand, according to their desire; and likewise they obtained for every Borough, a Guift or Donation of the Altarages, Annuals, and Obites, which before were given to the Papists, now to be disposed for the maintenance of the Ministers and Schooles within the Boroughs, and the rest to the poor or Hospitall. Notwithstanding the Domestick troubles that the Church of God in *Scotland* suffered in the time of these hurliburlies within the Kingdom, yet they were not unmindefull of the affliction of *Jacob* every where upon the face of the Earth; namely, they had before their Eyes the State and condition of the Church of God in *England*, witnesse this Letter from the Generall Assembly to the Rulers of the Church of God in *England*.

The Queen intending vengeance upon the poor King, and being in love with the Earle *Bothwell*, grants to the Protestants their Petitions, that they may be quier, and not trouble her Plots.

The Superintendents, with other Ministers and Commissioners of the Church of God in the Kingdome of Scotland, *to their Brethren the Bishops and Pastours of Gods Church in* England, *who professe with us in* Scotland *the Truth of Jesus Christ.*

BY *Word and Letters it is come to our knowledge (Reverent Brethren, Pastors of Gods Word in the Church of* England) *that divers of our Brethren (of whom some be of the most learned in* England) *are deprived from all Ecclesiasticall Function, namely, Are forbidden to Preach, and so by you are stopped to promote the Kingdom of God, because they have a scruple of Conscience to use at the command of Authoritie such Garments as Idolaters in time of greatest darknesse, did use in their Superstitious and Idolatrous Service; which Report cannot but be very grievous to our hearts, considering the sentence of the Apostle,* If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another. *We intend not at this present to enter into the Question, which we hear is agitated and handled with greater vehemency by either partie, then well liketh us, to wit, Whether such apparell be accounted amongst things indifferent, or not; Wherefore (through the Bowels of Jesus Christ) we crave that Christian Charitie may so farre prevaile with you, who are the Pastors and Guides of Christs Flock in* England, *that ye doe one to another as ye desire others to do to you. You*

Anno

cannot be ignorant what tenderneſſe is in a ſcrupulous Conſcience, and all that have knowledge are not alike perſwaded; the Conſciences of ſome of you ſtirres not, with the wearing of ſuch things, on the other ſide many thouſands (both godly and learned) are otherwayes perſwaded, whoſe Conſciences are continually ſtrucken with theſe ſentences, What hath Chriſt to doe with Beliall? What fellowſhip is there betwixt Light and darkneſſe? *If Surplice, Corner-Cap and Tippet have been the Badges of Idolaters in the very act of their Idolatry, what hath the Preachers of Chriſtian libertie, and the Rebukers of Superſtition with the dregs of that Romiſh Beaſt? yea, What is he that ought not to fear,* either to take in his hand, or on his forehead the Prints and Mark of that odious Beaſt: *The Brethren that refuſe ſuch unprofitable apparell do neither condemne nor moleſt you who uſe ſuch Trifles. On the other ſide, if ye that uſe theſe things, will do the like to your Brethren, we doubt nor but therein you ſhall pleaſe God, and comfort the Hearts of many, which are wounded to ſee extremitie uſed againſt theſe godly Brethren: Humane arguments or coloured Rhetoricke, we uſe none to perſwade you, onely in Charity we deſire you to minde the ſentence of* Peter, *Feed the Flock of Chriſt which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not being as Lords of Gods Heritages, but being examples to the Flock. We further deſire you to meditate upon that ſentence of* Paul, *Give no offence neither, to Jewes, nor Gentiles, nor to the Church of God; in what condition you and we both travell, at leaſt are bound to travell for the promoting of Chriſts Kingdom, you are not ignorant; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you to deale more wiſely, then to trouble the godly for ſuch vanities, for all things which ſeem lawfull, edifie not; if Authority urge you farther then your Conſciences can bear, I pray you remember, that the Miniſters of the Church are called the* Light of the World, *and* Salt of the Earth; *all Civill Authority hath not alwayes the Light of God ſhining before their eyes, in Statutes and Commands, for their affections ſavour too much of the earth and wordly wiſdome: therefore we tell you, That ye ought to oppoſe your ſelves boldly, not onely to all power that dare extoll it ſelfe againſt God, but alſo againſt all ſuch as dare burthen the Conſciences of the faithfull, farther then God chargeth them in his own Word. But we hope you will excuſe our freedom in that we have entred in reaſoning farther then we intended in the beginning; now againe we return to our former requeſt, which is, That the Brethren among you who refuſe the Romiſh Rags, may finde of you who uſe and urge them, ſuch favour as our Head and Maſter commandeth each one of his Members to ſhew to another, which we look to receive of your courteſie, not onely becauſe you will not offend God in troubling your brethren for ſuch vain Trifles, but alſo becauſe you will not refuſe the earneſt requeſt of us your Brethren and fellow Miniſters, in whom although there appear no worldly pompe; yet we are aſſured you will eſteem us as Gods ſervants, travelling to ſet forth his glory againſt the Roman Antichriſt; the dayes are evill, iniquitie aboundeth, and Charitie (alas) waxeth cold, wherefore we ought to walk diligently, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord ſhall come, before whom we muſt all give an account of our adminiſtration. In concluſion, yet once more we deſire you to be favourable one to another, Lord Jeſus rule your hearts in his fear unto the end, and give to you and us victorie over that conjured Enemy of true Religion,* (the Pope) *whoſe wounded head Sathan by all means ſtrives to cure againe; but to deſtruction ſhall he go, and all his maintainers, by the power of our Lord Jeſus, to whoſe mighty protection we commit you.* From our Generall Aſſembly, *Decemb.* 27. 1566.

At

Anno

At the same time the Bishop of Saint *Andrews*, by means of the Earle *Bothwell*, procured a writing from the Queens Majesty, to be obeyed within the Diocesse of his Jurisdiction, in all such causes as before in time of Popery were used in the Consistory, and thefore to discharge the new Commissioners; and for the same purpose came to *Edinburgh* in *January*, having a Company of one hundred horses, or more, intending to take possession, according to his gift lately obtained. The Provest being advertised thereof, by the Earle of *Murray* they sent to the Bishop three or foure of the Councell, desiring him to desist from the said matter, for fear of trouble and sedition that might rise thereupon; whereby he was perswaded to desist at that time. Soon after, the Queen came to *Edinburgh*, where she remained a few dayes. In the moneth of *January* she was informed that the King was recovered of the poyson given him at *Sterlin*, and therefore she past to *Glasgow* to visite him, and there tarried with him six dayes, using him wonderfully kindely, with many gracious and good words; and likewise his father the Earle of *Lenox*; insomuch that all men marvelled whereto it should turn, considering thegreat contempt and dryness that had been before so long together; the Queen notwithstanding all the contempt that was given him, with a known designe to take away his life, yet by her sweet words gains so far upon the uxorious husband, and his facile father, that he went in company with her to *Edinburgh*, where she had caused to lodge him at the Church of *Field*, in a lodging lately bought by Master *James Balfour* Clerk Register, truely very unmeet for a King. The Queen resorted often to visite him, and lay in the house two nights by him (although her lodging was in the Palace of *Halyrud-house*.) Every man marvelled at this reconciliation and sudden change. The ninth of *February* the King was murthered, and the house where he lay burned with Powder. About twelve of the clock in the night; his body was cast forth in a yard without the Town wall adjoyning close by. There was a servant likewise murthered beside him, who had been also in the chamber with him. The people ran to behold this spectacle; and wondring thereat, some judged one thing, some another.

As she had lately gratified the Protestants by granting their Petition, so at this time she yeelds unto the Papists their demands also, that she might be stopped by neither of them in her designe of vengeance and new love.

Shortly therefater, *Bothwell* came from the Abbey with a company of men of War, and caused the body of the King to be carryed to the next house; where, after a little, the Chirurgions being convened at the Queens command, to view and consider the manner of his death; most part gave out, to please the Queen, That he was blown in the Ayre; albeit he had no mark of fire; and truely he was strangled. Soon after, he was carryed to the Abbey, and there buryed.

This tragicall end had *Henry Steward*, after he had been King eighteen moneths. A Prince of great Linage, both by mother and father: He was of a comely stature, and none was like unto him within this Island; he died under the age of one and twenty yeers; prompt and ready for all Games and Sports much given to Hawking and Hunting, and running of horses, and likewise to playing on the Lute, and also to *Venus* Chamber; he was liberall enough: He could write and dictate well; but he was somewhat

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given to wine and much feeding, and likewise to inconstancy; and proud beyond measure, and therefore contemned all others: He had learned to dissemble well enough, being from his youth misled up in Popery. Thus within two yeers after his arriving in this Realme, he was highly by the Queen alone extolled; and finally, had this infortunate end by her procurement and consent. To lay all other proofs aside, her Marriage with *Bothwell*, who was the main executioner of the King, notwithstanding all the advices and counsells that the King of *France* and Queene of *England* did earnestly & carefully give her, as other friends did likewise, witnesse anent their guilt. Those that laid hands on the King to kill him, by *Bothwels* direction, was Sir *James Balfour*, *Gilbert Balfour*, *David Chalmers*, black *John Spense*, *Francis Sebastien*, *Jo. de Bourdeau*, and *Ioseph* the brother of *David Rizio*: These last four were the Queens domesticks and strangers. Thereason why the Kings death was so hastened, because the affection or passion of the Earl *Bothwell* could not bear so long a delay, as the procurement of a Bill of Divorce required, although the Romish Clergie offered their service willingly to the businesse, namely, Bishop *Hamilton*, and so he came great again at Court; and he for the advancement of the businesse, did good Offices to increase the hatred betwixt the King and Queen; yea, some that had been the chief instruments of the Marriage of the King and Queen, offered the service for the Divorce, seeing how the Queens inclination lay: So unhappy are Princes, that men, for their own ends, further them in all their inclinations and undertakings, be they never so bad or destructive to themselves.

The Earle of *Lenox* in the mean time wrote to the Queen, to cause to punish *Bothwell*, with his other complices, for murthering the King. The Queen not daring openly to reject the Earle of *Lenox* his solicitation, did appoint a day for the Triall of *Bothwell* by an Assize; the members whereof, was the Earle of *Cathnes* President, the Earle of *Cassels*, (who at the first refused, but thereafter, being threatned to be put in prison, and under the pain of Treason, was present by the Queens command) *Iohn Hamilton* Commendator of *Aberbrothok*, Lord *Resse*, Lord *Semple*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Hercis*, Lord *Olyphant*; the Master of *Forbes*, the Lairds of *Lochinuar*, *Langton*, *Cambusidentham*, *Barnbougel* and *Boyne*: They, to please the Queen, and for fear, did pronounce *Bothwell* not guilty, notwithstanding the manifest evidences of the cruell fact committed by *Bothwell*; who before the Tryall, did make himself strong by divers means; namely, by the possession of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, so that the accusers durst not appear, not being strong enough. The Earle of *Marre* did retire to *Sterlin*, and had committed to his charge the young Prince. All this was done in *February*.

In *April*, *Bothwell* called together sundry of the Lords who had come to *Edinburgh*, to a meeting that was there; and having gained some before, made them all, what by fear, what by fair promises, first of their private State, and then of advancing the Papists Religion, to consent by their subscriptions to the Marriage with the Queen. Then the Queen goes to *Sterlin* to see her son; *Bothwell* makes a shew as if he were going to the Borders to suppresse Robbers, and so he raiseth some men of War; which when

when he had done, he turneth towards the way to *Sterlin*, where he meets the Queen, according to appointment betwixt them, and carrieth her to *Dumbar*, as it had been by force, although every one knew it was with the Queens liking. The prime Nobility convened at *Sterlin*, and from thence sent to her, to know whether or not she was taken against her will: She answered, That it was true she was token against her will, but since her taking, she had no occasion to complain; yea, the courteous entertainment she had, made her forget and forgive all former offences. These expressions were used by way of preface to the Pardon, which was granted immediately thereafter to *Bothwell*; for by Letters Patents he was pardoned by the Queen, for laying violently hands upon her Majestie, and for all other crimes: So by this, &c. the murther of the King was pardoned. During the Queens abode in *Dumbar*, there was Letters of Divorce demanded and granted unto *Bothwell* from his Lady (who afterward was married to the Earle *Sutherland*) she was sister to the Earle of *Huntley*. The ground of the Divorce was, The parties being within the degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joyned: Next, because *Bothwell* was an Adulterer, the Marriage was voyd. The Bill of Divorce was granted by the Papisticall Court of the Archbishop of Saint *Androes*. And here mark how they juggle in sacred things; for when it pleaseth them, they untie the Bond of Marriage, as now, and as we have seen in the first Book of this History. When the Queen fell in distaste of the late King her husband, it was proposed unto her to have Divorce upon the same ground from the King: To which, first ear was given, but after second thoughts, a Bill of Divorce was too tedious (as we have now said) and could not be stayed for, therefore the King must be dispatched.

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The Queen, when *Bothwell* had obtained by the Archbishop a Letter of Divorce from his lawfull wife, sent a Letter signed with her own hand, to M. *Jo. Craig*, Minister of *Edinburgh*, commanding him to publish the Band of Matrimony betwixt her and *Bothwell*. M. *Jo. Craig*, the next Sermon day thereafter, declared in full Congregation, That he had received such a Command, but in conscience he could not obey it; the Marriage was altogether unlawfull; and of that he would declare the reasons to the parties, if he had audience of them, otherwise he would make known his just reasons in the hearing of the people. Immediately thereafter, *Bothwell* sends for Master *Craig* to the Councell, where M. *Craig* told, first, That by an Act of the Assembly it was forbidden to allow the Marriage of any divorced for adultery: The Divorce of *Bothwell* from his lawfull wife, was by collusion, witnesse the quick dispatch thereof; for it was sought and had within ten dayes, and his contracting with the Queen instantly thereafter; then his rapt of the Queen, and the guilt of the Kings death, which was confirmed by this Marriage: Withall, he desired the Lords to stop the Queen from that infamous Marriage. The Sunday after, he told publikely to the people, what he had said to the Councell; and he took heaven and earth to witnesse, That he detested that scandalous and infamous Marriage; and that he discharged his conscience unto the Lords, who seemed unto him, as so many slaves, what by flattery, what by silence, to give way to that abomination. Upon this, he was called

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to the Councel again, and was reproved, as if he had exceeded the bounds of his Calling. Whereunto he answered, That the bounds of his Commission was the Word of God, right reason, and good Laws, against which he had said nothing; and by all these offered to prove this Marriage to be scandalous and infamous. At this he was stopped by *Bothwell*, and sent from the Councell. Notwithstanding all this done and said by M. *Craig*, and the opposition of many that wished well to the Queen, and were jealous of her Honour, the Marriage went on, and they were married the 15 of *May*. This makes good the Latine Proverb, *Mala nubunt mense Maio*; and a Bishop must blesse the Marriage: The good Prelat was Bishop of *Orkney*: If there be a good work to be done, a Bishop must do it. Here mark the difference betwixt this worthy Minister Master *Craig*, and this base Bishop.

Note.

The Earle of *Athole*, immediately after the murther of the King, had tetired home, waiting for the occasion to revenge the Kings death: But seeing this abominable Marriage, he went to *Sterlin*, where other honest Lords with him had a Meeting, and made a Bond, To defend the young Prince from the murtherers of his father: As already they had had one Plot to cut him off, which God in his mercy did prevent. The Nobles that entred in this Bond, were the Earles of *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Marr*, and *Glencarne*; the Lords *Lindsey* and *Boyd*. *Argyle* thereafter, seduced by some fair words, fell off; and *Boyd* became a great Factionary for *Bothwell* in all things.

The Queen, soon after the Marriage, was advised to send abroad an Ambassadour to acquaint her forraigne friends and kindred; And this must be a Bishop: It is pity that any good work should be done without a Bishop: Was not this a worthy employment for a Pastor in Gods Church?

Bothwell seeing the Bond made at *Sterlin*, causeth the Queen to write to sundry of the Nobility: Divers repaired unto her, where they found a Bond tendred unto them, by which they were to binde themselves to defend the Queen and *Bothwell*. Some that were corrupt, did willingly subscribe; others for fear did the same: And there was not one that went to Court that did refuse, but the Earle of *Murray*; who refusing absolutely to enter into a Bond with *Bothwell*, said, It was not the part of a good subject; Yet since he had been made friends with him some time before, he would keep his promise unto the Queen: And to enter into a Bond with the Queen, it was needlesse and unfit, since he was to obey her in all lawfull and just things. Upon this, he gat leave, although with great difficulty, to go into *France*.

The Queen receives now *Hamilton* Archbishop of S. *Androes*, into favour since these changes; who was no lesse a faithfull Councellor to her, then he was a good Pastor of Christs Flock; that is, He betrayed her, and disobeyed God. With this a Proclamation comes out in favour of the poor Protestants; whereby the Queen declares, That she will keep and confirm all that she had promised at her Arrivall into *Scotland*: This was done to stop the peoples mouthes; but all in vain, for the people were universally against the abomination of the Court.

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Within few dayes, *Bothwell* and the Queen, were raising men, under pretext to go to the Borders to represse the Robbers there; but in effect, to go to *Sterlin*, to have the Prince in their custody, that they might dispose of him according to their minde. Then a new Proclamation came out, That the Queen hereafter would rule onely by the advice of the Nobles of the Land, as her best Predecessors had done. The Lords at *Sterlin* hearing of this plot, strives to prevent it, and to this purpose they appointed with the Lord *Humes* to besiege the Castle of *Borthwike*, where the Queen and *Bothwell* was: But because the Earl of *Athole* did not come at the hour appointed, they had not men enough to environ and compasse the Castle; so that *Bothwel* having notice given him of the businesse, escaped to *Dumbar*, and the Queen after him, in mans clothes. The Lords failing of their designe at *Borthwike* Castle, went to *Edinburgh*, whereof they made themselves Masters easily, having the affections of the people, notwithstanding the Earle *Huntley*, and the Archbishop of S. *Androes* perswasion to the contrary: These two, with their associates, were constrained to retire to the Castle, where they were received by Sir *Jam. Balfour*, left there by *Bothwel*.

The twelfth of *June*, which was the next day following, the Lords at *Edinburgh* caused to publish a Proclamation, whereby they declared, That the Earl *Bothwell*, who had been the principall author, deviser, and actor of the cruell murther of the late King, had since laid hand upon the Queens person, and had her for the present in *Dumbar* in his power; and finding her utterly destitute of all good counsell, had seduced her to a dishonest and unlawfull marriage with himself; yea, that now he was gathering Forces, and stirring himself to get the young Prince in his hands, that he might murther the Childe, as he had murthered the Father. This wicked man the Nobles of the Land resolved to withstand, and deliver the Queen out of his bondage; wherefore they did charge all Lieges within the Kingdom that could come to them, to be in readinesse at 3 hours warning to assist them, the Nobles, for the freeing of the Queen from captivity, and bringing the said Earle *Bothwell* to a Legall Triall, and condigne punishment for the aforesaid murther and other Crimes. All such that would not syde with the Lords were by this Proclamation commanded to depart from *Edinburgh* within four hours, under the pain of being accounted enemies, &c.

Notwithstanding this Proclamation, the people did not joyn unto these Lords as was expected, for sundry of the Nobles were adversaries to the businesse, other stood as Neuters; and withall, those that were convened together were not well provided of Armes and Munition for exploits of warre; so that they were even thinking to dissolve and leave off their Enterprize till another time, and had absolutely done so; but God had ordained other wayes, as the event did shew (if the Queen and *Bothwell* could have had patience to stay at *Dumbar* for three or four dayes without any stirre) but the Queen and *Bothwell* having gathered together about four or five thousand men, trusting in their Force (the Queen being puft up by Flatterers) set forth and Marched towards *Leith*: being come forward as farre as *Glaidsmure*, she caused publike Proclamation against the aforesaid Lords, calling them a number of Conspirators, and that she now discerned

their

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their inward malice against her and her husband, the Duke of *Orkney* (for so now they called *Bothwell:*) After they had endeavoured to apprehend her and her Husband at *Brothwick*, and had made a seditious Proclamation, under pretence of seeking the revenge of the King her late husband; and to free her from Captivity, giving out, That the Duke her husband had a minde to invade the Prince her Sonne; all which was false, for the Duke her Husband had used all means to clear himself, both by a Legall way, and by the offer of a Combate to any that did accuse him, as they knew well enough: As touching her captivity, she was in none, but was in company with her Husband, unto whom she was publikely married in the view of the world, and many of the Nobles had given their consent unto this her marriage: As for the Prince her Sonne, it was but a specious pretence to the Treason and Rebellion against her their naturall Soveraign, and her Posterity, which they intended to overthrow; wherefore she declared her self necessitated to take Arms, hoping that all her faithfull Subjects would adhere unto her, and that those who were already assembled with her, would with good hearts and hands stand to her defence; and for the recompence of their valour they should have the Lands and goods of these unnaturall Rebels. After this Proclamation the Army went on, and the Queen that night came to *Seaton*, where she lay.

About Midnight the Lords of *Edinburgh* were advertised of the Queens approach, presently they took Arms, and at the Sun rising they were at *Muselburgh*, where they refreshed themselves with meat and rest. The Queens Camp was not yet stirring. About Midday the Scouts that the Lords had sent out, brought word that the Enemy was Marching towards them; presently they put themselves in two Battalia's, the first was conducted by the Earle *Morton*, and the Lord *Hume*; the second by the Earls *Athole*, *Glencarne*, the Lords *Lindsey*, *Ruthuen*, *Semple* and *Sancharmar*, with the Lairds *Drumlanrick*, *Tullibardin*, *Cesfoord*, and *Graunge*, with divers others, their number was almost as great as the Queens, their men better, being many of them expert men, that I say nothing of the Cause. The Queen had gained a Hill, called *Carbarry*, which the Lords (by reason of the steepnesse of the ascent) could not well come at; wherefore they wheeled about to get a more convenient place to go to the Hill, where the Enemy was, and to have the Sunne behinde them in the time of the fight. At the first the Queen seeing their thus going about, did imagine they were fleeing away to *Dalketh*, but when she saw them come directly towards her, she found her selfe deceived.

The *French* Ambassadour seeing them ready to fight, strived to take up the businesse, and having spoken with the Queen, went to the Lords, telling them, that the Queene was disposed to peace, and to forgive and pardon this Insurrection; wherefore it was very fit to spare blood, to agree in a peaceable way. The Earle of *Morton* (in the name of all rest) answered, That they had taken up Armes, not against the Queen, but against the murtherer of the King; whom if she would deliver to be punished, or at least put from her company, she should finde a continuation of dutifull obedience by them, and all other good subjects; otherwise no peace: Besides, we are not to ask pardon for any offence done by us. The

. . Ambassadour

Ambassadour seeing their resolution to stand to the right of their Cause, withdrew, and went to *Edinburgh*. Anno

While the *French* Ambassadour was thus labouring for Accommodation, *Bothwell* came out of the Camp (which was in the Trench that the Englishmen had left at their last being in these places, as was we have said in the former Books) well mounted, with a defie to any that would fight with him. *James Murray*, brother to the Laird of *Tullibardin*, who before had accepted of *Bothwells* challenge, when he made the Rodomontade at *Edinburgh*, immediately after the Kings death; but then *James Murray* did not make knowne his name. *Bothwell* refused to fight with *James Murray*, alleadging he was not his equall. Upon this the Elder Brother *William Murrey*, Laird of *Tullibardin*, answered, That he would fight with him, as being his Better in Estate, and in Antiquitie of House many degrees above him; yet *Bothwell* refused him, saying, That he was not a Peer of the Kingdome, as he was; then sundry Lords would have gone to fight with *Bothwell*; but the Lord *Lindsey* namely, who said to the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen, That he would take it as a singular favour of them, and as a recompence of his service done to the State, if they would suffer him to fight with the Braggadocio. *Bothwell* seeing that there was no more subterfuge nor excuse, under-hand made the Queen to forbid him. After this challenge and answers, *Bothwells* Complices and Followers were very earnest to fight, but others that had come only for the Queens sake, became little cold, saying, That *Bothwell* would do well to fight himself, and spare the blood of divers Gentlemen that were there. Some counselled to delay the Battell till the *Hamiltons* came, whom they did expect. All this the Queen heard with anger; and riding up and down, burst out in tears, and said, They were all cowards and traytors that would not fight. Immediately after, thus vapouring, the Queen pereceiving sundry to leave her, she advised *Bothwell* to look unto himself, for she said to him, She would render her self unto the Noble-men. Upon this she sent for *James Kirkaldie* of *Grange*, with whom she kept discourse for a while, till that she was assured that *Bothwell* was out of danger. Then she went to the Lords, whom she did entertain with many fair words, telling them, That it was neither fear, nor want of hope of victory, that made her come unto them, but a meer desire to spare shedding of innocent blood: Withall she promised to be ruled and advised by them. With this she was received with all respect: But shortly after, declaring that she would go to the *Hamiltons*, with promise to returñ, they restrained her liberty, and brought her along with them to *Edinburgh* at night: She was very slow in marching, looking to be rescued by the *Hamiltons*; but in vain: She lay that night in the Provest his house. The next day, the Lords sent the Queen to the Castle that is within an Isle of *Lochlevin*. Sir *James Balfour* seeing the Queen committed, and *Bothwell* consequently defeated, he capitulated with the Lords for the delivery of the Castle. *Bothwell* finding himself thus in disorder, sent a servant to Sir *James Balfour*, to save a little silver Cabinet, which the Queen had given him. Sir *James Balfour* delivers the Cabinet to the messenger, and under-hand giveth advice of it to the Lords. In this Cabinet had *Bothwell* kept the Letters of privacy he had from the

Note how God changeth things in a moment.

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Queen: Thus he kept her Letters, to be an awe-bond npon her, in case her affection should change. By the taking of this Cabinet, many particulars betwixt the Queen and *Bothwell* were cleerly discovered. These Letters were after printed: They were in French; with some Sonnets of her own making.

Few dayes after the commitment of the Queen, the Earle of *Glencarne* with his domesticks, went to the Chappell of *Halyrud-house*, where he brake down the Altars and the Images: Which fact, as it did content the zealous Protestants, so it did highly offend the popishly affected. The Nobles, who had so proceeded against *Bothwell*, and dealt so with the Queen, hearing that the *Hamiltons* had a great number of men, and had drawn the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley* to their side, sent to *Hamilton*, desiring those that were there to joyn with them, for the redresse of the disorders of Church and State: But the *Hamiltons* thinking now they had a fair occasion fallen unto them to have all again in their hands, and to dispose of all according to their own minde, did refuse audience to the Message sent by the Lords,

Upon this, the Lords moved the generall Assembly then met in *Edinburgh*, in the moneth of *June*, to write to the Lords that either were actually declared for the *Hamiltons*, or were neuters: And so severall Letters were directed to the Earles of *Argyle*, *Huntley*, *Cathnes*, *Rothesse*, *Crauford*, and *Menteth*; to the Lords *Boyd*, *Drummens*, *Grame*, *Cathcart*, *Yester*, *Fleming*, *Levinston*, *Seaton*, *Glamnis*, *Uthiltrie*, *Gray*, *Olyphant*, *Methven*, *Inderneth*, and *Somervile*; as also to divers other men of note. Besides the Letters of the Assembly, Commissioners were sent from the Assembly, to the Lords above-named; to wit, *John Knox*, *John Dowglas*, *John Row*, and *John Craig*, who had instructions conforme to the tenour of the Letters, to desire these Lords and others, to come to *Edinburgh*, and joyn with the Lords there, for the setling of Gods true Worship in the Church, and policy reformed according to Gods Word, a maintenance for the Ministers, and support for the poor: But neither the Commissioners nor the Letters did prevail with these men; they excused, That they could not repair to *Edinburgh* with freedome, where there was so many armed men, and a Garrison so strong: But for the Church-affairs, they would not be any wayes wanting, to do what lay in them.

The Lords at *Edinburgh* seeing this, joyneth absolutely with the Assembly (which had been prorogated to the 20 of *July*, upon the occasion of these Letters and Commissioners aforesaid) and promiseth to make good all the Articles they thought fit to resolve upon in the Assembly: But how they performed their promises, God knows alwayes. The Articles they agreed upon were these:

1. *THat the Acts of Parliament holden at* Edinburgh *the* 24 *of August* 1560. *touching Religion, and abolishing the Popes Authority, should have the force of a publike Law; and consequently this Parliament defended, as a lawfull Parliament, and confirmed by the first Parliament that should be kept next.*

2. *Tha*

2. *That the Thirds of the Tythes, or any more reasonable proportion of Benefices, should be allowed towards the maintenance of the Ministery; and that there should be a charitable course taken concerning the exacting of the Tythes of the poor Labourers.* Anno

3. *That none should be received in the Universities, Colledges, or Schools, for instruction of the youth, but after due tryall both of capacity and probitie.*

4. *That all crimes and offences against God, should be punished according to Gods Word; and that there should be a Law made there-anent, at the first Parliament to be holden.*

5. *As for the horrible murther of the late King, husband to the Queen, which was so haynous before God and man, all true professors, in whatsoever rank or condition, did promise to strive that all persons should be brought to condigne punishment, who are found guilty of the same crime.*

6. *They all promised to protect the young Prince against all violence, lest he should be murthered as his father was; And that the Prince should be committed to the care of four wise and godly men, that by a good Education, he might be fitted for that high Calling he was to execute one day.*

7. *The Nobles, Barons, and others, doth promise to beat down and abolish Popery, Idolatry and Superstition, with any thing that may contribute unto it; As also to set up and further the true Worship of God, his Government, the Church, and all that may concerne the purity of Religion and life; And for this to convene and take Arms, if need require.*

8. *That all Princes and Kings hereafter in this Realm, before their Coronation, shall take Oath to maintain the true Religion now professed in the Church of* Scotland, *and suppresse all things contrary to it, and that are not agreeing with it.*

To these Articles subscribed the Earles of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and *Marre*, the Lords *Hume*, *Ruthen*, *Sanchar*, *Lindsey*, *Grame*, *Inermeth*, and *Uchiltrie*, with many other Barons, besides the Commissioners of the Burroughs.

This being agreed upon, the Assembly dissolved. Thereafter the Lords *Lindsey* and *Ruthuen* were sent to *Lochlevin* to the Queen, to present unto her two Writs; the one contained a Renounciation of the Crowne and Royall Dignity, in favour of the Prince her son; with a Commission to invest him into the Kingdome, according to the manner accustomed: Which, after some reluctancy with tears, she subscribed, by the advice of

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the Earle of *Athole*, who had sent to her; and of Secretary *Lethington*, who had sent to her *Robert Melvill* for that purpose: So there was a Procuration given to the Lords *Lindsay* and *Ruthuen*, by the Queen, to give up and resigne the Rule of the Realme, in presence of the States.

The second Writ was, To ordain the Earle of *Murray* Regent, during the Princes minority, if he would accept the Charge: And in case he refused, the Duke *Chattellarault*, the Earles of *Lenox*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Glencarne* and *Marre*, should governe conjoyntly.

These Writs were published the 29 of *July*, 1567. at the Market-Crosse of *Edinburgh*: Then at *Sterlin* was the Prince Crowned King, where *Iohn Knox* made the Sermon: The Earl *Morton* and the Lord *Hume*, took the Oath for the King, That he should constantly live in the Profession of the true Religion, and maintain it; And that he should governe the Kingdom according to Law thereof, and do Justice equally to all.

In the beginning of *August*, the Earle *Murray* being sent for, cometh home; in all haste he visites the Queen at *Lochlevin*, strives to draw the Lords that had taken part with the *Hamiltons*, or were neuters, to joyne with those that had bound themselves to stand for the Kings Authority: He was very earnest with divers, by reason of their old friendship; but to little purpose. The twentinth of *August*, he received the Regencie, after mature and ripe deliberation, at the desire of the Queen, and Lords that were for the King, and so was publikely proclaimed Regent, and Obedience shewed unto him by all that stood for the young King.

The end of the History of the Church of *Scotland*, till the yeer 1567. and Moneth of *August*.

THE

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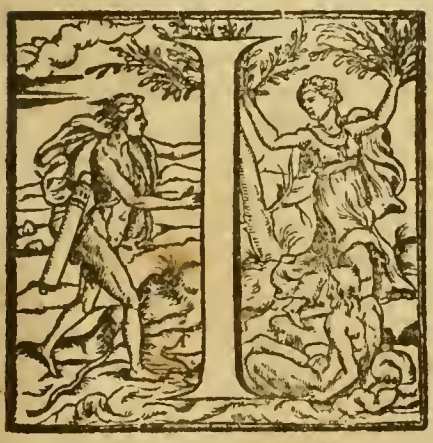
THE APPELLATION OF JOHN KNOX,

From the cruell and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him, by the false Bishops and Clergie of *Scotland*: With his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Communalty of the same Realme.

To the Nobility and States of SCOTLAND:
JOHN KNOX *wisheth Grace, Mercy and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous Judgement.*



IT is not onely the love of this Temporall life (Right Honourable) neither yet the fear of Corporal death, that moveth me at this present to expose unto you the injuries done against me; and to crave of you, as of lawfull Powers by God appointed, redresse of the same; But partly it proceedeth from that reverence which every man oweth to Gods Eeternall Truth: And partly, from a love which I bear to your Salvation, and to the Salvation of my Brethren abused in that Realme, by such as have no fear of God before their eyes. It hath pleased God of his infinite mercy, not onely to illuminate the eyes of my minde, and so to touch my dull heart, that cleerly I see, and by his grace unfainedly believe, That there is no other name given to men under the heaven in which Salvation consisteth,

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save the Name of JESUS alone, *Who by that Sacrifice which he did once offer upon the Crosse, hath sanctified for ever all those that shall inherite the Kingdom promised:* But also it hath pleased him of his superaboundant grace, to make and appoint me, most wretched of many thousands, a Witnesse, Minister and Preacher of the same Doctrine; the sum whereof, I did not spare to communicate with my Brethren, being with them in the Realme of *Scotland*, in the yeer 1556, because I know my self to be a Steward, and that accounts of the Talent committed to my charge, shall be required of me by him, who will admit no vain excuse which fearfull men pretend: I did therefore (as God his minister) during the time I was conversant with them (God is record and witnesse) truely and sincerely, according to the gift granted unto me, divide the Word of Salvation, teaching all men to hate sin, which before God was and is so odious, that none other Sacrificē would satisfie his Justice, except the death of his onely Son; and to magnifie the mercies of our heavenly Father, who did not spare the substance of his own glory, but did give him to the world, to suffer the ignominious and cruell death of the Crosse, by that means to reconcile his chosen children to himself: teaching further, what is the duty of such as do believe themselves purged by such a Price, from their former filthinesse; to wit, That they are bound to walk in the newnesse of life, fighting against the lusts of the flesh, and studying at all times to glorifie God by such good works as he hath prepared his people to walk in.

Heb. 10.
1 Cor. 3.
Mat. 25.
John 3.
Rom 5 8.
2 Cor. 5.
Rom. 6.
Ephes 4 5.
Ephes. 2.

In Doctrine I did further affirm (so taught by my Master Christ Jesus) That whosoever denieth him, yea, or is ashamed of him before this wicked Generation, him shall Christ Jesus deny, and of him shall he be ashamed, when he shall appear in his Majesty: And therefore I feared not to affirm, That of necessity it is, that such as hope for life everlasting, avoid all Superstition, vain Religion and Idolatry: Vain Religion and Idolatry, I call whatsoever is done in Gods Service or Honour, without the expresse Commandment of his own Word.

Matth. 10.
Vain Religion, or Idolatry.

This Doctrine I did believe to be so conformable to Gods holy Scriptures, that I thought no creature could have been so impudent, as to have condemned any Point or Article of the same: Yet nevertheleſſe me, as an heretick, and this Doctrine, as hereticall, have your false Bishops and ungodly Clergie condemned, pronouncing against me a Sentence of death; in testification whereof, they have burned a Picture. From which false and cruell Sentence, and from all judgement of that wicked Generation, I make it known unto your Honours, That I appeal to a Lawfull and Generall Councell, to such, I mean, as the most ancient Laws and Cannons do approve, to be holden by such, as whose manifest impiety is not to be reformed in the same: Most humbly requiring of your Honours, That as God hath appointed you Princes in that People, and by reason thereof, requireth of your hands the defence of Innocents troubled in your Dominion, in the mean time, and till the controversies that this day be in Religion, be lawfully decided, ye receive me, and such others as most unjustly by those cruell Beasts are persecuted, in your defence and Protection.

A Sentence pronounced.
Appellation from the same.
The request of *John Knox.*

Your Honours are not ignorant, That it is not I alone, who doth sustain

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sustain this Cause against the pestilent Generation of Papists, but that the most part of *Germany*, the Countrey of *Helvetia*, the King of *Denmarke*, the Nobility of *Polonia*, together with many other Cities and Churches Reformed, appeal from the Tyrannie of that Antichrist, and most earnestly call for a Lawfull and Generall Councell, wherein may all Controversies in Religion be decided, by the Authority of Gods most sacred Word. The Petition of Protestants.

And unto this same, as said is, do I appeal yet once again, requiring of your Honours to hold my simple and plain Appellation of no lesse value nor effect, then if it had been made with greater circumstance, solemnity, and ceremony; and that you receive me calling unto you, as to the Powers of God ordained, in your protection and defence, against the rage of Tyrants; not to maintain me in any iniquity, errour, or false opinion, but to let me have such equity, as God by his Word, ancient Laws and Determinations of most godly Councells, grant to men accused or infamed.

The Word of God wills, That no man shall die, except he be found criminall and worthy of death for offence committed, of which he must be manifestly convinced by two or three witnesses. Ancient Law do permit just defences to such as be accused (be their crimes never so horrible.) And godly Councells wills, That neither Bishop nor person Ecclesiasticall whatsoever, accused of any crime, shall sit in Judgement, Consultation, or Councell, where the cause of such men as do accuse them is to be tried. Deut. 17.

These things require I of your Honours to be granted unto me, to wit; That the Doctrine which our adversaries condemn for heresie, may be tried by the simple and plain Word of God; That just Defences be admitted to us that sustain the Battell against this pestilent Generation of Antichrist; And that they be removed from judgement in our Cause, seeing that our accusation is not intended against any one particular person, but against that whole kingdom, which we doubt not to prove to be a power usurped against God, against his Commandment, and against the Ordinance of Christ Jesus established in his Church by his chief Apostles; Yea, we doubt not to prove the kingdom of the Pope, to be the kingdom and power of Antichrist. And therefore, my Lords, I cannot cease in the Name of Christ Jesus, to require of you, That the matter may come to examination, and that ye the States of the Realme, by your Authority, compell such as will be called Bishops, not onely to desist from their cruell murthering of such as do study to promote Gods glory, in detecting and disclosing the damnable impiety of that Man of Sin the Romane Antichrist; but also that ye compell them to answer to such crimes as shall be laid to their charge, for not righteously instructing the Flock committed to their cares. The Petition of *Iohn Knox*. Note well.

But here I know two things shall be doubted: The former, Whether that my Appellation is lawfull, and to be admitted, seeing that I am condemned as an heretick: And secondly, Whether your Honours are bound to defend such as call for your support in that case, seeing that your Bishops (who in matters of Religion claim all Authority to appertain to them) have by their sentence already condemned me. Answer: 1. To Objections.

The one and the other I nothing doubt most cleerly to prove: First, That

Anno

Note.

That my Appellation is most lawfull and just: And secondly, That your Honours cannot refuse to defend me thus calling for your ayd; for in refusing, ye declare your selves rebellious to God, maintainers of murtherers, and shedders of innocent blood.

The Appellation is just and lawfull.

How just cause I have by the Civill Law (as for their Canon, it is accursed of God) to appeal from their unjust sentence, my purpose is not to make long discourse; Onely I will touch the points which all men confesse to be the just causes of Appellation: first, Lawfully could I not be summoned by them, being for that time absent from their Jurisdiction, charged with the Preaching of Christs Evangell in a free City, not subject to their Tyranny.

Secondly, To me was no intimation made of their summons, but so secret was their surmised malice, that the Copie of summons being required, was denyed.

Thirdly, To the Realme of *Scotland* could I have had no free nor sure accesse, being before compelled to quit the same by their unjust Tyranny.

And lastly, To me they neither could nor can be competent and indifferent Judges, for that, before any summons were raised against me, I had accused them by Letters published to the Queen *Dowager*, and had intended against them all crimes, offering my self, with hazard of life, to prove the same, for the which they are not onely unworthy of Ecclesiasticall Authority, but also of any sufferance within a Common-wealth professing Christ. This my accusation preceding their summons, neither by the Law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they be to me competent Judges, till place be granted unto me openly to prove my accusation intended against them, and they be compelled to make answer, as criminalls: For I will plainly prove, That not onely Bishops, but also Popes, have been removed from all Authority, and pronouncing of judgment, till they have purged themselves of accusations laid against them. Yea, further I will prove, That Bishops and Popes have most justly been deprived from all Honours and administration, for smaller crimes then I have to charge the whole rabble of your Bishops.

Gods Messengers may appeal from unjust sentences, and Civill powers are bound to admit them.

But because this is not my chief ground, I will stand content for this present to shew, That it is lawfull to Gods Prophets, and to Preachers of Christ Jesus, to appeal from the sentence and judgement of the visible Church, to the knowledge of the Temporall Magistrate, who by Gods Law is bound to hear their causes, and to defend them from Tyranny.

Jer. 26.

The Prophet *Jeremy* was commanded by God to stand in the court of the House of the Lord, and to preach this Sermon, in effect; That *Jerusalem* should be destroyed, and be exposed in opprobrie to all Nations of the earth; And that also that famous Temple of God should be made desolate, like unto *Sylo*, because the Priests, the Prophets, and the people, did not walk in the Law which God hath proposed unto them, neither would they obey the voyces of the Prophets whom God sent to call them to repentance.

For this Sermon, was *Jeremy* apprehended, and a sentence of death pronounced against him, and that by the Priests, by the Prophets, and by the People: which things being bruted in the ears of the Princes of *Juda*, they

they passed up from the Kings House, to the Temple of the Lord, and sate downe in Judgement for further knowledge of the cause: But the Priests and Prophets continued in their cruell sentence which before they had pronounced, saying, *This man is worthy of death; for he hath prophesied against this City, as your ears have heard.* But *Jeremy*, so moved by the holy Ghost, began his defence against that their tyrannous sentence, in these words; *The Lord* (saith he) *hath sent me to prophesie against this House, and against this City, all the words which you have heard. Now therefore make good your wayes, and hear the voyce of the Lord your God, and then shall he repent of the evil which he hath spoken against you. And as for me, behold, I am in your hands* (so doth he speak to the Princes) *do to me as you think good and right: Nevertheleſſe, know you this most assuredly, That if ye murther or slay me, ye shall make your selves, this City, and the inhabitants of the same, criminall and guilty of innocent blood; for of a truth the Lord hath sent me to speak in your ears all these words.* Anno. Advert.

Then the Princes and the people (saith the Text) *said, This man is not worthy of death, for he hath spoken to us in the Name of the Lord our God.* And so, after some contention, was the Prophet delivered from that danger. This fact and history manifestly proveth whatsoever before I have affirmed; to wit, That it is lawfull for the servants of God to call for the help of the Civill Magistrate, against the sentence of death, if it be unjust, by whomsoever it is pronounced; And also that the Civill Sword hath power to represse the fury of the Priests, and to absolve whom they have condemned: For the Prophet of God was condemned by those, who then onely in earth were known to be the visible Church; to wit, the Priests and Prophets who were in *Jerusalem*, the successors of *Aaron*, to whom was given a charge to speak to the people in the Name of God, and a Precept given to the people to hear the Law from their mouthes; to the which if any should be rebellious or inobedient, he should die the death without mercy. These men, I say, thus authorized by God, first did excommunicate *Jeremy*, for that he did Preach otherwise then did the common sort of Prophets in *Jerusalem*: And last, apprehended him, as you have heard, pronouncing against him this sentence afore-written; from the which nevertheleſſe the Prophet appealed, that is, Sought helpe and defence against the same, and that most earnestly did he crave of the Princes: For albeit he saith, *I am in your hands, do with me as ye think righteous*, he doth not contemne or neglect his life, as though he regarded not what should become of him, but in those his words most vehemently did he admonish the Princes and Rulers of the people, giving them to understand what God should require of them; as if he should say, Ye Princes of *Juda*, and Rulers of the people, to whom appertaineth indifferently to judge betwixt party and party, to justifie the just man, and to condemne the malefactor, you have heard a sentence of death pronounced against me, by those whose lips ought not to speak deceit, because they are sanctified and appointed by God himself, to speak his Law, and to pronounce judgement with equity; but as they have left the living God, and have taught the people vanity, so are they become mortall enemies to all Gods true servants, of whom I am one, rebuking their iniquity, apostasie and defe-

The Princes did absolve the Prophet, whom the Priests had condemned.

Deut 17.

The meaning of these words, *I am in your hands, &c.* Deut 17. Jerem 1. Deut 1 10.

Anno

defection from God, which is the onely cause they seek my life. But a thing most contrary to all equity, law and justice it is, that I, a man sent of God, to call them, his people, and you again to the true service of God, from the which you are all declined, shall suffer the death, because that my enemies do so pronounce sentence. I stand in your presence, whom God hath made Princes, your power is above their Tyranny, before you do I expose my cause, I am in your hands, and cannot resist to suffer what ye think just: But lest that my lenity and patience should either make you negligent in the defence of me in my just cause, appealing to your judgement, either yet encourage my enemies in seeking my blood, this one thing I dare not conceal, That if you murther me (which thing ye do, if ye defend me not) ye make not onely my enemies guilty of my blood, but also your selves, and this whole City. By these words, I say, it is evident, That the Prophet of God, being condemned by the Priests, and by the Prophets of the visible Church, did seek ayd, support and defence at the Princes and temporall Magistrates, threatning his blood to be required at their hands, if they, by their Authority, did not defend him from the fury of his enemies; alleadging also just causes of his Appellation, and why he ought to have been defended; to wit, That he was sent of God to rebuke their vices and defection from God; That he taught no Doctrine which God before had not pronounced in his Law; That he desired their conversion to God, continually calling upon them to walke in the wayes which God had approved; and therefore doth he boldly crave of the Princes, as of Gods Lievtenants, to be defended from the blinde rage and tyranny of the Priests, notwithstanding that they claimed to themselves Authority to judge all matters of Religion. And the same did he when he was cast in prison, and thereafter was brought to the presence of King *Zedechias*. After, I say, he had defended his innocency, affirming, That he neither had offended against the King, against his servants, nor against the people, at last he made intercession to the King for his life, saying, *But now, my Lord the King, take heed, I beseech thee, let my prayer fall into thy presence, command me not to be carried again into the house of* Jonathan *the Scribe, that I die not there.*

The causes of his Appellation, and why he ought to have been defended.

Jerem. 38.

And the Text witnesseth, That the King commanded the place of his imprisonment to be changed. Whereof it is evident, That the Prophet did ofter then once seek help at the Civill power; and that first the Princes, and thereafter the King did acknowledge, That it appertained to their Office to deliver him from the unjust sentence which was pronounced against him. If any man think that *Jeremy* did not appeal, because he onely declared the wrong done unto him, and did but crave defence according to his innocency, let the same man understand, That none otherwise do I appeal from that false and cruell sentence which your Bishops pronounced against me; Neither yet can there be any just cause of Appellation, but innocency, or suspition to be hurt, whether it be by ignorance of a Judge, or by malice and corruption of those, who under the title of Justice, do exercise Tyranny. If I were a thief, murtherer, blasphemer, open adulterer, or any offender whom Gods Word commandeth to suffer for a crime committed, my Appellation were vain, and to be

Just cause of Appellation.

be rejected: But I being innocent, yea, the Doctrine which your Bishops have condemned in me being Gods Eternall Verity, have no lesse liberty to crave your defence against that cruelty, then had the Prophet *Jeremy* to seek ayd of the Princes and King of *Juda*. But this shall more plainly appear in the fact of Saint *Paul*, who after that he was apprehended in *Jerusalem*, did first claim the liberty of the Romane Citizens, for avoyding torment, when the Captain would have examined him by questions: Thereafter in the Councell, where no righteous judgement was to be hoped for, he affirmed that he was a Pharisee, and that he was accused of the Resurrection of the dead, and last, in the presence of *Festus*, he appealed from all knowledge and judgement of the Priests at *Jerusalem*, to the Emperour: Of which last Point, because it doth chiefly appertain to this my cause, I will somewhat speak.

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Act. 22, 23, 24, & 25.

After that *Paul* had divers times been accused, as in the Acts of the Apostles is manifest, at the last the chief Priests and their faction came to *Cesarea*, with *Festus* the President, who presented unto them *Paul* in Judgement, whom they accused of horrible crimes, which nevertheless they could not prove, the Apostle maintaining, That he had offended neither against the Law, neither against the Temple, neither yet against the Emperour.

But Festus *willing to gratifie the Jews, said to* Paul, *Wilt thou go up to* Jerusalem, *and there be judged of these things in my presence? But* Paul *said, I stand at the Justice Seat of the Emperour, where it behoveth me to be judged; I have done no wrong to the Jews, as thou better knowest: If I have done any thing unjustly, or yet committed crime worthy of death, I refuse not to die: But if there be nothing of these things true whereof they accuse me, no man may give me to them: I appeal to* Cæsar. It may appear at the first sight, That *Paul* did great injury to *Festus* the Judge, and to the whole Order of the Priesthood, who did hope greater equity in a cruell tyrant, then in all that Session, and learned company: which thing, no doubt, *Festus* did understand, pronouncing these words, *Hast thou appealed to* Cæsar? *Thou shalt go to* Cæsar. As if he would say, I, as a man willing to understand the truth, before I pronounce sentence, have required of thee to go to *Jerusalem*, where the learned of thine own Nation may hear thy Cause, and discern in the same. The controversie standeth in matters of Religion; thou art accused as an apostate from the Law, as a violator of the Temple, and a transgressor of the Traditions of their Fathers; in which matters I am ignorant, and therefore desire information by those that be learned in the same Religion whereof the question is; and yet dost thou refuse so many godly Fathers to hear thy cause, and dost appeal to the Emperor, preferring him to all our judgments, of no purpose, belike, but to delay time. Thus, I say, it might have appeared that *Paul* did not onely injury to the Judge and to the Priests, but also that his cause was greatly to be suspected, partly for that he did refuse the judgement of those that had most knowledge (as all men supposed) of Gods Will and Religion; and partly, because he appealed to the Emperour, who then was at *Rome*, far absent from *Jerusalem*, a man ignorant of God, and enemy to all vertue. But the Apostle considering the nature of his enemies, and what things they had intended against him, even from

Act. 25.

Anno

the first day he began freely to speak in the Name of Christ, did not fear to appeal from them, and from the Judge that would have gratified them. They had professed themselves plain enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed Evangell, and sought the death of *Paul*, yea, even by factions and treasonable conspiracy, and therefore by no means would he admit them either as Judges in his cause, or auditors of the same, as *Festus* required; But grounding himself upon strong reasons, to wit, That he had not offended the Jews, neither against the Law, but that he was innocent, therefore that no Judge ought to give him into the hands of his enemies: grounding, I say, his Appellation upon these reasons, he neither regarded the displeasure of *Festus*, neither yet the brute of the ignorant multitude, but boldly did appeal from all cognoscance of them, to the judgement of the Emperour, as said is. By these two examples, I doubt not but your Honours do understand, That it is lawfull to the servants of God, oppressed by tyrannts, to seek remedy against the same, be it by appellation from their sentence, or by imploring the help of Civill Magistrates: For what God hath approved in *Jeremy* and *Paul*, he can condemne in none that are so dealt withall. I might alleadge some History of the primitive Church serving to the same purpose; as of *Ambrose* and *Athanasius*, of whom, the one would not be judged but at *Millan*, where that his Doctrine was heard of all his Church, and received and approved by many: And the other would in no wise give place to those Councells, where he knew that men conspiring against the Truth of God, should sit in Judgement and Consultation: But because the Scriptures of God are my onely foundation and assurance in all matters of weight and importance, I have thought the two former testimonies sufficient, as well to approve my Appellation reasonable and just, as to declare to your Honours, That with safe conscience ye cannot refuse to admit the same. If any think it arrogancy or foolishnesse in me to compare my self with *Jeremy* and *Paul*, let the same man understand, That as God is immutable, so is the Verity of his glorious Evangell of equall dignity, whensoever it is impugned, be the members suffering never so weak. What I think touching mine owne person, God will reveal, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed: and such as with whom I have been conversant, can witnesse what arrogancy or pride they espie in me. But touching the Doctrine and cause which that adulterous and pestilent Generation of Antichrists servants (who will be called Bishops amongst you) have condemned me, I neither fear nor shame to confesse and avow before man and Angel, to be the Eternall Truth of the Eternall God. And in that case I doubt not to compare my self with any member in whom the Truth hath been impugned, since the beginning: For as it was the Truth which *Ieremy* did Preach, in these words; *The Priests have not known me (saith the Lord) but the Pastors have treacherously declined and fallen back from me. The Prophets have Prophesied in* Baal, *and have gone after those things which cannot helpe. My people have left the fountain of living Water, and have digged to themselves pits, which can contain no water.*

Why *Paul* would admit none of the Leuiticall order to judge in his cause.

Upon what reasons the Appellation of *Paul* was grounded.

The cause is to be regarded, and not the persons.

Jerem. 2.

Jerem. 1.

As it was a truth, That the Pastors and Watch-men in the dayes of *Isaiah*, were become dumb dogs, blinde, ignorant, proud and avaricious.

Isai. 56.

And

And finally, as it was a truth, That the Princes and the Priests were murtherers of Christ Jesus, and cruell persecutors of his Apostles, so likewise it is a truth (and that most infallible) That those who have condemned me (the whole rabble of the Papisticall Clergie) have declined from the true Faith, have given ear to deceivable spirits, and to doctrine of devils; are the stars fallen from the heaven to the earth, are fountains without water; and finally, are enemies to Christ Jesus, denyers of his vertue, and horrible blasphemers of his death and passion. And further, As that visible Church had no crime, whereof justly they could accuse either Prophets or the Apostles, except their Doctrine onely; so have not such as seek my blood other crime to lay to my charge, except, That I affirm, as alwayes I offer to prove, That the Religion which now is maintained by fire and sword, is no lesse contrarious to the true Religion taught and established by the Apostles, then is darknesse to light, or the devill to God; And also, That such as now do claim the title and name of Church, are no more the elect Spouse of Christ Jesus, then was the Synagogue of the Jews the true Church of God, when it crucified Christ Jesus, condemned his Doctrine, and persecuted his Apostles. And therefore seeing that my Battell is against the proud and cruell hypocrites of this age, as that Battell of those most excellent instruments was against the false Prophets and malignant Church of their ages: Neither ought any man to thinke it strange that I compare my self with them, with whom I sustain a common cause; Neither ought your Lordships judge your selves lesse addebted and bound to me, calling for your support, then did the Princes of *Iuda* think themselves bound to *Jeremy*, whom for that time they delivered, notwithstanding the sentence of death pronounced against him by the visible Church.

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Act. 3 & 4.

Jude 1. 2 Pet. 2.

Let the cause be noted.

And thus much for the right of my Appellation, which in the bowells of Christ Jesus I require your Honours not to esteem as a thing superfluous and vain, but that ye admit it, and also accept me in your protection and defence, that by you assured, I may have accesse to my native Countrey, which I never offended; to the end that freely and openly, in the presence of the whole Realm, I may give my confession of all such Points as this day be in controversie; And also that you, by your authority which ye have of God, compell such as of long time have blinded and deceived both your selves and the people, to answer to such things as shall be laid to their charge.

But lest that some doubt remain, That I require more of you, then you of conscience are bound to grant; in few words, I hope my Petition to be such, as without Gods heavy displeasure ye cannot deny. My Petition is; That ye, whom God hath appointed Heads in your Commonwealth, with single eye do study to promote the glory of God, To provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true Religion, That they be defended from all oppression and tyranny, That true Preachers may be maintained, and such as blinde and deceive the people, together also with all idle bellies, which do rob and oppresse the Flock, may be removed and punished, as Gods Law prescribeth. And to the performance of every one of these, do your Offices and Names, the Honours and

Answer to an objection or doubt.

The Petition of *Iohn Knox.*

Anno

Benefits which ye receive, the Law of God universally given to all men and the examples of most godly Princes, binde and oblige you.

My purpose is not to labour greatly to prove, That your whole studie ought to be, To promote the glory of God; Neither yet will I studie to alleadge all reasons that justly may be brought to prove, That ye are not exalted to raign above your brethren as men without care and solicitude; for these be principles so grafted in Nature, that very Ethnicks have confessed the same: For seeing that God onely hath placed you in his Chayr, hath appointed you to be his Lieutenants, and by his own Seal hath marked you to be Magistrates, and to rule above your brethren, to whom Nature nevertheless hath made you like in all points (for in conception, birth, life and death ye differ nothing from the common sort of men, but God onely as said is, hath promoted you, and of his speciall favour hath given you this Prerogative, to be called Gods) How horrible ingratitude were it then, that you should be found unfaithfull to him, that hath thus honoured you? And further, What a monster were it that you should be proved unmercifull to them, above whom ye are appointed to raigne, as fathers above their children? Because, I say, that the very Ethnicks have granted, That the chief and first care of Princes, and of such as be appointed to rule above others, ought to be, To promote the glory and honour of their Gods, and to maintain that Religion which they supposed to have been true; And that their second care was, To maintain and defend the subjects committed to their charge in all equity and justice: I will not labour to shew unto you what ought to be your studie in maintaining Gods true honour, lest that in so doing I should seem to make you lesse carefull to Gods true Religion, then were the Ethnicks over their Idolatry.

The singular honours which Magistrates receive of God, ought to move them with all diligence to promote his Religion.

But because other Petitions may appear more hard and difficile to be granted, I purpose briefly, but yet freely, to speak what God by his Word doth assure me to be true: to wit, first, That in conscience you are bound to punish malefactors, and to defend innocents imploring your help. Secondly, That God requireth of you to provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true Religion; and that the same be by you reformed, whensoever abuses do creep in by the malice of Satan and negligence of men. And lastly, That ye are bonnd to remove from Honour, and to punish with death (if the crime so require) such as deceive the people, or defraud them of that food of their souls, I mean, Gods lively Word. The first and second are most plain by the words of S. *Paul*, thus speaking of lawfull powers.

The duty of Magistrates.

1.

2.

3.

Let every soul (saith he) *submit himself unto the higher Powers; for there is no power but of God: Whosoever resisteth therefore the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation: For Rulers are not to be feared of those that do well, but of those that do evil. Wilt thou then be without fear of the Power? Do that which is good, and so shalt thou be praised of the same: For he is the Minister of God for thy weal: But if thou do that which is evil, fear; for he beareth not the Sword for nought; for he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil.*

Rom. 13.

As the Apostle in these words most straitly commandeth Obedience to be

be given to lawfull powers, pronouncing Gods wrath and vengeance against such as shall resist the Ordinance of God; so doth he assigne to the powers their Offices, which be, To take vengeance upon evil doers, To maintain the well doers, and so to minister and rule in their Office, that the subjects by them may have a Benefit, and be praised in well doing. Now if you be powers ordained by God, (and that I hope all men will grant) then by the plain words of the Apostle is the Sword given unto you by God, for maintenance of the innocent, and for punishment of malefactors: But I, and my brethren with me accused, do offer not onely to prove our selves innocents in all things laid to our charge, but also we offer most evidently to prove your Bishops to be the very pestilence, who have infected all Christianity: And therefore by the plain Doctrine of the Apostle, you are bound to maintain us, and punish the other, being evidently convinced, and proved criminall. Moreover, the former words of the Apostle do teach, How far high powers are bound to their subjects; to wit, That because they be Gods Ministers, by him ordained for the profit and utility of others, most diligently ought they to attend upon the same. For that cause assigneth the holy Ghost, commanding subjects to obey, and to pay Tribute, saying, *For this do you pay Tribute and Toll*; that is, Because they are Gods Ministers, bearing the Sword for your utility. Whereof it is plain, That there is no honour, without a charge annexed. And this one point I wish your wisedoms deeply to consider, That God hath not placed you above your Brethren, to raigne as Tyrants, without respect of either profit or commodity. You hear the holy Ghost witnesse the contrary, affirming, That all powers be Gods Ministers, ordained for the weal, profit, and salvation of their subjects, and not for their destruction. Could it be said (I beseech you) That Magistrates inclosing their subjects in a City without all victualls, or giving unto them no other victualls but such as were poysoned, did rule for the profit of their subjects? I trust that none would be so foolish as so to affirm; but that rather every discreet person would boldly affirm, That such as so did, were unworthy of Regiment. If we will not deny that which Christ Jesus affirmeth to be a truth infallible; to wit, That the soul is greater and more precious then is the body, then shall we easily espie how unworthy of Authority be those that this day debar their subjects from hearing of Gods Word, and by fire and sword compell them to feed upon the very poyson of their souls, the damnable Doctrine of Antichrist. And therefore in this point, I say, I cannot cease to admonish your Honors diligently to take heed over your charge, which is greater then the most part of men suppose. It is not enough that you abstain from violent wrong and oppression which ungodly men exercise against their subjects; but ye are further bound, to wit, That ye rule above them for their weal; which we cannot do, if that ye either by negligence not providing true Pastors, or yet by your maintenance of such as be ravening Wolves, suffer their souls to starve and perish for lack of the true food, which is Christs Evangell sincerely preached: It will not excuse you in his presence who will require account of every Talent committed to your charge, to say, That ye supposed that the charge of the souls had been com-

Anno

In what Points powers are bound to their subjects.

Rom. 13.

Let the similitude be noted.

It is not enough that Rulers do not oppresse their subjects.

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The offer of *John Knox*, and his accusation intended against the Papisticall Bishops.

committed to your Bishops. No no, my Lords, so ye cannot escape Gods judgement; for if your Bishops be proved to be no Bishops, but deceivable theeves, and ravening wolves (which I offer my self to prove by Gods Word, by Law and Councells, yea, by the judgement of all the godly learned, from the primitive Church to this day) then shall your permission and defence, be reputed before God a participation with their theft and murther: For thus accused the Prophet *Isaiah* the Princes of *Jerusalem: Thy Princes* (saith he) *are apostates*, (that is, obstinate refusers of God) *and they are companions of theeves.* This grievous accusation was laid against them, albeit that they ruled in that City, which sometime was called Holy, where then were the Temple, Rites, and Ordinances of God; because that not onely they were wicked themselves, but chiefly because they maintained wicked men, their Priests and false Prophets, in honours and authority: If they did not escape this accusation of the holy Ghost in that age, look ye neither to scape the accusation nor the judgement of wicked men; to wit, That the one and the other shall drink the Cup of Gods wrath and vengeance together. And lest ye should deceive your selves, esteeming your Bishops to be vertuous and godly, this do I affirm, and offer my self to prove the same, That more wicked men then be the whole rabble of your Clergie, were never from the beginning universally known in any age; yea, *Sodome* and *Gomorra* may be justified in respect of them; for they permitted just *Lot* to dwell amongst them without any violence done to his body, which that pestilent Generation of your shaven sort doth not, but most cruelly persecute by fire and sword the true members of Christs Body, for no other cause, but for the true service and honouring of God. And therefore I fear not to affirm that, which God will one day justifie, That by your Offices ye are bound, not onely to represse their tyranny, but also to punish them as theeves and murtherers, as Idolaters, and blasphemers of God; and in their rooms ye are bound to place true Preachers of Christs Evangell, for the instruction, comfort, and salvation of your subjects, above whom else shall never the holy Ghost acknowledge, That you rule in justice for their profit. If ye pretend to possesse the Kingdom with Christ Jesus, ye may not take example neither by the ignorant multitude of Princes, neither by the ungodly and cruell Rulers of the earth, of whom some passe their time in sloth, insolency and riot, without respect had to Gods honour, or to the salvation of of their brethren; and others most cruelly oppresse, with proud *Nimrod*, such as be subject to them. But your pattern and example must be the practice of those whom God hath approved by the testimony of his Word, as after shall be declared.

Jeremiah 1.

Jerem 23. & 27.

Ezech. 13.

Hosa 4.

Note. If Powers provide not for instruction of their subjects, they do never rule above them for their Profit.

Of the premises it is evident, That to lawfull powers is given the Sword, for punishment of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profit and utility of their subjects. Now let us consider, Whether the Reformation of Religion fallen in decay, and punishment of false Teachers, do appertain to the Civill Magistrate and Nobility of any Realme. I am not ignorant that Satan of old time, for maintenance of his darknesse, hath obtained of the blinde world two chief points: The former, He hath perswaded to Princes, Rulers, and Magistrates, That the

What Satan hath obtained of the blinde world.

the feeding of Christs Flock appertaineth nothing to their charge, but that it is rejected upon the Bishops, and State Ecclesiasticall. And secondly, That the Reformation of Religion, be it never so corrupt, and the punishment of such as be sworn Souldiers in their kingdom, are exempted from all Civill power, and are reserved to themselves, and to their cognizance. But that no offender may justly be exempted from punishment; and that the ordering and reformation of Religion, with the instruction of subjects, doth especially appertain to the Civill Magistrate, shall Gods perfect Ordinance, his plain Word, and the facts and examples of those that of God are highly praised, most evidently declare.

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When God did establish his Law, Statutes and Ceremonies in the midst of *Israel*, he did not exempt the matters of Religion from the power of *Moses*, but as he gave him charge over the Civill policie, so he put in his mouth and his hand; that is, he first revealed to him, and thereafter commanded to put in practice whatsoever was to be taught or done in matters of Religion. Nothing did God reveal particularly to *Aaron*, but altogether was he commanded to depend from the mouth of *Moses*: Yea, nothing was he permitted to do to himself, or to his children, either in his or their Inauguration and Sanctification to the Priesthood, but all was committed to the care of *Moses*, and therefore were these words so frequently repeated to *Moses*, *Thou shalt separate* Aaron *and his sons from the midst of the people of* Israel, *that they may execute the Office of the Priesthood; thou shalt make them Garments, thou shalt anoynt them, thou shalt wash them, thou shalt fill their hands with Sacrifice.* And so forth of every Rite and Ceremony that was to be done unto them, especiall commandment was given unto *Moses*, That he should do it. Now if *Aaron* and his sons were subject to *Moses*, that they did nothing but at his commandment, Who dare be so bold as to affirm, That the Civill Magistrate hath nothing to do in matters of Religion? For seeing that then God did so straitly require, That even those who did bear the figure of Christ, should receive from the Civill power as it were their Sanctification, and entrance into their Office: And seeing also that *Moses* was so far preferred to *Aaron*, that the one commanded, and the other did obey, Who dare esteem that the Civill power is now become so profane in Gods eyes, that it is sequestred from all intromission with the matters of Religion. The holy Ghost in divers places declareth the contrary. For one of the chief Precepts commanded to the King, when that he should be placed in his Throne, was to write the example of the Book of the Lords Law, that it should be with him, that he might reade in it all the dayes of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his Law and his Statutes to do them. This Precept he requireth, not onely that the King should himself fear God, keep his Law and Statutes, but that also he, as the chief Ruler, should provide that Gods true Religion should be kept inviolated of the people and flock which by God was committed to his charge. And this did not onely *David* and *Solomon* perfectly understand, but also some godly Kings in *Juda*, after the apostasie and idolatry that infected *Israel* by the means of *Jeroboam*, did employ their understanding, and execute their power in some notable Reformations: For *Asa* and *Jo-*

The matters and Reformation of Religion appertain to the care of the Civill power. Exod. 21.24, 25, &c.

Note.

Exod. 28.

The facts of godly Kings are an interpretation of the Law, and declaration of their power.

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Josaphat Kings in *Juda*, finding the Religion altogether corrupt, did apply their hearts (saith the holy Ghost) to serve the Lord, and to walk in his wayes: And thereafter doth witnesse, That *Asa* removed from Honours his mother (some say grand-mother) because she had committed, and laboured to maintain Idolatry. And *Josaphat* did not onely refuse strange gods himself, but also destroying the chief Monuments of Idolatry, did send forth the Levites to instruct the people. Whereof it is plain, That the one and the other did understand such Reformations to appertain to their duties. But the facts of *Ezechias* and of *Josias* do more cleerly prove the power and duty of the Civill Magistrate in Reformation of Religion: Before the Raign of *Ezechias* Religion was so corrupt, that the doors of the House of the Lord were shut up, the Lamps were extinguished, no Sacrifice was orderly made: But in the first yeer of his Raigne, in the first moneth of the same, did the King open the doors of the Temple, bring in the Priests and Levites, and assembling them together, did speak unto them as followeth: *Hear me, O ye Levites, and be ye sanctified now, and sanctifie also the House of the Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth all filthinesse* (he meaneth, All monuments and vessels of Idolatry) *for our fathers have transgressed, and have committed wickednesse in the eyes of the Eternall our God, they have left him, and turned their faces from the Tabernacle of the Lord; and therefore is the wrath of the Lord come upon* Juda *and* Jerusalem: *Behold, our fathers have fallen by the sword, our sons, daughters, and wives are led into Captivity: But now have I purposed in my heart to make a Covenant with the Lord God of Israel, that he may turne the wrath of his fury from us. And therefore my sons* (he sweetly exhorteth) *be not faint, for the Lord hath chosen you to stand in his presence, and to serve him.*

2 Paral. 14. & 17.

Note.

2 Paralip. 19.

Advert that the King taketh upon him to command the Priests.

Such as be not more then blinde, cleerly may perceive that the King doth acknowledge, That it appertained to his charge, To reforme the Religion, To appoint the Levites to their charges, and To admonish them of their Duty and Office: Which thing he most evidently declareth, writing his Letters to all *Israel*, to *Ephraim* and *Manasses*, and sent the same by the hands of Messengers, having this tenour:

You sons of Israel, *return to the Lord God of* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Israel, *and he shall turn to the residue that resteth from the hands of* Assur: *Be not as your fathers and as your brethren were, who have transgressed against the Lord God of their fathers, who hath made them desolate, as you see. Hold not your heart therefore, but give your hand unto the Lord, return unto his Sanctuary, serve him, and he shall shew mercy unto you, to your sons and daughters that be in Bondage; for he is pitifull, and easie to be intreated.*

2 Paral. 30.

Thus far did *Ezechias* by Letters and Messengers provoke the people, declined from God, to repentance; not onely in *Juda* where he raigned lawfull King, but also in *Israel*, subject then to another King. And albeit that by some wicked men his Messengers were mocked, yet as they lacked not their just pnnishment (for within six dayes after *Samaria* was destroyed, and *Israel* led captive by *Salmanazar*) so did not the zealous King *Ezechias* desist to prosecute his duty in restoring the Religion to Gods perfect Ordinance, removing all abominations.

Note.

The same is to be read of *Josias*, who did not onely restore the Religion, but

2 Paral. 35.

but did further destroy all Monuments of Idolatry which of long time had remained: For it is written of him, That after that the Book of the Law was found, and that he asked counsell at the Prophetesse *Hulda*, he sent and gathered all the Elders of *Juda* and *Jerusalem*, and standing in the Temple of the Lord, he made a Covenant, That all the people, from the great to the small, should walk after the Lord, should observe his Law, Statutes, and Testimonies, with all their heart, and with all their soul; and that they should ratifie and confirm whatsoever was written in the Booke of God. He further commanded *Hilkias* the high Priest, and the Priests of the inferiour Order, That they should carry forth of the Temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made to *Baal*, which he burnt, and did carry their powder to *Bethel*. He did further destroy all Monuments of Idolatry, yea, even those that had remained from the dayes of *Solomon*; he did burn them, stamp them to Powder, whereof one part he scattered in the brook *Kidron*, and the other part upon the Sepulchres and Graves of the Idolaters, whose bones he did burn upon the Altars where before they made Sacrifice not onely in *Juda*, but also in *Bethel*, where *Jeroboam* had erected his Idolatry: yea, he further proceeded, and did kill the Priests of the high places, who were Idolaters, and had deceived the people; he did kill them, I say, and burnt their bones upon their own Altars, and so returned to *Jerusalem*. This Reformation made *Josias*, and for the same obtained this Testimony of the holy Ghost, That neither before him nor after him was there any such King, who returned to God with his whole soul, and with all his strength, according to all the Law of *Moses*.

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2 Reg. 23.

The King commanded the Priests.

Of which Histories it is evident, That the Reformation of Religion in all points, together with the punishment of false Teachers, doth appertain to the power of the Civill Magistrate: For what God required of them, his justice must require of others having the like charge and Authority; what he did approve in them, he cannot but approve in all others who with like zeal and sincerity do enterprise to purge the Lords Temple and Sanctuary. What God required of them, it is before declared; to wit, That most diligently they should observe his Law, Statutes and Ceremonies. And how acceptable were their facts to God, doth he himself witnesse; For to some he gave most notable Victories without the hand of man; and in their most desperate dangers, did declare his especiall favour towards them by signes supernaturall: To other he so established the Kingdom, that their enemies were compelled to stoup under their feet. And the names of all he hath registred not onely in the Book of life, but also in the blessed remembrance of all posterities since their dayes, which also shall continue till the coming of the Lord Jesus, who shall reward with the Crown of Immortality not onely them, but also such as unfainedly study to do the will, and to promote the glory of his heavenly father in the midst of this corrupted Generation. In consideration whereof ought you, my Lords, all delay set apart, to provide for the Reformation of Religion in your Dominions and Bounds, which now is so corrupt, that no part of Christs Institution remaineth in the Originall purity; and therefore of necessity it is, That speedily ye provide for Reformation, or else ye declare your selves

2 Par. 32.

Anno

not onely voyd of love towards your subjects, but also to live without care of your own salvation, yea, without all fear and true reverence of God. Two things perchance may move you to esteem these histories before briefly touched, to appertain nothing to you: First, Because you are no Jews, but Gentiles. And secondly, Because you are no Kings, but Nobles in your Realm. But be not deceived; for neither of both can excuse you in Gods presence from doing his duty, for it is a thing more then certain, That whatsoever God required of the Civill Magistrate in *Israel* or *Juda* concerning the observation of true Religion during the time of the Law, the same doth he require of lawfull Magistrates professing Christ Jesus in the time of the Gospel, as the holy Ghost hath taught us by the mouth of *David* (*Psal.* 2.) saying, *Be learned, you that judge the earth, kisse the Son, lest that the Lord wax angry, and that ye perish away.* This Admonition doth not extend to the Judges under the Law onely, but doth also include all such as be promoted to Honours in the time of the Gospel, when Christ Jesus doth raigne and fight in his Spirituall Kingdom, whose enemies in that Psalme be first most sharply taxed, their fury expressed, and vanity mocked; and then are Kings and Judges, who think themselves free from all Law and Obedience, commanded to repent their former blinde rage; and Judges are charged to be learned; and last, are commanded to serve the Eternall God in feare, to rejoyce before him in trembling, to kisse the Son, that is, To give him most humble Obedience: Whereof it is evident, That the Rulers, Magistrates, and Judges now in Christs Kingdom, are no lesse bound to Obedience unto God, then were those under the Law: And how is it possible that any should be obedient, who despiseth his Religion, in which standeth the chief glory that man can give to God, and is a service which God especially requireth of Kings and Rulers? Which thing Saint *Augustine* plainly did note, writing to one *Bonifacius* a man of Warre, according to the same argument and purpose which I labour to perswade your Honours: For after that he hath in that his Epistle declared the difference betwixt the heresie of the *Donatists* and *Arrians*, and hath somewhat spoken of their cruelty, he sheweth the way how their fury should and ought to be repressed, and that it is lawfull for the unjustly afflicted to seek support and defence at godly Magistrates; for thus he writeth, *Either must the Verity be kept close, or else must their cruelty be sustained.* But if the Verity should be concealed, not onely should none be saved, but also should many be lost through their deceit. But if by Preaching of the Verity their fury should be provoked more to rage, and by that means yet some were delivered, and made strong, yet should fear hinder many weaklings to follow the Verity, if their rage be not stayed. In these first words *Augustine* sheweth three reasons why the afflicted Church in those dayes called for the help of the Emperour, and of godly Magistrates, against the fury of the persecuters. The first, *The Verity must be spoken, or else mankinde shall perish in errour.* The second, The Verity being plainly spoken, provoketh the adversaries to rage. And because that some did alleadge, That rather we ought to suffer all injury, then to seek support by man, he addeth,

The facts of the godly Kings in *Iuda*, do appertain to the powers amongst the Gentiles professing Christ.

Epist. 50.

Advert.

Note well.

addeth the third reason; to wit, That many weak ones be not able to suffer persecution and death for the Truths sake, to whom not the lesse respect ought to be had; that they may be won from their errour, and so be brought to greater strength. Anno

Oh that the Rulers of this age would ponder and weigh the reasons of this godly Writer, and provide the remedy, which he requireth in these words following; *Now when the Church was thus afflicted, if any thinke, That rather they should have sustained all calamity, then that help should have been asked of Christian Emperours by the godly, he doth not well to advert, That of such negligence no good counts nor reason could be given: For where such as would that no just Laws should be made against their impiety, alleadge, That the Apostles sought no such things of the Kings of the earth, they do not consider, That the time was other then it is now, and that all things are done in their owne time. What Emperour then believed in Christ, that he should serve him in making Laws for godlinesse against impiety? While that saying of the Prophet was compleat, Why hath* Nations raged, and people have imagined vanity? The Kings of the earth have stood up, and Princes have convened together against the Lord, and against his Anoynted. *That which is after in the same Psalme, was not yet come to passe:* And now understand, O ye Kings, be learned you that judge the earth, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoyce to him with trembling. *How do Kings serve the Lord in feare, but in punishing, and by a godly severity forbidding those things which are done against the Commandment of the Lord? For otherwise doth he serve the Lord in so farre as he is man, otherwise in so farre as he is King. In so farre as he is a man, he serveth him by living faithfully; but because he is also King, he serveth establishing Laws that command the things that be just, and that with a convenient rigour forbid things contrary. As* Ezechias *served destroying the Groves, the Temples of Idolls, and the places which were builded against Gods Commandment. So served also* Josias, *doing the same. So the King of the* Ninivites *compelling the whole City to mitigate the fury of the Lord. So served* Darius, *giving into the power of* Daniel *the Idol to be broken, and his enemies to be cast to the Lions. So served* Nebuchad-nezzar, *by a terrible Law forbidding all that were in his Realme to blaspheme God. Herein therefore do Kings serve the Lord, in so farre as they are Kings, when they do those things to serve him, which none except Kings be able to doe.* He further proceedeth, and concludeth, That *as when wicked Kings do raigne, impiety cannot be bridled by Laws, but rather is tyranny exercised under the title of the same; So is it a thing without all reason; That Kings professing the knowledge and honour of God, should not regard nor care who did defend nor who did oppugne the Church of God in their Dominions.*

Augustines words.

Advert the minde of *Augustine.*

In two sorts ought Kings to serve God.

Note.

O that the world would understand!

By these words of this ancient and godly Writer, your Honours may perceive what I require of you, to wit, To represse the tyranny of your Bishops, and to defend the innocents professing the Truth. He did require of the Emperour and Kings in his dayes professing Christ, and manifestly concludeth, That *they cannot serve Christ, except that so they doe.* Let not your Bishops think that *Augustine* speaketh for them, because he nameth the Church: Let them reade and understand, That *Augustine*

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writeth for that Church which professeth the Truth, and doth suffer persecution for the defence of the same; which your Bishops do not, but rather with the Donatists and Arrians do cruelly persecute all such as boldly speak Christs Eternall Verity, to manifest their impiety and abomination. But thus much we have of *Augustine*, That it appertaineth to the obedience and service which Kings owe to God, as well now in the time of the Gospel, as before under the Law, to defend the afflicted for matters of Religion, and to represse the fury of the persecuters by the rigour and severity of godly Laws. For which cause, no doubt, *Isaiah* the Prophet saith, That Kings should be nourishers of the Church of God, that they should abase their heads, and lovingly embrace the children of God. And thus, I say, your Honours may evidently see, That the same Obedience doth God require of Rulers and Princes in the time of the Gospel, that he required in the time of the Law.

Note.

Isai. 49.

An answer to the second Objection.

If you do think that the Reformation of Religion, and defence of the afflicted doth not appertain to you, because you are no Kings, but Nobles and States of a Realme, in two things you are deceived: First, In that you do not advert, That *David* requireth as well that the Princes and Judges of the earth to be learned, and that they serve and fear God, as that he requireth that Kings repent. If you therefore be Judges and Princes (as no man can deny you to be) then by the plain words of *David* you are charged to be learned, to serve and fear God; which ye cannot do, if ye despise the Reformation of his Religion. And this is your first errour.

The second is, That ye neither know your duty which ye owe to God, neither yet your Authority which of him ye have received, if ye for pleasure or fear of any earthly man despise Gods true Religion, and contemn your brethren that in his Name call for your support. Your duty is to hear the voyce of the Eternall your God, and unfainedly to studie to follow his Precepts; who, as is before said, of speciall mercy hath promoted you to Honours and Dignity. His chief and principall Precept is, That with reverence ye receive and embrace his onely beloved Son Jesus; That ye promote to the uttermost of your powers his true Religion; and That ye defend your brethren and subjects, whom he hath put under your charge and care. Now if your King be a man ignorant of God, enemy to his true Religion, blinded by Superstition, and a persecuter of Christs members, Shall ye be excused, if with silence ye passe over his iniquity? Be not deceived, my Lords, ye are placed in Authority for another purpose then to flatter your King in his folly and blinde rage; to wit, That as with your bodies, strength, riches and wisedom ye are bound to assist and defend him in all things which by your advice he shall take in hand for Gods glory, and for the preservation of his Common-wealth and subjects; so by your authorities, counsell, and admonition, ye are bound to correct and represse whatsoever ye know him to attempt expressely repugning to Gods Word, Honour and glory, or what ye shall espie him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, against his subjects, great or small: Of which last part of your obedience if you defraud your King, ye commit against him no lesse Treason, then if ye did extract from him your due and promised support, when by his enemies unjustly he were pursued.

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But this part of their duty, I fear, do a ſmall number of the Nobility of this age rightly conſider; neither yet will they underſtand that for that purpoſe hath God promoted them: For now the common ſong of all men is, *We muſt obey our Kings, be they good or bad; For God hath commanded it.* But horrible ſhall the vengeance be, that ſhall be poured forth upon ſuch blaſphemers of God his holy Name and Ordinance; For it is no leſſe blaſphemy to ſay, That God hath commanded Kings to be obeyed, when they command impiety, then to ſay, That God by his Precept is author and maintainer of all iniquity. True it is, God hath commanded Kings to be obeyed; but like true it is, That in things which they commit againſt his glory, or when cruelly without cauſe they rage againſt their brethren the members of Chriſts body, he hath commanded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea and greatly rewarded ſuch as have oppoſed themſelves to their ungodly commandments and blinde rage; as in the examples of the three Children, of *Daniel* and *Abdemelech* it is evident. The three Children would neither bow nor ſtoup before the golden Image at the commandment of the great King *Nebuchadnezar*. *Daniel* did openly pray, his windows being open, againſt the eſtabliſhed Law of *Darius* and of his Councell. And *Abdemelech* feared not to enter in before the preſence of *Zedechias*, and boldly to defend the cauſe and innocency of *Jeremy* the Prophet, whom the King and his Councell had condemned to death. Every one of theſe facts ſhould this day be judged fooliſh, by ſuch as will not underſtand what God doth require of his children, when his Verity is oppugned, or his glory called in doubt: ſuch men, I ſay, as prefer man to God, and things preſent, to the heavenly inheritance, ſhould have judged every one of theſe ſtubborn inobedience, fooliſh preſumption and ſingularity, or elſe bold controlling of the King and his wiſe Councell. But how acceptable in Gods preſence was this reſiſtance to the ungodly commandments and determinations of their King, the end did witneſſe; for the three children were delivered from the Furnace of fire, and *Daniel* from the Den of Lions, To the confuſion of their enemies, To the better inſtruction of the ignorant Kings, and To the perpetuall comfort of Gods afflicted children. And *Abdemelech*, in the day of the Lords Viſitation, when the King and his Councell did drink the bitter cup of Gods Vengeance, did finde his life for a prey, and did not fall by the edge of the ſword, when many thouſands did periſh: And this was ſignified unto them by the Prophet himſelf, at the commandment of God, before that *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed. This promiſe and cauſe were recited unto him in theſe words, *I will bring my words upon this City unto evil, and not unto good; but moſt aſſuredly I ſhall deliver thee, becauſe thou haſt truſted in me, ſaith the Lord.* The truſt and hope which *Abdemelech* had in God, made himſelf bold to oppoſe himſelf, being but one, to the King and to his whole Councell, who had condemned to death the Prophet, whom his conſcience did acknowledge to be innocent: for thus did he ſpeak in preſence of the King, ſitting in the Port of *Benjamin*; *My Lord the King*, (ſaith *Abdemelech*) *theſe men do wickedly in all things that they have done to* Jeremy *the Prophet.* Advert and take heed, my Lords, that the men who had condemned the Prophet, were the King, his

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Jerem 38.

Jerem 39.

Anno 1560. his Princes and Councell,and yet did one man accuſe them all of iniquity, and did boldly ſpeak in the defence of him, of whoſe innocency he was perſwaded: And the ſame, I ſay, is the duty of every man in his Vocation, but chiefly of the Nobility, which is joyned with their kings, to bridle and repreſſe their folly and blinde rage: Which thing if the Nobility do not, neither yet labour to doe, as they are Traitours to their Kings, ſo do they provoke the wrath of God againſt themſelves, and againſt the Realme, in which they abuſe the Authoritie which they have received of God, to maintaine Vertue, and to ſuppreſſe Vice. And hereof I would your Honours were moſt certainly perſwaded, That God will neither excuſe Nobilitie nor people, but the Nobility leaſt of all that obey and follow their Kings in manifeſt iniquity; but with the ſame vengeance will God puniſh the Prince, People,and Nobility conſpiring together againſt him and his Holy Ordinances; as in the puniſhment upon *Pharaoh, Iſrael, Juda,* and *Babylon*, is evidently to be ſeene; for *Pharaoh* was not drowned alone, but his Captains, Charets, and great Army drank the ſame Cup with him. The Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* were not puniſhed without company, but with them were murthered the Counſellors, their Princes impriſoned, and their people led Captive: And why? becauſe none was found ſo faithfull to God, that he durſt enterpriſe to reſiſt, nor gainſtand the manifeſt impietie of their Princes. And therefore was Gods wrath powred forth upon the one and the other. But the more ample diſcourſe of this argument I deferre to better opportunity; onely at this time I thought expedient to admoniſh you, That before God it ſhall not excuſe you to alleadge, We are no Kings and therefore neither can we reforme Religion, nor yet defend ſuch as be perſecuted. Conſider, my Lords, that ye are powers ordained of God (as before is declared) and therefore doth the Reformation of Religion, and the defence of ſuch as unjuſtly are oppreſſed, appertaine to your charge and care; which thing ſhall the Law of God (univerſally given to be kept of all men) moſt evidently declare; which is my laſt and moſt aſſured reaſon, why (I ſay) ye ought to remove from your Honours, and to puniſh with death ſuch as God hath condemned by his own mouth.

Note diligently.

Deut. 12. After that *Moſes* had declared what was true Religion, to wit, To honour God as he commanded, adding nothing to his Word, neither yet diminiſhing any thing from it; and after alſo that vehemently he had exhort the ſame Law to be obſerved, he denounced the puniſhment againſt the Tranſgreſſors, in theſe words, *If thy brother, ſonne, daughter, wife or neighbour, whom thou loveſt as thine own life, ſolicitate thee ſecretly, ſaying, Let us go ſerve other gods, whom neither thou, nor thy fathers have knowne, conſent not to him, hear him not, let not thine eye ſpare him, ſhew him no indulgency or favour, hide him not, but utterly kill him, let thy hand be the firſt upon him, that he may be ſlaine, and after the hand of the whole people.* Of theſe words of *Moſes* are two things appertaining to our purpoſe, to be noted; The firſt is, that ſuch as ſolicitate only to Idolatry, ought to be puniſhed to death, without favour or reſpect of perſon; For he that will not ſuffer man to ſpare his ſonne, his daughter, nor his wife, but ſtraitly commandeth puniſhment to be taken upon the idolatours (have they never ſo nigh conjunction

Deut 23. & 27.

Idolatry ought to be puniſhed without reſpect of perſon.

conjunction with us) will not wink at the Idolatry of others, of what state or condition soever they be. Anno

It is not unknown, That the Prophets had Revelations of God, which were not common to the people; as *Samuel* had the Revelation that *Eli* and his posterity should be destroyed, That *Saul* should first be King, and thereafter, That he should be rejected; That *David* should raign for him *Michaiah* understood by Vision, That *Achab* should be killed in the Battell against the *Syrians*. *Elias* saw that dogs should eat *Jezabel* in the Forts of *Jezreel*. *Elisha* did see hunger come upon *Israel* by the space of seven yeers. *Jeremiah* did foresee the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the time of their Captivity. And so divers other Prophets had divers Revelations of God, which the people did not otherwise understand, but by their affirmation; and therefore in those dayes were the Prophets named Seers, because that God did open unto them that which was hid from the multitude. Now if any man might have claimed any priviledge from the rigour of the Law, or might have justified his fact, it should have been the Prophet: For he might have alleadged for himself his singular Prerogative that he had above other men, to have Gods Will revealed unto him by Vision or by Dream; or, That God had declared particularly unto him, that his pleasure was, To be honoured in that manner, in such a place, and by such means. But all such excuses doth God remove, commanding, That the Prophet that shall so solicitate the people to serve strange Gods, shall die the death, notwithstanding that he alleadge for himself Dream, Vision, or Revelation; yea, although he promise miracles; and although that such things as he promised should come to passe, yet I say commandeth God that no credit be given to him, but that he die the death, because he teacheth apostasie and defection from God. Hereby your Honours may easily see, That none provoking the people to Idolatry, ought to be exempted from the punishment of death: For if neither that inseparable Conjunction which God himself hath sanctified betwixt man and wife, neither that unspeakable love grafted in nature, which is betwixt the father and the son, neither yet that reverence which Gods people ought to bear to the Prophets, can excuse any man to spare the offender, or to conceal his offence: What excuse can man pretend, which God will accept? Evident it is, That no state, condition, nor honour can exempt the Idolater from the hands of God, when he shall call him to account, or shall inflict punishment upon him for his offence: How shall it then excuse the people, that they, according to Gods Commandment, punish not to death such as shall solicitate, or violently draw the people to Idolatry?

If any state might have claimed priviledge, it was the Prophets.
1 Sam. 3.
1 Sam. 9. 15.
1 King. 22.
1 Kings 21.
2 Kings 1.

And this is the first which I would your Honours should note of the former words, to wit, That no person is exempted from punishment, if he can be manifestly convinced to have provoked or led the people to Idolatry: And this is most evidently declared in that solemn Oath and Covenant which *Asa* made with the people, To serve God, and to maintain his Religion, adding this penalty to the transgressors of it; to wit, That whosoever should not seek the God of *Israel* should be killed, were he great, or were he small, were it man, or were it woman. And of this

2 Par. 15.

Anno

Oath was the Lord well pleased, he was found of them, and gave them rest on every part, because they sought him with their whole heart, and did swear to punish the offenders according to the Precept of his Law, without respect of persons. And this is it which I say I would your Honours should note for the first, That no Idolater can be exempted from punishment by Gods Law.

The second is, That the punishment of such crimes as are Idolatry, Blasphemy, and others that touch the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to the Kings and chief Rulers onely, but also to the whole Body of the people, and to every member of the same, according to the Vocation of every man, and according to that possibility and occasion which God doth minister, to revenge the injury done against his glory, when that impiety is manifestly known: And that doth *Moses* more plainly speak, in these words; *If in any Cities* (saith he) *which the Lord thy God giveth to thee to dwell in them thou shalt hear this brute, There are some men the sons of* Belial *passed from thee, and have solicited the Citizens out of their Cities by these words, Let us go and serve strange gods which you have not known; search and enquire diligently, and if it be true that such abomination is done in the midst of thee, then shalt utterly strike the Inhabitants of that City with the Sword; thou shalt destroy it, and whatsoever is within it; thou shalt gather the spoyl of it into the midst of the Market-place, thou shalt burn that City with fire, and the spoyl of it to the Lord thy God, that it may be a heap of stones for ever; neither shall it be any more builded. Let nothing of that execration cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may turn from thee the fury of his wrath, and be moved towards thee with inward affection.*

Deut. 13.

Plain it is, That *Moses* speaketh not, nor giveth charge to Kings Rulers and Judges onely, but he commandeth the whole Body of the people, yea, and every member of the same, according to their possibility; And who dare be so impudent, as to deny this to be most reasonable and just? For seeing that God had delivered the whole Body from Bondage, and to the whole multitude had given his Law, and to the twelve Tribes had he so distributed the inheritance of the Land of *Canaan*, that no family could complain that it was neglected. Was not the whole and every member addebted to confesse and acknowledge the benefits of God? yea, had it not been the part of every man to have studied to keep the possession which he had received? Which thing God did plainly pronounce they should not do, except that in their hearts they did sanctifie the Lord God, That they embraced and inviolably kept his Religion established; and finally, except they did cut out iniquity from amongst them, declaring themselves earnest enemies to those abominations, which God declared himself so vehemently to hate, that first he commanded the whole inhabitants of that Countrey to be destroyed, and all Monuments of their Idolatry to be broken down: And thereafter he also straitly commandeth, That a City declining to Idolatry, should fall by the edge of the sword, and that the whole spoyl of the same should be burned, no portion of it reserved. To the carnall man this may appear a rigorous and severe judgement; yea, it may rather seem to be pronounced in a rage, then in wisedom: For what City was ever yet, in which to mans judgement

Why every man in *Israel* was bound to obey Gods Commandment.

Deut 28 & 30.

Deut. 7.

Gods judgements to the carnall man appear rigorous.

ment were not to be found many innocent persons, as infants, children, and some simple and ignorant souls, who neither did nor could consent to such impiety? And yet we finde no exception, but all are appointed to the cruell death. And as concerning the City, and the spoyl of the same, mans reason cannot think, but that it might have been better bestowed, then to be consumed with fire, and so to profit no man: But in such cases Gods will is, That all creatures stoup, cover their faces, & desist from reasoning, when commandment is given to execute his judgement. Albeit I could adduce divers causes of such severity, yet will I search none other then the holy Ghost hath assigned: First, That all *Israel*, hearing the judgement, should fear to commit the like abomination. And secondly, That the Lord might turn from the fury of his anger, might be moved towards the people with inward affection, be mercifull unto them, and multiply them, according to his Oath made unto their fathers. Which reasons, as they are sufficient in Gods children to correct the murmuring of the grudging flesh, so ought they to provoke every man, as before I have said, to declare himself enemy to that which so highly provoketh the wrath of God against the whole people: For where *Moses* saith, *Let the City be burned, and let no part of the spoyl cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may return from the fury of his wrath, &c.* he plainly doth signifie, That by the defection and Idolatry of a few, Gods wrath is kindled against the whole, which is never quenched, till such punishment be taken upon the offenders; that whatsoever served them in their Idolatry, be brought to destruction, because that it is execrable and accursed before God, and therefore he will not that it be reserved for any use of his people. I am not ignorant that this Law was not put in execution, as God commanded; But what did thereof ensue and follow, histories declare; to wit, Plague after plague, till *Israel* and *Iuda* were led in Captivity, as the Books of the Kings do witnesse. The consideration whereof maketh me more bold to affirm; That it is the duty of every man who desireth to escape the plague and punishment of God, To declare himself enemy to Idolatry, not onely in heart, hating the same, but also in externall gesture, declaring that he lamenteth, if he can do no more, for such abominations. Which thing was shewed to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, when he gave him to understand why he would destroy *Iuda* with *Israel*; and that he would remove his glory from the Temple and place that he had chosen, and so pour forth his wrath and indignation upon the City that was full of blood and apostasie, which became so impudent, that it durst be bold to say, *The Lord hath left the earth, and seeth not.* At this time, I say, the Lord revealed in vision to his Prophet, who they were that should finde favour in that miserable destruction; to wit, That those that did mourn and lament for all the abominations done in the City, in whose foreheads did God command to Print and Seal *Tau*, to the end that the destroyer, who was commanded to strike the rest without mercy, should not hurt them in whom that signe was found. Of these premises, I suppose it be evident, That the punishment of Idolatry doth not appertain to Kings onely, but also to the whole people; yea, to every member of the same, according to his possibility: For that is a thing most assured, That no man

Anno

For the Idolatry of a small number, is Gods wrath kindled against the multitude not punishing the offenders.

Ezek 9.

Ezek 8. & 9.

Note.

Anno

Note.

can mourn, lament, and bewail, for those things which will not remove to the uttermost of his power. If this be required of the whole people, and of every man in his Vocation, What shall be required of you, my Lords, whom God hath raised up to be Princes and Rulers above your Brethren, whose hands he hath armed with the sword of Justice, yea, whom he hath appointed to be as Bridles to represse the rage and insolency of your Kings, whensoever they pretend manifestly to transgresse Gods blessed Ordinance? If any think that this my affirmation touching the punishment of Idolaters be contrary to the practice of the Apostles, who finding the Gentiles in Idolatry, did call them to repentance, requiring no such punishment; let the same man understand, That the Gentiles, before the preaching of Christ, lived, as the Apostle speaketh, Without God in the World, drowned in Idolatry, according to the blindnesse and ignorance, in which they were holden as a prophane Nation, whom God had never openly avowed to be his people, had never received in his houshold, neither given unto them his Laws to be kept in Religion nor Policy, and therefore did not the holy Ghost, calling them to repentance, require of them any corporall punishment, according to the rigour of the Law, unto the which they were never subjects, as they that were strangers from the Common-wealth of *Israel*. But if any think, That after that the Gentiles were called from their vain conversation, and by embracing Christ Jesus, were received in the number of *Abrahams* children, and so made one people with the Jews believing: If any think, I say, That then they were not bound to the same obedience which God required of his people *Israel*, when he confirmed his League and Covenant with them; the same appeareth to make Christ inferiour to *Moses*, and contrarious to the Law of his heavenly Father: For if the contempt or transgression of *Moses* Law was worthy of death, What should we judge the contempt of Christs Ordinance to be? (I mean, after they be once received.) And if Christ be not come to dissolve, but to fulfill the Law of his heavenly Father, Shall the liberty of his Gospel be an occasion that the especiall glory of his Father be trodden under foot, and regarded of no man? God forbid. The especiall glory of God is, That such as professe themselves to be his people, should hearken to his voice: And amongst all the voices of God revealed to the world, touching punishment of vices, is none more evident, neither more severe, then is that which is pronounced against Idolatry, the teachers and maintainers of the same: And therefore I fear not to affirm, That the Gentiles (I mean, every City, Realm, Province, or Nation amongst the Gentiles, embracing Christ Jesus, and his true Religion) be bound to the same League and Covenant that God made with his people *Israel*, when he promised to root out the Nations before them, in these words, *Beware that thou make not any Covenant with the Inhabitants of the Land, to the which thou comest, lest perchance that this come in ruine, that is, be destruction to thee; but thou shalt destroy their Altars, break their Idols, and cut down their Groves: Fear no strange Gods, nor worship them, neither yet make you sacrifice to them: But the Lord, who in his great power, and out-stretched arm hath brought you out of the Land of* Egypt, *shall you fear, him shall you honour, him shall you worship, to him shall*

An answer to an Objection.

Why no Law was executed against the Gentiles being Idolaters.

Eph. 2.

The especiall honour which God requireth of his people. 1 Sam. 15.

Exod. 34.

shall you make Sacrifice, his Statutes, Judgements, Laws, and Commandments you shall keep and observe. This is the Covenant which I have made with you, saith the Eternall, forget it not, neither yet fear ye other gods; but fear you the Lord your God, and he shall deliver you from the hands of all your enemies. To this same Law and Covenant are the Gentiles no lesse bound, then sometime were the Jews, whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude, Province, people, or Citie, and putteth the sword in their own hand to remove such enormities from amongst them, as before they knew to be abominable; then (I say) are they no lesse bound to purge their Dominions, Cities, and Countries from Idolatry, then were the *Israelites*, what time they received the Possession of the Land of *Canaan*. And moreover, I say, If any go about to erect and set up Idolatry, or to teach defection from God, after that the verity hath been received and approved, that then not onely the Magistrates, to whom the sword is committed; but also the people are bound by that Oath, which they have made to God, to revenge to the utmost of their power, the injury done against his Majesty.

Anno

Note.

In universall defections, and in a generall revolt, such as was in *Israel* after *Jeroboam*, there is a divers consideration; for then, because the whole people were together conspired against God, there could none be found that would execute the punishment which God had commanded, till God raised up *Jehu*, whom he appointed for that purpose. And the same is to be considered in all other generall defections, such as this day be in the Papistry, where all are blinded, and all are declined from God, and that of long continuance, so that no ordinary Justice can be executed, but the punishment must be reserved to God, and unto all such means as he shall appoint: But I speak of such a number as after they have received Gods perfect Religion, do boldly professe the same, notwithstanding, that some, or the most part fall back (as of late dayes was in *England*) unto such a number, I say, it is lawfull to punish the Idolators with death, if by any means God give them power: For so did *Joshua* and *Israel* determine to have done against the children of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasses*, for their suspected Apostasie and defection from God. And the whole Tribes did in very deed execute that sharp judgement against the Tribe of *Benjamin* for a lesse offence then for Idolatry. And the same ought to be done wheresoever Christ Jesus and his Evangell is so received in any Realm, Province, or Citie, that the Magistrates and people have solemnly avowed and promised to defend the same, as under King *Edward* of late dayes was done in *England*. In such places, it is not onely lawfull to punish to the death, such as labour to subvert the true Religion, but the Magistrates and people are bound so to, unlesse they will provoke the wrath of God against themselves. And therefore, I fear not to affirm, That it had been the duty of the Nobilitie, Judges, Rulers, and people of *England*, to have resisted and gain-standed *Mary* their Queen, with all the sort of her Idolatrous Priests, together with all such as should have assisted her, when that she and they openly began to suppresse Christs Evangell, to shed the blood of the Saints of God, and to erect that most devillish

Note.

Anno Idolatry, the Papisticall abominations, and his usurped tyranny, which once most justly by common Oath was banished from that Realm. But because I cannot at this present discusse this argument as it appertaineth, I am compelled to omit it to better opportunity; and so returning to your Honours, I say, That if ye confesse your selves baptized in the Lord Jesus, as of necessity ye must confesse, That the care of Religion doth appertain to your charge: And if ye know that in your hands God hath put the sword, for the causes above expressed, then can ye not deny, but that the punishment of obstinate and malapert Idolaters (such as all your Bishops be) doth appertain to your Office, if after admonition they continue obstinate. I am not ignorant what be the vain defences of your proud Prelats; they claim, first, A prerogative and priviledge, That they are exempted, and that by consent of Councells and Emperouts, from all Jurisdiction of the Temporalty. And secondly, when they are convinced of manifest impiety, abuses and enormities, as well in their manners, as in Religion; neither fear nor shame they to affirm, That things so long established, cannot suddenly be reformed, although they be corrupted; but with processe of time they promise to take order. But in few words, I answer, That no priviledge granted against the Ordinance and Statutes of God is to be observed, although all Councells and men on the earth have appointed the same: But against Gods Ordinance it is, That Idolaters, murtherers, false Teachers, and Blasphemers, shall be exempted from punishment, as before is declared; and therefore in vain it is, that they claim for priviledge, when God saith, The murtherer shalt thou drive from my Altar, that he may die the death. And as to the Order and Reformation which they promise, that is to be looked or hoped for, when Satan, whose children and slaves they are, can change his nature. This answer, I doubt not, shall suffice the sober and godly reader: But yet, to the end that they may further see their own confusion, and that your Honours may the better understand what ye ought to do in so manifest a corruption and defection from God, I ask of them, What assurance they have of this their immunity, exemption or priviledge? Who is the author of it? And what fruit it hath produced? And first I say, That of God they have no assurance, neither yet can he be proved to be author of any such priviledge. But the contrary is easie to be seen; for God in establishing his Orders in *Israel*, did so subject *Aaron* (in his Priesthood being the figure of Christ) to *Moses*, that he feared not to call him in judgement, and to constrain him to give accounts of his wicked deed in consenting to Idolatry, as the History doth plainly witnesse; for thus it is written; *Then* Moses *took the Calfe which they had made, and burned it with fire, and did grinde it to powder; and scattering it in the water, gave it to drink to the children of Israel*, declaring thereby the vanity of their Idol, and the abomination of the same: And thereafter *Moses* said to *Aaron*, *What hath this people done to thee, that thou shouldest bring upon it so a great sin?*

Note.

God is not author of any priviledge granted to the Papisticall Bishops, that they be exempted from the power of the civill sword.

Exod. 32.

Thus, I say, doth *Moses* call *Aaron*, and accuse him of the destruction of the whole people; and yet he perfectly understood that God had appointed him to be the high Priest, That he should bear upon his shoulders and upon his brest the names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, for whom he

he was appointed to make sacrifice, prayers, and supplications. He knew his dignitie was so great, that onely he might enter within the most holy place; but neither could his Office nor dignitie exempt him from judgement, when he had offended. If any object, *Aaron* at that time was not anointed, and therefore was he subject to *Moses*; I have answered, That *Moses* being taught by the mouth of God did perfectly understand to what dignitie *Aaron* was appointed, and yet he feared not to call him in judgement, and to compell him to make answer for his wicked fact. But if this answer doth not suffice, yet shall the Holy Ghost witnesse further in the matter. *Salomon* removed from honour *Abiathar* being the High Priest, and commanded him to cease from all function, and to live as a private man. Now if the Unction did exempt the Priest from Jurisdiction of the Civill Magistrate, *Solomon* did offend and injured *Abiathar*; for he was Anointed, and had carried the Arke before *David*; But God doth not reprove the fact of *Solomon*, neither yet doth *Abiathar* claime any prerogative by the reason of his Office, but rather doth the Holy Ghost approve the fact of *Solomon*, saying, Solomon *ejected forth* Abiathar, *that he should not be the Priest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be performed which he spake upon the house of* Eli. And *Abiathar* did thinke that hee obtained great favour, in that hee did escape the present death, which by his Conspiracie he had deserved. If any yet reason, That *Abiathar* was no otherwise subject to the judgement of the King, but as he was appointed to be the executor of that sentence, which GOD before had pronounced, as I will not greatly denie that reason, so require I that every man consider, That the same God who pronounced sentence against *Eli* and his house, hath pronounced also, That Idolaters, Whore-mongers, Murtherers and Blasphemers, shall neither have portion in the Kingdom of God, neither ought to be permitted to bear any Rule in his Church and Congregation. Now if the Unction and Office saved not *Abiathar*, because that Gods sentence must needs be performed, Can any priviledge granted by man be a Buckler to malefactors, that they shall not be subject to the punishments pronounced by God? I think no man will be so foolish as so to affirm; for a thing more then evident it is, That the whole Priesthood in the time of the Law was bound to give obedience to the Civill Powers; and if any member of the same was found criminall, the same was subject to the punishment of the Sword which God had put into the hand of the Magistrate. And this Ordinance of his Father did not Christ disannull, but rather did confirm the same, commanding Tribute to be paid for himself and for *Peter*; who perfectly knowing the minde of his Master, writeth thus in his Epistle; *Submit your selves to all manner of Ordinance of man* (he excepteth such as be expressely repugning to Gods Commandment) *for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King, as to the chief Head, or unto Rulers, as unto them that are sent by him for punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* The same doth the Apostle Saint *Paul* most plainly command in these words; *Let every soul be subject to the Superiour Powers.* Which places make evident, That neither Christ, neither his Apostles, hath given any assurance of this immunity and priviledge which men

Anno

The dignity of *Aaron* did not exempt him from judgment

1 King 2.
1 Sam 3.

Notewell.

Gal. 4.
1 Tim. 3.

Math. 17.

1 Pet. 2.
Acts 4 and 5.

Rom. 13.

Anno

Chrysostome up. on Rom 13.

men of Church (as they will be termed) do this day claim: Yea, it was a thing unknown to the Primitive Church many yeers after the dayes of the Apostles: For *Chrysostome*, who served in the Church at *Constantinople* four hundreth yeers after Christs Ascension, and after that corruption was greatly increased, doth yet thus write upon the foresaid words of the Apostle, *This precept* (saith he) *doth not appertain to such as be called seculars onely, but even to those that be Priests and religious men:* And after he addeth, *Whether thou be Apostle, Evangelist, Prophet, or whosoever thou be, thou canst not be excepted from this subjection.* Hereof it is plain *Chrysostome* did not understand that God had exempted any person from obedience and subjection of the Civill Power, neither yet that he was Authour of such exemption and priviledge, as Papists do this day claim. And the same was the judgement and uniforme Doctrine of the Primitive Church for many yeers after Christ.

Let Papists answer *Chrysostome.*

Your Honours do wonder, I doubt not, from what Fountain then did this their immunitie (as they term it) and singular priviledge spring; I shall shortly touch that, which is evident in their owne Law and Histories. When the Bishops of *Rome*, the very Antichrists had partly by fraud, and partly by violence usurped the superiortie of some places in *Italy*, and most unjustly had spoiled the Emperours of their Rents and possessions, and had also murthered some of their Officers, as Histories do witnesse, then began Pope after Pope to practise and devise, how they should be exempted from the judgment of Princes, and from the equity of Laws; and in this point they were most vigilant, till at length iniquity did so prevaile in their hands, according as *Daniel* had before prophesied of them, that this sentence was pronouned, *Neither by the Emperour, neither by the Clergie, neither yet by the people shall the Judge be judged. God will* (saith *Symmachus*) *that the causes of others be determined by men, but without all question he hath reserved the Bishop of this Seat* (understanding *Rome*) *to his own judgement.* And hereof diverse Popes, and Expositours of their Laws would seeme to give reasons; for saith *Agatho*, *All the Precepts of the Apostolike Seat are assured, as by the voyce of God himself.* The Author of the glosse upon this Canon, affirmeth, That if all the world would pronounce sentence against the Pope, yet should his sentence prevail; *For* (saith he) *the Pope hath a Heavenly will, and therefore he may change the nature of things, he may apply the substance of one thing to another, and of nothing he may make somewhat; and that sentence, which was nothing* (*that is*) *by his minde false and unjust, he may make somewhat that is true and just; for* (saith he) *in all things that please him his will is for reason; neither is there any man that may aske of him, Why doest thou so? for he may dispence above Law, and of injustice he may make justice; for he hath the fulnesse of all power.* And many other blasphemous sentences did they pronounce every one after other, which for shortnesse sake I omit, till at the end they obtained this most horrible Decree; That, albeit in life and conversation they were so wicked, and detestable, that not onely they condemned themselves, but that also they drew to Hell and perdition many thousands with them, yet that none should presume to reprehend or rebuke them. This being established for the Head (albeit not without some contradiction, for some Emperours did require due

Let their own Histories witnesse.

The mouth of the beast speaking great things. *Distinct. 9 quest. 3.*

Their Laws do witnesse. *Dist. 19.*

Cap. de Translatione Titl. 7.

Dist 40.

Note the equitie of this commandment

due obedience of them, as Gods Word commanded, and ancient Bishops had given before to Emperours, and to their Laws, but Sathan so prevailed in his suite before the blinde world, that the former sentences were confirmed, which power being granted to the Head) then began provision to be made for the rest of the members in all Realms and Countries, where they made residence; the residence whereof we see to be this, that none of that pestilent generation (I mean the vermine of the Papisticall Order) will be subject to any Civill Magistrate, how enormous soever his crime be, but will be reserved to their own Ordinary, as they terme it: And what fruits have hereof ensued, be the word never so blinde, it cannot but witnesse; for how their Head that *Romane* Antichrist hath beene occupied ever since the granting of such priviledges, Histories do witnesse, and of late the most part of *Europa*, subject to the plague of God, to fire and sword, by his procurement hath felt, and this day doth feel: The pride, ambition, envie, excesse, fraud, spoil, oppression, murther, filthie life and incest, that is used and maintained amongst that rabble of Priests, Friers, Monks, Cannons, Bishops and Cardinals, cannot be expressed. I fear not to affirm, neither doubt I to prove, that the Papisticall Church is further degenerate from the puritie of Christs Doctrine, from the footsteps of the Apostles, and from the manners of the primitive Church, then was the Church of the *Jews* from Gods holy Statutes, what time it did crucifie Christ Jesus the onely *Messias*, and most cruelly persecute his Apostles: And yet will our Papists claim their priviledges and ancient Liberties, which if you grant unto them, my Lords, ye shall assuredly drink the cup of Gods vengeance with them, and shall be reputed before his presence, companions of Theeves, and maintainers of Murtherers, as is before declared; for their immunity and priviledge, whereof so greatly they boast, is nothing else, but as if Theeves, Murtherers, or Briggands should conspire amongst themselves, that they would never answer in judgement before any lawfull Magistrate, to the end that their theft and murther should not be punished; even such (I say) is their wicked priviledge, which neither they have of God the Father, neither of Christ Jesus, who hath revealed his Fathers Will to the world, neither yet of the Apostles nor primitive Church, as before is declared: But it is a thing conspired among themselves, to the end that their iniquity, detestable life and Tyrannie may never be repressed, nor reformed. And if they Object, That godly Emperours did grant and confirm the same. I answer, That the godlinesse of no man is or can be sufficient Authoritie to justifie a foolish and ungodly fact, such I mean, as God hath not allowed by his Word; for *Abraham* was a godly man, but the denyall of his Wife was such a fact, as no godly man ought to imitate: The same might I shew of *David*, *Hezekiah*, and *Josiah*, unto whom I think no man of judgement will preferre any Emperour since Christ, in holinesse and wisdom, and yet are not their facts, no even such as appeared for good causes, to be approved nor followed. And therefore, I say, as errour and ignorance remain alwayes with the most perfect man in his life, so must their works be examined by another rule, then by their own holinesse, if they shall be approved.

Anno

The matter is more then evident.

Whosoever maintaineth the priviledges of Papists, shall drink the Cup of Gods vengeance with them.

Object.

Answ.

Anno

But if this Anſwer doth not ſuffice, then will I anſwer more ſhortly, That no godly Emperour ſince Chriſts Aſcenſion hath granted any ſuch priviledge to any ſuch Church or perſon, as they (the whole generation of Papiſts) be at this day.

I am not ignorant, that ſome Emperours of a certain zeale, and for ſome conſiderations granted liberties to the true Church, afflicted for their maintenance againſt Tyrants; but what ſerveth this for the defence of their Tyrannie? If the Law muſt be underſtood according to the minde of the Lawgiver, then muſt they prove themſelves Chriſts true and afflicted Church, before they can claim any priviledge to appertaine to them, for onely to that Church were the priviledges granted; it will not be their glorious Titles, neither yet the long poſſeſſion of the name that can prevail in this ſo weighty a Cauſe; for all thoſe had the Church of *Jeruſalem*, which did crucifie Chriſt, and did condemne his Doctrine. We offer to prove by their fruits and Tyrannie, by the Prophets, and plain Scriptures of God, what trees and generation they be, to wit, unfruitfull and rotten, apt for nothing, but to be cut and caſt into Hell fire; yea, that they are the very kingdome of Antichriſt, of whom we are commanded to beware.

Therefore, my Lords, to return to you, ſeeing that God hath armed your hands with the ſword of Juſtice, ſeeing that his Law moſt ſtraightly commandeth Idolaters and falſe Prophets to be puniſhed with death, and that you be placed above your Subjects, to reigne as fathers over their Children; and further, ſeeing that not onely I, but with me many thouſand famous, godly and learned perſons, accuſe your Biſhops, and the whole rabble of the Papiſticall Clergie, of Idolatrie, of Murther and Blaſphemie againſt God committed: It appertaineth to your Honours to bee vigilant and carefull in ſo weighty a matter? The queſtion is not of earthly ſubſtance, but of the glory of God, and of the Salvation of your ſelves, and of your brethren ſubject to your charge; in which if you (after this plain admonition) be negligent, there reſteth no excuſe by reaſon of ignorance; for in the name of God I require of you, That the Cauſe of Religion may be tried in your preſence by the plain and ſimple Word of God; That your Biſhops be compelled to deſiſt from their Tyrannie, That they be compelled to make anſwer for the neglecting of their Office for the ſubſtance of the poor, which unjuſtly they uſurp, and prodigally they do ſpend; but principally for the falſe and deceivable Doctrine which is taught and defended by their falſe Prophets, flattering Friers, and other ſuch venomous Locuſts: Which thing if with ſingle eyes yee do, (preferring Gods glory and the Salvation of your Brethren before all wordly Commoditie) then ſhall the ſame God, who ſolemnly doth pronounce to honour thoſe that do honour him, pour his benedictions plentifully upon you, he ſhall be your Buckler, protection and Captain, and ſhall repreſſe by his ſtrength and wiſdom, whatſoever Satan by his ſuppoſts ſhall imagine againſt you I am not ignorant, that great troubles ſhall enſue your enterpriſe; for Satan will not be expelled from the poſſeſſion of his uſurped Kingdom without reſiſtance: But if you (as is ſaid) preferring Gods glory to your own lives, unfainedly ſeek and ſtudy

to

to obey his bleſſed will, then ſhall your deliverance be ſuch, as evidently it ſhall be known, That the Angels of the Eternall do watch, make war and fight for thoſe that unfainedly fear the Lord. But if you refuſe this my moſt reaſonable and juſt Petition, what defence that ever you appear to have before men, then ſhall God (whom in me you contemne) refuſe you; he ſhall pour forth contempt upon you, and upon your poſterity after you; the ſpirit of boldneſſe and wiſedome ſhall be taken from you; your enemies ſhall raigne, and you ſhall die in bondage; yea, God ſhall cut down the unfruitfull trees, when they do appear moſt beautifully to flouriſh, and ſhall ſo burne the root, that after you ſhall neither twigge nor branch again ſpring to glory. Hereof I need not to adduce unto you examples from the former ages, and ancient hiſtories: For your brethren the Nobility of *England* are a mirrour and glaſſe, in the which ye may behold Gods juſt puniſhment; For as they have refuſed him and his Evangell which once in mouth they did profeſſe, ſo hath he refuſed them, and hath taken from them the ſpirit of wiſedom, boldneſſe, and of counſell; they ſee and feel their own miſery, and yet they have no grace to avoid it. They hate the bondage of ſtrangers, the pride of Prieſts, and the monſtriferous Empire of a wicked woman, and yet are they compelled to bow their necks to the yoke of the devill, to obey whatſoever the proud *Spaniards* and miſled *Mary* liſt to command; and finally, to ſtand like ſlaves with cap in hand till the ſervants of Satan, the ſhaven ſort, call them to Councell: This fruit do they reap and gather of their former rebellion and unfaithfulneſſe towards God; They are left confuſen in their own counſells; he, whom in his members for the pleaſure of a wicked woman they have exiled, perſecuted and blaſphemed, doth now laugh them to ſcorn, ſuffereth them to be pined in bondage of moſt wicked men, and finally, ſhall judge them to the fire everlaſting, except that ſpeedily and openly they repent their horrible Treaſon which againſt God, againſt his Son Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt the Liberty of their own native Countrey they have committed. The ſame plagues ſhall fall upon you, be you aſſured, if ye refuſe the defence of his ſervants that call for your ſupport. My words are ſharp; but conſider, my Lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatnings of the Omnipotent, who aſſuredly will perform the voices of his Prophets, how that ever carnall men deſpiſe his admonitions. The Sword of Gods wrath is already drawn, which of neceſſity muſt needs ſtrike, when grace offered is obſtinately refuſed. You have been long in bondage of the devill, blindeneſſe, errour and Idolatry, prevailing againſt the ſimple Truth of God in that your Realme, in which God hath made you Princes and Rulers: But now doth God of his great mercy call you to repentance, before he pour forth the uttermoſt of his vengeance: He cryeth to your ears, That your Religion is nothing but Idolatry; he accuſeth you of the blood of his Saints which hath been ſhed by your permiſſion, aſſiſtance and powers: For the tyranny of thoſe raging Beaſts ſhould have no force, if by your ſtrength they were not maintained. Of thoſe horrible crimes doth now God accuſe you, not of purpoſe to condemne you, but mercifully to abſolve and pardon you, as ſometime he did thoſe whom *Peter* accuſed to have

Anno

Deut. 28. Levit. 26.

Iſai. 27. & 30.

Note this for our time.

Note.

Let *England* and *Scotland* both advert.

God calleth to repentance before he ſtrike in his hot diſpleaſure.

Papiſts had no force, if Princes did not maintain them. Acts 9.

Anno

have killed the Son of God, ſo that ye be not of minde nor purpoſe to juſtifie your former iniquity. Iniquity I call not onely the crimes and offences which have been, and yet remain in your manners and lives, but that alſo which appeareth before men moſt holy, with hazard of my life I offer to prove abomination before God; that is, your whole Religion to be ſo corrupt and vain, that no true ſervant of God can communicate with it, becauſe that in ſo doing he ſhould manifeſtly deny Chriſt Jeſus and his Eternall Verity. I know that your Biſhops, accompanied with the ſwarm of the Papiſticall vermine, ſhall cry, *A damned heretick ought not to be heard.* But remember, my Lords, what I proteſted in the beginning, upon which ground I continually ſtand; to wit, That I am no hereticke, nor deceivable Teacher; but the ſervant of Chriſt Jeſus, a Preacher of his infallible Verity, innocent in all that they can lay to my charge concerning my Doctrine; and therefore by them, being enemies to Chriſt, I am unjuſtly condemned: From which cruell Sentence I have appealed, and do appeal, as before mention is made; in the mean time moſt humbly requiring your Honours to take me in your protection, to be auditors of my juſt defences, granting unto me the ſame liberty which *Achab*, a wicked King, and *Iſrael* at that time a blinded people, granted to *Elijah* in the like caſe; that is, That your Biſhops, and the whole rabble of your Clergie, may be called before you, and before that people whom they have deceived; That I be not condemned by multitude, cuſtome, by Authority or Law deviſed by man; but that God himſelf may be judge betwixt me and my adverſaries: Let God, I ſay, ſpeak by his Law, by his Prophets, by Chriſt Jeſus, or by his Apoſtles, and ſo let him pronounce what Religion he approveth; and then, be my enemies never ſo many, and appear they never ſo ſtrong and ſo learned, no more do I fear victory, then did *Elijah*, being but one man, againſt the multitude of *Baals* Prieſts. And if they think to have advantage by their Councells and Doctors, this I further offer, To admit the one and the other as witneſſes in all matters debatable, three things (which juſtly cannot be denied) being granted unto me: Firſt, That the moſt ancient Councells nigheſt to the Primitive Church, in which the learned and godly Fathers did examine all matters by Gods Word, may be holden of moſt Authority. Secondly, That no determination of Councells nor man be admitted againſt the plain Verity of Gods Word, nor againſt the determination of thoſe four chief Councells, whoſe Authority hath been and is holden by them equall with the Authority of the four Evangeliſts. And laſt, That to no Doctor be given greater authority, then *Auguſtine* requireth to be given to his Writings; to wit, If he plainly prove not his affirmation by Gods infallible Word, that then his ſentence be rejected, and imputed to the errour of a man.

Notrue ſervant of God may communicate with the Papiſticall Religion.

An anſwer to the Objection, That an heretick ought not to be heard.

1 Kings 18.

Touching Councels and Doctors.

In prologo Retract.

Theſe things granted and admitted, I ſhall no more refuſe the teſtimonies of Councells and Doctors, then ſhall my adverſaries. But and if they will juſtifie thoſe Councells which maintain their pride and uſurped Authority, and will reject thoſe which plainly have condemned all ſuch tyranny, negligence, and wicked life as Biſhops now do uſe: And if further they will ſnatch a doubtfull ſentence of a Doctor, and refuſe his

his minde when he ſpeaketh plainly; then will I ſay, That all men are lyers, That credit ought not to be given to an unconſtant witneſſe; and that no Councells ought to prevail, nor be admitted againſt the ſentence which God hath pronounced. Anno

And thus, my Lords, in few words to conclude, I have offered unto you a tryall of my innocency: I have declared unto you what God requireth of you, being placed above his people as Rulers and Princes: I have offered unto you, and to the inhabitants of the Realme, the Verity of Chriſt Jeſus: And with the hazard of my life I preſently offer to prove the Religion which amongſt you is maintained by fire and ſword to be falſe, damnable, and diabolicall. Which things if ye refuſe, defending tyrants in their tyrannie, then I dare not flatter, but as it was commanded to *Ezechiel* boldly to proclaim; ſo muſt I cry to you, That you ſhall periſh in your iniquity, That the Lord Jeſus ſhall refuſe ſo many of you as maliciouſly withſtand his eternall Verity, and in the day of his apparition, when all fleſh ſhall appeare before him, that he ſhall repell you from his company, and ſhall command you to the fire which never ſhall be quenched; and then neither ſhall the multitude be able to reſiſt, neither yet the counſells of man be able to prevail againſt that ſentence which he ſhall pronounce.

Ezech. 33.

Mat. 24. & 26.

Dan. 12.
Mat. 25.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the power of his holy Spirit, ſo rule and diſpoſe of your hearts, that of ſimplicity ye may conſider the things that be offered; and that ye may take ſuch order in the ſame, as God in you may be glorified, and Chriſts Flock by you may be edified and comforted, to the praiſe and glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Omnipotent Spirit rule your hearts in his true feare to the end. Amen.

Anno

To his beloved Brethren the Commonalty of *SCOTLAND*:

JOHN KNOX *wisheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace; With the Spirit of righteous judgement.*

WHat I have required of the Queen Regent, States and Nobility, as of the chief Heads (for this present) of the Realm, I cannot cease to require of you (dearly beloved brethren) which be the Communalty and Body of the same; to wit, That it (notwithstanding that false and cruell Sentence which your disguised Bishops have pronounced against me) would please you to be so favourable unto me, as to be indifferent auditors of my just Purgation: Which to do if God earnestly move your hearts, as I nothing doubt but that your enterprise shall redound to the praise and glory of his holy Name; so am I assured, That ye and your posterity shall by that means receive most singular comfort, edification and profit: For when ye shall hear the matter debated, ye shall easily perceive and understand upon what ground and foundation is builded that Religion which amongst you is this day defended by fire and sword. As for mine owne conscience, I am most assuredly perswaded, That whatsoever is used in the Papisticall Church, is altogether repugning to Christs blessed Ordinance, and is nothing but mortall venome; of which whosoever drinketh, I am assuredly perswaded that therewith he drinketh death and damnation, except by true conversion unto God he be purged from the same. But because that long silence of Gods Word hath begotten ignorance almost in all sorts of men; and ignorance joyned with long custome, hath confirmed superstitiou in the hearts of many, I therefore, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, desire audience, as well of you the Commonalty, my brethren, as of the States and Nobility of the Realm, that in publike Preaching I may have place amongst you at large to utter my minde in all matters of controversie this day in Religion. And further I desire, That ye, concurring with your Nobility, would compell your Bishops and Clergie to cease their tyranny: And also, That for the better assurance and instruction of your conscience, ye would compell your said Bishops and false Teachers to answer by the Scriptures of God to such Objections and crimes, as shall be laid against their vain Religion, false Doctrine, wicked life, and slanderous conversation. Here I know that it shall be objected, That I require of you a thing most unreasonable; to wit, That ye should call your Religion in doubt, which hath been approved and established by so long continuance, and by the consent of so many men before you. But I shortly answer, That neither is the long continuance of time, neither yet the multitude of men a suf-

Note.

Petition.

Anno

ſufficient approbation, which God will allow for our Religion; For as ſome of the ancient Writers do witneſſe, neither can long proceſſe of time juſtifie an errour, neither can the multitude of ſuch, as follow it, change the nature of the ſame; But if it was an errour in the beginning, ſo is it in the end, and the longer that it be followed, and the mo that do receive it, it is more peſtilent, and more to be avoided: For if antiquity or multitude of men could juſtifie any Religion, then was the Idolatry of the Gentiles, and now is the abomination of the Turks, good Religion; For antiquity approved the one, and a multitude hath received, and doth defend the other: But otherwiſe to anſwer, godly men may wonder from what Fountain ſuch a ſentence doth flow, that no man ought to trie his faith and Religion by Gods Word, but that he ſafely may beleeve and follow every thing, which antiquity and multitude have approved; the Spirit of God doth otherwiſe teach us; for the wiſdome of God, Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, remitted his adverſaries to *Moſes* and the Scriptures, to trie by them whether his Doctrine were of God, or not: The Apoſtles *Paul* and *Peter* command men to trie the Religion which they profeſſe, by Gods plaine Scriptures, and doe praiſe men for ſo doing; Saint *John* ſtraightly commandeth, That we beleeve not every ſpirit, but to trie the ſpirits whether they be of God, or not. Now ſeeing that theſe evident teſtimonies of the holy Ghoſt will us to trie our faith and Religion by the plain Word of God; wonder it is that the Papiſts will not be content that their Religion and Doctrine come under the triall of the ſame. If this ſentence of Chriſt be true (as it is moſt true, ſeeing it ſpringeth from the verity it ſelf) *Who ſo doth evill hateth the Light, neither will he come to the Light, leſt that his works be manifeſted and rebuked*, then do our Papiſts by their own ſentence condemne themſelves and their Religion; for in ſo farre as they refuſe examination and triall, they declare that they know ſome fault which the Light will utter; which is a cauſe of their fear, and why they claim that priviledge, that no man diſpute of their Religion; the Verity and Truth being of the nature of fine puriſied Gold, doth not fear the triall of the Fornace; but the ſtubble and Chaffe of mans inventions (ſuch is their Religion) may not abide the the flame of fire. True it is, that *Mahomet* pronounced this ſentence, That no man ſhould in pain of death diſpute or reaſon of the ground of his Religion; which Law to this day (by the art of Sathan) is obſerved amongſt the *Turkes*, to their mortall blindneſſe and horrible blaſpheming of the Goſpell of Chriſt Jeſus, and of his true Religion; And from *Mahomet* or rather from Sathan the father of all lies) hath the Pope and his rabble learned this former leſſon; to wit, Their Religion ſhould not be diſputed upon, but what the fathers have beleeved, that ought and muſt the Children approve; and in ſo diviſing Satan lacked not his foreſight, for no one thing hath more eſtabliſhed the kingdome of that *Romane* Antichriſt, then this moſt wicked decree; to wit, That no man was permitted to reaſon of his power, or to call his Laws in doubt: This is moſt aſſured, that whenſoever the Papiſticall Religion ſhall come to examination, it ſhall be found to have no other ground, then hath the religion of *Mahomet*; to wit, mans invention, device and dreams overſhaddowed with

Anſwer to an Objection.

Lactant. Firmian. Tertullian. Cyprian.

John 5. & 7.

Acts 17. 2 Pet. 1. 1 John 4.

John 3.

Why Papiſts will not diſpute of the ground of their Religion.

Mahomet and the *Pope* do agree.

ſome

Anno

ſome colour of Gods Word: And therefore Brethren, ſeeing that the Religion is to man, as the ſtomack to the body, which if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole Members, it is neceſſary that the ſame be examined; and if it be found repleniſhed with peſtilent humours, (I mean with the fantaſies of men) then of neceſſitie it is, that thoſe be purged, elſe ſhall your bodies and ſouls periſh for ever: For of this I would ye were moſt certainly perſwaded, that a corrupt Religion defileth the whole life of man, appear it never ſo holy. Neither would I that ye ſhould eſteem the Reformation and care of Religion leſſe to appertain to you, becauſe ye are no Kings, Rulers, Judges, Nobles, nor in Authoritie; beloved Brethren, ye are Gods Creatures, created and formed to his own Image and ſimilitude, for whoſe redemption was ſhed the moſt precious blood of the onely beloved Sonne of God, to whom he hath commanded his Goſpell and glad-tydings to be preached, and for whom he hath prepared the heavenly Inheritance, ſo that ye will not obſtinatly refuſe, and diſdainfully contemne the means which he hath appointed to obtain the ſame; to wit, his bleſſed Evangell, which now he offereth unto you, to the end that ye may be ſaved: For the Goſpell and glad Tydings of the Kingdome truly preached, is the power of God to the ſalvation of every Beleever, which to credite and receive your the Communalty are no leſſe addebted, then be your Rulers and Princes; for albeit God hath put and ordained diſtinction and difference betwixt the King and Subjects, betwixt the Rulers and the Common-people in the Regiment and Adminiſtration of Civill Policies, yet in the hope of the life to come he hath made all equall; for as in Chriſt Jeſus the *Jew* hath no greater Prerogative then hath the *Gentile*, the man then hath the woman, the learned then the unlearned, the Lord then the ſervant, but all are one in him, ſo is there but one way and means to attain to the participation of his benefits and ſpirituall graces, which is a lively faith, working by charitie; and therefore I ſay, that it doth no leſſe appertain to you, beloved Brethren, to bee aſſured that your faith and Religion be grounded and eſtabliſhed upon the true and undoubted Word of God, then to your Princes or Rulers: For as your bodies cannot eſcape corporall death, if with your Princes ye eate or drink deadly poyſon (although it be by ignorance or negligence;) ſo ſhall ye not eſcape the everlaſting, if with them ye profeſſe a corrupt Religion; yea, except in heart ye beleeve, and with mouth ye confeſſe the Lord Jeſus to be the onely Saviour of the world, (which ye cannot doe, except ye embrace his Evangell offered) ye cannot eſcape death and damnation: For as the juſt liveth by his own faith, ſo doth the unfaithfull periſh by his infidelitie: And as true faith is ingendred, nouriſhed, and maintained in the hearts of Gods Elect, by Chriſts Evangell truely preached; ſo is infidelity and unbelief foſtered by concealing and repreſſing the ſame. And thus if ye look for the life everlaſting, ye muſt trie if ye ſtand in faith, and if ye would be aſſured of a true and lively faith, ye muſt needs have Chriſt Jeſus truly preached unto you. And this is the cauſe (dear Brethren) that ſo oft I repeat, and ſo conſtantly I affirme, That to you it doth not leſſe appertain, then to you King or Princes, to provide that Chriſt Jeſus be truely preached amongſt you, ſeeing that without

Note. Reformation of Religion belongeth to all that hope for life everlaſting. Rom. 1.

Rom. 1.

The ſubject is no leſſe bound to beleeve in Chriſt, then is the King. Gal 3.

Abac. 2. Mark 16. John 3.

without his true knowledge, can neither of you both attain to Salvation: And this is the point, wherein (I say) all men are equall, *That all are descended from* Adam, *by whose sin and inobedience did death enter into the world, so it behoved all that shall obtain life, to be ingrafted in one, that is, in the Lord Jesus, who being the just servant, doth by his knowledge justifie many; to wit, all that unfainedly beleeve in him.* Of this equalitie, and that, God requireth no lesse of the subject, be he never so poor, then of the Prince and rich man in matters of Religion, he hath given an evident declaration in the Law of *Moses*; for when the Tabernacle was builded, erected, and set in order, God did provide, how it and the things pertaining to the same, should be sustained, so that they should not fall in decay: And this provision (albeit heaven and earth obey his Empire) would he not take from the secret and hid Treasures which lie dispersed in the veines of the earth, neither yet would he take it from the rich and potent of the people; but he did command, That every one of the sons of *Israel* (were he rich or were he poor) that came in count from 20 yeers and upward, should yeerly pay halfe a Sickle for an oblation to the Lord, in the remembrance of their Redemption, and for an expiation or cleansing of their souls, which money God commanded should be bestowed upon the Ornaments and necessaries of the Tabernacle of Testimony. He furthermore added a Precept, That the rich should give no more for that use, and in that behalf, then should the poor; neither yet that the poor should give any lesse then should the rich in that consideration. This law, to mans reason and judgement, may appear very unreasonable; for some rich man might have given a thousand sickles with lesse hurt of his substance, then some poor man might have payed the half Sickle: And yet God maketh all equall, and will that the one shall pay no more then the other, neither yet the poor lesse then the rich; This Law (I say) may appear very unequall: But if the cause which God addeth be observed, we shall finde in the same the great mercy and inestimable wisdom of God to appear, which cause is expressed in these words; *This money received from the children of Israel, thou shalt give in for the service of the Tabernacle, that it may be to the clildren of Israel for a remembrance before the Lord, that he may be mercifull to your souls.* This cause (I say) doth evidently declare, That as the whole multitude was delivered from the bondage of *Egypt* by the mighty power of God alone; so was every member of the same (without respect of persons) sanctified by his grace, the richest (in that behalfe) nothing preferred before the poorest: For by no merit and worthinesse of man was he moved to choose and to establish his habitation and dwelling amongst them; but their felicity, prerogative and honour which they had above all other Nations, proceeded onely from the fountaine of his eternall goodnesse, who loved them freely, as he freely had chosen them to be a priestly kingdome, and holy people from all Nations of the earth: Thus to honour them that hee would dwell in the midst of them, he neither was moved (I say) by the wisdome of the wise, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the vertue and holinesse of any state amongst them, but of meer goodnesse did he love them, and with his presence did he honour the whole people, and therefore to paint out

Anno

Wherein all men are equall Rom 5. Isa 53. John 3 & 5.

Exod. 30.

Exod. 30.

Exod. 19.

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the ſame his common love to the whole multitude, and to cut off occaſions of contention, and doubts of conſcience, he would receive no more from the rich, then from the poor, for the maintenance of that his tabernacle, by the which was repreſented his preſence and habitation amongſt them. If the rich had been preferred to the poor, then as the one ſhould have been puffed up with pride, as that he had been more acceptable to God by reaſon of his greater gift, ſo ſhould the conſcience of the other have been troubled and wounded, thinking that his poverty was an impediment that he could not ſtand in ſo perfect favour with God, as did the other, becauſe he was not able to give ſo much, as did the rich, to the maintenance of his Tabernacle: But he, who of mercy (as is ſaid) did chooſe his habitation amongſt them, and alſo that beſt knoweth what lyeth within man, did provide the remedie for the one, and for the other, making them equall in that behalf, who in other things were moſt unequall. If the poor ſhould have found himſelf grieved by reaſon of that taxe, and that aſmuch was impoſed upon him as upon the Rich, yet had he no ſmall cauſe of joy, that God himſelf would pleaſe to compare him, and to make him equall (in the maintenance of his Tabernacle) to the moſt rich and potent in *Iſrael*. If this equality was commanded by God for maintenance of that tranſitory tabernacle, which was but a ſhadow of a better to come: is not the ſame required of us, who now have the verity, which is Chriſt Jeſus? who being clad with our nature, is made *Immanuel*, that is, God with us; *Whoſe naturall body, albeit it be received into the Heavens, where he muſt abide till all be compleat that is foreſpoken by the Prophets, yet hath he promiſed to be preſent with us to the end of the world.* And for that purpoſe, and for the more aſſurance of his Promiſe, he hath erected amongſt us here in earth the Signes of his own preſence with us, his ſpirituall Tabernacle, the true preaching of his Word, and right adminiſtration of his Sacraments; to the maintenance whereof is no leſſe bound the ſubject then the Prince, the poor then the rich: For as the Price, which was given for mans redemption, is one, ſo God requireth of all that ſhall be partakers of the benefits of the ſame, a like duty which is a plain confeſſion, That by Chriſt Jeſus alone we have received, whatſoever was loſt in *Adam*. Of the Prince doth God require, That he refuſe himſelf, and that he follow Chriſt Jeſus; of the Subject he requireth the ſame. Of the Kings and Judges it is required, That they kiſſe the Son; that is, give honour, ſubjection and obedience to him: and from ſuch reverence doth not God exempt the Subject that ſhall be ſaved; and this is, That equality which is betwixt the kings and ſubjects, the moſt rich or noble, and betwixt the pooreſt and men of loweſt ſtate; to wit, That as the one is obliged to beleeve in heart, and with mouth to confeſſe the Lord Jeſus to be the onely Saviour of the world, ſo alſo is the other. Neither is there any of Gods children (who hath attained to the yeers of diſcretion) ſo poor, but that he hath thus much to beſtow upon the Ornaments and maintenance of their ſpirituall Tabernacle, when neceſſity requireth; neither yet is there any ſo rich, of whoſe hands God requireth any more: For albeit that *David* gathered great ſubſtance for the building of the Temple, that *Solomon* with earneſt diligence and incredible expences erected and finiſhed the ſame, That *Hezekiah* and *Joſiah* purged the Religion,

The preſence of God repreſented in the Tabernacle.

Heb 9.

Iſa 8. Act.3. Mat.28.

The ſpirituall Tabenacle and ſignes of Chriſts pre-

1 Par.29. 2 Par.3.4 & 5. 2 Par.29.30. & 35.

gion which before was corrupted: yet to them was God no further debter in that respect, then he was to the most simple of the faithfull posterity of faithfull *Abraham*; for their diligence, zeal and works gave rather testimony and confession before men, what honour they did bear to God; what love to his Word; what reverence to his Religion, then that any work proceeding from them did either establish, or yet encrease Gods favour towards them, who freely did love them in Christ his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid: So that these forenamed, by their notable works, gave testimony of their unfained faith; and the same doth the poorest, that unfainedly and openly professeth Christ Jesus, and doth embrace his glad tydings offered, That doth abhor Superstition, and flie from Idolatry. The poorest, I say, and most simple that this day on earth, in the dayes of this cruell persecution firmly believeth in Christ, and boldly doth confesse him before this wicked generation, is no lesse acceptable before God, neither is judged in his presence to have done any lesse in promoting Christ his Cause, then is the King, that by his sword and power which he hath received of God, rooteth out Idolatry, and so advanceth Christs glory. But to return to our former purpose: It is no lesse required, I say, of the subject to believe in Christ, and to professe his true Religion, then of the Prince and King: And therefore I affirm, That in Gods presence it shall not excuse you to alleadge, That yee were no chief Rulers, and therefore that the care and reformation of Religion did not appertain unto you.

Anno

1 Par. 29.
2 Par. 3. 4, & 5.
2 Par. 29. 30. & 35.

Note.

Yee, dear brethren (as before is said) are the creatures of God created to his own Image and similitude; to whom it is commanded, To hear the voice of your heavenly Father, To embrace his Son Christ Jesus, To flie from all doctrine and Religion which he hath not approved by his own Will, revealed to us in his most blessed Word. To which Precepts and Charges if yee be found inobedient, ye shall perish in your iniquity as rebells and stubborn servants, that have no pleasure to obey the good Will of their Soveraign Lord, who most lovingly doth call for your obedience: And therefore, brethren, in this behalf, it is your part to be carefull and diligent: For the question is not of things temporall, which although they be endangered, yet by diligence and processe of time may after be redressed; but it is of the damnation of your bodies and souls, and of the losse of life everlasting; which once lost, can never be recovered. And therefore I say, That it behoveth you to be carefull and diligent in this so weighty a matter, lest that ye, contemning this occasion which God now offereth, finde not the like, although that after with groaning and sobs ye languish for the same. And that ye be not ignorant of what occasion I mean, in few words I shall expresse it.

Matth. 17.

Note.

Not onely I, but with me also divers other godly and learned men, do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to instruct you in the wayes of the eternall our God, and in the sincerity of Christs Evangell, which this day, by the pestilent Generation of Antichrist (I mean by the Pope, and by his most ungodly Clergy) are almost hid from the eyes of men: We offer to jeopard our lives for the salvation of your souls, and by manifest Scriptures to prove that Religion that amongst you is maintained by fire

The offer of *John Knox* to his native Realm.

Anno

and ſword, to be falſe, vain and diabolicall. We require nothing of you, but that patiently ye will hear our Doctrine, which is not ours, but the Doctrine of ſalvation revealed to the world by the onely Son of God; And that ye will examine our reaſons, by the which we offer to prove the Papiſticall Religion to be abominable before God: And laſt, we require, That by your power the tyranny of thoſe cruell beaſts (I mean of Prieſts and Fryers) may be bridled till we have uttered our mindes in all matters this day debatable in Religion: If theſe things in the fear of God ye grant to me, and unto others that unfainedly for your ſalvation, and for Gods glory require the ſame, I am aſſured, That of God ye ſhall be bleſſed, whatſoever Satan ſhall deviſe againſt you. But and if ye contemn or refuſe God, who thus lovingly offereth unto you ſalvation and life, ye ſhall neither eſcape plagues Temporall which ſhortly ſhall apprehend you, neither yet the torment prepared for the devill and for his angels, except by your ſpeedy repentance ye return to the Lord, whom now ye refuſe, if that ye refuſe the Meſſengers of his Word.

What he requireth.

But yet I think ye doubt what ye ought and may do in this ſo weighty a matter. In few words I will declare my conſcience in the one, and in the other: Ye ought to prefer tha glory of God, and the promoting of Chriſt his Evangell, and the ſalvation of your ſouls, to all things that be in the earth: And ye, although ye be but ſubjects, may lawfully require of your Superiours, be it of your King, be it of your Lords, Rulers and Powers, That they provide for you true Preachers, and that they expell ſuch as under the name of Paſtors, devour and deſtroy the Flock, not feeding the ſame as Chriſt Jeſus hath commanded: And if in this point your Superiours be negligent, or yet pretend to maintain tyrants in their tyranny, moſt juſtly ye may provide true Teachers for your ſelves, Paſtors according to the minde and heart of God, by whom you may be fed with that moſt comfortable food of your ſouls, Chriſts Evangell truly preached: Ye may moreover, in a peaceable manner, without ſedition, with-hold the fruits and profits which your falſe Biſhops and Clergy moſt unjuſtly receive of you, unto ſuch time as they ſhall faithfully do their charge and duties, which is, To preach unto you Chriſt Jeſus truely, rightly to miniſter the Sacraments according to his own Inſtitution; and ſo to watch for the ſalvation of your ſouls, as is commanded by Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, and by his Apoſtles *Paul* and *Peter*. If God ſhall move your hearts in his true fear to begin to practice theſe things, and to demanded and crave the ſame of your Superiours, which moſt lawfully ye may do, then I doubt not but of his great mercy, and free grace, he will illuminate the eyes of your mindes, that his undoubted Verity will be a Lantern to your feet, to guide and lead you in all the wayes which godly wiſedom doth approve; he will make your enemies tremble before your faces; he will eſtabliſh his Evangell amongſt you, to the ſalvation and perpetuall comfort of your ſelves, and of your poſterity after you. But and if (as God forbid) the love of friends, the fear of your Princes, and the wiſedom of the world draw you back from God, and from his Son Chriſt Jeſus, be ye certainly perſwaded, That ye ſhall drink the cup of his Vengeance; ſo many, I mean, as ſhall contemn and deſpiſe this loving calling of your heavenly Father.

An anſwer to two queſtions.

Subjects may lawfully require true Preachers of their Rulers.

John 21. Acts 20.

Things that may draw men back from the ſincerity of Chriſts Evangell.

It

It will not excuse you (dear brethren) in the presence of God, neither yet will it avail you in the day of his visitation, to say, *We were but simple subjects, we could not redresse the faults and crimes of our Rulers, Bishops and Clergy: We called for Reformation, and wished for the same; but Lords brethren were Bishops, their sons were Abbots, and the friends of great men had the possession of the Church, and so were we compelled to give obedience to all that they demanded.* These vain excuses, I say, will nothing avail you in the presence of God, who requireth no lesse of the subjects, then of their Rulers; That they decline from evil, and that they do good; that they abstain from Idolatry, Superstition, Blasphemy, Murther, and other such like horrible crimes which his Law forbiddeth, and yet nevertheless are openly committed and maliciously defended in that miserable Realm. And if ye think that ye are innocent, because ye are not the chief actors of such iniquity, ye are utterly deceived; for God doth not onely punish the chief offenders, but with them doth he condemn the consenters to such iniquity; and all are judged to consent, that knowing impiety committed, give no testimony that the same displeaseth them. To speak this matter more plain, As your Princes and Rulers are criminall with your Bishops of all Idolatry committed, and of all the innocent blood that is shed for the testimony of Christs Truth; and that because they maintain them in their tyranny: so are you (I mean so many of you as give no plain confession to the contrary) criminall and guilty with your Princes and Rulers in the same crimes, because ye assist and maintain your Princes in their blinde rage, and give no declaration that their tyranny displeaseth you. This Doctrine, I know, is strange to the blinde world; but the verity of it hath been declared in all notable punishments from the beginning. When the originall world perished by water; when *Sodome* and *Gomorra* were consumed by fire; and finally, when *Jerusalem* was horribly destroyed; Doth any man think that all were alike wicked before the world? Evident it is that they were not, if they be judged according to their externall facts; for some were young, and could not be oppressors, neither yet could defile themselves with unnaturall and beastly lusts: Some were pitifull, and gentle of nature, and did not thirst for the blood of Christ, nor of his Apostles: But did any escape the plagues and vengeance which did apprehend the multitude? Let the Scriptures witnesse, and the Histories be considered, which plainly do testifie, That by the waters all flesh in earth at that time did perish; (*Noah* and his family reserved) That none escaped in *Sodome*, and in the other Cities adjacent, except *Lot* and his two daughters. And evident it is, That in that famous City *Jerusalem*, in that last and horrible destruction of the same, none escaped Gods vengeance, except so many as before were dispersed. And what is the cause of this severity, seeing that all were not alike offenders, let the flesh cease to dispute with God, and let all men by these examples learn betimes to fly, and avoid the society and company of the proud contemners of God, if that they list not to be partakers of their plagues. The cause is evident, if we can be subject without grudging to Gods judgements, which in themselves are most holy and just: For in the originall world none was found, that either did resist tyranny and oppression that universally was used, nor yet that earnestly repre-

Anno

Rom. 1. *Note.*

Princes and Bishops are alike criminall.

How subjects offend with their Princes.

Gen. 7. & 19.

Josephus Egesippus.

Anno

reprehended the ſame. In *Sodome* was none found that did gainſtand that furious and beaſtly multitude that did compaſſe about and beſiege the houſe of *Lot*: None would believe *Lot*, that the City ſhould be deſtroyed: And finally, in *Jeruſalem* was found none that ſtudied to repreſſe the tyranny of the Prieſts, who were conjured againſt Chriſt and his Evangell; but all fainted (I except ever ſuch as gave witneſſe with their blood, or their flying, That ſuch impiety diſpleaſed them) all kept ſilence; by the which all approved iniquity, and joyned hands with the tyrannts, and ſo were all arayed and ſet, as it had been in one Battell, againſt the Omnipotent, and againſt his Son Chriſt Jeſus: For whoſoever gathereth not with Chriſt in the day of his Harveſt, is judged to ſcatter; And therefore of one vengeance temporall were they all partakers. Which thing, as before I have touched, ought to move you to the deep conſideration of your duties in theſe laſt and moſt perillous times. The iniquity of your Biſhops is more then manifeſt; their filthy lives infect the ayr; the innocent blood which they ſhed, cryeth vengeance in the ears of our God; the idolatry and abomination which openly they commit, and without puniſhment maintain, doth corrupt and defile the whole Land, and none amongſt you do unfainedly ſtudy for any redreſſe of ſuch enormities. Will God in this behalf hold you as innocents? Be not deceived, dear brethren; God hath puniſhed not onely the proud tyrants, filthy perſons, and cruell murtherers, but alſo ſuch as with them did draw the yoke of iniquity, was it by flattering their offences, obeying their unjuſt commandments, or in winking at their manifeſt iniquity. All ſuch, I ſay, God once puniſhed with the chief offenders. Be ye aſſured, brethren, that as he is immutable of nature, ſo will he not pardon you in that which he hath puniſhed in others; and now the leſſe, becauſe he hath plainly admoniſhed you of the dangers to come, and hath offered you his mercy before he pour forth his wrath and diſpleaſure upon the inobedient.

What ſubjects ſhall God puniſh with their Princes.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the father of glory, and God of all conſolation, give you the ſpirit of wiſedom, and open unto you the knowledge of himſelf, by the means of his dear Son, by the which ye may attain to the eſperance and hope, That after the troubles of this tranſitory life, ye may be partakers of the glorious Inheritance which is prepared for ſuch as refuſe themſelves, and fight under the Banner of Chriſt Jeſus in the day of this his Battell: That in deep conſideration of the ſame, ye may learn to prefer the inviſible and eternall joyes, to the vain pleaſures that are preſent. God further grant you his holy Spirit, righteouſly to conſider what I, in his Name, have required of your Nobility, and of the ſubjects, and move all together ſo to anſwer, that my Petition be not a teſtimony of your juſt condemnation, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear to revenge the blood of his Saints, and the contempt of his moſt holy Word. Amen.

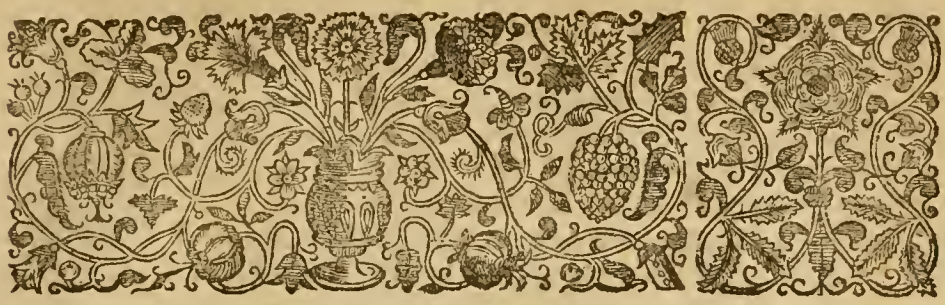
Sleep not in ſin; for vengeance is prepared againſt the inobedient.
Fly from *Babylon*, if ye will not be partakers of her plagues.

Grace be with you.

Be witneſſe to my Appellation.
The 4. of *July*, 1558.

Your Brother to command in godlineſſe,
JOHN KNOX.

A



A faithfull ADMONITION made by IOHN KNOX, To the true Professors of the Gospel of *CHRIST* within the Kingdom of *England*. 1554.

John Knox *wisheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace from GOD the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetuall Comfort of the Holy Ghost to be with you for ever and ever, dear Brethren, the afflicted Members of Christs Church in* England.

HAving no lesse desire to comfort such as now be in trouble within the Realm of *England*, (and specially you for many causes most dear to me) then hath the naturall Father to ease the griefe and pain of his dearest Childe; I have considered with my selfe, what argument or parcell of Gods Scriptures was most convenient and meet to be handled for your consolation in these most dark and dolorous dayes: And so (as for the same purpose I was turning my Book) I chanced to see a Note in the Margine written thus in Latine, *Videat Anglia,* Let *England* beware; which Note when I had considered, I found, that the matter written in my Booke in Latine, was this, *Seldome it is that God worketh any notable work to the comfort of his Church, but that trouble, fear, and labour cometh upon*

A note made upon the sending of Christs Disciples to the Sea, the miraculous feeding of the people.

Anno

upon ſuch as God hath uſed for his Servants and Workmen; and alſo tribulation moſt commonly followeth that Church were Chriſt Jeſus is moſt truely preached. This Note was made upon a place of Scripture written in the fourteenth Chapter of Saint *Matthews* Goſpell; which place declareth, That after Chriſt Jeſus had uſed the Apoſtles as Miniſters and Servants to feed (as it had been by their hands) five thouſand men, beſide women and children, with five Barley Loaves and two Fiſhes; he ſent them to the Sea, commanding them to paſſe over before him to the other ſide. Which thing as they attempted to obey, and for the ſame purpoſe did travell and row forth in the Sea, the night approached, the wind was contrary, the vehement and raging ſtorme aroſe, and was like to overthrow their poor Boat and them. When I conſidered (as dolour and my ſimplicity would ſuffer) the circumſtances of the Text, I began to reckon and ask account of my ſelf (and as God knoweth, not without ſorrow and ſobs) whether at any time I had been ſo plain by my tongue, as God had opened his holy Will and Wiſdom in that matter unto me, as mine own Pen and Note beare witneſſe to my conſcience: And ſhortly it came to my minde, that the ſame place of Scripture I had handled in your preſences, when God gave opportunity and time for you to heare Gods Meſſenger ſpeak the words of eternall life. Wherefore I thought nothing more expedient, then ſhortly to call to minde againe ſuch things as then I truſt were touched; albeit peradventure neither of me ſo plainly uttered, neither of you ſo plainly perceived, as theſe moſt dolorous dayes declare the ſame to us.

What chanced to Chriſts diſciples after the feeding of the people in the deſart.

It ſhall not bee neceſſary to handle the Text word by word, but of the whole ſumme to gather certain Notes and Obſervations, (which ſhall not farre diſagree from the ſtate of theſe dayes) it ſhall be ſufficient. And firſt it is to be obſerved, That after this great miracle that Chriſt had wrought, he neither would retain with himſelf the multitude of people whom he had fed, neither yet his diſciples; but the one he ſent away every man to return to his place of accuſtomed reſidence, and the others he ſent to the danger of the Seas, not as he that was ignorant what ſhould chance unto them, but knowing and foreſeeing the Tempeſt, yea and appointing the ſame ſo to trouble them.

The firſt Note

John 6. Matth. 14.

It is not to be judged, That the onely and true Paſtour would remove and ſend away from him the wandering and weak ſheep; neither yet that the onely provident Governour and Guide would ſet out his rude Warriours to ſo great a jeopardie, without ſufficient and moſt juſt cauſe.

Chriſt ſuffereth not his ſheep and Paſtours to be diſperſed and troubled, but for cauſe reaſonable.

Why Chriſt removed and ſent away from him the people, the Evangeliſt Saint *John* declareth, ſaying, *When Jeſus knew that they were come to take him, that they might make him King, he paſſed ſecretly* (or alone) *to the Mountain.* Whereof it is plain what chiefly moved Chriſt to ſend away the people from him, becauſe that by him they ſought a carnall and worldly libertie, regarding nothing his Heavenly Doctrine of the Kingdom of God his Father, which before he had taught and declared unto them plainly, ſhewing them, That ſuch as would follow him muſt ſuffer for his Names ſake perſecution, muſt be hated of all men, muſt deny themſelves, muſt be ſent forth as ſheep among Wolves: But no part of

John 6.

Why Chriſt ſent away the people from him.

Matth. 10.

of this doctrine pleased them, or could enter into their hearts, but their whole minde was upon their bellies, for sufficing whereof they devised and imagined, that they would appoint Christ Jesus to be their worldly King; for he had power to multiply bread at his pleasure. Which vain opinion and imagination perceived by Christ Jesus, he withdrew himselfe from their company, to avoid all such suspition, and to let them understand, That no such honours did agree with his Vocation, who came to serve, and not to be served: And when this same people sought him againe, he sharply rebuked them, because they sought him more to have their Bellies fed with corruptible meat, then to have their souls nourished with lively Bread that came down from Heaven. And thus in the people there was just cause why Christ should withdraw himself from them for a time.

Anno John 6. Matth. 20. John. 6.

Why the Disciples should suffer that great danger, feare and anguish, Saint *Marke* in his Gospel plainly sheweth, saying, *That their hearts were blinded, and therefore did neither remember nor consider the miracle of the Loaves*: That is, Albeit with their hands they had touched that bread by which so great a multitude was fed; and albeit also they had gathered up twelve Baskets full of that which remained of a few Loaves, which before the Miracle a Boy was able to have borne; yet did they not rightly consider the infinite power of Christs Jesus by this wonderfull Miracle: And therefore of necessity it was, that in their owne Bodies they should suffer trouble for their better instruction.

Mark 6. The disciples did not rightly consider Christs work. *Note.*

When I deeply consider (dearly beloved in our Saviour Christ) how abundantly, and how miraculously the poor and small flock of Christ Jesus was fed within the Realm of *England* under that elect and chosen Vessell of God to glory and honour *Edward the sixt*; and now again behold not onely the dispersion and scattering abroad, but also the appearing destruction of the same, under these cursed, cruell and abominable Idolaters, me thinke I see the same causes to have moved God, not onely to withdraw his presence from the multitude, but also to have sent his welbeloved servants to the travels of the Seas, wherein they were sore tossed and turmoyled, and apparently most like to perish.

What were the affections of the greatest multitude that followed the Gospel in this former rest and abundance, is easie to be judged, if the life and conversation of every man should have beene thorowly examined: For who lived (in that rest) as that he had refused himself? Who lived in that rest, as that he had been crucified with Christ? Who lived in that rest, as that he had certainly looked for trouble to come upon him? Yea, who lived not rather in delicacy and joy, and seeking the world and pleasures thereof, caring for the flesh and carnall appetites, as though death and sin had clean been devoured? And what was this else, then to make of Christ an earthly King? The Word that we professed daily cryed in our ears; that our Kingdome; our joy, our rest and felicitie, neither was, is; nor should be upon the earth, neither in any transitory thing thereof, but in heaven, into which we must enter by many tiibulations. But (alas) we sleeped in such securitie, that the sound of the Trumpet could of many never be perfectly understood, but alwayes

Note this for our time. *Note.* John 18. Act. 14.

Anno

we perſwaded our ſelves of a certaine tranquility, as though the troubles whereof mention is made within the Scriptures of God, appertained nothing at all to this age; but unto ſuch as of long time are paſſed before us: and therfore was our heavenly Father compelled to withdraw from us the preſence of his veritie (whoſe voyce in thoſe dayes we could not beleeve) to the end that more earneſtly we may thirſt for the ſame, and with more obedience embrace and receive it, if ever it ſhall pleaſe his infinite goodneſſe, in ſuch abundance to reſtore the ſame againe.

Hypocrites are made manifeſt in the day of trouble.

I mean nothing of thoſe that followed Chriſt only for their bellies, for ſuch perceiving that they could not obtain their hearts deſire of Chriſt, have grudged, and left him in body and heart; which thing their blaſphemous voices ſpake againſt his eternall verity, doth witneſſe and declare. For ſuch (brethren) be ye not moved, for in the time of their profeſſion they were not of us, but were very diſſemblers and Hypocrites; and therefore God juſtly permitteth that they blaſpheme the Truth, which they never loved. I mean not that ever ſuch diſſembling Hypocrites ſhall embrace the verity, but I meane ſuch as by infirmitie of the fleſh, and by naturall blindneſſe (which in this life is never altogether expelled) then could not give the very obedience which Gods Word required, neither now by weakneſſe of faith dare openly and boldly confeſſe that which their hearts know to be moſt true, and yet lamenteth & mourneth, both for the imperfection by paſſed and preſent; from ſuch ſhall not the amiable preſence of Chriſt for ever be withdrawn; but yet again ſhall the eyes of their foretroubled hearts behold and ſee that light of Chriſts Goſpell, wherein they moſt delight. We the Miniſters, who were the diſtributers of this bread, (the true Word of God) wherewith the multitude within *England* was fed, lacked not our offences, which alſo moved God to ſend us to the Sea. And becauſe the offences of no man are ſo manifeſt unto me, as mine own, I will onely cenſure my ſelf.

1 John 2.

Note.

It is not unknown unto many, that I (the moſt wretched) was one of that number whom God appointed to receive that Bread (as it was broken by Chriſt Jeſus) to diſtribute and give the ſame to ſuch as he had called to this banquet, in that part of his table where he appointed me to ſerve. It is not in my knowledge nor judgement to define nor determine what portion or quantity every man received of this bread, neither yet how that which they received agreed with their ſtomacks; but of this I am aſſured, That the benediction of Chriſt Jeſus ſo multiplyed the portion which I received of his hands, that during the banquet (this I write to the praiſe of his Name, and to the accuſation of mine owne unthankfulneſſe) the bread never failed when the hungry ſoule craved or cried for food; and at the end of the banquet, mine own conſcience beareth witneſſe, that mine hands gathered up the crummes that were left in ſuch abundance, that the banquet was full among the reſt. To be plain, mine own conſcience beareth record to my ſelf, how ſmall was my learning, and how weak I was of judgement when Chriſt Jeſus called me to be his ſteward, and how mightily day by day, and time by time he multiplied his graces with me, if I ſhould conceale, I were moſt wicked and unthankfull.

To deny or conceale the gifts of God which we have received, is unthankfulneſſe.

But

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But alas, how blinded was my heart, and how little I did consider the dignity of that Office, and the power of God that then multiplied and blessed the bread which the people received of my hands, this day mine own conscience beareth witnesse to my selfe. God I take to record in my conscience, That I delivered the same bread that I received of Christs hands; and that I mixed no poyson with the same; that is, I teached Christs Gospel without any mixture of mens dreames, devises, or phantasies. But alas I did it not with such fervency, with such indifferency, and with such diligency as this day I know my duty was to have done.

Let the Ministers note this who are put from their charges by the enemy.

Some complained in those dayes, That the Preachers were undiscreet persons (yea, some called them raylers, and worse) because they spake against the manifest iniquity of men, and especially of those that then were placed in Authority, as well in Court, as in other Offices universally thorowout the Realme, both in Cities, Towns and Villages. And among others peradventure my rude plainnesse displeased some, who did complain, That rashly I did speak of mens faults, so that all men might know and perceive of whom I meant. But alas, this day my conscience accuseth me, That I spake not so plainly as my duty was to have done: For I ought to have said to the wicked man expressely by his name, *Thou shalt die the death.* For I finde *Jeremiah* the Prophet to have done so to *Pashur* the high Priest, and to *Zedechiah* the King. And not onely he, but also *Elijah*, *Elisha*, *Michah*, *Amos*, *Daniel*, Christ Jesus himself; and after him his Apostles expressely to have named the blood-thirsty tyrants, abominable Idolaters, and dissembling hypocrites of their dayes. If that we the Preachers within the Realme of *England* were appointed by God to be the Salt of the earth (as his other Messengers were before us.) Alas, Why with-held we the Salt, where manifest compunction did appear? (I accuse none but my selfe.) The blinde love that I did bear to this my wicked carkase was the chiefe cause that I was not fervent and faithfull enough in that behalfe; For I had no will to provoke the hatred of all men against me: And therefore so touched I the vices of men in the presence of the greatest, that they might see themselves to be offenders (I dare not say that I was the greatest flatterer.) But yet nevertheless I would not be seen to proclaim manifest Warre against the manifest wicked: Whereof unfainedly I ask my God mercy.

Ezech 3.33. Jer. 20 34. 3 Reg. 18. 21, 22. 4 Reg. 3. Amos 7. Dan. 5 Matth. 23. Act. 13.

The Preachers are named the Salt of the earth

The Confession of the Author.

As I was not so fervent in rebuking manifest iniquity as it became me to have been; So was I not so indifferent a feeder as is required of Christs Steward: For in preaching Christs Gospel, albeit mine eye (as knoweth God) was not much upon worldly promotion, yet the love of friends, and carnall affection of some men with whom I was most familiar, allured me to make more residence in one place then in another, having more respect to the pleasure of a few, then to the necessity of many. That day I thought I had not sinned, if I had not been idle; But this day I know it was my duty to have had consideration how long I had remained in one place, and how many hungry souls were in other places, to whom alas none took pain to break and distribute the bread of Life.

Preachers ought to feed Christs Flock.

Anno

Moreover, remaining in one place I was not so diligent as mine Office required; but sometime by counsell of carnall friends I spared the body; sometime I spent in worldly businesse of particular friends; and sometime in taking recreation and pastime by exercise of the body.

And albeit men may judge these to be light and small offences, yet I acknowledge and confesse, That unlesse pardon should be granted to me in Christs blood, that every one of these three offences aforenamed, that is to say, Lack of fervency in reproving sin, The lack of indifferency in feeding those that were hungry, And the lack of diligence in the execution of mine Office, deserved damation.

The lack of fervency of reproving; of indifferency in feeding, and diligence in executing, are great sins. Spiritiuall temptations are soon espied.

And beside these, I was assaulted, yea, infected and corrupted with more grosse sins; that is, My wicked nature desired the favours, the estimation and praise of men; against which albeit that sometime the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earnestly did stir me (God knoweth I lye not) to sob and lament for those imperfections; yet never ceased they to trouble me when any occasion was offred: And so privily and craftily did they enter into my breast, that I could not perceive my self to be wounded, till vain-glory had almost gotten the upper hand.

The prayer of the author.

O Lord be mercifull to my great offence, and deal not with me according to my great iniquity; but according to the multitude of thy mercies remove from me the burthen of my sin: for of purpose and minde to have avoided the vain displeasure of man, I spared little to offend thy Majestie.

Think not (beloved in the Lord) That thus I accuse my selfe without just cause, as though in so doing I might appear more holy; or that yet I do it of purpose and intent by occasion thereof to accuse others of my brethren the true Preachers of Christ of like or greater offences: No, God is Judge to my conscience, That I do it even from an unfained and sore troubled heart, as I that know my selfe grievously to have offended the Majesty of my God, during the time that Christs Gospel had free passage in *England*. And this I do let you understand, That the taking away of the heavenly Bread, and this great tempest that now bloweth against the poor disciples of Christ within the Realme of *England* (as touching our part) cometh from the great mercy of our heavenly Father, to provoke us to unfained repentance, for that neither Preacher nor Professor did rightly consider the time of our mercifull Visitation: But altogether so we spent the time, as though Gods Word had been Preached rather to satisfie our fantasies, then to reforme our evill manners. Which thing if we earnestly repent, then shall Jesus Christ appear to our comfort, be the storm never so great. *Haste, O Lord, for thy Names sake.*

The troubles of these dayes cometh to the comfort of Gods elect

The second Note. The great feare of the disciples. Matth. 8. The disciples also before this time were troubled in the Sea.

The second thing that I finde to be noted, is, The vehemency of the fear which the disciples endured in that great danger, being of longer continuance then ever they had at any time before.

In Saint *Matthewes* Gospel it appeareth, That another time there arose a great stormy Tempest, and sore tossed the Boat wherein Christs disciples were labouring: But that was nigh the day light, and then they had Christ with them in the Ship, whom they awaked, and cryed for help

help unto him (for at that time he slept in the Boat) and so were shortly delivered from their sudden fear. But now were they in the midst of the raging Sea, and it was night, and Christ their Comforter absent from them, and cometh not to them neither in the first, second, nor third Watch; What fear think ye were they in? And what thoughts arose out of their so troubled hearts, during that storm? Such as this day be in like danger within the Realme of *England*, doth by this storm better understand then my pen can expresse. But of one thing I am well assured, That Christs presence would in that great perplexity have been to them more comfortable then ever it was before; and that patiently they would have suffered their incredulity to have been rebuked, so that they might have escaped the present death.

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Note.

But profitable it shall be, and somewhat to our comfort, to consider every parcell of their danger: And first, ye shall understand, That when the disciples passed to the Sea to obey Christs Commandment, it was fair weather, and no such Tempest seen. But suddenly the storme arose with a contrarious flaw of winde, when they were in the midst of their Journey. For if the Tempest had been as great in the beginning of their entrance into the Sea, as it was after when they were about the midst of their Journey, neither would they have adventured such a great danger; neither yet had it been in their power to have attained to the midst of the Sea. And so it may be evidently gathered, That the Sea was calme when they entered into their Journey.

What time the tempest did arise.

The Sea was calm when the disciples took their Ship.

Then it is to be remarked, By what means and instruments was this storme moved: Was the plunging of their Oars, and force of their small Boat such as might stirre the waves of the great Sea? No, doubtlesse: But the holy Ghost declareth, That the Seas were moved by a vehement and contrary winde, which blew against their Ship in the time of darknesse. But seeing the winde is neither the commander nor mover of it self, some other cause is to be enquired, which hereafter we shall touch.

What moved the Sea.

And last, it is to be noted and considered, What the disciples did in all this vehement Tempest. Truely they turned not to be driven backe for land or shore, by the vehemency of the contrary winde; for so it might be thought that they could not have escaped shipwrack and death: but they continually laboured in rowing against the winde, abiding the ceasing of that horrible tempest.

The tossed Ship is a figure of the Church of Christ.

Consider and mark, beloved in the Lord, what we reade here to have chanced to Christs disciples, and to their poor Boat; and you shall well perceive, That the same thing hath chanced, doth and shall chance to the true Church and Congregation of Christ (which is nothing else in this miserable life but a poor Ship) travelling in the Seas of this unstable and troublesome world, toward the heavenly Port, and Haven of eternall felicity, which Christ Jesus hath appointed to his elect.

This I might prove by the posterity of *Jacob* in *Egypt*; By the *Israelites* in their Captivity; and by the Church during the time that Christ

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himself did Preach (and sometime after his Resurrection and Ascension) against whom the vehement storme did not rage immediately after they entred into the Ship of their travell and tribulation: For the bloody sentence of *Pharaoh* was not pronounced against the seed of *Jacob* when he first did enter into *Egypt*: Neither was the cruell counsell and devillish device of proud *Haman* invented by and by after *Israel* and *Judah* were translated from their possessions: Neither yet in the time of Christ Jesus being conversant with his Apostles in the flesh, was there used any such tyranny against the Saints of God, as shortly after followed in the persecution of Saint *Stephen*, and other disciples. But all these in the beginning of their travell with a contrary winde, had alway some calme; that is, Albeit they had some trouble, yet had they not extreme persecution.

Exod. 1.

Esth. 3.

Act 7 & *deinceps.*

Even so, most dearly beloved, is happened now to the afflicted Church of God within the Realme of *England*: At all times the true Word of God suffered contradiction and repugnancie; And so the winde blew against us even from the beginning of the late uprising of the Gospel in *England*, but yet it could not stop our course, till now of late days, that the raging winde bloweth without bridle upon the unstable Seas, in the midst whereof we are in this hour of darknesse.

The malice of the devill compared to the winde.

To write my minde plainly unto you, beloved brethren: This winde that alwayes hath blown against the Church of God, is the malice and hatred of the devill, which rightly in this case is compared to the winde: For as the winde is invisible, and yet the poor disciples feel that it troubleth and letteth their Ship; So is the pestilent envie of the devill working alwayes in the hearts of the reprobate so subtill and crafty, that it cannot be espied by Gods Elect, nor by his Messengers, till first they feel the blasts thereof to blow their Ship backward: And as the vehement winde causeth the waves of the Sea to rage, and yet the dead water neither knoweth what it doth, neither yet can it cease nor refrain; so that both it is troubled by the winde, and also it self doth trouble Christs disciples in their poor Ship: So by the envie and malice of the devill, are wicked and cruell, as well subjects as Princes (whose hearts are like the raging Sea) compelled to persecute and trouble the true Church of Christ; and yet so blinded are they, and so enthralled under the bondage of the devill, that neither can they see their manifest iniquity, neither yet can they cease to run to their own destruction. And hereof, *England*, hast thou manifest experience: For in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, how the wolf, that wicked *Winchester*, and others, by the vehement winde of six bloody Articles (by the devill devised) intended to have overthrown the poor Ship and Christs disciples, is evidently known already. But then had we Christ Jesus with us sleeping in the Ship, who did not despise the faithfull crying of such as then were in trouble: But by his mighty power, gracious goodnes, and invincible force of his holy Word, he compelled those wicked windes to cease, and the raging of those Seas to be stilled and calm: So that all the hearts of Gods Elect within the Realme of *England* did wonder at that sudden change, while that under a lamb the fearfull edge of that devouring sword was taken from the necks of

1 *Simile.*

The Sea cannot be quiet when the wind bloweth outrageously.

The winde that blew in the dayes of King *Hen.* 8.

A quiet calm was under King *Edw* 6.

of the faithfull; and the tyrannie of those ravening and blood-thirsty Wolves (I mean of wily *Winchester*, and of some other his Brethren, the sonnes of *Belial*) was repressed for a time: But yet ceased not the Devill to blow his winde, by his wicked Instruments, who found the means, how against nature the one brother should assent to the death of the other; but that could not hinder the course of the travelling Boat, but forth she goeth in despight of the Devill, who then more cruelly raged, perceiving his owne honour and service; that is, his detestable *Masse*, to be disclosed and opened before the people, to be damnable Idolatrie, and assured damnation to such as put their trust in it: And therfore began he more craftily to work, and finding the same Instruments apt enough, whose labours he had used before, he blew such mortall hatred between two, which appeared to be the chief pillars under the King; for that wretched (alas) and miserable *Northumberland* could not be satisfied, till such time as simple *Somerset* most unjustly was bereft of his life; what the Devill and his Members the pestilent Papists, meant by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to speak in more places then one; and specially before you, and in *Newcastle*, as sir *Robert Bradling* did not forget a long time after; God grant that he may understand all other matters spoken before him then and at other times, as righly as he did that mine interpretation of the Vineyard, whose Hedges, Ditches, Towres and Winepresse God destroyed, because it would bring forth no good fruit: And that he may remember, that what ever was spoken by my mouth that day, is now compleate, and come to passe, except that finall destruction and vengeance is not yet fallen upon the greatest offenders, as assuredly shortly it shall, unlesse that he and some other of his sort, that then were enemies to Gods truth, will speedily repent (and that earnestly) their stubborne disobedience. God compelled my tongue (I say) openly to declare, That the Devill and his Ministers intended onely the subversion of Gods true Religion, by that mortall hatred among those which ought to have beene most assuredly knit together by Christian charity, and by benefits received; and especially that the wicked and envious Papists (by that ungodly breach of charity) diligently minded the overthrow of him, that to his own destruction, procured the death of his innocent friend: Thus (I say) I was compelled of conscience oftner then once to affirm, That such as saw and invented the means how the one should be taken away, saw and should finde the means also to take away the other; and that all that trouble was devised by the Devill and his Instruments, to stop and let Christs Disciples and their poor Boat; but that was not able, because she was not yet come to the midst of the Sea.

Transubstantiation (the Bird that the Devill hatched by Pope *Nicholas* and since that time fostered and nourished by all his Children, Priests, Friers, Monks, and other his conjured and sworn souldiers, and in these last dayes chiefly by *Stephen Gardner*, and his black brood in *England*;) *Transustantiation* (I say) was then clearly confuted and mightily overthrown; and therefore God had put wisdom in the tongues of his Ministers and Messengers to utter that vain vanitie; and specially gave such strength to that Reverend Father in God, *Thomas Cranmer*, to cut the knots of Devillish

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The first secret pestilent winde that blew in the time of good K. *Edward* 6. The Devill raged when the *Masse* mischief was disclosed.

Esa. 5.

Mark well.

This was affirmed both before the King, and also before *Northumberland*; oftner then once.

Transubstantiation overthrown by *Th. Cranmer*.

Anno villiſh Sophiſtry linked and knit by the Devils *Gardener*, and his blinde Buzzards, to hold the verity of the everliving God under bondage, that rather I think they ſhall condemn his works (which notwithſtanding ſhall continue and remain to their confuſion, then they ſhall enterprize to anſwer the ſame. And alſo God gave boldneſſe and knowledge to the Court of Parliament to take away the round clipped God, wherein ſtandeth all the holineſſe of Papiſts, and to command common Bread to be uſed at the Lords Table, and alſo to take away the moſt part of ſuperſtitions, (kneeling at the Lords Supper excepted) which before prophaned Chriſts true Religion. Then (dear Brethren) was the Boat in the midſt of the Sea, and ſuddenly ariſeth the horrible tempeſt, moſt fearfull and dolorous; *Our King is taken away from us*, and the Devill bloweth in ſuch Organs as alway he had found obedient to his Precepts, and by them he enflameth the heart of that wretched and unhappy man, (whom I judge more to be lamented, then hated) to covet the Imperiall Crown of *England* to be eſtabliſhed to his Poſterity, and what thereupon hath ſucceeded, it is not now neceſſary to be written.

The round god was taken away by Act of Parliament.

When all the Papiſticall abomi ations were revolted, then was the Boat in the midſt of the Sea.

Of this ſhort diſcourſe (Beloved in the Lord) you may conſider and perceive two ſpeciall Notes;

Two ſpeciall Notes of this diſcourſe.

The firſt Note.

1. That the whole malice of the Devill hath alwayes this end, To vexe and overthrow Chriſts afflicted Church; for what elſe intended the Devill and his ſervants (the peſtilent Papiſts) by all theſe their crafty policies, during the time that Chriſts Goſpell was preached in *England*, then the ſubverſion of the ſame Goſpell, and that they might recover power to perſecute the Saints of God, as this day in the hour of darkneſſe they have obtained for a time, to their own deſtruction. Let no man wonder though I ſay, That the crafty policies of peſtilent Papiſts wrought all the miſchiefe, for who could more eaſier and better worke greater miſchief, then ſuch as bare authority and rule. And who (I pray you) ruled the roſte in the Court all this time, by ſtout courage and proudneſſe of ſtomack, but *Northumberland*? But who (I pray you) under King *Edward*, ruled all by counſell and wit? Shall I name the man? I will writ no more plainly now then my tongue ſpake the laſt Sermon, That it pleaſed God that I ſhould make before that Innocent and moſt godly King *Edward* the ſixt, and before his Councell at *Weſtminſter*, and even to the faces of ſuch as of whom I meant. Handling this place of Scripture, *Qui edit mecum panem ſuſtulit adverſus me calcaneum ſuum*; that is, *He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel againſt me.* I made this affirmation, That commonly it was ſeen, that the moſt godly Princes had Officers and chief Councellors moſt ungodly, conjured enemies to Gods true Religion, and Traitours to their Princes, not that their wickedneſſe and ungodlineſſe was ſpeedily perceived and eſpied out of the ſaid Princes and godly men, but that for time thoſe craftie colourers could ſo cloke their malice againſt God and his truth, and their hollow hearts toward their loving Maſters, that by worldly wiſdome and policie at length they attained to high promotions. And for the proofe of this mine affirmation, I recited the Hiſtories of *Achitophel*, *Shebna*, and *Judas*; of whom the two former had high Offices and promotions with great authoritie

Who ruled all by wit under K. *Edward* 6.

John 13. Pſalm. 40.

Godly Princes commonly have moſt ungodly Counſellors. Note well.

2 Reg. 17. Eſa. 22. Matth. 26. John 12.

authority under the most godly Princes, *David* and *Hezekiah*; and *Judas* was Purse Master with Christ Jesus. And when I had made some discourse in that matter, I moved this Question; Anno

Why permitted so godly Princes so wicked men to be of their Councell, and to bear Office and Authority under them? *Quest.*

To the which I answered, That either they so abounded in worldly wisdom, foresight and experience touching the government of a Common-wealth, that their counsell appeared to be so necessary, that the Common-wealth could not lack them, and so by the colour to preserve the tranquilitie and quietnesse in Realms, they were maintained in Authority; or else they kept their malice which they bare towards their Masters and Gods true Religion, so secret in their breasts, that no man could espie it, till by Gods permission they waited for such occasion and opportunitie, that they uttered all their mischief so plainly, that all the world might perceive it: And that was most evident by *Achithophel* and *Sobna*; for of *Achithophel* it is written, That he was *Davids* most secret Councellour, and that, because his counsell in those dayes was like the Oracle of God; and *Sobna* was unto good King *Hezekiah* sometime Comptroller, sometime Secretary, and last of all Treasurer; to the which Offices he had never been promoted under so godly a Prince, if the Treason and malice which he bare against the King, and against Gods true Religion, had been manifestly known. No (quoth I) *Sobna* was a crafty Foxe, and could shew such a fair countenance to the King, that neither he nor his Councell could espie his malicious Treason. But the Prophet *Isaiah* was commanded by God to go to his presence, and to declare his traiterous heart and miserable end.

Answ. The enemies of the verity many times appear to be most profitable for a Common-Wealth.

Mischief at the length will so utter it self, that men may espie it.

Esa. 22. 36.

Esa. 22.

If *David* and *Hezekiah* were deceived by traiterous Councellors, how much more a young and innocent King.

Was *David* (said I) and *Hezekiah* Princes of great and godly gifts and experience, abused by crafty Councellors and dissembling Hypocrites? What wonder is it then, that a young and innocent King be deceived by craftie, covetous, wicked and ungodly Counsellors? I am greatly afraid that *Achitophel* is Counsellor, that *Judas* bears the Purse, and that *Sobna* is Scribe, Comptroller and Treasurer.

The Author might fear this indeed.

This and somewhat more I spake that day, not in a corner (as many yet can witnesse) but even before those whom my conscience judged worthy of accusation: And this day no more do I write (albeit I may justly, because they have declared themselves most manifestly) but yet do I affirme, That under that innocent King, pestilent Papists had greatest Authority. Oh! who was judged to be the soule and life to the Counsell in every matter of weighty importance? who but *Sobna*, who could best dispatch businesses, that the rest of the Councell might Hawk, and Hunt, and take their pleasure? None like unto *Sobna*. Who was most frank and ready to destroy *Sommerset*, and set up *Northumberland*? was it not *Shebna*? Who was most bold to crie Bastard, Bastard? Incestuous Bastard *Mary* shall never Reigne over us. And who, I pray you, was most busie to say, Fear not to Subscribe with my Lords of the Kings Majesties most Honourable Privie Councell, Agree to his Majesties last Will and perfect Testament, and let never that obstinate woman come to Authority, she is an arrant Papist, she will subvert the true Religion, and will

Paulet is painted.

The Treasurers words against the authority of *Mary*.

Caiaphas prophesied.

Anno

bring in ſtrangers to the deſtruction of this Common-wealth : Which of the Councell (I ſay) had theſe and greater perſwaſions againſt *Mary*, to whom now he coucheth and kneeleth ? *Sobna* the Treaſurer. And what intended ſuch Traytorous and diſſembling Hypocrites by all theſe and ſuch like crafty ſleights and counterfeit conveyance ? Doubtleſſe the overthrow of Chriſts true Religion, which then began to flouriſh in *England*; the liberty whereof fretted the Guttes of ſuch peſtilent Papiſts, who now hath gotten the dayes which they long looked for, but yet to their own deſtruction and ſhame, for in the ſpite of their hearts the plagues of God ſhall ſtrike them; they ſhall be comprehended in the ſnare which they prepare for others for their owne counſels ſhall make themſelves ſlaves to a proud, miſchievous, unfaithfull and vile Nation.

Judge at the end.

The ſecond Note.

Now to the ſecond Note of our Diſcourſe, which is this; Albeit the Tyrants of this earth have learned by long experience, that they are never able to prevaile againſt Gods Truth, yet becauſe they are bound ſlaves to their Maſter the Devill, they cannot ceaſe to perſecute the members of Chriſt, when the Devill blowes his winde in the darkneſſe of the night, that is, When the light of Chriſts Goſpel is taken away, and the Devil raigneth by Idolatry ſuperſtition and Tyrannie.

Tyrants cannot ceaſe to perſecute Chriſts Members.

Gen. 21.
Gen 28.

This moſt evidently may be ſeene from the beginning of this world to the time of Chriſt, and from thence till this day. *Iſmael* might have perceived, that he could not prevail againſt *Iſaac*, becauſe God had made his promiſe unto him, as no doubt *Abraham* their father teached to his whole houſhold; *Eſau* likewiſe underſtood the ſame of *Jacob*; *Pharaoh* might plainly have ſeen by many Miracles, that *Iſrael* was Gods people, whom he could not utterly deſtroy; and alſo the Scribes, and Phariſees, and Chief Prieſts were utterly convinced in their Conſcience, that Chriſts whole doctrine was of God, and that to the profit and commodity of man, his Miracles and works were wrought by the power of God, and therefore that they could never prevaile againſt him : And yet as the Devill ſtirred them, none of thoſe could refrain to perſecute him, whom they knew moſt certainly to be innocent.

Exod. 5, 6, 7, 8, &c.
John 5. & 12.

The power of Gods Word put the Papiſts to ſilence in *England*, except it had been to brag in corners

This I write that you ſhall not wonder, albeit now ye ſee the poyſoned Papiſts, wicked *Wincheſter*, and dreaming *Dureſme*, with the reſt of the Faction (who ſometimes were ſo confounded, that neither they durſt nor could ſpeak nor write in the defence of their Hereſies) now ſo to rage and triumph againſt the eternall Truth of God, as though they had never aſſayed the power of God ſpeaking by his true Meſſengers.

Princes are ready to perſecute as malicious Papiſts will command.

Wonder not hereat (I ſay) beloved Brethren, that the Tyrants of this world are ſo obedient and ready to follow the cruell counſels of ſuch diſguiſed Monſters; For neither can the one nor the other refraine, becauſe both ſorts are as ſubject to obey the Devill their Prince and Father, as the unſtable Sea is to lift up the waves when the vehement winde bloweth upon it.

Job 12.
2 Cor. 4.

It is fearfull to be heard, that the Divell hath ſuch power over any man, but yet the Word of God hath ſo inſtructed us. And therefore albeit it be contrary to our phantaſie, yet we muſt beleeve it. For the Divell is called the prince and god of this world, becauſe he raigneth, and is honoured by tyranny and idolatry in it.

He

He is called the Prince of Darknesse that hath power in the Ayr; It is said, That he worketh in the children of unbelief, because he stirreth them to trouble Gods Elect; as he invaded *Saul*, and compelled him to persecute *David*; and likewise he entred into the heart of *Judas*, and moved him to betray his Master. He is called Prince over the sons of Pride; and father of all those that are lyers, and enemies to Gods Truth: Over whom he hath no lesse power this day, then sometimes he had over *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, whom no man denieth to have been led and moved by the devil to persecute Christ Jesus, and his most true Doctrine. And therefore wonder not (I say) that now the devil rageth in his obedient servants, wily *Winchester*, dreaming *Duresme*, and bloody *Bonner*, with the rest of their bloody butcherly brood; for this is their hour and power granted unto them: they cannot cease nor asswage their furious fumes, for the devil their Sire stirreth, moveth, and carrieth them even at his will. But in this that I declare the power of the devil working in cruell tyrants, Think you that I attribute or give to him or to them power at their pleasure? No, not so, brethren, not so; for as the devil hath no power to trouble the Elements, but as God shall suffer, so hath worldly tyrants (albeit the devill hath fully possessed their hearts) no power at all to trouble the Saints of God, but as their bridle shall be loosed by Gods hands.

Anno

Ephes. 2. 1 Reg 16 18. John 13. John 8.

Wily *Winchester* Dreaming *Duresme*, Bloody *Bonner*.

This is the cause before omitted, why the winde blew to trouble Christs disciples.

And herein, dear brethren, standeth my singular comfort this day, when I hear that those bloody tyrants within the Realme of *England* doth kill, murther, destroy and devour man and woman as ravennous Lions now loosed from bonds. I lift up therefore the eyes of mine heart (as my iniquity and present dolour will suffer) and to my heavenly Father will I say:

O Lord, those cruell tyrants are loosed by thy hand, to punish our former ingratitude, whom, we trust, thou wilt not suffer to prevail for ever, but when thou hast corrected us a little, and hast declared unto the world the tyranny that lurked in their boldned brests, then wilt thou break their jaw-bones, and wilt shut them up in their caves again, that the generation and posterity following may praise thy holy Name before thy Congregation. Amen.

The prayer of the author.

When I feel any taste or motion of these promises, then think I my self most happy, and that I have received a just compensation, albeit I, and all that to me in earth belongeth, should suffer present death, knowing that God shall yet shew mercy to his afflicted Church within *England*, and that he shall represse the pride of these present tyrants, like as he hath done of those that were before our dayes.

And therefore, beloved brethren in our Saviour Jesus Christ, hold up to God your hands that are fainted through fear, and let your hearts that have in these dolorous dayes sleeped in sorrow, awake, and hear the voyce of your God, who sweareth by himself, That he will not suffer his Church to be oppressed for ever; neither that he will despise our sobs to the end, if we will row and strive against this vehement winde; I mean, if that ye will not run back headlong to Idolatry, then shall this storm be asswaged in despight of the devill; Christ Jesus shall come with speed to your deliverance, he shall pierce thorow the winde, and the

Exhortation.

Isai. 48 51. 54 62

The coming of Christ to his disciples upon the Seas, is opened.

Anno

the raging Seas ſhall obey, and bear his feet and body, as the maſſie, ſtable and dry land. Be not moved from the ſure foundation of your faith: For albeit that Chriſt Jeſus be abſent from you (as he was from his diſciples in that great ſtorme) by his bodily preſence, yet is he preſent by his mighty power and grace: He ſtandeth upon the mountain in ſecurity and reſt; that is, his fleſh and whole humanity is now in heaven, and can ſuffer no ſuch trouble as ſometimes he did: And yet he is full of pity and compaſſion, and doth conſider all our travell, anguiſh and labours; wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that he will ſuddenly appear to our great comfort. The tyranny of this world cannot keep back his coming, more then the bluſtering winde and raging Seas lett Chriſt to come to his diſciples, when they looked for nothing but preſent death. And therefore yet again I ſay, beloved in the Lord, Let your hearts attend to the promiſes that God hath made unto true repentant ſinners, and be fully perſwaded with a conſtant faith, That God is alwayes true and juſt in his performance of his promiſes. You have heard theſe dayes ſpoken of very plainly, when your hearts could fear no danger, becauſe you were nigh the land, and the ſtorm was not yet riſen; that is, Ye were young Scholars of Chriſt when no perſecution was felt or ſeen: But now ye are come into the midſt of the Sea (for what part of *England* heard not of your profeſſion?) and the vehement ſtorm whereof we then almoſt in every Exhortation ſpake of, is now ſuddenly riſen up. But what? Hath God brought you ſo far forth, that you ſhall both in ſouls and bodies every one periſh? Nay, my whole truſt in Gods mercy and truth is to the contrary. For God brought not his people into *Egypt*, and from thence thorow the Red Sea to the intent they ſhould periſh, but that he in them ſhould ſhew a moſt glorious deliverance: Neither ſent Chriſt his Apoſtles into the middeſt of the Sea, and ſuffering the ſtorm to aſſault them and their Ship, to the intent they ſhould there periſh, but becauſe he would the more have his great goodneſſe towards them felt and perceived in ſo mightily delivering them out of the fear of periſhing, giving us thereby an example that he would do the like to us, if we abide conſtant in our profeſſion and faith, with-drawing our ſelves from ſuperſtition and idolatry. We gave you warning of theſe dayes long ago: For the reverence of Chriſts Blood let theſe words be noted; *The ſame Truth that ſpake before of theſe dolorous dayes, foreſpake alſo the everlaſting joy prepared for ſuch as ſhould continue to the end.* The trouble is come; O dear brethren look for the comfort, and (after the example of the Apoſtle) abide in reſiſting this vehement ſtorm a little ſpace.

Chriſt is ſure upon the mountain.

God never brought his people into trouble to the intent that they ſhould periſh therein.

Mark theſe words.

The third Watch is not yet ended; remember that Chriſt Jeſus came not to his diſciples till it was the fourth Watch: and they were then in no leſſe danger then you be now; for their faith fainted, and their bodies were in danger. But Chriſt Jeſus came when they looked not for him; and ſo ſhall he do to you, if you will continue in the profeſſion that you have made. This dare I be bold to promiſe, in the Name of him whoſe Eternall Verity and glorious Goſpel ye have heard and received: who alſo putteth into my heart an earneſt thirſt (God knoweth I lie not) of your ſalvation, and ſome care alſo for your bodies, which now I will not expreſſe.

Chriſt came not to his diſciples till the fourth watch.

Thus

Thus shortly have I passed thorow the outragious tempest wherein the disciples of Christ were tempted, after that the great multitude were by Christ fed in the desert, omitting many profitable Notes which might well have been marked in the Text, because my purpose is at this present not to be tedious nor yet curious, but only to note such things as be agreeable to these most dolorous dayes. Anno

And so let us now speak of the end of this storm and trouble, in which I finde four things chiefly to be noted:

First, *That the disciples at the presence of Christ were more afraid then they were before.*

Secondly, *That Christ useth no other instrument but his Word to pacifie their hearts.*

Thirdly, *That* Peter *in a fervency first left his Ship, and yet after feared.*

Fourthly and lastly, *That Christ permitted neither* Peter *nor the rest of his disciples to perish in that fear, but gloriously delivered all, and pacified the Tempest.*

Their great fear, and the cause thereof, are expressed in the Text, in these words; *When the disciples saw him walking upon the Sea, they were afraid, saying, It is a Spirit; and they cryed through fear.*

It is not my purpose in this Treatise to speak of spirits, nor yet to dispute, Whether spirits good or bad may appear and trouble men: Neither yet to enquire, Why mans nature is afraid of spirits, and so vehemently abhorreth their presence and company. But my purpose is onely to speak of things necessary for this time.

The causes. why Christs disciples misknew him.

And first, let us consider that there was three causes why the disciples knew not Christ, but judged him to be a spirit.

The first cause was, *The darknesse of the night.*

The second was, *The unaccustomed vision that appeared.*

And the third was, *The danger and the tempest, in which they so earnestly laboured for the safeguard of their selves.*

The darknesse (I say) of the night letted their eyes to see him: And it was above nature, that a massie, heavy, and weighty body of a man (such as they understood their Master Christ to have) should walk, go upon, or be born up of the water of the raging Sea, and not sink. And finally, the horrour of the tempest, and great danger that they were in, perswaded them to look for none other, but certainly to be drowned.

And so all these three things concurring together, confirmed in them this imagination, *That Christ Jesus, who came to their great comfort and deliverance, was a fearfull and wicked spirit appearing to their destruction.*

What chanced to Christ, that also in all ages chanceth to his holy Word.

What here happened to Christ Jesus himself, that I might prove to have chanced, and daily to happen to the verity of his blessed Word in all ages from the beginning.

For as Christ himself in this their trouble, was judged and esteemed by his disciples at the first sight a spirit, or phantasticall body; so is the Truth and sincere Preaching of his glorious Gospel, sent by God for mans comfort, deliverance from sin, and quietnesse of conscience, when it is first offered, and truely preached, it is (I say) no lesse but judged to be heresie and deceivable doctrine, sent by the devill to mans destruction.

Anno

The cause hereof is the dark ignorance of God, which in every age since the beginning so overwhelmed the world, that sometimes Gods very Elect were in like blindenesse and errour with the reprobate: As *Abraham* was an Idolater; *Moses* was instructed in all the wayes of the *Egyptians*; *Paul* a proud Pharisee, conjured against Christ and his Doctrine: And many in this same our age, when the Truth of God was offered unto them, were sore afraid, and cryed against it, onely because the dark clouds of ignorance had troubled them before. But this matter I omit and let passe, till more opportunity.

The chief Note that I would have you well observe and mark in this preposterous fear of the disciples, is this;

The fear is greatest, when deliverance is most nigh.

The more nigh deliverance and salvation approacheth, the more strong and vehement is the temptation of the Church of God. And the more nigh that Gods vengeance approacheth to the wicked, the more proud, cruell and arrogant are they.

Whereby it commonly cometh to passe, That the very messengers of life are judged and deemed to be the authors of all mischief: And this in many histories is evident. When God had appointed to deliver the afflicted *Israelites* by the hand of *Moses* from the tyranny of the *Egyptians*, and *Moses* was sent to the presence of *Pharaoh* for the same purpose, such was their affliction and anguish by the cruelty which newly was exercised over them, that with open mouthes they cursed *Moses* (and no doubt in their hearts they hated God who sent him) alleadging, That *Moses* and *Aaron* was the whole cause of their last extreme trouble.

Exod. 5, 6, &c.

The like is to be seen in the Book of the Kings, both under *Elisha* and *Isaiah* the Prophets: For in the dayes of *Joram*, sonne of *Achab*, was *Samaria* besieged by the King of *Syria*: In which *Samaria* no doubt (albeit the King and the most multitude were wicked) there was yet some members of Gods Elect Church, which were brought to such extreme famine, that not onely things of small price were sold beyond all measure; but also women against nature were compelled to eat their own children: In this same City *Elisha* the Prophet most commonly was most conversant and dwelt, by whose counsell and commandment, no doubt, the City was kept: For it appeareth, the King, to lay that to his charge, when he, hearing of the piteous complaint of the woman (who for hunger had eaten her own son) rent his clothes, with a solemne Oath and vow, That the head of *Elisha* should not stand upon his shoulders that day. If *Elisha* had not been of counsel, That the city should have been kept, Why should the King have more fumed against him, then against others? But whether he was the author of the defending the City or not, all is one to my purpose; for before the deliverance, was the Church in such extremity, that the chief Pastor of that time was sought to be killed by such as should have defended him.

5 Reg. 7.

The like is read of *Hezekiah*, who defending his City *Jerusalem*, and resisting proud *Sennacherib*, no doubt obeying the counsell of *Isaiah*, at length was so oppressed with sorrow and shame, by the blasphemous words of *Rabshakeh*, that he had no other refuge, but in the Temple of the Lord (as a man desperate and without comfort) to open the

Isai. 36, 37.

the disdainfull letters sent unto him by that hauty and proud tyrant. Anno

By these and many Histories mo, it is most evident, that the more nigh salvation and deliverance approacheth, the more vehement is the temptation and trouble. *Note.*

This I writ to admonish you, that albeit yet you shall see tribulation so abound, that nothing shall appear but extreme misery without all hope of comfort, that yet you decline not from God. And that albeit somtimes ye be moved to hate the messengers of life, that therefore ye shall not judge that God will never shew mercy after. No, deare Brethren, as he hath dealt with others before you, so will he deal with you.

God will suffer tribulation and dolour abound, that no manner of comfort shall be seen in man, to the intent, that when deliverance commeth, the glory may be his, whose onely word may pacifie the tempest most vehement. Why God suffereth tribulation to abound and continue.

He drowned *Pharaoh* and his Army. He scattered the great multitude of *Benadad*. And by his Angel killed the hoste of *Sennacharib*. And so delivered his afflicted when nothing appeared to them but utter destruction. So shall he do to you beloved Brethren, if patiently ye will abide his consolation and counsell. God open your eyes that ye may rightly understand the meaning of my writing. Amen. Exod. 14.

But yet peradventure you wonder not a little why God permitteth such blood-thirsty tyrants to molest and grieve his chosen Church: I have recited some causes before, and yet more I could recite, but at this time I will hold me content with one.

The justice of God is such, that he will not poure forth his extreme vengeance upon the wicked, unto such time as their iniquity be so manifest, that their very flatterers cannot excuse it. *Pharaoh* was not destroyed till his own houshold servants and subjects abhorred and condemned his stubborn disobedience. *Note.* Exod. 10.

Jesabel and *Athalia* were not thrust from this life into death, till all Israel and Juda were witnesses of their cruelty and abominations. *Judas* was not hanged till the Princes of the Priests bare witnesse of his Traiterous Act and iniquitie. *Jezabel, Athalia,* and *Judas.*

To passe over the Tyrants of old time, whom God hath plagued, let us come to the Tyrants which now are within the Realm of *England*, whom God will not long spare; If *Steven Gardener, Cuthbert Tunstal*, and Butcherly *Bonnar*, false Bishops of *Winchester, Duresme*, and of *London*, had for their false Doctrine and Traiterous acts suffered death, when they justly deserved the same, then would arrant Papists have alleadged (as I and others have heard them do) that they were men reformable, That they were meet Instruments for a Common-wealth; That they were not so obstinate and malicious as they were judged, neither that they thirsted for the blood of any man: And of Lady *Mary*, who hath not heard, That she was not sober, mercifull, and one that loved the Common-wealth of *England*? Had she (I say) and such as now be of her pestilent Councell, been dead before these dayes, then should not their iniquity and cruelty so manifestly have appeared to the world; for who could have thought, that such cruelty could have entred into the heart of a woman? and into the heart *Gardner, Tunstal,* Butcherly *Boner.* The praise of *Winchester, Duresme,* and of *Lady Mary* before these dayes.

Anno

heart of her that is called a Virgine, that ſhe would thirſt for the blood of innocents, and of ſuch as (by juſt Laws and faithfull witneſſes) can never be proved to have offended by themſelves.

4. Reg. 11. Matth. 14.

I finde, that *Athalia* (through appetite to Reign) murthered the Seed of the Kings of *Judah*, and that *Herodias* daughter (at the deſire of a whoriſh Mother) obtained the head of *John* the Baptiſt; but yet that ever a woman ſuffered her ſelf to be called the moſt bleſſed Virgin, cauſed ſo much blood to be ſpilt for eſtabliſhing of the uſurped Authoritie of the *Pope*, I think the like is rare to be found in Scripture or other Hiſtory.

3. Reg. 18. 3. Reg. 18.

I finde that *Jezabel* (that curſed Idolatreſſe) cauſed the blood of the Prophets of God to be ſhed, and *Naboth* to be murthered unjuſtly for his own Vineyard; but yet I think ſhe never erected halfe ſo many Gallows in all *Iſrael*, as miſchievous *Mary* hath done within *London* alone: But you Papiſts will excuſe your *Mary* the Virgine: Well, let her be your Virgine, and a Goddeſſe meet to entertain ſuch Idolaters, yet ſhall I rightly lay to her charge, that which I think no Papiſt within *England* will juſtifie nor defend: And therefore (O ye Papiſts) here I will a little turn my Pen unto you. Anſwer unto this Queſtion, O ye Seed of the Serpent; Would any of you have confeſſed two years ago, that *Mary* (your mirrour) had been falſe, diſſembling, unconſtant, proud, and a breaker of promiſes (except ſuch promiſes as ſhe made to your god the *Pope*, to the great ſhame and diſhonour of her noble Father;) I am ſure you would hardly have thought it of her: And now doth ſhe not manifeſtly ſhew her ſelf to be an open Traitoreſſe to the Imperiall Crown of *England*, contrary to the juſt Laws of the Realme, to bring in a ſtranger, and make a proud Spanyard King, to the ſhame, diſhonour and deſtruction of the Nobilitie; to the ſpoile of their Honours, Lands, Poſſeſſions, chief Offices and promotions of them and theirs; To the utter decay of the Treaſures, Commodities, Navie and Fortifications of the Realm, to the abaſing of the Yeomandry, to the ſlavery of the Commonalty, to the overthrow of Chriſtianity and Gods true Religion, and finally to the utter ſubverſion of the whole publike eſtate and Common-wealth of *England*? Let *Norfolk* and *Suffolke*, let her own Promiſe and Proclamation, let her fathers Teſtament, let the Citie of *London*, let the ancient Laws and Acts of Parliaments before eſtabliſhed in *England*, be judges betwixt mine accuſation and her moſt tyrannous iniquity.

A digreſſion to the Papiſts of Qu. *Maries* chaſte dealing.

A lively Picture of *Mary* the utter miſchief of *England*

What commodities the Spaniſh King ſhall bring to the Realm of *England*.

Firſt, her Promiſe and Proclamation did ſignifie and declare, That neither ſhe would bring in, neither yet Marry any ſtranger; *Northfolk*, *Suffolk* and the Citie of *London* do teſtifie and witneſſe the ſame. The ancient Laws and Acts of Parliament pronounceth it Treaſon to transferre the Crown of *England* into the hands of a forraigne Nation; and the Oath made to obſerve the ſaid Statutes, cryeth out, That all they are perjured that conſent to that her traiterous fact.

Speak now (O ye Papiſts) and defend your monſtrous Maſters, and deny, if ye can for ſhame, that ſhe hath not uttered her ſelf to be borne (alas therefore) to the ruine and deſtruction of noble *England*? Oh who would ever have beleeved (I write now in bitterneſſe of heart) that ſuch unnaturall crueltie ſhould have had dominion over any reaſonable creature? But the

the saying to be true, That the usurped Government of an affectionate woman is a rage without reason. Anno

Who would ever have thought, that the love of that Realme, which hath brought forth, which hath nourished and so nobly maintained that wicked woman, should not have moved her heart with pitie? Who seeth not now, that she in all her doings declareth most manifestly, that under an *English* name she beareth a *Spaniards* heart? If God (I say) had not for our scourge, suffered her and her cruell Councell to have come to Authority, then could never these their abominations, cruelty and treason against God, against his Saints, and against the Realm, whose liberties they are sworn to defend, so manifestly have been declared: And who ever could have beleeved, That proud *Gardener*, and treacherous *Tunstall* (whom all Papists praised, for the love they bare to their Countrey) could have become so manifestly Traiterous, not onely against their solemne Oathes, that they should never consent nor agree unto, that a forraigne Stranger should reigne over *England*; but also that they would adjudge the Imperiall Crown of the same to appertain to a Spanyard by inheritance Lineall discent? O Traiterous Traitours, how can you for shame shew your faces.

A true saying.

Under an English name, she beareth a Spanyards heart.

It cometh to my minde, that upon *Christmas* day, *Anno* 1552. preaching in *New-Castle upon Tine*, and speaking against the obstinacie of the Papists, I made this affirmation, That whosoever in his heart was enemy to *Christ*s Gospel and Doctrine, which then was preached within the Realm of *England*, was enemy also to God, and secret traitours to the Crown and Common-wealth of *England*; for as they thirsted nothing more then the Kings death, which their iniquity could procure; so they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their Idolatry might be erected again. How these my words at that time pleased men, the crimes and action intended against me did declare. But let my very enemies now say their conscience, if those may words have not proved true?

What is the cause that *Winchester* and the rest of his pestilent sect, so greedily would have a Spanyard to reign over *England*? The cause is manifest; for as that Hellish Nation surmounteth all other in pride and Whoredome, so for Idolatry and vaine Papisticall and devillish Ceremonies, they may rightly be called the very sons of superstition; And therefore are they found and judged by the Progeny of Antichrist, most apt Instruments to maintain, establish and defend the Kingdom of that cruell Beast, whose head and wound is lately cured within *England*, which (alas for pitie) must now be brought into bondage and thraldome, that pestilent Papists may reigne without punishment.

Spanyards sons of pride and superstition.

Why *Winchester* would have Spanyards to reigne over *England*.

But, O thou Beast! (I speak to thee *Winchester*, more cruell then any Tygre) Shall neither shame, nor fear, nor benefits received, bridle thy Tyrannous cruelty? Art thou not ashamed (thou bloody Beast) to betray thy native Countrey, and the liberties of the same? Feareſt thou not to open such a door to all iniquitie, that whole *England* should be made a common Stewes to Spanyards? Wilt thou recompence the benefits which thou hast received of that Noble Realm with that ingratitude? Remembrest thou not that *England* hath brought thee forth? that *England*

To *Winchester*.

Anno

nourished thee? that *England* hath promoted thee to riches, honour and high dignitie? And wilt thou now (O wretched Captive) for all these manifold benefits received, be the cause that *England* shall not be *England?* Yea verily; for so wilt thou gratifie thy Father the Devill, and his Lieutenant the Pope, whom with all his baggage, thou laboureſt now (with tooth and naile) to make florish again in *England*; albeit like a dissembling Hypocrite, and double faced wretch, thou being thereto compelled by the invincible verity of Gods Holy Word, wroteſt (long a go) thy book intituled *True Obedience*; against that Monstrous Whore of *Babylon*, and her falsly usurped power and authority: but now (to thy pepetuall shame) thou returneſt to thy Vomit, and art become an open Arch-Papist again. Furthermore, why seekedst thou the blood of *Thomas Cranmer*, of good father *Hugh Latimer*, and of that most learned and discreet man Doctor *Ridley?* Doest thou not consider, that the lenitie, sincere Doctrine, pure life, godly conversation, and discreet counsell of these three is notably known in more Realms then *England?* Art thou not ashamed to seek the destruction of those, who laboured for the safeguard of thy life, and obtained the same when thou justly deservedst death? But, O thou sonne of *Belial*, well declareſt thou, that nothing can mollifie the cruell malice, nor purge the deadly venome of him, in whose heart wickednesse beareth the dominion; thou are like to *Cain*, and fellow to *Judas* the Traitour, and therefore canst thou do nothing but thirst for the blood of *Abel*, and betray Christ Jesus and his eternall verity?

The Book of true obedience both in Latine and in English, shall remain to thy perpetuall shame and condemnation of thy cankered Conscience.

Thus (dear brethren) must the sons of the Devill declare their own impietie and ungodlinesse, that when Gods vengeance (which shall not sleep) shall be poured forth upon them, all Tongues shall confesse, acknowledge and say, That God is righteous in all his judgements: And to this end are cruell Tyrants permitted and suffered for a space and time, not onely to live in wealth and prosperity, but also to prevaile and obtain victory as touching the flesh, over the very Saints of God, and over such as enterpriseth to resist their fury at Gods commandment. But now to the subsequent, and that which followeth.

The wicked must declare their selves.

Apocalip. 13.

The Instrument and means wherewith Christ Jesus used to remove and put away the horrible fear and anguish of his Disciples, is his onely word; for so it is written, *But by and by Jesus spake unto them, saying, Be of good comfort, it is I, be not afraid.* The naturall man (that cannot understand the power of God) would have desired some other present comfort in so great a danger; as, Either to have had the heavens to have opened, and to have shewed unto them such light in that darknesse, that Christ might have been fully known by his own face; or else, That the Winds and raging Waves of the Seas suddenly should have ceased: or some other Miracle that had been subject to all their sences, whereby they might have perfectly known that they were delivered from all danger. And truely, equall it had been to Christ Jesus to have done any of these (or any work greater) as to have said, *It is I, be not afraid:* But willing to teach us the dignitie and effectuall power of his most Holy Word, he useth no other Instrument to pacifie the great and horrible fear of his Disciples, but the same his comfortable Word, and lively Voice; and this is not done

onely

onely at one time, but whensoever his Church is in such straight perplexity, that nothing appeareth but extreme calamity, desolation and ruine; then the first comfort that ever it receiveth, is by the meanes of his Word and Promise: As in the troubles and temptations of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Moses*, *David* and *Paul* may appear. Anno Note.

To *Abraham* was given no other defence, after that he had discomfited four Kings (whose posterity and linage, no doubt, he, being a stranger, greatly feared) but onely this promise of God made to him by his holy Word; *Feare not, Abraham, I am thy Buckler*; that is, Thy protection and defence. *Abraham.* Gen. 15.

The same we finde of *Isaac*, who flying from the place of his accustomed habitation, compelled thereto by hunger, gat no other comfort nor conduct, but this promise onely, *I will be with thee*. *Isaac.* Gen. 16.

In all the journeyes and temptations of *Jacob*, the same is to be espied; As when he fled from his fathers house, for fear of his brother *Esau*, when he returned from *Laban*; And when he feared the inhabitants of the Region of the *Canaanites* and *Perezites*, for the slaughter of the *Sichemites* committed by his sons; he receiveth none other defence, but onely Gods Word and Promise. *Jacob.* Gen. 28. 31. 32. 35.

And this in *Moses*, and in the afflicted Church under him, is most evident: For when *Moses* himself was in such despair, that he was bold to chide with God, saying, *Why hast thou sent me? for since that time I have come to* Pharaoh, *to speak in thy Name, he hath oppressed this people: Neither yet hast thou delivered thy people.* *Moses.* Exod. 5.

This same expostulation of *Moses*, declareth how sore he was tempted; yea, and what opinion he had conceived of God, that is, That God was either impotent, and could not deliver his people from such a tyrants hands; or else, That he was mutable, and unjust of his promises. And this same, and sorer temptations, assaulted the people; For in anguish of heart, they both refused God and *Moses* (as we before have partly touched.) And what meanes used God to comfort them in that great extremity? Did he straightway suddenly kill *Pharaoh*, the great Tyrant? No. Did he send them a legion of Angels to defend and deliver them? No such thing: But he onely reciteth and beateth into their ears his former promises to them, which oftentimes they had before; And yet the rehearsall of the same wrought so mightily in the heart of *Moses*, that not onely was bitternesse and despair removed away, but also he was enflamed with such boldnesse, that without fear he went again to the presence of the King, after he had been threatned and repulsed by him.

This I write, beloved in the Lord, that ye knowing the Word of God not onely to be that, whereby were created heaven and earth, but also to be the power of God to salvation, to all that believe; the bright lantern to the feet of those that by nature walk in darknesse; the life to those that by sinne are dead; a comfort to such as be in tribulation; the tower of defence to such as be most feeble; the wisedom and great felicity of such as delighteth in the same; and to be short, You know Gods Word to be of such efficacy and strength, that thereby is sin Rom. 1. Psal. 119. The power and effectuall operation of Gods Word.

Anno purged, death vanquiſhed, tyrants ſuppreſſed, and finally, the devill the author of all miſchief, overthrown and confounded. This (I ſay) I write, that ye, knowing this of the holy Word, and moſt bleſſed Goſpel and voyce of God (which once you have heard, I truſt, to your comfort) may now in this hour of darkneſſe, and moſt raging tempeſt, thirſt and pray, That ye may hear yet once again this amiable voyce of your Saviour Chriſt, *Be of good comfort, it is I, fear not.* And alſo that ye may receive ſome conſolation by that bleſſed Goſpel which before you have profeſſed, aſſuredly knowing, That God ſhall be no leſſe merciſull unto you, then he hath been to other afflicted for his Names ſake before you. And albeit that God ſpeedily removeth not this horrible darkneſſe, neither ſuddenly pacifieth this tempeſt, yet ſhall he not ſuffer his roſſed Ship to be drowned.

Ecod. 4 Reg. 9. Remember, brethren, That Gods vengeance plagued not *Pharaoh* the firſt yeer of his tyranny; Neither did the dogges devour and conſume both the fleſh and bones of wicked *Jezabel*, when ſhe firſt erected and ſet up her Idolatry: And yet, as none of them eſcaped due puniſhment, ſo did God preſerve his afflicted Church, in deſpight of Sathan, and of his blinde and moſt wretched ſervants; as he ſhall not fail to do in this great tempeſt and darkneſſe within the Realme of *England*. And therefore yet again, beloved in the Lord, let the comfort of Gods promiſes ſomewhat quicken your dulled ſpirits; exerciſe your ſelves now ſecretly, in revolving that which ſometimes you have heard openly proclaimed in your ears; and be every man now a faithfull Preacher unto his brother: If your communication be of Chriſt, aſſuredly he will come before you be aware: His Word is like unto ſweet ſmelling Oyntment, or fragrant flowers, which never can be moved nor handled, but forth goeth the odour, to the comfort of thoſe that ſtand by; which is nothing ſo delectable, if the Oyntment remain within the Box, and the flowers ſtand or lie without touching or motion.

Luke 24.

Simile.

Mark well, dear brethren, before that Chriſt ſpake, his diſciples judged him to have been ſome wicked ſpirit, which was to them no delectable ſavour; But when he ſpeaketh, the ſweet ſound of his voyce pierceth their hearts; For what comfort was in the hearts of the diſciples, when they heard theſe words, *Be of good comfort, it is I?* that is, Judge not that I am a ſpirit come to your deſtruction; no, even I am come for your deliverance: It is I, your Maſter; yea, your Maſter moſt familiar: It is I, whoſe Voyce and Doctrine you know, for ye are my ſheep: It is I, whoſe works you have ſeen, although perfectly ye conſidered not the ſame: It is I, who commanded you to enter into this journey, and therefore am I come to you now in the hour of your trouble; and therefore, *be not afraid*, this ſtorm ſhall ceaſe, and you ſhall be delivered.

Math. & John, *ſupra.*

What comfort, I ſay, dear brethren, was in the hearts of the diſciples, hearing Chriſts voyce, and knowing him by the ſame, can neither the tongue or pen of man expreſſe, but onely ſuch, as after long conflict and ſtrife (which is betwixt the Fleſh and the Spirit, in the time of extreme troubles, when Chriſt appeareth to be abſent) feeleth at laſt the conſolation of the holy Ghoſt, witneſſe and declare.

And

And *Peter* giveth some externall signe, what Christs words wrought inwardly in his heart: For immediately after he heard his Masters voice, he saith, *Lord, if it be thou, command me to come unto thee upon the waters.* Here it may be seen what Christs voyce had wrought in *Peters* heart; truely not onely a forgetting and contempt of the great tempest, but also such boldnesse and love, that he could fear no danger following, but assuredly did believe, That his Master Christs puissance, power, and might was such, that nothing might resist his Word and Commandment, and therefore he saith, *Command me to come*: As though he should say, I desire no more but the assurance of thy Commandment: If thou wilt command, I am determined to obey; For assuredly I know, That the waters cannot prevail against me, if thou speake the word: So that whatsoever is possible unto thee, by thy Will and Word may be possible unto me.

Anno

Note that *Peter* considered not his own weakness.

Thus Christ, to instruct *Peter* further, and us by his example, condescended to his Petition, and commanded him to come; and *Peter* quickly leaving the Ship, came down from it, and walked upon the waters, to come to Christ. Thus far of *Peters* fact, in which lieth great abundance of Doctrine; but I will passe over all that especially appertaineth not to the quality of this time within the Realm of *England.*

Before it is said (welbeloved Brethren) That sometimes the messengers of life are judged to be the very messengers of death; and that not onely with the reprobate, but also with Gods elect; as was *Moses* with the Israelites; *Jeremiah* with the City of *Jerusalem*, and Christ himself with his Apostles: But that is not a sin permanent, and that abideth for ever with Gods elect, but it vanisheth away in such sort, that not onely they know the voyce of their Pastor, but also they earnestly study to obey and follow it, with the danger of their own lives: For this is the speciall difference betwixt the children of God, and the reprobate:

The sheep at length know the voyce of their own Pastor.

The one obeyeth God speaking by his Messengers, whom they embrace with unfained love: and that they do, sometimes not onely against all worldly appearance, but also against Civill Statutes and Ordinances of men: And therefore in their greatest extremity receive they comfort beyond expectation. *The Elect.*

The other alwayes resisteth Gods Messengers, and hateth his Word: And therefore in their great adversity God either taketh from them the presence of his Word, or else they fall into so deadly despair, that although Gods Messengers be sent unto them, yet neither can they receive comfort by Gods promises, neither follow the counsell of Gods true Messengers, be it never so perfect and fruitfull. Hereof have we many evident Testimonies within the Scriptures of God. *The Reprobate.*

Of *Saul* it is plain, That God so left him, that neither would he give him answer by Prophet, Dream, nor Vision. 1. Reg. 28. *Saul.*

To *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, in his great anguish and fear which he had conceived by the multitude of those that were conjured against him, was sent *Isaiah* the Prophet, to assure him by Gods promise, That his enemies should not prevail against him: and to confirm him in the same, the Prophet required him to desire a signe of God, either from the 2. Reg. 18. *Ahaz.* Isai. 7.

Anno

heaven, or beneath in the deep: But such was the deadly despair of him, that alwayes had despised Gods Prophets, and had most abominably defiled himself with Idolatry, that no consolation could enter into his heart, but desperately, and with a dissembling and fained excuse, he refused all the offers of God.

God sometime sheweth mercy to an hypocrit, for the cause of his Church

And albeit God kept touch with that hypocrite for that time (which was not done for his cause, but for the safety of his afflicted Church) yet after escaped he not the vengeance of God.

Jerem 37,38.

The like we reade of *Zedekiah* the wretched and last King of *Judah*, before the destruction of the City of *Jerusalem*, who in his great fear, and extreme anguish, sent for *Jeremiah* the Prophet, and secretly demanded of him, How he might escape the great danger that appeared, when the Caldeans besieged the City. And the Prophet boldly spake and commanded the King, if he would save his life and the City, to render and give up himself into the hands of the King of *Babylon*. But the miserable King had no grace to follow the Prophets counsell, because he never delighted in the said Prophets Doctrine, neither yet had shewed unto him any friendly favour; But even as the enemies of God, the chiefe Priests and false Prophets required of the King, so was the good Prophet evilly used; sometimes cast into prison, and sometimes judged and condemned to die. The most evident testimony of the wilfull blinding of wicked Idolaters, is written and recited in the same Prophet *Jeremiah*, as followeth.

Jerem. 42.

After that the City of *Jerusalem* was burnt and destroyed, the King led away prisoner, his sons and chief Nobles slain, and the whole vengeance of God poured out upon the disobedient; yet there was left a remnant in the Land, to make use of and possesse the same, who called upon the Prophet *Jeremiah*, to know concerning them the will and pleasure of God, Whether they should remain still in the Land of *Judea*, as was appointed and permitted by the *Caldeans*, Or if they should depart and flie into *Egypt*: To certifie them of this their duty, they desire the Prophet to pray unto God for them: Who condescending and granting their Petition, promised to keep back nothing from them, which the Lord God should open unto him. And they in like manner taking God to record and witnesse, made a solemn Vow, To obey whatsoever the Lord should answer unto him. But when the Prophet, by the inspiration of the Spirit of God, and assured revelation and knowledge of his Will, commanded them to remain still in the Land that they were in, promising them, if they so would do, That God would there plant them; and that he would repent of all the plagues that he had brought upon them; and that he would be with them, to deliver them from the hands of the King of *Babylon*. But contrariwise, if they would not obey the voyce of the Lord, but would against his Commandment go to *Egypt*, thinking that there they should live in rest and abundance, without any fear of Warre, and penury of victuall, then the very plagues which they feared, should come upon them, and take them: For (saith the Prophet) it shall come to passe, That all men that obstinately will go to *Egypt*, there to remain, shall die, either by sword,

ide the ct, Jer 42.

by

by hunger or pestilence: But when the Prophet of God had declared unto them this plain sentence and will of God, I pray you, what was their answer? The text declared it, saying, *Thou speakest a lie, neither hath the Lord our God sent thee unto us, commanding that we should not go into Egypt, but* Baruch *the sonne of* Neriah *provoketh thee against us, that he may give us into the power of the Caldees, that they might kill us, and lead us prisoners into Babylon:* And thus they refused the counsell of God, and followed their owne fantasies. Anno Jerem. 43.

Here may be espied in this people great obstinacie and blindnesse; for nothing which the Lord had before spoken by this Prophet *Jeremy*, had fallen in vain; Their own eyes had seen the plagues and miseries which hee had threatned, take effect in every point, as he had spoken before; yea, they were yet green and fresh both in minde and presence (for the flame and fire wherewith *Jerusalem* was consumed and burnt, was then scantly quenched) and yet could they not beleeve his threatnings then spoken, neither yet could they follow his fruitfull counsell, given for their great wealth and safeguard. And why so? Because they never delighted in Gods Truth, neither had they repented their former Idolatry, but still continued and rejoyced in the same, as manifestly appeareth in the four and fortieth Chapter of the same Prophet; and therefore would they and their wives have been in *Egypt*, where all kinde of Idolatry and Superstition abounded, that they (without reproach or rebuke) might have their Bellyes full thereof in despight of Gods holy Lawes and Prophets. In writing hereof it came to my minde, that after the death of that innocent and most godly King *Edward* the sixt, while that great tumult was in *England*, for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked womans Authority (I mean of *Mary* that now reigneth in Gods wrath) entreating the same argument in a Town in *Buckingam* Shire, named *Hammersham*, before a great congregation, with sorrowfull heart and weeping eyes, I fell into this exclamation;

Great blindnes

Jer. 44.

As Papists would have League with the Emperor.

What was said in *Hammersham* when uproar was for establishing of *Mary* in authority.

O *England*, now is Gods wrath kindled against thee, now hath he begun to punish, as he hath threatned a long while, by his true Prophets and Messengers; he hath taken from thee the Crown of thy glory, and hath left thee without honour, as a body without a head: And this appeareth to be onely the beginning of sorrows, which appeareth to increase; for I perceive that the heart, the tongue and hand of one *English* man is bent against another, and devision to be in the whole Realm, which is an assured signe of desolation to come. O *England, England*, doest thou not consider, that the Common-wealth is like a Ship sailing on the Sea, if thy Marriners and Governours shall one consume another, shalt thou not suffer shipwrack in short processe of time? O *England, England*, (alasse) these plagues are powred upon thee, for that thou wouldest not know the most happy time of thy gentle Visitation: But wilt thou yet obey the voyce of thy God, and submit thy self to his holy words? Truly, if thou wilt thou shalt finde mercie in his sight, and the estate of thy Common-wealth shall be preserved.

A Common-wealth compared to a Ship sayling on the Sea.

But, O *England, England*, if thou obstinately wilt return into *Egypt*, that is, If thou contract Mariage, Confederacie, or League with such Princes,

as

Anno

as do maintain and advance Idolatry (such as the *Emperour*, who is no lesse enemy unto Christ then ever was *Nero*;) if for the pleasure and friendship (I say) of such Princes thou returnest to thine old abominations, before used under the Papistrie, then assuredly (O *England*) thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation by the means of those whose favours thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, and to serve Antichrist.

This and much more in the dolour of my heart, that day, in the audience of such as yet may bear record, (through Gods permission) I then pronounced: The thing that I then most feared, and which also my Tongue spake (that is, The subversion of the true Religion, and bringing in of Strangers to reign over that Realm) this day I see come to passe in mens councels and determinations; which if they proceed and take effect, as by men it is concluded, then so assuredly as my God liveth, and as those Israelites that obstinately returned into *Egypt* againe, were plagued to the death; so shall *England* taste what the Lord hath threatned by his Prophets before. God grant us true and unfained repentance of our former offences. God for his great mercies sake stirre up some *Phinies*, *Elias*, or *Jehu*, that the blood of abominable Idolaters may pacifie Gods wrath, that it consume not the whole multitude. *Amen.*

The end shall declare.

But to returne to our matter; of the premisses it is plain, That such as contemne Gods eternall verity and grace, can neither in their troubles receive comfort by Gods Messengers, neither yet can they follow the counsell of God, be it never so profitable, but God giveth them over, and suffereth them to wander in their owne vanities, to their owne perdition; whereas contrarywise, such as beareth a reverence to Gods most Holy Word, are drawn by the power and vertue of the same (as before is said) to beleeve, follow and obey that which God commandeth, be it never so hard, so unapparent or contrary to their affections: And therefore as God alwayes keepeth appointment with them, so are they wonderously preserved, when Gods vengeances are powred forth upon the disobedient. And this is most evident in *Abraham*, at Gods commandment, leaving his Countrey, and going forth he knew not whither; which was a thing not so easie to be done, as it is to be spoken or read. It appeareth also in *Abraham*, beleeving Gods promises, against all appearance, and also in offering his son *Isaac*, against all fatherly love and naturall affection. The same is said, in *Moses*, *Samuel*, *Hezekiah*, *Michaiah*, and other of the Prophets, which at the commandment of Gods Word, boldly passed to the presence of Tyrants, and there to them did their message, as charge was given unto them.

Enemies to the Truth receive no comfort of Gods Messengers.

The godly and chosen of God.

Gen.12.

Gen.15.
Gen.22.

Exod.5.7.10.
1 Reg.15.
3 Reg 21.

Object.
Answer.

But lest that some should alledge, that these examples appertaineth nothing to a multitude, because they were done in singular men, I answer, We will consider what the power of Gods Word hath wrought in many at one instance. After that the Israelites had made the golden Calfe, and so fallen to Idolatry; *Moses* coming down from the mountain, and beholding their abominations (the honour that they gave to an Idol) and the people spoiled of their ear-rings and jewels, to their great rebuke and shame, was enflamed with such zeal, indignation and wrath, that first, he

Exod.32.
Gods Word sometimes moveth great multitudes.

he brake the Tables of the Commandments; then he beat their Calfe to powder, and gave it to them to drink, to cause them to understand, That their filthy guts should receive that which they worshipped for God: And finally, he commanded that every man that was of God should approach and come nigh unto him: And the sons of *Levi* (saith the Text) came to him; to whom he said, *Thus saith the Lord God of Israel; Let every man put his sword upon his thigh, and go in and out from Port to Port in the Tents; and let every man kill his brother, his neighbour, and every man his nigh kinsman: And the sons of* Levi *did according to the word of* Moses: *And there fell the same day of the people nigh three thousand.* It is evident by this history, That the power of Gods Word, pronounced by the mouth of a man, prevailed at one time in a great number against nature, and compelled them to be executers of Gods vengeance, regarding nothing the affinity nor nighnesse of blood: And also that their doing so well pleased *Moses* the Ambassadour of God, that he said unto them, *Consecrate your hands this day every man in his own son, and in his own brother, that a fortunate benediction may be given to you this day.* As though he should say; Your father *Levi* prophaned and defiled his hands, killing the *Sichemites* in his blinde rage, which moved his father *Jacob* in his last Testament, to condemne, execrate and curse that his most vehement and ungodly zeale: But because in this work you have preferred Gods Commandment before blood, nature and also affection, in place of that rebuke and curse, you have obtained blessing and praise.

Anno

Why *Moses* caused the Israelites do drink the powder of the golden calf. Exod. 32.

A sharp sentence against Idolaters.

Gen. 34.

Gen. 49.

The like puissance and vertue of Gods Word working in a multitude, is to be read in the Prophet *Jeremiah*; who perceiving the time of Gods vengeance to draw nigh, and the City of *Jerusalem* to be besieged, boldly cryeth out in his open Sermon, saying, *He that remaineth in this Citie shall die, either by sword, by hunger, or by pestilence. But he that shall go forth to the Caldeans, shall live, and shall finde his soul for a prey.* This might have appeared a deceivable, seditious and ungodly Sermon, to command subjects to depart from the obedience and defence of their native Prince, rich Citizens and valiant souldiers from their possessions and strong Holds, and to will them to render themselves, without all manner of resistance, into the hands of strangers, being their enemies. What carnall man would not have judged the perswasions of the Prophet most foolish and false? And yet in the hearts of such as God had elected and appointed to life, so effectually wrought this Sermon, that a great number of *Jerusalem* left their King, their City, riches and friends, and obeyed the Prophets counsell: for so may be espied by the answer of *Zedechias* the King, when *Jeremiah* counselled him, That he should render himself into the hands of *Nebuchadonoser*, he saith, *I fear these Jews, that are fled to the Caldeans, lest perchance they give me into their hands.*

Jerem. 21. 38.

Jerem. 21. Jerem. 38.

Jerem. 38.

Hereof it is plain, That many were departed from him, whom he feared more then he did his enemies.

Many more testimonies might be brought, to declare how mightily Gods Word, spoken by man, hath wrought in the hearts of great multitudes: As in the hearts of the *Ninevites*, who at *Jonahs* Preaching condemned their former Religion, conversation and life: And in the hearts

Jon. 3.

Anno

Act. 2.

of those three thousand who at *Peters* first Sermon openly made after Christs Ascension, acknowledged their offences, repented, and were soon after baptized. But these premises are sufficient to prove, as well that Gods Word draweth his Elect after it, against worldly appearance, against naturall affections, and against evil Statutes and Constitutions; as also, That such as obey Gods speaking by his Ministers, never lacketh just reward, and recompence: For onely such as obeyed the voyce of the Prophet, found favour and grace, to the praise and glory of Gods Name, when his just judgements took vengeance upon the disobedient. But now briefly by Notes we will touch the rest of *Peters* act, and Christs mercifull deliverance of him; which is the end of all troubles sustained by Gods Elect.

Jerem. 32.

And first, That *Peter* seeing a mighty winde, was afraid, and so, when he began to sink, he cryed, *Lord save me*, are three things principally to be noted:

The first, *From whence cometh the fear of Gods Elect.*

The second, *What is the cause that they faint and fall in adversity.*

The third, *What resteth with them in the time of this fear and downsinking.*

And first, it is plain, That so long as *Peter* had his eyes fixed upon Christ, and attended upon no other thing but the voyce of Christ, he was bold and without fear: But when he saw a mighty winde (not that the winde was visible, but the vehement storm and waves of the Sea that were stirred up and carried by the winde were seen) then began he to fear, and to reason (no doubt) in his heart, that better it had been for him to have remained in his Ship; for so might Christ have come to him: But now the storm and rage of winde was so vehement, that he could never come to Christ, and so he greatly feared. Whereof it is plain, That the onely cause of our fear that have left our Ship, and thorow the storms of the Sea would go to Christ with *Peter*, is, That we more consider the dangers and letts that are in our journey, then we do the Almighty power of him that hath commanded us to come to himself. And this is a sinne common to all the elect and chosen children of God, That whensoever they see a vehement trouble appearing to lett them, and drive them back from the obedience of God, then begin they to fear and to doubt of Gods power and good will.

The cause of fear.

Gen. 12. Exod 34. Isa. 36, 37.

With this fear was *Abraham* stricken, when he denied his wife. This storme saw *Moses*, when he refused to be Gods Messenger. And *Hezekiahs* sore complaint declareth, That more he believed, considered, and looked upon the proud voyces, and great power of *Sennacherib*, then he did the promises of the Prophet.

This I note for this purpose, That albeit this late and most raging storm within the Realme of *England* have taken from you the presence of Christ for a time, so that you have doubted whether it was Christ which you saw before, or not, And albeit that the vehemency of this contrary winde that would drive you from Christ have so employed your ears, that almost you have forgotten what he was who commanded you to come to himself, when that he cryed, *Come unto me all ye that labour*

Math. 11.

and

and are burthened, and I shall refresh you. Passe from Babylon, O my people, &c. Albeit (I say) that this raging tempest have stricken such fear in your heart, that almost all is forgotten; yet (dear brethren) despair not, such offences have chanced to Gods Elect before you. If obstinately ye shall not continue, yet shall you finde mercy and grace. It had been your duty indeed, and agrecable to your profession, to have looked to Christ alone, and to have contemned all impediments; but such perfection is not alway with man, but happy is he that feeleth himself to sink.

Anno Apoc. 18. *Note.*

The cause that Godt elect begin to faint and to sink down in the time of great adversitie, is fear and unbelief, as in *Peter* doth appear; for so long as he neither feared danger, neither mistrusted Christs word, so long as the waves (above, and contary to their nature) did obey and serve his feet, as they had been the drie, solid and sure ground: But so soon as he began to despair and fear, so soon began he to sink: To instruct us, That lively faith maketh man bold, and is able to carry us thorow such perils, as be uncapable to nature; But when faith beginneth to faint, then beginneth man to sink down in every danger; as in the Histories before rehearsed, it may appear, and in the Prophets it is plain; for *Elias* at Gods Commandment passing to the presence of King *Ahab*, in the fervency of his faith, obtained the fire to come from heaven, and to consume his Sacrifice: by which also he was made so bold, that in the presence of the King he feared nothing to kill his false Prophets. But the same *Elias* hearing of the managing and threatnings of cursed *Jezabel*, and considering that the wrath of a wicked woman could by no reasonable means be appeased, he saw a storme, and feared the same, and so he prepared to flie; which he doth not without some sinking down, for he began to reason and dispute with God, which never can be done by the Creature, without foolishnesse and offence. The same we finde in *Jeremy*, and many more.

2. Lively faith maketh a man bold. 3. Reg 18. 3. Reg 19. The creature can never dispute with God without sin.

But the Question may be asked, *Seeing Christ knew before what should happen to* Peter, *why did he not hinder him from coming from his Boat? or else, Why did he not so confirm him in faith, that he should not have doubted?*

Quest.

To the which may be answered; Albeit that we could render no reason of this work of Christ, yet were the work it self a sufficient reason; and it were enough to answer, That so it pleased him, who is not bound to render a reason of all his works: But yet if we shall marke with deligence to what Office *Peter* was to be called, and what offences long rested with him, we shall finde most just and necessary causes of this work of Christ, and down sinking of *Peter*. It is plain that *Peter* had many notable vertues, as a zeal and fervency towards Christs glory, and a readinesse and forwardnesse to obey his commandments; but it is like plain, That of long continuance there rested with *Peter* a desire of honor and worldly rest (and that moved him to perswade Christ that he should not die.) There rested with him pride, presumption, and a trust in himself; which presumption and vain trust in his own strength, unlesse it had been corrected, he had never been fit to have fed Christs flock: And such sinnes can never be fully corrected or reformed, till they be felt, known, and confessed. Doubtlesse so arrogant is our nature, that neither will it know nor confesse the

Answ. Gods works by them self are a sufficient reason. *Peters* vertues. The vice that long rested with *Peter*. Matth. 16. *Note.*

Anno March. 26.

infirmitie of it self, untill such time as it hath a triall by manifest experience; This is most plain by *Peter*, long after this tempest; for when Christ said to his Disciples, *This night shall ye all be slandered in me*, *Peter* boldly bragged and said, *Albeit that all should be slandered, and should flie from thee, yet shall not I be slandered, but I am ready to go to prison, and to die with thee*. This was a bold presumption, and an arrogant promise spoken in contempt of all his Brethren, from which he could not be reduced by Christs admonition, but the more that Christ shewed him, that he should deny him, the more bold was he to affirm the contrary; as though his Master Christ (the Author of all Trueth, yea rather trueth it self) should make a loud lie; and therefore of necessitie it was, that he should prove in experience what was the frailtie of mans nature, and what was the imbecillity and weaknesse of faith, even in those, that were his chief Apostles, which had continually heard his heavenly Doctrine, seen daily his wonderfull Miracles, which had heard themselves so many admonitions of him, which also had followed and obeyed him in many things. That imbecillitie and weaknesse of faith, if *Peter* had not proved and felt it in himself, neither could he rightly have praised Gods infinite goodnesse, and imbraced his free mercy; neither had he been apt and meet to have been a a Pastor to the weak sheep and tender lambs of Christ, but he should have been as proud a contemner and dispiser of his weak brethren, as the arrogant Papists, that contemn and dispise all godly and great learned men, though they be a thousand parts more excellent then they. But to correct and informe both presumptuous arrogancy and fraile imbecilitie and weaknesse of faith, *Peter* was permitted once to sink, and thrice most shamefully to refuse and deny his Master, to the intent that by the knowledge of his own weaknesse, he might be the more able to instruct others of the same; and also that he might more largely magnifie Gods free grace and mighty deliverance: And that Christ taught him before his falling; saying, *When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:* As though Christ should have said, *Peter*, yet art thou too proud to be a Pastor, thou canst not stoop nor bow thy back down to take up the weak sheep, thou doest not yet know thine own infirmitie and weaknesse, and therefore canst thou do nothing but despise the weak ones; but when thou shalt be instructed by experience of thine own self, what hid iniquitie lurketh within the nature of man, then shalt thou learn to be humble, and stoop among other sinners; and also shalt be an example to others which after shall offend, as thou didst, so that if they repent as thou didst, they need not despaire of mercy, but may trust most assuredly of Christ to obtain grace, mercy and forgivenesse of sins, as thou didst.

Why *Peter* was suffered to sink.

Luke 22.

This fruit have we to gather (dear Brethren) of *Peters* down-sinking in the sea, (which was a secret knowledge and privie admonition, that he after should deny Christ) that we are assured by the voice of Christ, if in the time of trouble and extreme danger we crie with *Peter*, we shall be delivered as he was; and if we mourn for our deniall of Christ, as hee did, we shall finde the same grace and favour at Christs hand, that hee found.

But now let us touch the third Note, which is this, That with Gods

Elect

Elect in their greatest feare and danger there resteth some small sparke of faith, which by one means or other declareth it selfe, albeit the afflicted person in feare or danger, doth not presently perceive the same. As herein *Peter* is most cleare and manifest. For, perceiving himself to sink down, he cryed, saying, *Lord save me*, which words were a declaration of a lively and quick faith, which lay hid within his afflicted and sore perplexed heart, whose nature is (I mean of faith) to hope against hope, that is: against all appearance or likelihood to looke for help and deliverance, as the words of *Peter* witnesseth that he did. He saw nothing but the raging Sea ready to swallow him up. He felt nothing but himself sinking down in body, and sore troubled in heart, and yet he cryed: *Lord save me.* Which words first delare, that he knew the power of Christ able to deliver him. For foolishnesse it had been to have called for the help of him whom he had known to be impotent and unable to help.

Anno 3.

What resteth with Gods Elect in their greatest danger.

The nature of faith.

Peter knew the power and good will of God.

The calling for Christs help by prayer in this extream danger declared also that *Peter* had some hope through his gracious goodnesse to obtain deliverance. For in extream perils impossible it is, that the heart of man can cry for Gods help without some hope of his mercy.

It is also to be noted, that in his great jeopardy *Peter* murmureth not against Christ. Neither doth he impute or lay any crime or blame upon Christ, albeit, at his commandment he had left his Bote. He saith not: *Why lettest thou me sinke, seeing that I have obeyed thy Commandment.* Moreover, *Peter* asked help at Christ alone, of whom he was perswaded both could and would help at a pinch. He cryed not upon *Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David*; Neither upon any other of the Patriarks, Prophets, or Saints departed: neither yet upon his own fellows in the Bote, but upon Christ, at whose commandment he had left the Bote.

All these things together considered, declare, that *Peter* in this his extreame feare and danger had yet some sparke of faith (albeit in that present jeopardy he had neither consolation nor comfort.) For these premisses are undoubted tokens that he had faith. But now to the end, which is this.

And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him: O thou of little faith, wherefore diddest thou doubt. And when they were come into the ship, the winde ceased; And they that were in the ship came and worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Sonne of God: And immediatly the ship was at the Land whither they went.

Hereof first is to be Noted, That God is alway nigh to those that call upon him faithfully; and so willing is he to deliver them, that neither can fear nor extreme danger hinder his godly hand. *Peter* was sinking downe, and looked for no other thing but present death, and yet the hand of Christ prevented him. That that was visibly and openly done to *Peter* in that his great perill, is invisibly and secretly done to Christs holy Church, and to the chosen Members of Christs mysticall Bodie in all ages.

Psal. 144. How nigh God is in extream perill to deliver his Elect that fyithfully call upon him. Exod 14. Hester 7.8,9.

How nigh and ready was the Hand of God to deliver his people *Israel*, when they were almost overwhelmed with despair in the dayes of *Moses* and *Hester*, the History doth witnesse: How nigh was God to *Daniel* amongst

Daniel 6. John 3. Act 12.

Anno

amongst the Lyons, To *Jonas* in the Whales Belly, to *Peter* in the prison, is likewise most evidently declared in the holy Scriptures. How suddenly and beyond all expectation was *David* many times delivered from *Sauls* tyrany, his own heart confessed, and compelled his pen to write, and tongue to sing, saying, *He sent from above, and hath delivered me, he hath drawn me forth of many waters.*

Psalm. 18.

Open your ears (dear brethren) and let your hearts understand, That as our God is unchangeable, so is not his gracious hand shortned this day. Our fear and trouble is great, the storm that bloweth against us is sore and vehement, and we appear to be drowned in the deep: but if we unfainedly know the danger, and will call for deliverance, the Lords hand is nigher then the sword of our enemies.

God flattereth not his Elect.

The sharp rebuke that Christ Jesus gave to *Peter*, teacheth us, That God doth not flatter nor conceal the faults of his Elect, but maketh them manifest, to the end that the Offendors may repent, and that others may avoid the like offences.

Peter was not faithlesse.

That Christ called *Peter* of little faith, argueth and declareth (as we before have noted) That *Peter* was not altogether faithlesse, but that hee fainted, or was uncertain in his faith, for so soundeth the Greek terme ὀλιγόπιστος, whereof we ought to be admonished, That in passing to Christ thorow the storms of this world, is not onely required a fervent faith in the beginning, but also a constancy to the end; as Christ saith, *He that continueth to the end, shall be saved*; and Saint *Paul, Unlesse a man shall strive lawfully, he shall not be crowned.* The remembrance of this ought to put us in minde, That the most fervent man, and such as have long continued in profession of Christ, is not yet sure to stand at all hours, but that he is subject to many dangers, and that he ought to fear his own frailty, as the Apostle teacheth us, saying, *Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall*; for if *Peter* that began so fervently, yet fainted ere he came to Christ, what ought we to fear, in whom such fervency was never found? No doubt we ought to tremble and fear the worst; and by the knowledge of our own weakness, with the Apostles, incessantly to pray, *O Lord increase our faith.* Christs demand and question, asking *Peter, Why doubtest thou?* containeth in it self a vehemency; as if he should have said, Whether doubtest thou of my power, or of my promises, or of my good will? If my power had not been sufficient to have saved thee, then could I neither have come to thee thorow the stormy Sea, neither have made the waters obey thee, when thou beganst to come to me; and if my good will had not been to have delivered thee, and thy Brethren, then had I not appeared unto you, neither had I called upon thee, but had permitted the Tempest to devour and swallow you up: but considering that your eye saw me present, your ears heard my voice, and thou *Peter* especially knewest the same, and obeyedst my commandment, why then doubtest thou? Beloved brethren, If this same demand and question were laid to our charge, we should have lesse pretence of excuse then had *Peter*; for he might have alleadged, That he was not advertised that any great Storme should have risen betwixt him and Christ, which justly we cannot alleadge; for since that time that Christ hath appeared unto us by the brightnes of his Word, and called upon

Matth 10. 2 Tim. 2.

Such as have stood long, may yet fall.

Luke 17.

Note.

We have lesse pretence of excuse then *Peter* had.

Note.

upon us by his lively voyce, he hath continually blown in our ears, That persecution and trouble should follow the Word that we professed, which dayes are now present. *Alas then, why doubt we thorow this storme to go to Christ? Support, O Lord, and let us sink no further.* Anno

Albeit that *Peter* fainted in faith, and therefore was worthy most sharply to be rebuked, yet doth not Christ leave him in the Sea, neither long permitted he that fear and tempest to continue, but first they entred both into the Ship, and thereafter the winde ceased; and last, their Ship arrived without longer delay, at the place for which they long had laboured. *Consolation*

O blessed and happy are those that patiently abides this deliverance of the Lord; The raging Sea shall not devour them: Albeit they have fainted, yet shall not Christ Jesus leave them behinde in the stormy Sea, but suddenly he shall stretch forth his mighty hand, and shall place them in the Ship amongst their brethren; that is, He shall conduct them to the number of his elect and afflicted Church, with whom he will continue to the end of the world. Matth. 28.

The Majestie of his presence shall put to silence this boysterous winde, the malice and envy of the devill which so bloweth in the hearts of Princes, Prelates, Kings, and of earthly men, that altogether they are conjured against the Lord, and against his Anoyned Christ; in despight of whom, he safely shall conduct, convey, and carry his sore troubled Flock to the life and rest for which they travell. Worldly Princes are conjured against God Psal. 2.

Albeit (I say) that sometimes they have fainted in their journey, albeit that weaknesse in faith permitted them to sink, yet from the hand of Christ can they not be rent; he may not suffer them to drown, nor the deep to devour them: But for the glory of his own Name he must deliver, for they are committed to his charge, protection, and keeping; and therefore must he keep and defend such as he hath received at his father, from sin, from death, from devil and hell. The sheep of Christ cannot be rent from his hand. Joh. 10. Joh. 7.

The remembrance of these promises is to mine own heart such occasion of comfort, as neither can any tongue nor pen expresse, but yet peradventure some there is of Gods elect that cannot be comforted in this tempest, by any meditations of Gods election or defence, but rather beholding such as sometimes boldly have professed Christs Verity, now to be returned to their accustomed abominations; And also themselves to be overcome with fear, that against their knowledge and conscience they stoup to an Idol, and with their presence maintaineth the same; and being at this point, they begin to reason, Whether it be possible that the members of Christs body may be permitted so horribly to fall to the denyall of their Head; and in the same to remain of long continuance: And from this reasoning they enter in dolour, and from dolour, they begin to sink to the gates of hell, and Ports of despair. The temptations of Gods elect now in *England.*

The dolour and fear of such I grant to be most just: For oh how fearfull is it, for the love of this transitory life, in the presence of man to deny Christ Jesus, and his known and undoubted Verity?

But yet to such as be not obstinate contemners of God, and of all godlinesse, I would give this my weak counsell, That rather they should appeal to mercy, then by the severe judgements of God to pronounce against

Anno

Good counsell to thee in faith Rom. 11.

1 Reg 2.

Note.

To whom appertaineth the former counsel.

Matth. 28.

Note.

Objection.

Answer.

The root of faith remaineth with Gods elect in greatest danger.

3 Reg. 19.

The root of faith is not idle.

A tryall of faith in trouble

against themselves the fearfull sentence of condemnation; and to consider that God includeth all under unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all: That the Lord filleth and giveth life; he leadeth down to hell, and yet lifteth up again. But I will not that any man think, That by this my counsell I either justifie such as horribly are returned back to their vomit; either yet that I flatter such as maintaineth that abominable Idoll with their dayly presence; God forbid; For then were I but a blinde guide leading the blinde headlong to perdition: Onely God knoweth the dolour and sobs of my heart, for such as I hear dayly do turn back: But the cause of my counsell is, That I know the conscience of some to be so tender, that whensoever they feel themselves troubled with fear, wounded with anguish, or to have sliden back in any point, that then they judge their faith to be quenched, and themselves to be unworthy of Gods mercies for ever; to such direct I my counsell; to those, I mean, that rather offends by weaknesse and infirmity, then of malice and set purpose. And I would that such should understand and consider, that all Christs Apostles fled from him, and denyed him in their hearts: And also I would they should consider, That no man from the beginning stood in greater feare, greater danger, nor greater doubt, then *Peter* did, when Christs presence was taken from him; yea, no man felt lesse comfort, nor saw lesse appearance of deliverance; and yet neither were the disciples rejected for ever, neither was *Peter* permitted to drown in that deep.

But some shall object, Faith was not utterly quenched in them, and therefore they got deliverance, and were restored to comfort.

Answ. That is it which I would that the afflicted and troubled consciences in this age should consider, That neither fear, neither danger, neither yet doubting nor backsliding, can utterly destroy and quench the faith of Gods elect, but that alwayes there remaineth with them some root and spark of faith, howbeit in their anguish, they neither feel nor can discern the same. Yet some shall demand, How shall it be known in whom the spark and root of faith remaineth, and in whom not, seeing that all fleeth from Christ, and boweth down to Idolatry? Hard it is, and in a manner impossible, that one man shall wittingly judge of another (for that could not *Elijah* do of the Israelites of his dayes) but every man may easily judge of himself: For the root of faith is of that nature, that long it will not be idle, but of necessity, by processe of time, it will send forth some branches that may be seen and felt by the outward man, if it remain lively in the heart; as you heard it did in *Peter*, compelling him to cry upon Christ, when that he was in greatest necessity. Wilt thou have a triall whether the root of faith remaineth with thee or not? (I speak to such as are weak, and not to proud contemners of God.)

First, *Feelest thou thy soul fainting in faith, as* Peter *felt his body sinke down in the waters?*

Secondly, *Art thou as sore afraid that thy soule should drown in hell, if thou consentest or obeyest Idolatry, as* Peter *was that his body should drown in the waters?*

3. *Desi-*

3. *Desirest thou as earnestly the deliverance of thy soul, as* Peter *did the deliverance of his body?* Anno

4. *Believest thou that Christ is able to deliver thy soul, and that he will do the same, according to his promise?*

5. *Do'st thou call upon him without hypocrisie, now in the day of thy trouble?*

6. *Do'st thou thirst for his presence, and for the liberty of his Word again?*

7. *Mournest thou for the great abominations that now over-flowes the Realm of* England?

If these premises (I say) remain in thy heart, then art thou not altogether destitute of faith, neither shalt thou descend to perdition for ever; but mercifully shall the Lord stretch forth his mighty hand, and shall deliver thee from the very throat and bottom of hell: But by what means that he shall perform that his mercifull work, it neither appertaineth to thee to demand, nor to me to define: But this is requisite, and is our bounden duty, that such means as the hand of our God shall offer (to avoid Idolatry) we refuse not, but that willingly we embrace the same, albeit it partly disagree to our affections. Neither yet think I that suddenly, and by one means, shall all the faithfull in *England* be delivered from Idolatry: No, it may be that God so strengthen the hearts of some of those that have fainted before, that they will resist Idolatry to the death, and that were a glorious and triumphant deliverance. Of others God may so touch the hearts, that they will rather chuse to walk and go as Pilgrims, from Realm to Realme, suffering hunger, cold, heat, thirst, wearinesse, and poverty, then that they will abide (having all abundance) in subjection of Idolatry. To some may God offer such occasion, that in despight of Idolaters (be they Princes or Prelats) they may remain within their own Dominions, and yet neither bow their knees to *Baal*, neither yet lack the lively Food of Gods most holy Word. If God offer unto us any such means, let us assuredly know, That Christ Jesus stretched forth his hand unto us, willing to deliver us from that danger wherein many are like to perish; and therefore let us not refuse it, but with gladnesse let us take hold of it, knowing that God hath a thousand means (very unappearing to mans judgement) whereby he will deliver, support and comfort his afflicted Church. And therefore, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, considering that the remembrance of Christs Banquet (whereof, I doubt not, some of you have tasted with comfort and joy) is not yet utterly taken from your minde; And that we have entred in this journey at Christs Commandments; considering that we finde the Sea windes blow contrary and against us, as before was prophesied unto us; and that we see the same tempest rage against us, that ever hath raged against Christs elect Church; And considering also that we feele our selves ready to faint, and like to be oppressed by these stormie Seas, Let us prostrate our selves before the Throne of Grace, in the presence of our heavenly Father, and in the bitternesse of our hearts let us confesse our offences, and for Christ Jesus sake let us ask deliverance and mercy, saying, with sobs and groanings from our troubled hearts;

It appertaineth not to man to know, nor to enquire how God will deliver.

Note. Divers wayes of deliverance.

Note.

The means offered by God to avoid Idolatry are not to be refused.

Repetition.

Anno

Complaint.

Psal. 78. *O God, the heathen are entred into thine Inheritance, they have defiled thy holy Temple, and have prophaned thy blessed Ordinance: In place of thy*
Psal 74. *joyfull signes, they have erected their abominable Idolatry: The deadly cup of all blasphemie is restored againe to their harlots hand: Thy Prophets are persecuted,*
Apocal. 17. *and none are permitted to speak thy Word freely: The poor sheep of thy pasture are commanded to drink the venomous waters of mens Traditions. But, O Lord, thou knowest how sore they grieve us. But such is the tyranny of these most*
Psal 74, & 87. *cruell beasts, that plainly they say,* They shall root us out at once, so that no remembrance shall remain of us on earth.

Prayer and Confession. *O Lord, thou knowest that we are but flesh, and that we have no power of our selves to withstand their tyranny; And therefore, O Father, open the eyes of thy mercy upon us, and confirm thou in us the Work which thine own mercy hath begun. We acknowledge and confesse, O Lord, That we are punished most justly, because we lightly regarded the tyranny of our merciful Visitation. Thy blessed Gospel was in our ears like a lovers song; it pleased us for a time, but alas, our lives did nothing agree with thy Statutes and holy Commandments: And thus we acknowledge that our iniquity hath compelled thy justice to take the*
Appealing to mercy. *light of thy Word from the whole Realme of* England. *But be thou mindefull O Lord, that it is thy Truth which we have professed, and that thy enemies blasphemeth thy holy Name, and our Profession, without Cause: Thy holy Gospel is called heresie, and we are accused as traytors, for professing the same. Be*
Isai. 33. *merciful therefore, O Lord, and be salvation unto us in this time of our anguish: Albeit our sins accuse and condemne us, yet do thou according to thine own Name. We have offended against thee; Our sins and iniquities are without number,*
Jerem. 4. *and yet art thou in the midst of us, O Lord, albeit that tyrants bear rule over our bodies, yet thirsteth our souls for the comfort of thy Word: Correct us therefore, but not in thy hot displeasure; spare thy people, and permit not thine inheritance*
Psal. 74. *to bo in rebuke for ever. Let such, O Lord, as now are most afflicted, yet once again praise thy holy Name before thy Congregation: Represse the pride of those*
Psal. 59. *blood-thirsty Tyrants; consume them in thine anger, according to the reproach which they have laid against thy holy Name. Pour forth thy vengeance upon*
Psal. 79. *them, and let our eyes behold the blood of thy Saints required of their hands:*
Jerem. 10, 11, 12. *Delay not thy vengeance, O Lord, but let death devour them in haste: Let*
Psal. 95. *the earth swallow them up, and let them go downe quick to the hells: For there is no hope of their amendment; the feare and reverence of thy holy*
Against the enemies of God. *Name is quite banished from their hearts, and therefore yet again, O Lord, consume them; consume them in thine anger, and let them never bring their wicked counsells to effect; but according to the godly powers, let them be taken in the snare which they have prepared for thine elect: Look upon us, O Lord, with the eyes of thy mercy, and shew pity upon us thy weak and sore oppressed Flock: Gather us yet once again to the wholesome treasures of thy most holy Word, that openly we may confesse thy blessed Name within the Realme of* England. *Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Christ Jesus thy sons sake.* Amen.

If

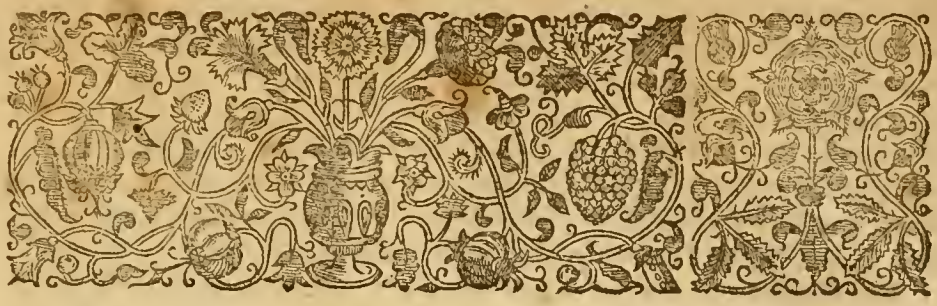
If on this manner or otherwise (as God shall put in our hearts) without hypocrisie in the presence of our God (respecting more his glory then our private wealth) continually we poure forth our complaint, confession and prayers. Then so assuredly as our God liveth, and as we feel these present troubles, shall our God himself rise to our defence, he shall confound the counsels of our enemies, and trouble the wits of such as most wrongfully troubleth us. He shall send Jesu to execute his just judgments against Idolators, and against such as obstinately defendeth them. Yea, the chiefe men of our times shall not escape the vengeance and plagues that are prepared for their portion. The flatterers and maintainers of her abominations shall drink the cup of Gods wrath. And in despite of the Devill shall yet the glory of Christ Jesus, and the brightnesse of his countenance so shine in our hearts by the presence of his grace, and before our eyes by the true preaching of his Gospel, that altogether we shall fall before him and say: *O Lord thou art our God, we shall extoll thee, and shall confesse thy Name, for thou hast brought wonderous things to passe according to thy counsels, which albeit appear to be farre off, yet are they true and most assured. Thou hast brought to ruine the palaces of tyrants, and therefore shall the afflicted magnifie thee, and the City of tyrannicall Nations shall fear thee. Thou hast been, O Lord, a strong defence to the poor, a sure place of refuge to the afflicted in the time of his anguish.* Anno Esay 25.

This no doubt, dear Brethren, shall one day be the song of Gods Elect within the Realm of *England*, after that God hath poured forth his vengeance upon these disobedient, and blood-thirsty tyrants: which now triumpheth in all abominations, and therefore yet again beloved in the Lord, Abide patiently the Lords deliverance, avoyding and flying such offences as may separate and divide you from the blessed fellowship of the Lord Jesus at his second comming. Watch and pray, resist the divell, and row against this vehement tempest, and shortly shall the Lord come, to the comfort of your hearts, which now are oppressed with anguish and care, but then shall ye so rejoyce, that through gladnesse you shall say: *Behold this our God, we have waited upon him, and he hath saved us.* This is our Lord, we have long thirsted for his comming, now shall we rejoyce and be glad in his salvation, Amen. The great Bishop of our souls, Jesus our Lord so strengthen and assist your troubled hearts with the mighty comfort of his Holy Ghost, that earthly tyrants, nor worldly torments have no power to drive you from the hope and expectation of that Kingdom, which for the Elect was prepared from the beginning by our heavenly Father, to whom be all praise and honour, now and ever, Amen. Of Gods Elect *Exhortation.* Esa 26.

Remember me (dear Brethren) in your daily prayers. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

Yours with sorrowfull heart,
JOHN KNOX.

Anno



The Copie of

A LETTER

Delivered

To Queen Mary, Regent

OF

SCOTLAND,

FROM

JOHN KNOX

Minister of Gods Word, in the yeer of our Lord, 1556. and thereafter augmented and explained by the Author, in the yeer of our Lord, 1558.

To the most Excellent Princesse MARY, DOVVAGER *Regent of* Scotland.

MADAME,

THE cause which moved me to present this my Supplication unto your Majestie, enlarged, and in some places explained (being in the Realm of *Scotland* in the Moneth of *May*, 1556. I caused to be presented to your Majesty) is the incredible rage of such as beare the Title of Bishops, who, against all justice and equitie, have pronounced against me a most cruell sentence, condemning

condemning my Bodie to Fire, my Soul to Damnation, and all Doctrine taught by me, to be false, deceivable, and Hereticall: If this injury did tend to me alone, having the testimony of a good conscience, with silence I could passe the matter, being assured, that such as they curse and expell their Synagogues for such causes, shall God blesse, and Christ Jesus receive in his eternall societie: But considering that this their blasphemy is vomited forth against the eternall Truth of Christs Evangell, (whereof it hath pleased the great mercy of God to make me a Minister) I cannot cease to notifie, as well to your Majestie, as to them, That so little am I afraid of their Tyrannicall and surmised sentence, that in place of the Picture (if God impede not my purpose) they shall have the Body to justifie that Doctrine, which they (Members of Satan) blasphemously do condemne. Advertising your Majestie in the mean time, That from them, their sentence and tyrannie, and from all those that list to maintain them in the same, I do appeal to a lawfull and generall Councel; beseeching your Majesty to take in good part, that I call you for witnesse, that I have required the libertie of tongue, and my Cause to be heard before your Majestie and the Body of the Realm, before that any such Processe was laid against me; as this my Letter directed to your Majesty doth testifie.

Anno

The beginning of the Letter.

THE Eternall Providence of the same God, who hath appointed his chosen Children to fight in this transitory and wretched life, a battell strong and difficile, hath also appointed their finall victory by a marvellous fashion, and the manner of their preservation in their battell more marvellous; their victory standeth not in resisting, but in suffering; as our Soveraign Master pronounceth to his Disciples, that in patience they should possesse their soules: *And the same foresaw the Prophet* Esay, *when that he painteth forth all other battell to be with violence, tumult, and blood-shedding, but the victory of Gods people to be in quietnesse, silence and hope; meaning that all others that obtain victorie, do enforce themselves to resist their adversaries, to shed blood, and to murther: But so do not the Elect of God, but all things they sustain at the commandment of him who hath appointed them to suffer; being most assuredly perswaded, that then onely they triumph, when all men judge them oppressed: For in the Crosse of Christ alwayes is included a secret and hid victory, never well known till the suffer-*

Gen.3. Matth.10. Act.4.

Matth. 5. Joh. 14 16. Esay.9.

In the Crosse of Christ is victory hid.

Anno

ferer appear all together to be (as it were) exterminate ; for then onely did the blood of Abel *crie to God, when proud* Cain *judged all memory of his brother to have been extinguished ; and so (I say) their victory is marvellous , and how that they can be preserved and not brought to utter confusion , the eye of man perceiveth not : But he, whose power is infinite, by secret and hid motions , toucheth the hearts of such as to mans judgment hath power to destroy them, with very pietie and compassion to save his people, as (in times past) he did the hearts of the* Egyptian *Midwives, to preserve the men-children of the Israelites, when command was given of* Pharaoh *for their destruction. The heart of* Pharaohs *daughter likewise, to pitty* Moses *in his young infancy , exposed to the danger of the waters. The heart of* Nabuchadnezzar *to preserve the Captives alive, and liberally to nourish the Children that were found apt to Letters : And finally , The heart of* Cyrus *, to set at liberty the people of God, after long bondage and thraldome. And thus doth the invisible power and love of God , manifest it self towards his Elect from time to time , for two causes specially. First , to comfort his weake warriers in their manifold temptations, letting them understand, That he is able to compell such as sometimes were enemies to his people, to fight their Cause , and to promote their deliverance. And secondarily, to give a testimony of his favour to them , that by all appearance did live before (as Saint* Paul *speaketh) wanting God in the world , as strangers from the Common-wealth of Israel , and without the league of his mercifull promise and free grace made to his Church : For who would have affirmed , That any of these persons aforenamed , had been of that nature and clemency , before occasions were offered unto them ? But the works of mercie shewed to the afflicted , have left to us assurance , That God used them as vessels of his honour. For pitie and mercie shewed to Christs afflicted flock , as they never lacked reward temporall, so if they be continued, and be not changed into crueltie , are assured signes and seales of everlasting mercy to be received from God , who by his Holy Spirit moveth their heats to shew mercy to the people of God oppressed and afflicted.*

Esay 40.41. 51.

Exod. 2.

4 Reg. 25. Jerem 52. Esd. 1.

Note.

Ephes 2.

Addition.

THis Preface I used to give your Majestie occasion more deeply to consider what hath been the condition of Christs Members from the beginning , that in so doing, ye might see, That it is no new thing that the Saints of God be oppressed in the word ; that ye , moved by earnest contemplation of the same , might also study rather to save them from murder , (although by the wicked councels of many ye were provoked to the contrary) then to engage your self to the corrupt Clergie , who are servants to sinne and Sathan ; whose fury is bent against God and his verity : But this after followeth in our Letwhich thus proceedeth.

Letter.

YOur Majestie perchance doth wonder to what purpose these things be recited, and I in very deed cannot wonder enough, that occasion is offered to me (a worme most wretched) to recite the same at this present ; for I have looked rather for the sentence of death, then to have written to your Majestie in these last and most wicked

wicked dayes, in which Sathan so blindeth the hearts of many, that innocents are condemned, their Cause never tried. Anno

Addition.

HEreof ye cannot be ignorant: For besides these whom ye hear from time to time most cruelly to be murthered in *France, Italy, Spaine, Flanders*, and now of late yeers besides you in *England*, for no other cause, but that they professe Christ Jesus to be the onely Saviour of the world, The onely Mediator betwixt God and man, The onely Sacrifice acceptable for the sins of all faithfull; and finally, The onely Head to his Church. Besides these, I say (of whom ye hear the brute) ye have been witnesse, That some within the Realm of *Scotland*, for the same cause, most cruelly have been murthered, whose cause was never heard with indifferency; But murtherers sitting in the Seat of Justice, have shed the blood of Christs true Witnesses; which albeit did then appear to be consumed away with fire, yet it is resent in the presence of him for whose cause they did suffer, and ceaseth not to call for vengeance, with the blood of *Abel*, to fall upon, not onely such as were immediate and next authors of that murther, but also upon all those that maintain those tyrants in their tyranny, or that do consent to their beastly cruelty, or that do not stop, having the power in hand. Take not this as the affirmation of any man, but hear and consider the voice of the Son of God; *Fulfill* (saith he) *the measure of your fathers, that all the blood which hath been shed since the blood of* Abel *the just, till the blood of* Zachariah, &c. *may come upon this generation.* Hereby it is evident, That the murtherers of our time, as well as in the time of Christ, are guilty of all the blood that hath been shed from the beginning. Fearfull, I grant, is the sentence; yet it is most equall and just: For whosoever sheddeth the blood of any one of Christ Jesus his members, for professing of his Truth, consenteth to all the murther which hath been made since the beginning for that cause. So that as there is one communion of all Gods Elect, of whom every member is participant of the holy Justice of Christ; so is there a communion among the reprobate, by which every one of the Serpents seed are criminall and guilty of all iniquity which the whole Body committeth, because they are altogether against Christ Jesus, and against his eternall Verity; every one serving Sathan the Prince of this world in their rank, age, degree and estate. The murtherers of their brethren which this day live, are guilty with *Cain* of the blood of *Abel*: The Kings and Princes which by power oppresse the people of God, and will not suffer that the people truely worship God as he hath commanded, but will retain them in *Egypt*, are brethren and companions to *Pharaoh*: The Prelats and Priests, whose horrible iniquities and insolent life have infected all Realmes where they raigne, have with their fathers the old Pharisees, taken away the key of knowledge, and have shut up the Kingdom of heaven before men; so that neither they themselves will enter, neither yet will they suffer others to enter into the same: And the multitude blinded, some by ignorance, some by fear, and by insatiable appetite of their part of the spoyl (for Christ being crucified, the souldiers parted amongst them his garments) are conjured to defend those (which

The causes why the Saints of God be this day persecuted 1 Joh. 1. 2. Heb. 6. & 10. Ephes. 5.

Matth. 23.

Whosoever sheddeth the Blood of one of Christs members, for his Names sake, consenteth to the blood of all that have suffered since the beginning.

Note. Gen. 4.

Anno

murtherers, proud peſtilent Prelats, againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt his poor Flock: And therefore, becauſe of one crime, they are all guilty (which is, of treaſon and rebellion againſt Chriſt) of one torment they ſhall all taſte, which is, Of the fire that never ſhall be quenched. And herein ought you, Madame, be circumſpect and carefull, if that ye hope for the life to come: For if the conſent which proceedeth of ignorance and blindeneſſe bringeth deſtruction and death (as Chriſt our Maſter doth witneſſe, ſaying, *If the blinde lead the blinde, they ſhall both fall into the ditch*) What ſhall become of the proud and malicious contemners of Gods Verity offered? But our Doctrine, perchance, ſhall be denyed to be the Verity: Whereunto I anſwer, That ſo was the Doctrine of *Noah*, of *Moſes*, of the Prophets, of Chriſt Jeſus, and of his Apoſtles; and yet the originall world periſhed by water, *Sodome* and *Gomorra* by fire deſcending from heaven; *Pharaoh* and his adherents in the Red Sea; the City of *Jeruſalem*, and the whole Nation of the Jews, by puniſhments and plagues, notwithſtanding that the whole multitude cryed, This is a new doctrine, this is hereſie, and tendeth to ſedition. Our Petition is, That our Doctrine may be tryed by the plain Word of God; That liberty be granted to utter and declare our mindes at large in every Article and Point which now are in controverſie: Which if ye deny, giving ear to Chriſts enemies (who condemne his doctrine for hereſie) ye ſhall drink the Cup of Gods wrath with them. But now to the former Letter.

Matth. 15.

Anſwer to an Objection. Gen. 19. Exod. 14. *Ioſephus.*

The Petition of ſuch as be perſecuted.

Letter.

I doubt not but the rumors which have come to your Majeſties ears, of me, have been ſuch, that if all reports were true, I were unworthy to live upon the earth: And wonder it is, That the voices of the multitude ſhould not ſo have enflamed your Majeſties heart with juſt hatred of ſuch a one as I am accuſed to be, that all acceſſe to pity ſhould have been ſhut up. I am traduced as an heretick, accuſed as a falſe teacher and ſeducer of the people, beſides other opprobries, which (affirmed by men of worldly honour and eſtimation) may eaſily kindle the wrath of Magiſtrates, where innonocence is not known. But bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who by the dew of his heavenly grace, hath ſo quenched the fire of diſpleaſure, as yet, in your Majeſties heart (which of late dayes I have underſtood) that Sathan is fruſtrate of his enterpriſe and purpoſe; which is to my heart no ſmall comfort; Not ſo much (God is my witneſſe) for any benefit that I can receive in this miſerable life, by protection of any earthly creature (for the cup which it behoveth me to drink, is appointed by the wiſedom of him whoſe counſels are not changeable) as that I am for that benefit which I am aſſured your Majeſtie ſhall receive, if that ye continue in like moderation and clemency towards others that moſt unjuſtly are and ſhall be accuſed, as that your Majeſtie hath begun towards me, and my moſt deſperate Cauſe: that is, If that by godly wiſedome ye ſhall ſtudie to bridle the fury and rage of them, who, for the maintenance of their worldly pomp, regard nothing the cruell murthering of ſimple innocents. Then ſhall he who doth pronounce mercy to appertain to the mercifull, and promiſeth that a cup of cold water given for his Names ſake ſhall not lack reward, firſt cauſe your happy Government to be praiſed in this preſent age, and in poſterities to come; and laſt recompence your godly pains and ſtudy with that joy and glory, which eye hath not ſeen, nor yet can enter into the heart of mortall creature. Ad-

Matth. 5. Matth. 10.

1 Cor. 2.

Anno

Addition.

IF Christs words were esteemed true, That of every idle word an accompt shall be given, and that nothing is so secretly done, which shall not come to knowledge and light; I suppose that the tongues of men should be better bridled, then impudently to speak their pleasure in matters unknown. For albeit, that the true fear of God should not move them to speak trueth; yet would I think (if any sparke of humanity remained) that worldly shame should impede them to lie. When reasoning was, before your Majestie, what man it was that preached in *Aire*, and divers men were of divers opinions; some affirming, that it was an Englishman, and some supposing the contrary. A Prelate, not of the least pride, said nay, No Englishman, but it is *Knox* that Knave. It was my Lords pleasure so to Baptize a poor man. The reason whereof, if it should be required, his Rochet and Miter must stand for Authority. What further liberty he used in defining things like uncertain to him, to wit, of my learning and doctrine at this present, I omit, Lamenting more that such pestilent tongues have liberty to speak in the presence of Princes, then that I am sorry for any hurt that their venome can do to me in body or fame: For what hath my life and conversation been, since it hath pleased God to call me from the puddle of Papistry, let my very enemies speak; And what learning I have, they may prove when they please. The report of your Majesties moderation, as well at that time, as after, when suite was made for my taking, moved me to write this my other Letter; in which, albeit, I have not played the Orator, trimming and decking the matter for the pleasure of itching, and delicate ears; yet doth my conscience bear me record, That with simplicity I have advertised you of a mortall danger; As this portion subsequent shall prove. Matth. 10.

Letter.

SUperfluous and foolish it shall appear to many, That I, a man of low estate and condition, dare enterprise to admonish a Princesse so honourable, indued with wisedom, and graces singular. But when I consider the honour which God commandeth to be given to Magistrates, which no doubt (if it be true honour) containeth in it self, in lawfull things, obedience, and in all things, love and reverence. When further I consider the troublesome state of Christs true Religion, this day oppressed by blindnesse of men; and lastly, The great multitude of flatterers, and the rare number of them that boldly and plainly, dare speak the naked verity in presence of their Princesse, and principally in the cause of Christ Jesus: These things I say, considered, whatsoever any man shall judge of my interprise, I am compelled to say, That Exod. 20. Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2.

Unlesse in your Regiment, and in using of Power, your Majesty be found different from the multitude of Princes, and head Rulers, That this pre-eminence wherein ye are placed, shall be your dejection to torment, and pain everlasting: This proposition is sore, but alas it is so true, That if I should conceal and hide it from your Majesty, I committed no lesse treason against your Majestie, then if I did see The first proposition.

Anno

you by imprudency take a Cup which I knew to be poysoned, or invenomed, and yet would not admonish you to abstain from drinking of the same.

The second proposition. John 4. Apoc. 14. & 17.

The Religion which this day men defend by fire and sword, is a Cup invenomed, of which whosoever drinketh, (except that by true repentance, he after drink of the water of life) drinketh therewith damnation and death.

How, and by whom it hath been invenomed; if it were no more tedious to your Majestie to read or hear, then it is painfull to me to write or rehearse, I would not spare the labour. But for this present, I have thought it some discharge of one part of my duty, if I, of very love, admonish your Majesty of the danger; which I do, as God one day shall declare, preferring your Majesties salvation, and the salvation of the People (now committed to your charge) before any corporall benefit, that can redound to my self.

Addition.

AS Satan by craft hath corrupted the most holy Ordinances of Gods precepts, I mean of the first table, in the place of the spirituall honouring of God, introducing mens dreams, inventions, and fantasies. So hath he, abusing the weaknesse of man, corrupted the precepts of the second table, Touching the honour which is due to Parents, under whom are comprehended Princes and Teachers. For now the devill hath so blinded the senses of many, that they cannot, or at least, will not learn what appertaineth 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 judgement be, wch shall apprehend such blasphemers of Gods 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 so do, give no true obedience, but as they are Apostates from God, so are they Traytors to their Princes, whom by flattery they confirm in rebelling against God; onely, they which to the death resist such wicked laws and decrees, are acceptable to God, and faithfull to their Princes. As were the three children in the presence of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and *Daniel* in the dayes of *Darius* (the *Persian* Emperour) whose constant and free confession, as it glorified God, so did it notifie as well to those tyrants, as to all ages following the great blasphemy, which in their rage and fury they committed against God, from the which (by all appearance) neither of both so suddenly should have been called, if the three children had bowed among the rest, and *Daniel* had not declared the confession of his faith; Which was, with Windows open to pray towards *Jerusalem*, manifestly thereby declaring, That he did not consent to the blasphemous law, and decree, which was established by the King and his Counsell. Experience hath taught us what surmises and blasphemies the adversaries of Christ Jesus, of his eternall verity, do invent and devise against such as begin to detect their impiety. They are accused to be Authors of sedition, raisers of tumults, violators of common orders, &c

Note.

Take heed of unlawfull obedience.

Dan. 3. Dan. 6.

I answe

I answer with the Prophet *Esay*, That all is not reputed before God sedition and conjuration, which the foolish multitude so esteemeth; neither yet is every tumult and breach of publike order, contrary to Gods commandment; for Christ Jesus himself coming to take the spoil from the strong armed, who before did keepe his house in quietnesse, is not come to send Peace, but a Sword, and to make a man disassent from his Father, &c. His Prophets before him, and Apostles after him, feared not to break publike Orders, established against God, and in so doing, to move (as it were) the one half of peoples, nations, and cities against the other; and yet I trust that none, except the hired servant of Sathan, will accuse Christ of sedition, nor the Apostles of the troubling of Common wealths. True it is, that the most wholesome Medicine most troubleth (for a time) the body replenished with wicked and corrupted humours, but the cause hereof is known to be, not in the Medicine, but in the Bodie subject to Maladie; even so the true Word of God, when it entreth to fight where Sathan hath born dominion, (as he still doth in the whole Papistrie) cannot but appear to be occasion of great trouble. But Madame, more profitable it is, that the pestilent humours be expelled with pain, then that they be nourished, to the distruction of the body. The Papisticall Religion is a mortall pestilence, which shall assuredly bring to death eternall the bodies and souls, from the which it is not purged in this life; and therefore take heed betimes, God calleth upon you, beware that ye shut not up your ears: Judge not the matter after the vilenesse of my body, whom God hath appointed Ambassadour and Messenger unto you, but with reverence and fear consider him whose Message I bear. I come to you in the name of the Eternall God, and of Christ Jesus his Son, to whom the Father hath committed all power, whom he hath established Soveraign Judge over all flesh, before whose Throne you must make accompt with what reverence you hear such as he sendeth. It shall not excuse you to say or think, That you doubt whether I be sent of God or no; I crie unto you, That the Religion which the Princes and blinded Papists maintain with fire and sword, is not the Religion of Christ; That your proud Prelates are none of Christs Bishops; I admonish you, That Christs Flock is oppressed by them, and therefore I require, and that yet again in the name of the Lord Jesus, That with indifferency I may be heard to preach, to reason, and to dispute in that Cause; which if you deny, you declare your self to bear no reverence to Christ, nor love to his true Religion.

Anno

Answ. Matth. 10.

Act. 14.

Note.

The Papisticall Religion a mortall Pestilence.

The Admonition.

Letter.

But you think (peradventure) That the care of Religion is not committed to Magistrates, but to the Bishops and state Ecclesiasticall, as they term it; but deceive not your self, for the negligence of Bishops shall no lesse be required of the hands of the Magistrates, then shall the oppession of false Judges; for they injustly promote, foster and maintain the one and the other: The false and corrupt Judge to spoil the Goods, and to oppresse the bodies of the simple, but the proud Prelates do Kings maintain to murther the souls, for the which the blood of Christ Jesus was shed;

Answer to an Objection.

Anno

shed; and that they do either by withholding from them the true Word of life, or else by causing a pestilent Doctrine to be taught unto them, such as now is taught in the Papisticall Churches. I know that you wonder, how that the Religion which is universally received, can be so damnable, and corrupted: But if you consider, That ever from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from God (yea, even in the people, to whom he spake by his Law and Prophets) if ye shall consider the complaint of the Holy Ghost, complaining, that Nations, People, Princes and Kings of the earth have raged, made Conspiracies, and holden Councels against the Lord, and against his Annointed Christ Jesus; further, if ye shall consider the question which Jesus himself doth move in these words, When the Sonne of Man shall come, shall he finde faith on the earth? *And lastly, if your Majestie shall consider the manifest contempt of God, and of all his holy Precepts, which this day reigne without punishment, upon the face of the whole earth; for as* Hosea *complaineth, There is no verity, There is no mercy, There is no truth this day among men, but lies, perjury, and oppression overflow all, and blood toucheth blood; that is, Every iniquitie is joyned to another: If deeply (I say) your Majestie will contemplate the universall corruption that this day reigneth in all states, then shall your Majestie cease to wonder, That many are called, and few chosen; and you shall begin to tremble and fear to follow the multitude to perdition: The universall defection, whereof Saint* Paul *doth prophesie, is easie to be espied, as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of life is evident, and Religion is not judged, nor measured by the plain Word of God, but by custome, consuetude, will, consent, and determinations of men. But shall he who hath pronounced all cogitations of mans heart to be vain at all times, accept the counsels and consents of men, for a Religion pleasing and acceptable before him? Let not your Majestie be deceived, God cannot lie, God cannot deny himself, he hath witnessed from the beginning, That no religion pleaseth him, except that which he by his own Word hath commanded and established: The veritie it selfe pronounceth this sentence; In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines the precepts of men. And also, All plantation, which my Heavenly father hath not planted, shall be rooted out. Before the comming of his welbeloved Sonne in the flesh, severely he punished all such, as durst enterprise to alter or change his Ceremonies and Statutes, as in* Saul, Uzziah, Nadab, Abihu, *is to be read: And will he now, after that he hath opened his counsell to the world by his onely Son, whom he commandeth to be heard, and after that by his Holy Spirit, speaking in his Apostles, he hath established the Religion, in which he would have his true worshippers to abide unto the end, will he, now (I say) admit mens inventions in the matter of Religion which he reputed for damnable Idolatry? If men and Angels would affirm, That he will or may do it, his own verity shall convince them of a lie; for this sentence he pronounceth,* Not that which seemeth good in thy eyes, shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but that which the Lord thy God hath commandeth thee, that do thou; adde nothing unto it, deminish nothing from it. *Which, sealing up his New Testament, he repeateth in these words,* That which ye have, hold till I come, &c. *And therefore yet againe, it repenteth me not to say, That in this point, which is chief and principall, your Majesty must dissent from the multitude of Rulers, or else you can possesse no portion with Christ Jesus in his Kingdom and glory.*

Gen.6. Psal 14. Psal 2. Act.4. Luk.18. Hosea 4. Matth 20. Matth.7. 2 Thess.2. Note. Deu.4. and 12 Matth.15. 1 Reg.13.& 15 2 Par 26. Levit.10. Matt.17. Act.1 2,& 3. 1 Cor.11. Col.2. Deut.4. & 12. Apoc.2.

Addition

Anno

Addition.

KNowing by what craft Sathan laboureth continually to keep the world in blindnesse, I added these two former points, to wit, That ye should not think your self free from the Reformation of Religion, because ye have Bishops within your Realm, neither yet that ye should judge that Religion most perfect, which the multitude by wrong custome have embraced. In these two points doth Sathan busily labour; First, That no civill Magistrate presume to take cognisance in the cause of Religion, for that must be deferred to the determinations of the Church. Secondly, That impossible it is, that that Religion should be false, which so long time(so many Councels, and so great a multitude of men, so divers Nations have allowed, authorised and confirmed. What is the duty of Magistrates, and what power the people hath in such cases granted by God, my purpose is to write in a severall Letter to the Nobility and States of the Realm; and therefore to avoid tediousnesse and repetition of one thing, I now supersede. And as touching the second, if ye rightly consider the testimonies of Scriptures, which I have before alleadged, I trust ye shall finde that Objection sufficiently answered; for, if the opinion of the multitude ought alwayes to be preferred, then did God injury to the originall World, for they were all of one minde, to wit, conjured against God (except *Noah* and his familie.) And if antiquity of time shall be considered in such cases, then shall not onely the Idolatrie of the *Gentiles*, but also the false Religion of *Mahomet* be preferred to the Papistrie; for both the one and the other is more ancient then is the Papisticall religion; yea, *Mahomet* had established his *Alcoram*, before any Pope in *Rome* was crowned with a Triple Crown. But as touching antiquitie, I am content with *Tertullian* to say, Let that be the most pure and perfect Religion, which shall be proved most ancient; for this is a chief point, wherein I will joyn with all the Papists on the earth, That their Religion (such as it is this day) is not of such antiquitie, as is that which we contend to be the true and onely Religion, acceptable before God; neither yet that their Church is the Catholike Church; but that it is of late dayes in respect of Christs Institution, crept in and devised by man, and therefore am bold to affirme it odious and abominable; for this is our chief Proposition, That in the Religion of God, his own Word ought onely to be considered; That no Authority of man or Angell ought in that case to be respected. And as for their Councels, when the matter shall come to triall, it shall be easily seen for whom the most godly and most ancient Councels shall most plainly speak. I will prove by a Councell; That of more authority is the sentence of one man (founded upon the simple Truth of God) then is the determination of the whole Councell without the assurance of the Word; But that all their determinations, which we oppugne, are not onely maintained without an assurance of Scriptures, but also are established against the truth of the same; yea, and for the most part against the Decrees of the former Councels, I offer my self evidently to prove. But now to the rest of the former Letter.

The craft of Sathan.

The ground of Papisticall Religion.

Note.

Tertul. in Apol.

The chief Proposition.

N cen. 1.

Anno

Letter.

AN Oratour and Gods Messenger also might justly require of you now (by Gods hand promoted to high dignity) A motherly pitie upon your subjects, A justice inflexible to be used against murtherers and common oppressours, A heart void of avarice and partiality, A minde studious and carefull for maintenance of that Realm and Common-wealth (above whom God hath placed you) and by it hath made you honourable, with the rest of vertues, which not onely Gods Scriptures, but also Writers (illuminated onely with the light of Nature) require in Gods Rulers. But vain it is to crave reformation of manners, where Religion is corrupted; for like as a man cannot do the office of a man, till first he have a beeing and life, so to work works pleasant in the sight of God the Father, can no man do without the Spirit of Jesus Christ, which doth not abide in the hearts of Idolaters: And therefore the most godly Princes Josiah, Hezekiah, *and* Jehosaphat, *seeking Gods favour to rest upon them and upon their people, before all things, began to reform the Religion; for it is as the stomack within the body, which, if it be corrupted, of necessitie it infecteth the whole body: And therefore (often I repeate that, which to be done is most necessary) if your Majestie pretend to reign with Christ Jesus, Then it behoveth you to take care of his true Religion, which this day within your Realm is so deformed, that no part of Christs Ordinances remain in their first strength, and originall puritie; which (I praise God) to me is lesse difficile to prove then dangerous to speak: And yet neither the one nor the other I fear, partly because the love of eternall life quencheth the terrour of temporall death, and partly because I would with Saint* Paul, *wish my self accursed from Christ (as touching earthly pleasure) for the salvation of my brethren, and illumination of your Majestie; which thing, Work, and very deed, and not bare writing, shall witnesse and declare, if I may purchase the liberty of tongue, but fourty dayes onely.*

The duie of Magistrates.

The Spirit of God abideth not with Idolatrs.

3. Reg. 15. 2 Par. 17. 4 Reg 22. 2 Par. 34. 4 Reg 18. 2 Par. 29, 30, &c. 31.

The second proposition.

Addition.

THe wise and facund *Democritus* had sometimes a familiar sentence, that, Honest it was to commend such works as were worthy of praise, but to praise things that were wicked, could not proceed but from a deceivable minde; and *Themistius* a Philosopher of great fame, seeing the Hall of *Jovinian* the *Romane Emperour* replenished with flatterers, said, Of their manners it may be espied, that more they worship the Scepter and the purple, then God; signifying that they little regarded whether the Emperour were godly or ungodly, so that they might retain themselves in favour with him. Albeit that those were Ethnicks, and neither had the knowledge of God, as we pretend, neither had given so plain a confession to declare themselves enemies to all iniquity (as we have done by Baptisme, and by our whole profession of Christianity) yet do their words condemne no small number of us, and chiefly such as be conversant with Princes; for who in these miserable dayes judgeth himself to have offended, albeit he praise, allow and maintain, whatsoever the Princes and upper powers devise: yea, although it bee to oppresse

Stobæus. 12.

Niceph. Calist. Histor. Eccles. Lib 10. *cap.* 42.

Note.

preſſe, and to ſpoil the poor, to pull from them their very skins, and as the Prophet ſayeth, To break their bones, and to cut them in pieces, as fleſh for the Caldron or Pot. Yet I ſay, That the Princes ſhall not lack Judges to cry, It is right, It is for the Common-wealth, for defence of the Realm, and eaſe of the Subjects; ſo that the ſtate of times is even now ſuch, as when the Prophet complained, ſaying: The Princes ask, and the Judge is ready to give, not his own, but the life and blood of the poor. How ſoon a great man hath ſpoken the corruption of his minde, he hath his flatterers ready to applaud and confirm whatſoever he ſpeaketh. And let the Princes be of what Religion they pleaſe, that is all one to the moſt part of men; ſo that with abnegation of God, of his honour, and Religion, they may retain the friendſhip of the Court. But alas, how miſerable be Princes that ſo are abuſed, and how contageous a peſtilence be ſuch flatterers to Common-Wealths, Empires, and Realms, God hath declared even from the beginning, to paint out the miſchief, which from them proceedeth to ſuch as give ear unto them. The ancient Writers compare them to Harlots; to Ravens, and to moſt ravenous Beaſts, and not without cauſe. For as Harlots can never abide, that their lovers ſhould return to repentance and ſoberneſſe of minde, ſo cannot flatterers ſuſtain, that ſuch as they deceive, ſhall come to right judgement. And as Ravens pike out the eyes of dead carions, and as ravenous Beaſts devour the ſame, ſo do flatterers (being more cruell) pike at the eyes of living men, and blinding the eyes of their underſtanding, and judgement, do expoſe them to be devoured in body and ſoul, to Satan. This we have by prophane Writers onely, but the holy Spirit teacheth us this infallible Trueth, That where iniquitie reigneth in a Common-wealth, and none is found boldly and openly to reprehend the ſame, that there ſhall ſudden vengeance and deſtruction follow. For thus it is written and pronounced by the Prophet *Ezekiel. Shalt thou not judge the Citie of blood, which hath made Idols? Whoſe Rulers ſhed blood to the uttermoſt of their power? They have deſpiſed my holy things, they have deviſed iniquitie, and have performed the ſame. The conjuration of Prophets, hath gathered up the riches, and whatſoever is precious within the ſame. The Prieſts violently have torn and rent my Law. The people of the Land hath wrought deceitfully. They have oppreſſed the poor, and have done violence to the ſtranger without judgement, and I have ſought of them a man to repair the hedge, and to ſtand in the gap before me, but I have found none. Therefore have I poured forth my wrath upon them, and in the fire of my hote diſpleaſure, I have conſumed them.* Advert Madam, for theſe are not the words of mortall man, but of the eternall God, and were not ſpoken againſt *Jeruſalem* onely, but againſt every Realm and Nation, that ſo offendeth. The ſins that here be named, are Idolatry in all, avarice and crueltie in the Princes and Rulers, conjuration of the Prophets to defend the wicked, deceit, fraud, and violence in the common people; and finally, an univerſall ſilence of all men, none being found to reprehend theſe enormities. Would to God that I might with ſafetie of conſcience excuſe you, your Counſell, and the Idolaters of that Realm from any of theſe crimes aforenamed. The Idolatry which is committed, is more evident then that it can be denyed, the avarice and crueltie as well of your ſelf, as of ſuch

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Mich. 3.

Note.

Flatterers are a contagious peſtilence.

Ezek. 22.

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ſuch as be in authority, may be known by the facts; For fame carrieth the voices of the poor (oppreſſed by intolerable taxes) not onely to us here, in a ſtrange Country; but I am aſſured, to the ears of the God of hoſtes. The conſpiracy and conjuration of your falſe Prophets is known to the world, and yet is none found ſo faithfull to God, nor mercifull to your Majeſtie, that freely will and dare admoniſh you to repent before that God riſe himſelf in judgement. When I name repentance, I mean no outward ſhew of holineſſe, which commonly is found in Hypocrites, but I mean a true converſion to the Lord God from your whole heart, with a damning of all ſuperſtition and idolatry. In which ye have been nouriſhed, which with your preſence ye have decored, and to your power maintained and defended. Unleſſe I ſay, that this poyſon be purged from your heart, (be your outward life never ſo gliſtering before the world) yet in the preſence of God, it is but abominable. Yea further, I ſay, that where this venome of the Serpent (idolatry I mean) lurketh in the heart, it is impoſſible, but that at one time or other, it ſhall produce peſtilent fruits; albeit peradventure not openly before men, yet before God no leſſe odious, then the facts of Murtherers, Publicanes, and Harlots; and therefore in my former Letter, I ſaid, that ſuperfluous it was to require Reformation of manners, where the Religion is corrupted. Which yet again I repeat to the end, that your Majeſtie more deeply may weigh the matter. But now to the reſt of the ſame my former Letter.

Idolatry is mother to all vice.

Letter.

I Am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the naturall man, to innovate any thing in matters of Religion; and partly I conſider, That your power Madam is not ſo free, as a publike Reformation perchance would require. But if your Majeſtie ſhall conſider the danger and damnation perpetuall, which inevitable hangeth upon all maintainers of a falſe Religion, then ſhall the greateſt danger eaſily devour and ſwallow up the ſmaller. If you ſhall conſider; That either ye muſt ſerve God to life everlaſting, or elſe ſerve the World to death and damnation, then albeit, that man and angel ſhould diſſwade you, ye will choſe life and refuſe death. And if further ye ſhall conſider, that the very life conſiſteth in the knowledge of the onely true God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, and that true knowledge hath annexed with it, Gods true worſhip and honour, which requireth a teſtimony of his own Will, expreſſed by his Word, That ſuch honour doth pleaſe him, if you do earneſtly meditate theſe things aforeſaid; then albeit ye cannot do ſuddenly what ye would, yet ſhall ye not ceaſe to do what ye may. Your Majeſtie cannot haſtily aboliſh Superſtition, and remove from offices unprofitable Paſtours, of whom ſpeaketh Ezekiel *the Prophet, which to a publike Reformation, is requiſite and neceſſary. But if the Zeal of Gods glory be fervent in your Majeſties heart, ye will not by wicked Laws maintain Idolatry, neither will ye ſuffer the fury of Biſhops to murther and devour the poor Members of Chriſts body, as in times paſt they have been accuſtomed; which thing, if either by blind ignorance ye do, or*

Matth 6. Rom. 8. 3 Reg. 18.

John 17.

Ezek. 34.

or yet for pleasure of others within this Realm, permit to be done, then except you speedily repent, ye and your posteritie shall suddenly feel the depressing hand of him, who hath exalted you. Ye shall be compelled, will ye or not, to know that he is eternall, against whom ye addresse the Battell, and that it is he, that moderateth the times, and disposeth Kingdoms, ejecting from authoritie such as be inobedient, and placing others according to his good pleasure: That it is he that glorifieth them, that do glorifie him, and powreth forth contempt upon Princes that rebell against his graces offered.

Anno

Note this for our time. Daniel 2.

1 Reg. 2. Job 12. Psal. 107. Daniel 2.

Addition.

IN writing of this parcell, as I remembred the impediments which might call you back from God, and from his true obedience; so did I consider what occasion you had to tremble and to fear before his Majestie, and to undergo the losse of all the worldly glory, for the promoting of the glory of God. I do consider, that your power is but borrowed, extraordinary, and unstable, for you have it but by permission of others. And seldom it is, that women do long raign with felicitie and joy. Your most especiall friends moreover, blinded by the vanitie of this World; yea, being drunken with the Cup of that *Roman* Harlot, are mortall enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his true Religion. These things may easily abash the minde of a Woman not confirmed by grace; But yet, if you will a little consider with me the causes why, that ye ought to hazard all for the glory of God in this behalf, the former terrours shall suddenly vanish. I do not esteem that thing greatest, which peradventure some others do: to wit, That if ye shall enterprise to innovate any thing in matters of Religion, that then ye shall lose your Authoritie, and also the favours of your carnall friends.

Note.

I look further, to wit, To the judgements of God, who hath begun already to declare himself angry with you, with your Seed, and Posteritie; yea, with the whole Realm, above which it should have ruled. Impute not to fortune, that first your two sons were suddenly taken from you, within the space of six houres, and after your Husband, raft as it were, by violence, from life and honour; the memoriall of his name, succession, and royall dignitie, perishing with himself. For albeit, the usurped abuse, or rather tyranny of some REALMS, have permitted Women to succeed to the honour of their Fathers; yet must their glory be transferred to the house of a stranger. And so I say, That with himself was buried, his name, succession, and royall dignitie, as he himself did apprehend in dying; And in this, If ye espy not the anger and hot displeasure of GOD (threatning you and the rest of your Posteritie with the same plague) ye are more obstinate, then I would wish you to be. I would ye should ponder and consider, deeply with your self, That God useth not to punish Realms and Nations with such rare plagues without great cause; neither useth he to restore

Note.

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restore to honours and glory, the house which he beginneth once to deject, till repentance of the former crimes be found; you may per chance, doubt what crimes should have been in your Husband, you, o the Realm, for the which God should so grievously have punish ed you.

I answer, The maintenance, and defence of most horrible Idola try, with the shedding of the blood of the Saints of God, who laboured to notifie and rebuke the same. This I say, (other iniquitie omitted) is such a crime before the eyes of his Majestie, That for th same, he hath poured forth his extreme vengenance upon Kings, an upon their Posteritie, depriving them from honours and dignitie fo ever; As by the Histories of the Books of the Kings is most evident. To *Jeroboam* it is said, *Because I have exalted thee from the midst of th people, and have made thee Prince over my people* Israel, *I have rent th Kingdom from the house of* David, *for Idolatry also, and have given it unt*
1 Reg. 14. *thee, but thou hast not been as* David *my servant, &c. But thou hast don wickedly above all that have gone before thee; For thou hast made to thee, othe gods, and molten images, to provoke me, and hast cast me behinde thy back Therefore shall I bring affliction upon the house of* Jeroboam, *and I shall de stroy to* Jeroboam, *all that pisseth against the Wall (signifying thereby th Male children) and shall cast forth the Posteritie of* Jeroboam, *as dung is cas forth, till it be consumed.*

This sentence was not onely executed against this Idolater, but also against the rest of Idolaters in that Realm, as they succeeded one afte another, for to *Baasa*, whom God used as an Instrument to root ou
1 Reg. 16. the seed of *Jeroboam*, it is said: *Because thou hast walked in the way of* Jeroboam, *and hast caused my people to sin, that thou shouldest provoke me in thei sins; therefore shall I cut down the posteritie of* Baasa, *and the posterity of hi house, and shall make thy house as the house of* Jeroboam. *He that shall die t* Baasa *in the City, him shall dogs eat; and he that shall die in the field, him shal*
1 Reg. 16. *the fowls devour:* Of the same Cup, and for the same cause, drank *El*
2 Reg. 10. and *Achab*, yea, and the Posterity of *Jehu*, following the footsteps o
2 Reg. 17. their forefathers.

By these examples, you may evidently espy, That Idolatry is the cause, why God destroyeth the posteritie of Princes; not onely of those that first invent abominations, but also of such as follow and defend the same. Consider Madame, That God hath begun very sharply with you, taking from you, as it were together, two children and a husband; He hath begun I say, to declare himself angry, beware that you provoke not the eyes of his Majesty; It will not be the haughty looks o the proud, the strength of your friends, nor multitude of men that can justifie your cause in his presence; If you presume to rebell against him (and against him you rebell) if you deny my most humble request which I make in his Name, and it is this: With the hazard of mine
The offer of *John Knox.* own life, I offer to prove, That Religion which now you maintain, to be false, deceiveable, and abomination before God; And that I shall do by most evident testimonies of his blessed, holy, and infallible Word: If this, I say, you deny, (rebelling against God) The

favour

favour of your friends, shall little avail you, when he shall declare himself enemy to you. Which assure your self, he will shortly do, if you begin to display the banner of your malice against him. Let not the prosperity of others, be they Princes, Queens, Kings, or Emperours, bolden you to contemn God, and his loving Admonition. They shall drink the Cup of his wrath, every one in their rank, as he hath appointed them. No Realme in these quarters (except it, that next lieth to you) hath he so manifestly stricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you, and your Realme; And therefore, it becometh you first to stoup, except that you will have the threatnings pronounced by *Isaiah* the Prophet, ratified unto you. To wit, That your sudden destruction be as the rotten Wall, and your breaking, as the breaking of a Potsherd, which is broken without pitty; so that no portion of it can be found able either to carry fire or water. Whereby the Prophet doth signifie, That the proud contemners of God, and of his Admonitions, shall so perish from all honours; That they shall have nothing worthy of memoriall behinde them in the Earth. Yea, If they do leave any thing, as it shall be unprofitable, so shall it be in execration and hatred to the elect of God; and therefore, Thus proceedeth my former Letter.

Anno

Advert. Prosperity for a time proveth not Religion good.

No Realme, England except, so grievously plagued at Scotland.

Isai. 30.

Isai. 14.

Isai 6.

Letter.

How dangerous soever, it shall appear to the flesh, to obey God and to make warre against the divell, the prince of darknesse, pride, and superstition; yet if your Majesty look to have your self, and seed to continue in honour, worldly, and everlasting, subject your self betimes, under the hand of him, that is omnipotent. Embrace his Will, despise not his Testament, refuse not his Graces offered. When he calleth upon you, withdraw not your ear; Be not led away with the vain opinion, that your Church cannot erre. Be ye most assuredly perswaded, That so farre as in life, ye see them degenerate from Christs true Apostles, so in Religion are they further corrupted. Lay the Book of God before your eyes, and let it be judge to that, which I say. Which if ye, with fear, and reverence, obey, as did Josias *the admonitions of the Prophetesse, then shall he (by whom Kings do reign) crown your Battell with double benediction, and reward you with wisedome, riches, glory, honour, and long life in this Regiment temporall, and with life everlasting, when the King of kings (whose Members now do cry for your help) the Lord Jesus shall appear in judgement, accompanied with his Angels, before whom yee shall make accompt of your present Regiment, when the proud and disobedient shall cry:* Mountains fall upon us, and hide us from the face of the Lord. *But then it shall be too late, because they contemned his voice, when he lovingly called.*

Exhortation.

Josh. 1.

2 Par 34.

2 Par. 1.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his holy Spirit, move your heart so to consider, and accept the things that be said, That they be not a Testimony of your just condemnation in that great day of the Lord Jesus; to whose omnipotent Spirit, I unfaincdly commit your Majesties.

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Addition.

WHen *Jeremiah* the Prophet, at the Commandment of God, had written the Sermons, threatnings, and plagues, which he had spoken against *Israel* and *Judah*, and had commanded them to be read by *Baruch* his Scribe, because himself was excommunicated, and forbidden to enter into the Temple; by the providence of God it came to passe, That *Michaiah* the son of *Gemariah*, hearing the said Sermons, passed to the Kings House, and did communicate the matter with the rest of the Princes; who also, after they had read the same Volume of *Jeremiah* his Preachings, did not conceal the truth from *Jehoiakim*, who then did raigne in *Jerusalem*. But the proud and desperate Prince commanding the Book to be read in his presence, before he had heard three or four leaves of the same, did cut it, and cast it into the fire, notwithstanding that some of the Princes (I think not all) made request in the contrary. But the Prophet was charged by God to write again, and to say to *Jehoiakim*, *Thus saith the Lord, Thou hast burnt this Book, saying, Why hast thou written in it according to this sentence? Assuredly the King of Babylon shall come, and shall destroy this land, and shall make it void of men and beasts. Therefore thus saith the Lord, of* Jehoiakim *the King, There shall not be one left alive to sit in the Seat of* David: *Their carkases shall be cast to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night* (whereby the Prophet did signifie, the most vile death, and most cruell torment) *and I shall visite the iniquity of himself, and of his seed and servants: And I shall bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon all Judah, all the calamities which I have spoken against them: Albeit they would not hear.* This is not written, Madame, for that time onely, but to assure us, That the like punishment abideth the like contemners, of what state, condition, or degree that ever they be. I did write unto you before, having testimony of a good conscience, That I did it in the fear of my God, and by the motion of his holy Spirit (for the request of the faithfull brethren, in things lawfull, and appertaining to Gods glory, I cannot but judge to be the voice of the holy Ghost.) But how ye did accept the same my former writing, I do not otherwise then by conjectures understand: whether ye did reade it to the end, or not, I am uncertain: One thing I know, That ye did deliver it to one of your Prelats, saying, *My Lord, Will ye reade a Pasquill?* As charity perswadeth me to interpret things (doubtfully spoken) in the best sense; so my duty to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no Prince on the earth) compelleth me to say, That if no more ye esteem the Admonition of God, then the Cardinalls do the scoffing of Pasquills, that then he shall shortly send you messengers with whom ye shall not be able on that manner to jest. If my person be considered, I grant my thteatnings are no more to be feared, then be the merry sports which fearfull men do father upon *Pisquillus* in *Rome*. But, Madame, if ye shall deeply consider, That GOD useth men (yea, and most commonly, those that be of lowest degree, and most abject before the world) to be his Messengers and Ambassadours, not onely to notifie his will to the simple people,

Jerem. 36.

but alſo to rebuke the moſt proud Tyrants and potent Princes, then will ye not judge the liquor by the outward appearance and nature of the veſſell. For ye are not ignorant, That the moſt noble Wine is incloſed within the Tun made of Fraile wood, and that the precious oyntment is often kept within the pot made of Clay. If further ye ſhall conſider, that God will do nothing touching the puniſhment of Realms and Nations, which he will not reveale to his ſervants the Prophets, whoſe tongues he will compell to ſpeak ſomtimes contrary to the appetites and deſires of their own hearts, and whoſe words he will perform, be they never ſo unapparent to the judgement of men. If theſe ye do deeply weigh, then will ye fear the thing, which preſently is not ſeen. *Elias* was but a man, as Saint *James* doth witneſſe, like to his Brethren, and yet at his prayer was *Achab* the Idolater, and all Iſrael with him puniſhed three yeares and ſix moneths, God ſhutting up the heaven, that neither rain nor dew fell upon the earth the ſpace afore written. And in the end, God ſo wrought by him, that *Baals* Prieſts were firſt confounded, and after juſtly puniſhed. And albeit that *Jeſabel* ſought his blood, and by oath had determined his death, yet as ſhe was fruſtrate of her intent, ſo could ſhe not keep her own bones from the dogs, which puniſhment, the Prophet (God ſo ruling his tongue) had before appointed to that wicked woman. Albeit Madam, that the Meſſengers of God are not ſent this day with viſible miracles, becauſe they teach none other doctrine then that which is confirmed with miracles from the beginning of the world: yet will not he (who hath promiſed to take charge over his poor and little flock, to the end) ſuffer the contempt of their Embaſſage, eſcape puniſhment and vengeance. For the truth it ſelf hath ſaid: *He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that contemneth you, contemneth me.* I did not ſpeak unto you, Madam, by my former letter, neither yet do I now as *Paſquillus* doth to the Pope, and his carnall Cardinals in the behalf of ſuch as dare not utter their names, but I come in the name of Chriſt Jeſus, affirming, that the Religion, which ye maintain, is damnable Idolatry: the which I offer my ſelf to prove by the moſt evident teſtimony of Gods Scriptures. And in this quarrell I preſent my ſelf againſt all the Papiſts in the Realm, deſiring none other Armour but Gods holy Word, and the liberty of my tongue. God move your heart to underſtand my Petition, to know the truth, and unfeinedly to follow the ſame, *Amen.*

Anno.

Amos 2.

Zach 15

James 5.

1 Reg 17.

1 Reg. 18.

1 Reg 19.

2 Reg 9.

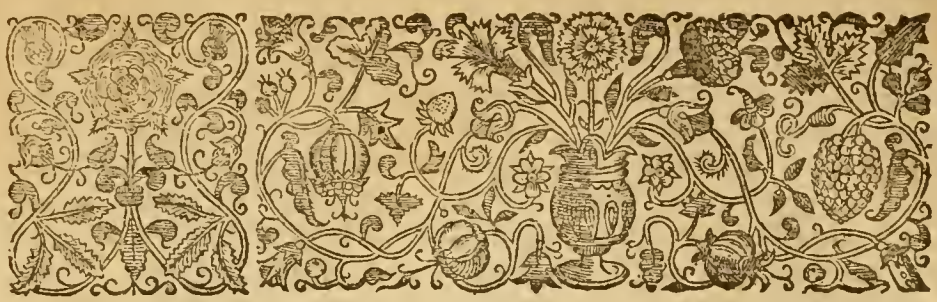
1 Reg 19.

Mat 10.

REVEL. JOH. 21.

I am the beginning and the end. I will give to him that is a thirſt, of the well of the water of life freely. He that overcommeth, ſhall inherit all things, and I will be his God. and he ſhall be my ſon. But the fearfull and unbeleeving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all lyers ſhall have their part in the lake, which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death.

Anno



JOHN KNOX,
THE
SERVANT
OF
JESUS CHRIST,

In preaching of his Holy Evangell, To the benevolent Reader, desireth grace and peace, with the spirit of righteous judgement.

Onder not, Christian Reader, that all my studie and travell within the Scriptures of God, these twenty yeers, I have set forth nothing in expounding any portion of Scripture, except this onely rude and indigested Sermon, preached by me in the publike audience of the Church of Edinburgh, *the nineteenth day of August,* Anno 1565. *That I did not in writing communicate my judgement upon the Scriptures, I have ever thought my self to have most just reason; for, considering my self rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowfull, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voyce, in these most corrupt dayes, then to compose Books for the age to come, seeing that so much is written (and by men of most singular erudition) and yet so little well observed; I decreed to contain my self within the bounds of that Vocation, whereunto I found my self especially called. I dare not deny (lest that in so doing I should be injurious to the Giver) but that God hath revealed unto me, secrets unknown to the world, and also that he hath made my tongue a Trumpet to forewarn Realms & Nations, yea, certain great revelations of mutations and changes, when no such things were feared, nor yet was appearing; a portion whereof cannot the world deny, (be it never so blinde) to be fulfilled; and the rest (alas) I fear shall follow with greater haste, and in more full perfection then my sorrowfull*

sorrowfull heart desireth : Notwithstanding these revelations and assurances, I did ever abstain to commit any thing to writing, contented onely to have obeyed the charge of him, who commanded me to crie. If any then will ask to what purpose this onely Sermon is set forth, and greater matters omitted; I answer, to let such as Sathan hath not altogether blinded so, upon how small occasions, great offence is now conceived, This Sermon is it, for the which (from my Bed) I was called before the Councell, and after long reasoning, I was by some forbidden to Preach in Edinburgh *so long as the King and Queen were in Town; This Sermon is it that so offendeth such as would please Court, and will not appear to be enemies to the Truth, yet they dare affirm, That I exceeded the bounds of Gods Messenger : I have therefore faithfully committed unto writing whatsoever I could remember might have been offensive in that Sermon, to the end, That as well the enemies of Gods truth, as the professors of the same, may either note unto me wherein I have offended, or at the least cease to condemn me before they have convinced me by Gods manifest Word. If any man think it easie unto me to mitigate by my pen the inconsiderate sharpnesse of my Tongue, and so cannot men freely judge of that my Sermon; I answer, That I am neither so impudent, that I will studie to abuse the world in this great light, neither yet so void of the fear of my God, that I will avow a lie in his own presence; and no lesse do I esteem it to be a lie, To deny or conceale that which in his Name I have once pronounced, then to affirm, That God hath spoken, when his Word assures me not of the same; for in the publike place I consult not with flesh and blood what I shall propose to the people, but as the Spirit of my God, who hath sent me, and unto whom I must answer, moveth me, so I speak; and when I have once pronounced threatnings in his Name (how unpleasant soever they be to the World) I dare no more deny them, then I dare deny that God hath made me his Messenger to forewarn the inobedient of their assured destruction. At that Sermon were auditors unto me, not onely professors of the truth, and such as favour me, but rank Papists, dissembling Hypocrites, and no small number of covetous Clawbacks of the new Court; now I will appeal to the conscience of them all, as they will answer in the presence of the Eternall God, that either they bear me record, now writing the truth, or else note unto me the sentences offensive then by me pronounced, and now omitted in writing; for in Gods presence I protest, That so far as memory would serve me, I have written more vehemently then in the action I spake and pronounced; but of purpose I have omitted perswasions and exhortations which then were made* Quædam hîc desunt.

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A SERMON Preached By John Knox.

Esay 26. 13,14,15,16,&c.

O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee onely will we make mention of thy Name.

They are dead, they shall not live; they are deceased, they shall not rise; therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish.

Thou hast increased the Nation, O Lord, thou hast increased the Nation, thou art glorified, thou hast removed it farre unto the ends of the earth.

Lord, in trouble have they visited thee, they powred out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them. &c.

AS the cunning Marriner (being Master) having his Ship tossed with a vehement tempest, and contrary windes, is compelled oft to traverse, lest that either by too much resisting to the violence of the Waves, his Vessell might be over whelmed; or by too much libertie granted, to be carried whither the fury of the tempest would, his Ship should be driven upon the shore, and so make shipwrack; even so doth our Prophet *Isaiah* in this Text, which now you have heard read; for he foreseeing the great desolation that was decreed in the Councell of the Eternall, against *Hierusalem* and *Judah*, to wit, That the whole people that bare the Name of God should be dispersed, that the holy Citie should be destroyed, the Temple wherein was the Ark of the Covenant, and where God had promised to give his own presence, should be burnt with fire, the King taken, his sons in his own presence murthered, his own eyes immediatly after to be put out, the Nobilitie, some cruelly murdered, some shamefully led away

away captives; and finally, the whose seed of *Abraham* razed, as it were, from the face of the earth: The Prophet (I say) fearing these horrible calamities, doth, as it were, sometimes suffer himself, and the people committed to his Charge, to be carryed away with the violence of the tempest, without further resistance; then by pouring forth his and their dolorous complaints before the Majestie of God; as in the 13, 17, and 18 verse of this present Text we may reade. At other times he valiantly resisteth the desperate tempest, and pronounceth the fearfull destruction of all such as trouble the Church of God; which he pronounceth, that God will multiply, even in such time as when it appeareth utterly to be exterminate. But because there is no small rest to the whole Body, till that the Head returne to judgement, he calleth the afflicted to patience, and promiseth such a Visitation, as whereby the wickednesse of the wicked shall be disclosed, and finally recompenced in their own bosoms.

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The disposition.

Note.

These are the chiefest Points of which by the grace of God we intend more largely at this present to speak:

First, the Prophet saith, *O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have ruled us.* Verse 13.

This, no doubt, is the beginning of the dolorous complaint in the which he complaineth of the unjust tyranny that the poor afflicted *Israelites* sustained, during the time of their Captivity. True it is, That the Prophet was gathered to his fathers in peace, before that this apprehended the people: For a hundred yeers after his decease, was not the people led away captive: Yet he fore-seeing the assurance of the calamity, did beforehand endite and dictate unto them the complaint that after they should make. But at the first sight it appeareth, That the complaint hath but small weight: For what new thing was it, that other lords then God in his own person ruled them, seeing that such had been their Regiment from the beginning? For who knoweth not that *Moses, Aaron*, and *Joshua*, the Judges, *Samuel, David*, and other godly Rulers, were men, and not God; And so other lords then God, ruled them in their greatest prosperity.

For the better understanding of this complaint, and of the minde of the Prophet, we must first observe from whence all Authority floweth; and secondly, To what end Powers are appointed by God: The which two points being discussed, we shall the better understand, what lords, and what authority rules beside God; and who they are in whom God and his mercifull presence rules.

From whence all Authority floweth.

The first is resolved to us by the words of the Apostle, saying, *There is no Power but of God. David* bringeth in the Eternall God, speaking to Judges and Rulers, saying, *I have said, Ye are gods, and Sons of the Most High.* And *Solomon*, in the person of God, affirmeth the same, saying, *By me Kings raigne, and Princes discern the things that are just.* Of which place it is evident, That it is neither Birth, influence of Stars, election of people, force of Arms; nor finally, whatsoever can be comprehended under the power of nature, that maketh the distinction betwixt the superiour power and the inferiour, or that doth establish the Royall Throne of Kings, but it is the onely and perfect Ordinance of God, who willeth his Terrour, Power, and Majestie in a part to shine in the Thrones of

Psal. 82.

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of Kings, and in the faces of Judges, and that for the profit and comfort of man; So that whosoever would studie to deface that order of Regiment that God hath established, and by his holy Word allowed, and bring in such a confusion, as no difference should be betwixt the upper Powers and the subjects, doth nothing but evert and turne upside downe the very Throne of God, which he will to be fixed here upon earth; as in the end and cause of this Ordinance more plainly shall appear: which is the second Point we have to observe, for the better understanding of the Prophets words and minde.

2. Point. The end and cause then, why God printeth in the weak and feeble flesh of man this Image of his own Power and Majestie, is not to puff up flesh in opinion of it self; neither yet that the heart of him that is exalted above others, shall be lifted up by presumption and pride, and so despise others, but that he shall consider, that he is appointed Lieutenant to one, whose eyes continually watch upon him, to see and examine how he behaveth himself in his Office. Saint *Paul* in few words declareth the end, wherefore the sword is committed to the powers, saying, *It is to the punishment of the wicked doers, and unto the praise of such as do well.*

Rom. 13.

Of which words, it is evident, That the sword of God is not committed to the hand of man, to use as it pleaseth him, but onely to punish vice, and maintain vertue, that men may live in such society, as before God is acceptable. And this is the very and onely cause, why God hath appointed powers in this Earth.

Note.

For such is the furious rage of mans corrupt nature, That unlesse severe punishment were appointed, and put in execution upon malefactors; Better it were, that man should live among brute and wilde Beasts, then among men. But at this present, I dare not enter into the description of this common place; for so should I not satisfie the Text, which by Gods grace I purpose to absolve. This onely by the way, I would that such as are placed in Authority, should consider, Whether they raign and rule by God, so that God ruleth them or if they rule without, besides, and against God, of whom our Prophet here doth complain.

If any list to take tryall of this point, it is not hard: For *Moses* in the election of Judges, and of a King, describeth, not onely, what persons shall be chosen to that honour, but doth also give to him that is elected and chosen, the rule by the which he shall try himself, whether God raign in him or not, saying: When he shall sit upon the throne of his Kingdom, he shall write to himself an examplar of this Law, in a Book by the Priests and Levites; it shall be with him, and he shall read therein, all the dayes of his life, That he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these Statutes, that he may do them, that his heart be not lifted up above his Brethren, and that he turn not from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left.

Note.

Josh 1. The same is repeated to *Joshuah* in his inauguration to the Regiment of the people by God himself, saying; Let not the Book of this Law depart from thy mouth, but meditate in it day and night, that thou mayst keep it, and do according to all that which is written in it. For then shall thy way be prosperous, and thou shalt do prudently.

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The first thing then that God craveth of him that is called to the Honour of a King, is, *The knowledge of his Will revealed in his Word.*

What is required of a King or Prince.

The second is, *An upright and willing minde to put in execution such things as God commandeth in his Law, without declining to the right, or to the left hand.*

The Authority and Power of Kings is limited.

Kings then have not an absolute Power to do in their Regiment what pleaseth them; but their Power is limited by Gods Word: So that if they strike where God hath not commanded, they are but murtherers; and if they spare where God hath commanded to strike, they and their Throne are criminall and guilty of the wickednesse that aboundeth upon the face of the earth, for lack of punishment.

O that Kings and Princes would consider what account shall be craved of them, as well of their ignorance and misknowledge of Gods Will, as for the neglecting of their Office. But now to returne to the words of the Prophet. In the person of the whole people he doth complain unto God, That the *Babilonians* (whom he calleth, *Other lords besides* God, both because of their ignorance of God, and by reason of their cruelty and inhumanity) had long ruled over them in great rigour, without pity or compassion had upon the ancient men, and famous matrons: For they being mortall enemies to the people of God, sought by all meanes to aggravate their yoke, yea, utterly to have exterminate the memory of them, and of their Religion, from the face of the earth.

Note.

After the first part of this dolorous complaint, the Prophet declareth the Protestation of the people, saying, *Nevertheless in thee shall we remember thy Name:* (others reade it, *But we will remember thee onely, and thy Name:*) But in the Hebrew there is no Conjunction Copulative in that sentence. The minde of the Prophet is plaine, to wit, That notwithstanding the long-sustained affliction, the people of God declined not to a false and vain Religion, but remembred God, that sometime appeared to them in his mercifull presence; which albeit then they saw not, yet would they still remember his Name, that is, They would call to minde the Doctrine and Promise which at sometimes they heard, albeit in their prosperity they did not sufficiently glorifie God, who so mercifully ruled in the midst of them. The temptation, no doubt, of the Israelites, was great in those dayes: They were carried captives from the Land of *Canaan*, which was to them the gage and pledge of Gods favour towards them; for it was the inheritance that God promised to *Abraham*, and to his seed for ever. The League and Covenant of Gods Protection, appeared to have been broken: They lamentably complain, That they saw not their accustomed signes of Gods mercifull presence; The true Prophets were few, and the abominations used in *Babylon* were exceeding many: And so it might have appeared to them, That in vain it was, that they were called the Posterity of *Abraham*, or that ever they had received the Law, or Forme of right Religion from God. That we may the better feel it in our selves, the temptation, I say, was even such, as if God should utterly destroy all Order and Policie that this day is within his Church, that the

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true preaching of the Word ſhould be ſuppreſſed, The right uſe of Sacraments aboliſhed, Idolatry and Papiſticall abomination erected up again; And therewith, That our bodies ſhould be taken priſoners by Turks or other manifeſt enemies of God, and of all godlineſſe. Such, I ſay, was their temptation; How notable, then is this their confeſſion, that in bondage they make, to wit, That they will remember God onely, albeit, he hath appeared to turn his face from them, They will remember his name, and will call to minde the deliverance promiſed.

Uſe. Hereof have we to conſider, what is our duty, If God bring us (as for our offences and unthankfulneſſe juſtly he may) to the like extremity. This confeſſion is not the fair flattering words of hypocrites, lying and bathing in their pleaſures, but it is the mighty operation of the Spirit of God, who leaveth not his own deſtitute of ſome comfort, in their moſt deſperate calamities. This is then our duty, not onely to confeſſe our God in time of peace and quietneſſe, but he chiefly craveth, that we avow him in the midſt of his, and our enemies. And this is not in us to do, but it behoveth, That the Spirit of God work in us, above all power of nature. And thus we ought earneſtly, to meditate before the battell riſe more vehement, which appeareth not to be far off. But now muſt we enter in ſomewhat more deeply to conſider theſe judgements of God.

The duty of Gods people.

This people dealt with all, as we have heard, was the onely people upon the face of the Earth, to whom God was rightly known; among them onely were his Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Sacrifices uſed, and put in practiſe; They onely invocated his Name, and to them alone had he promiſed his protection and aſſiſtance: What then ſhould be the cauſe, that he ſhould give them over into this great reproach, and bring them into ſuch extremity, as his own name, in them, ſhould be blaſphemed. The Prophet *Ezekiel*, that ſaw this horrible deſtruction foreſpoken by *Iſaiah*, put in juſt execution, giveth an anſwer in theſe words, *I gave unto them Laws that were good, in the which, Whoſoever ſhould walk, ſhould live in them; But they would not walk in my wayes, but rebelled againſt me; And therefore, I have given unto them Laws that are not good, and Judgements, in the which they ſhall not live.* The Writers of the Books of Kings, and Chronicles, declare this in more plain words, ſaying: *The Lord ſent unto them his Prophets, riſing early, deſiring of them to return unto the Lord, and to amend their wicked wayes* (for he would have ſpared his people, and his Tabernacle) *but they mocked his ſervants, and would not return unto the Lord their God to walk in his wayes.* Yea, *Judah* it ſelf kept not the precepts of the Lord God, but walked in the Manners and Ordinances of *Iſrael*; That is, Of ſuch as then had declined to Idolatry from the dayes of *Jeroboam*. And therefore, the Lord God abhorred the whole ſeed of *Iſrael*, that is, The whole body of the people, he promiſed them, and gave them into the hands of thoſe that ſpoiled them, and ſo he caſt them out from his preſence.

Ezek 20.

2 Reg. 17.

Hereof it is evident, That their diſobedience unto God, and unto the voices of his Prophets, was the cauſe of their deſtruction. Now, have we to take heed how we ſhould uſe the good Laws of God, that is, his Will revealed unto us in his Word, and that Order of Juſtice, that by him, for

for the comfort of man is eſtabliſhed amongſt men. It is no doubt, but that obedience is the moſt acceptable ſacrifice unto God, and that which above all things he requireth; That when he manifeſteth himſelfe by his word, that men follow according to their vocation and commandment. Now ſo it is, that God by that great Paſtor, our Lord Jeſus, now manifeſtly in his word calleth us from all impiety, as well of body, as of mind, to holineſſe of life, and to his ſpirituall ſervice: And for this purpoſe, he hath erected the throne of his mercy among us, the true preaching of his word, together with the right adminiſtration of his Sacraments: But what is our obedience, let every man examine his own conſcience, and conſider what ſtatutes and lawes we would have to be given unto us. Anno

Wouldſt thou, O *Scotland*, have a King to raign over thee in juſtice, equity, and mercy? ſubject thou thy ſelfe to the Lord thy God, obey his commandments, and magnifie thou that word that calleth unto thee, *This is the way, walke into it*, and if thou wilt not, flatter not thy ſelf, the ſame juſtice remaineth this day in God to puniſh thee *Scotland*, and thee *Edinburgh* in eſpeciall, that before puniſhed the land of *Juda*, and the City of *Jeruſalem*. Every Realm or Nation (ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy*) that likewiſe offendeth, ſhall be likewiſe puniſhed. But if thou ſhalt ſee impiety placed in the ſeat of juſtice above thee, ſo that in the Throne of God (as *Salomon* doth complain) raigneth nothing but fraud, & violence, accuſe thy own ingratitude and rebellion againſt God, for that is the only cauſe, why God taketh away (as the ſame Prophet in another place doth ſpeak) the ſtrong man and the man of war, the Judge and the Prophet, the prudent and the aged, the Captain and the honourable, the Counſellor and the cunning Artificer. And I will appoint, ſaith the Lord, children to be their Princes, and babes ſhall rule over them. Children are extortioners of my people, and women have rule over them. Iſai. Jere. 9. Eccleſ 3. Iſa. 3.

If theſe calamities, I ſay, apprehend us, ſo that we ſee nothing but the oppreſſion of good men, and of all godlineſſe, and wicked men without God, to reigne above us; Let us accuſe and condemn our ſelves, as the onely cauſe of our own miſeries. For if we had heard the voyce of the Lord our God, & given upright obedience unto the ſame, God ſhould have multiplyed our peace, & ſhould have rewarded our obedience before the eyes of the world. But now let us hear what the Prophet ſaith further.

The dead ſhall not live, ſaith he, neither ſhall the tyrants, or the dead ariſe, becauſe thou haſt viſited and ſcattered them, and deſtroyed all their memory. Verſe 14.

From this 14 verſe, unto the end of the 19, it appeareth, That the Prophet obſerveth no order; yea, that he ſpeaketh things directly repugning one to another: For firſt he ſaith, *The dead ſhall not live*: After, he affirmeth, *Thy dead men ſhall live*. Secondly, he ſaith, *Thou haſt viſited and ſcattered them, and deſtroyed all their memory*: Immediately after he ſaith, *Thou haſt increaſed thy Nation, O Lord, thou haſt increaſed thy Nation*. They have viſited thee, and have poured forth a prayer before thee. Verſe 15.

Who, I ſay, would not think, that theſe are things not onely ſpoken forth of good order and purpoſe, but alſo manifeſtly repugning one to another. For, to live, and not to live, to be ſo deſtroyed that no memoriall remaineth; and to be ſo increaſed, that the coaſts of the earth ſhalbe

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replenished, seem to import plain contradiction. For removing of this doubt, and for better understanding of the Prophets minde, we must understand, that the Prophet had to do with divers sorts of men; he had to do with the conjured and manifest enemies of Gods people, the *Caldees* or *Babylonians*; even so such as professe CHRIST JESUS, have to doe with the *Turke* and *Sarazens*. He had to doe with the Seed of *Abraham*, whereof there were three sorts. The ten Tribes all degenerate from the true worshipping of GOD, and corrupted with Idolatry, as this day are our pestilent Papists in all Realms and Nations, there rested onely the Tribe of *Judah* at *Jerusalem*, where the form of true Religion was observed, the Law taught, and Ordinances of God outwardly kept; but yet there were in that body (I mean, in the body of the visible Church) a great number that were Hypocrites, as this day yet are among us that do professe the Lord Jesus, and have refused Papistrie; not a few that were licentious livers, some that turned their backe to God; that is, Had forsaken all true Religion, and som that lived a most abominable life, as *Ezekiel* saith in his vision; and yet there were some godly, as a few Wheat Cornes oppressed and hid among the multitude of Chaffe: Now according to this diversitie, the Prophet keepeth divers purposes, and yet in most perfect order.

Ezek.8.

And first (after the first part of the complaint of the afflicted, as we have heard in vehemency of spirit) he bursteth forth against all the proud enemies of Gods people, against all such as trouble them, and against all such as mock and forsake God, and saith, *The dead shall not live, the proud Giants shall not rise, thou hast scattered them, and destroyed their memoriall.* In which words he fighteth against the present temptation and dolorous state of Gods people, and against the insolent pride of such as oppressed them; as if the prophet should say, O ye troublers of Gods people, howsoever it appeareth to you in this your bloody rage, that God regardeth not your crueltie, nor considereth not what violence you do to his poor afflicted, yet shall ye be visited, yea, your Carcases shall fall and lie as stinking Carrions upon the face of the earth, ye shall fall without hope of life or of a blessed resurrection; yea, howsoever ye gather your substance, and augment your families, ye shalbe so scattered, that ye shall leave no memoriall of you to the posterities to come, but that which shall be execrable and odious.

Note.

Hereof have the Tyrants their admonition, and the afflicted Church inestimable comfort; The Tyrants that do oppresse, shall receive the same end that they did which have passed before; that is, They shall die and fall with shame, without hope of resurrection, as is foresaid, not, That they shall not arise to their own confusion and just condemnation; but, that they shall not recover power to trouble the servants of God, neither yet shall the wicked arise (as *David* saith) in the Councell of the Just: Now have the wicked their Councells, their Thrones, and finally handling (for the most part) of all things that are upon the face of the earth; but the poor servants of God are reputed unworthy of mens presence, envyed, mocked; yea, they are more vile before these proud Tyrants, then is the very dirt and mire that is trodden under foot: But in that glorious resurrection

resurrection this state shall be changed; for then shall such as now by their abominable living and crueltie, destroy the earth and molest Gods children, see him whom they have pierced; they shall see the glory of such as now they persecute, to their terrour and everlasting confusion. The remembrance hereof ought to make us patient in the dayes of affliction, and so to comfort us, that when we see Tyrants in their blinde rage, tread under foot the Saints of God, that utterly we despaire not, as if there were neither Wisdome, Justice nor Power above in the Heavens to represse such Tyrants, and to redresse the dolours of the unjustly afflicted; No brethren, let us be assured that the right hand of the Lord will change the state of things that be most desperate: In our God there is Wisdome and Power in a moment, to change the joy and mirth of our enemies, into everlasting mourning, and our sorrows into joy and gladnesse that shall have no end. Anno Apoc.

Let us therefore in these apparent calamities (and marvell not that I say calamities apparent, for he that seeth not a fire begun, that shall burn more then we look for, unlesse God of his mercy quench it, is more then blinde,) not bee discouraged, but with unfained repentance, let us return to the Lord our God, let us accuse and condemne our former negligence, and stedfastly depend upon his promised deliverance, so shall our temporall sorrows be converted into everlasting joy. The doubt that might be moved concerning the destruction of those whom God exalteth, shall be discussed, if time will suffer, after that we have passed thorowout the Text; now proceedeth the Prophet, and saith;

Thou hast increased the Nations, O Lord, thou hast increased the Nations, thou art made glorious, thou hast inlarged all the coasts of the earth. Vers. 15.

Lord in trouble, &c. Vers. 16.

In these words the Prophet giveth consolation to the afflicted, assuring them, That how horrible soever that desolation should be, yet should the Seed of *Abraham* be so multiplied, that it should replenish the coasts of the earth; yea, that God should be more glorified in their affliction, then he was during the time of their prosperitie: This promise (no doubt) was incredible when it was made, for who could have been perswaded, That the destruction of *Jerusalem* should have been the meanes whereby the Nation of the *Iews* should have beene increased, seeing that much rather it appeared, That the overthrow of *Jerusalem* should have been the very abolishing of the seed of *Abraham*: But we must consider, to what end it was that God revealed himself to *Abraham*, and what is contained in the promise of the multiplication of his Seed, and the benediction promised thereto.

First, God revealed himself to *Abraham*, and that by the means of his Word; to let all flesh after understand, That God first called man, and revealed himself unto him, that *flesh can do nothing but rebell against God*; for *Abraham* (no doubt) was an Idolater before that God called him from *Ur* of the *Caldees*; The Promise was made, *That the Seed of* Abraham *should be multiplyed as the Stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea*; which is Josh. 24. Rom. 9.

Anno

not simply to be understood of his naturall Seed, as though it was sometimes greatly increased; but rather of such as should become the spirituall Seed of *Abraham*, as the Apostle speaketh; Now if we be able to prove, That the right knowledge of God, his Wisdom Justice, Mercy and Power, was more amply declared in their captivity, then ever it was at any time before, then can we not deny, but that God (even when to mans judgement he had utterly rased them from the face of the earth) did increase the Nation of the *Jews*, so that he was glorified in them, and did extend the Coasts of the earth for their habitation. And for the better undestanding hereof, let us shortly trie the Histories, from their Captivitie to their deliverance, and after the same, to the comming of the *Messias*.

It is no doubt, but that Sathan intended by the dispersion of the *Jewes*, so to have prophaned the whole Seed of *Abraham*, that among them should neither have remained the true knowledge of God, nor yet the Spirit of Sanctification; but that all should have come to a like contempt of God: For I pray you, for what purpose was it, that *Daniel* and his fellows were taken into the Kings Court, were commanded to be fed at the Kings Table, and were put to the Schools of their Divines, Southsayers and Astrologians? It may be thought that it proceeded of the Kings humanity, and of a zeal that he had, that they should be brought up in vertue and good learning; and I doubt not but it was so understood of a great number of the *Jews*; but the secret practise of the Devill was understood of *Daniel*, when he refused to defile himself with the Kings meat, which was forbidden to the Seed of *Abraham* in the Law of their GOD. Well, God beginneth shortly after to shew himself mindefull of his promise made by his Prophet, and to trouble *Nebuchadnezzar* himselfe, by shewing to him a vision in his dream, which did the more trouble him, because he could not forget the terror of it; neither yet could he remember what the Vision and the parcels thereof were: Whereupon were called all Divines, Interpreters of dreams, and Southsayers, of whom the King demanded, If they could let him understand what he had dreamed; But while that they answer, That such a question used not to be demanded of any Southsayer or Magician, for the resolution thereof onely appertained to the gods, whose habitation was not with men; the charge was given, That they all should be slain; and amongst the rest *Daniel* was sought (whose innocency the Devill envyed) to have suffered the same judgement: He reclaimeth, and asketh time to disclose that secret; (I onely touch the History, to let you see by what means God increaseth his knowledge) which being granted, the vision is revealed unto him, he sheweth the same unto the King, with the true interpretation of it; adding, That the knowledge thereof came not from the Stars, but onely from the God of *Abraham*, who onely was, and is, the true God: which thing understood, the King burst forth in his confession, saying, *Of a truth your God is the most excellent of all gods, and he is Lord of Kings, and onely he that revealeth the secrets, seeing that thou couldest open this secret.* And when *Nebuchadnezzar*, after that, puffed up in pride by the counsell of his wicked Nobilitie, would make an Image, before the which he would that all Tongues and Nations, subject to him, should make adoration, and that *Sydrack*, *Meshack* and *Abednego*

Dan. 1.

Dan 2.

Abednago, would not obey his unjust commandment, and so were cast in the flaming furnace of fire; and yet by Gods Angels, were so preserved, that no smell of fire remained in their persons nor garments: This same King giveth a more notable confession, saying, *The Lord God of Sydrack, Misack and Abednago, is to be praised, who hath sent his Angels, and delivered his worshippers, that put trust in him, who have done against the Kings commandment, who have rather given their own bodies to torment, then that they would worship another God, except their own God. By me therefore, is there made a decree, That whosoever shall blaspheme the God of Sydrack, Misack and Abednago, that he shall be cut in pieces, and his house shall be made detestable.* Dan. 3.

Anno

Thus we see how God began, even almost in the beginning of their Captivity, to notifie his name, to multiply his knowledge, and set forth as well his power, as his wisedom, and true worshipping, by those that were taken prisoners; yea, that were despised, and of all men contemned, So that the name and fear of the God of *Abraham*, was never before notified to so many Realmes and Nations. This wondrous work of God proceeded from one Empire to another: For *Daniel* being promoted to great honour by *Darius* King of *Persians* and *Medes*, falleth into a desperate danger; For he was committed to prison among Lyons, because that he was deprehended, breaking the Kings Injunction; not that the King desired the destruction of Gods servants, but because the corrupt Idolaters, that in hatred of *Daniel* had procured that Law to be made, urged the King against his Nature; but God by his Angel, did stop the Lyons mouths, and so preserved his servant: Which considered with the sudden destruction of *Daniels* enemies, by the same Lyons, King *Darius*, besides his own confession, wrote to all people, tongues, and nations after this form; *It is decreed by me, That in all the dominions of my Kingdom, men shall fear and reverence the God of Daniel, because he is the living God, abiding for ever; whose Kingdom shall not be destroyed, and his dominion remaineth, who saveth and delivereth, and sheweth signes and wonders in Heaven and in Earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the Lyons.* Dan. 6.

This knowledge was yet further increased, in the dayes of *Cyrus*, who giving freedom to the Captives, to return to their own Native Country, giveth this confession; Thus saith *Cyrus*, the King of *Persians*, *All the Kingdoms of the Earth, hath the Lord God of Heaven given unto me, and hath commanded me, that a house be built to him in Jerusalem, which is in Juda. Whosoever therefore of you, that are of his people, Let the Lord his God be with him, and let him passe up to Jerusalem, and let him build the house of the Lord God of Israel; for he onely is God, that is in Jerusalem.* Time will not suffer me to intreat the points of this confession, neither yet did I for that purpose adduce the History; But onely, to let us see how constantly God kept his promise in increasing of his people, and in augmenting of his true knowledge, when that both they that were the seed of *Abraham*, and that Religion which they professed, appeared utterly to have been extinguished, above mens expectation; I say, he brought freedom out of bondage, light out of darknesse, and life out of death. I am not ignorant, that the building of the Temple, and reparation of the Walls 1 Esd 2.

of

Anno

of *Jerusalem*, were long stayed, so that the work had many enemies; But so did the hand of God prevail in the end, That a decree was made by *Darius* (by him I suppose, that succeeded to *Cambises*) not onely that all things necessary for the building of the Temple, and for the Sacrifices that were to be there brent, should be ministred upon the Kings charges; but also, That whosoever should hinder that work, or change that decree, that a balk should be taken out of his house, and that he should be hanged thereupon; yea, that his house should be made a dunghill; and thereto, he addeth a Prayer, saying, *The God of Heaven, who hath placed his Name there, root out every King, and People (O that Kings and Nations should understand) that shall put his hand, either to change, or to hurt this house of God, that is in Jerusalem.* And so, in despight of Sathan, was the Temple builded, the walls repaired, and the City inhabited, and in the most desperate dangers it was preserved, till that the *Messias* promised, the glory of the second Temple, came, manifested himself to the world, suffered and rose againe, according to the Scriptures: And so, by sending forth his Gospel from *Jerusalem*, did replenish the earth with the true knowledge of God; and so did God in perfection encrease the Nation, and the spirituall Seed of *Abraham*.

1 Esd 6.

A Prayer.

Wherefore, dear brethren, we have no small consolation, if the state of all things be this day rightly considered; we see in what fury and rage the world, for the most part, is now raised, against the poor Church of Jesus Christ, unto the which he hath proclaimed liberty, after the fearfull bondage of that Spirituall *Babylon*, in the which we have been holden captives longer space, then *Israel* was prisoner in *Babylon* it self: For if we shall consider, upon the one part, the multitude of those that live wholly without Christ; and upon the other part, the blinde rage of the pestilent Papists, What shall we think of the small number of them that do professe Christ Jesus, but that they are as a poor sheep, already seized in the claws of the Lyon? yea, that they, and the true Religion which they professe, shall in a moment utterly be consumed?

But against this fearfull temptation, let us be armed with the Promise of God, to wit, That he will be the Protector of his Church; yea, That he will multiply it, even when to mans judgement it appeareth utterly to be exterminate. This Promise hath our God performed, in the multiplication of *Abrahams* Seed, in preservation of it, when Sathan laboured utterly to have destroyed it, in deliverance of the same, as we have heard, from *Babylon*. He hath sent his son Christ Jesus, clad in our flesh, who hath tasted of all our infirmities (sin except) who hath promised to be with us to the end of the world. He hath further kept Promise, in publication, yea, in the restitution of his glorious Gospel; Shall we then think that he will leave his Church destitute in this most dangerous age? Onely let us stick to his Truth, and study to conform our lives to the same, and he shall multiply his knowledge, and encrease his people. But now let us hear what the Prophet saith more.

Lord,

Lord in trouble have they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastning was upon them. Anno Vers. 16.

The Prophet meaneth, that such as in the time of quietnesse, did not rightly regard God, nor his judgements, were compelled by sharp corrections to seek God, yea, by cryes and dolorous complaints, to visite him. True it is, That such obedience deserveth small praise before men, for who can praise, or accept that in good part, which cometh as it were of meer compulsion; and yet rare it is, that any of Gods children do give unfained obedience, untill the hand of God turn them; For if quietnesse and prosperity, make them not utterly to forget their duty, both towards God and man, as *David* for a season, yet it maketh them careless, insolent, and in many things unmindefull of those things that God chiefly craveth of them; which imperfection espied, and the danger that thereof might ensue, our heavenly Father visiteth the sins of his children, but in the rod of his mercy, by the which they are moved to return to their God, to accuse their former negligence, and to promise better obedience in all times hereafter; as *David* confesseth, saying, *Before I fell in affliction, I went astray, but now will I keep thy Statutes.*

But yet for the better understanding of the Prophets minde, we may consider how God doth visite man, and how man doth visite God, and what difference there is, betwixt the visitation of God upon the reprobate, and his visitation upon the chosen.

God sometimes visiteth the reprobate in his hot displeasure, pouring upon them his plagues for their long rebellion; as we have heard before, that he visited the proud, and destroyed their memory. Other times, God is said to visite his people being in affliction, to whom he sendeth comfort, or promise of deliverance, as he did visite the seed of *Abraham*, being oppressed in *Egypt*: and *Zachary* saith, That God had visited his people, and sent unto them hope of deliverance, when *John* the Baptist was borne. But of none of these visitations speaketh our Prophet here, but of that onely which we have already touched, to wit, when that God layeth his correction upon his own children, to call them from the venemous Breasts of this corrupt world, that they suck not in over-great aboundance the poyson thereof; and doth, as it were, wean them from their mothers Paps, that they may learn to receive other nourishment. True it is, That this weaning (or spaning, as we terme it) from worldly pleasure, is a thing strange to the flesh, and yet it is a thing so necessary to Gods children, that unlesse they be weaned from the pleasures of the world, they can never feed upon that delectable Milk of Gods eternall verity; For the corruption of the one, doth either hinder the other to be received, or else so troubleth the whole powers of man, that the soul can never so digest the truth of God, as that he ought to do.

Albeit this appeareth hard, yet it is most evident; For what liquor can we receive from the Breasts of the world, but that which is in the world, what that is, the Apostle *John* teacheth, saying; *Whatsoever is in the world, is either the lusts of the eyes, the lusts of the flesh, or the pride of life.* 1 Joh. 2.

Anno

Now ſeeing that theſe are not of the Father, but of the world, how can it be, that our ſouls can feed upon chaſtitie, temperance, and humility, ſo long, as that our ſtomacks are repleniſhed with the corruption of theſe vices?

Now ſo it is, that willingly, fleſh can never refuſe theſe forenamed, but rather ſtill delighteth it ſelf in every one of them; yea, in them all, as the examples are but too evident.

It behoveth therefore, that God himſelf ſhall violently pull his children from theſe venemous breaſts, that when they lack the liquor and poyſon of the one, they may viſite him, and learn to be nouriſhed of him. Oh if the eyes of worldly Princes ſhould be opened, that they might ſee with what humour and liquor their ſouls are fed, while that their whole delight conſiſteth in pride, ambition, and luſts of the ſtinking fleſh. We underſtand then how God doth viſite men, as well by his ſevere judgements, as by his mercifull viſitation of deliverance from trouble, or by bringing trouble upon his choſen for their humiliation: And now it reſteth to underſtand how man viſiteth God: Man doth viſite God, when he appeareth in his preſence; be it to the hearing of his Word, or to the participation of his Sacraments; as the people of *Iſrael*, beſides the obſervation of their Sabbaths and daily oblations, were commanded thrice a yeer to preſent themſelves before the preſence of the Tabernacle, and as we do, and as often as we preſent our ſelves to the hearing of the Word; for there is the footſtool, yea, there is the face and throne of God himſelf, wherefoever the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt is truely Preached, and his Sacraments rightly miniſtred.

But men may on this ſort viſite God hypocritically, for they may come for the faſhion, they may hear with deaf ears; yea, they may underſtand, and yet never determine with themſelves to obey that, which God requireth: And let ſuch men be aſſured, That he (who ſearcheth the ſecrets of hearts) will be avenged of all ſuch. For nothing can be to God more odious, then to mock him in his own preſence. Let every man therefore examine himſelf, with what minde, and what purpoſe, he cometh to hear the Word of God; yea, with what ear he heareth it, and what teſtimony his heart giveth unto him, when that God commandeth vertue, and forbiddeth impiety.

Repineſt thou when God requireth obedience? Thou heareſt to thine own condemnation. Mockeſt thou at Gods threatnings? Thou ſhalt feel the weight and truth of them, albeit too late, when fleſh and blood cannot deliver thee from his hand. But the viſitation (whereof our Prophet ſpeaketh,) is onely proper to the ſons of God, who in the time when God taketh from them the pleaſures of the world, or ſheweth his angry countenance unto them, have their recourſe unto him, and confeſſing their former negligence with troubled hearts, cry for his mercy. This viſitation is not proper to all afflicted, but appertaineth onely to Gods children: For the reprobates can never have acceſſe to Gods mercy in time of their tribulation, and that becauſe they abuſe as well his long patience, as the manifold benefits they receive from his hands; For as the ſame Prophet heretofore ſaith, Let the wicked obtain mercy, yet ſhall he never

never learn wisdome, but in the land of righteousnesse, that is, Where the very knowledge of God aboundeth, he will do wickedly, which is a crime above all others abominable; for to what end is it that God erecteth his Throne among us, but that we should fear him? Why doth he reaveal his holy will unto us, but that we should obey it? Why doth he deliver us from trouble, but that we should be witnesses unto the world, that he is gracious and merciful? Anno

Now when that men, hearing their duty, and knowing what God requireth of them, do malapertly fight against all equity and justice, what, I pray you, do they else, but make manifest warre against God? yea, when they have received from God such deliverance, that they cannot deny, but that God himself hath in his great mercy visited them, and yet that they continue wicked as before; what deserve they, but effectually to bee given over unto a reprobate sense, that headlong they may runne to ruine, both of body and soul? It is almost incredible that a man should be so enraged against God, that neither his plagues, nor yet his mercy shewed, should move them to repentance; but because the Scriptures beareth witnesse of the one, and the other, let us cease to marvell, and let us firmly beleeve, that such things as have beene, are even presently before our eyes, albeit many, blinded by affection, cannot see them.

Ahab (as in the book of the Kings it is written) received many notable benefits of the hand of God, who did visit him in divers sorts; sometimes by his plagues, sometimes by his word, and sometimes by his mercifull deliverance; He made him king, and for the Idolatry used by him and his wife, he plagued whole *Israel* by Famine; He revealed to him his Will and true Religion by the Prophet *Elijah*; he gave unto him sundry deliverances, but one most speciall, when proud *Benhadad* came to besiege *Samaria*, and was not content to receive *Ahabs* gold, silver, sons, daughters and wives, but also required, that his servants should have at their pleasure whatsoever was delectable in *Samaria*: True it is, that his Elders and people willed him not to hear the proud Tyrant, But who made unto him the promise of deliverance? and who appointed and put his Army in order? who assured him of victory? The Prophet of God onely, who assured him, That by the servants of the Princes of the Provinces, who in number were onely two hundred thirty and two, hee should deface that great Army, in the which there were two and thirty Kings, with all their Forces; and as the Prophet of God promised, so it came to passe, victory was obtained, not once onely, but twice, and that by the mercifull visitation of the Lord.

But how did *Ahab* visite God again for his great benefit received? Did he remove his Idolatry? did he correct his Idolatrous wife *Jezabel*? No, we finde no such thing, but the one and the other, wee finde to have continued and increased in former impiety: But what was the end hereof? The last visitation of God was, That dogs licked the blood of the one, and did eate the flesh of the other. In few words then wee understand, what difference there is betwixt the visitation of God upon the Reprobate, and his visitation upon his Chosen; the Reprobate are visited, but never truly humbled, nor yet amended; the Chosen being visited, 1 Reg. 22. 2 Reg 9.

Anno

they ſob, and they cry unto God for mercy (which obtained) they magnifie Gods Name, and after declare the fruits of repentance. Let us therefore that hear theſe judgements of our God, call for the aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit, that howſoever it pleaſeth him to viſit us, that we may ſtoop under his mercifull hands, and unfainedly cry to him when he correcteth us; And ſo ſhall we know in experience, that our cryes and complaints were not in vain. But let us hear what the Prophet ſaith further.

Verſe 17. *Like as a woman (ſaith he) with child that draweth neer the travell, is in ſorrow, and cryeth in her pains, ſo have we been in thy ſight, O Lord, we have conceived, we have born in vain, as though we ſhould have brought forth the wind.*

Verſe 18. *Salvations were not made to the earth, neither did the inhabitants of the earth fall.*

This is the ſecond part of the Prophets complaint, in the which he in the perſon of Gods people complaineth, that of their great affliction there appeared not end. This ſame ſimilitude is uſed by our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt; for when he ſpeaketh of the troubles of his Church, he compareth them to the pains of a woman travelling in her child-birth. But it is to another end. For there he promiſeth exceeding and permanent joy, after a ſort, though it appear trouble. But here is the trouble long & vehement, albeit the fruit of it was not ſuddenly eſpied. He ſpeaketh no doubt of that long and dolorous time of their captivity, in the which they continually travelled for deliverance, but obtained it not before the compleat end of 70 yeres; during the which time, the earth, that is, the land of *Juda*, which ſomtimes was ſanctified unto God, but was then given to be prophaned by wicked people, got no help, nor perceiving any deliverance: For the Inhabitants of the world fell not, that is, the tyrants and oppreſſors of Gods people, were not taken away, but ſtil remained and continued blaſphemers of God and troublers of his Church. But becauſe I perceive the houres to paſſe more ſwiftly then they have done at other times, I mind to contract that which reſteth of this Text into certain points.

John 16.

Verſ. 19. 20. *The Prophet firſt fighteth againſt the preſent deſpair. After he introduceth God himſelfe calling upon his people. And laſt of all, he aſſureth his afflicted, that God will come, and require account of all the blood-thirſty Tyrants of the earth.*

Firſt fighting againſt the preſent deſpair, he ſaith, *Thy dead ſhall live, even my Body (or with my body ſhall they ariſe,) awake and ſing ye that dwell in the duſt; For thy dew is as the dew of herbes.*

Verſe 19.

The Prophet here pierceth through all impediments that nature could object; And by the victory of faith, he overcommeth, not only the common enemies, but the great and laſt enemy of all, *to wit*, death it ſelfe: For this would he ſay, Lord, I ſee nothing to thy choſen, but miſery to follow miſery, & one affliction to ſucceed another, yea, in the end I ſee, that death ſhall devour thy deareſt children. But yet, O Lord, I ſee thy promiſe to be true, & thy love to remain towards thy choſen, even when death appeared to have devoured them: *For thy dead ſhal live, yea not only ſhal they live,*

but

but my very dead Carcase shall arise; And so I see honour and glory to succeed this temporall shame, I see joy permanent to come after trouble, order to spring out of this terrible confusion; and finally, I see that life shall devour death, so that death shall be destroyed, and so thy servants shall have life. This (I say) is the victory of faith, when in the midst of death, through the light of Gods Word, the afflicted see life. Hypocrites, in the time of quietnesse and prosperitie, can generally confesse, That God is true in his promises; but bring them to the extremitie, and there ceaseth the Hypocrite further to trust in God then he seeth naturall means whereby God useth to work: But the true faithfull, when all hope of naturall means faileth, then flie they to God himself, and to the truth of his Promise, who is above nature, yea, whose works are not so subject to the ordinary course of nature, that when Nature faileth, his Power and Promise fail also therewith. Anno

Let us further observe, That the Prophet here speaketh not of all dead in generall, but saith, *Thy dead, O Lord, shall live:* In which words he maketh difference betwixt those that die in the Lord, and those that die in their naturall corruption, and in the old *Adam*. Dye in the Lord can none, except those that live in him (I mean those that attain to the yeers of discretion) and none live in him, but those that with the Apostle can say, *I live, and yet not I, but Christ Jesus that dwelleth in me; The life that I now live, I have by the faith of the Sonne of God.* Not that I mean, That the faithfull have at all hours such sense of the life everlasting, that they fear not the death, and the troubles of this life; no, not so, for the faith of Gods Children is weak, yea, and in many things imperfect: But I mean, That such as in death and after death shall live, must communicate in this life with Jesus Christ, and must be regenerate by the seed of life; that is, by the Word of the everliving God, which whosoever despiseth, refuseth life and joy everlasting. Gal. 2. 1 Pet. 1.

The Prophet transferreth all the promises of God to himselfe, saying, *Even my dead body shall arise*; and immediately after, giveth commandement and charge to the dwellers in the dust, that is, To the dead Carcases of those that were departed (for the spirit and soul of man dwelleth not in the dust) *That they should awake, that they should sing and rejoyce*; for they should arise and spring up from the earth, even as the Herbs do, after they have received the dew from above.

Time will not suffer that these particulars be so largely treated as they ought to be, and as I gladly would; therefore let us consider, That the Prophet in transferring the Power and Promise of God to himself, doth not vindicate to himself any particular prerogative above the people of God, as that he alone should live and arise, and not they also; But he doth it, to let them understand, That he taught a Doctrine whereof he was certain, yea, and whereof they should have experience after his death: As if he should say, My words appear to you now to be incredible, but the day shall come, that I shall be taken from you, my Carcase shall be inclosed in the bosome of the earth, and therefore shall ye be led away Captives to *Babylon*, where ye shall remain many dayes and yeers, as it were buryed in your Sepulchres.

Anno

But then call to minde, that I said unto you before hand, that my body shall arise: Even so shall ye rise from your graves out of *Babylon*, and be restored to your own Countrey, and City of *Jerusalem*. This, I doubt not, is the true meaning of the Prophets. The charge that he giveth to the dwellers in the dust, is to expresse the power of Gods Word; whereby, he not onely giveth life, where death apparantly had prevailed; but also by it, he calleth things that are not, even as if they were. True it is, that the Prophet *Isaiah* saw not the destruction of *Jerusalem*, much lesse could he see the restitution of it with his corporall eyes; but he leaveth this, as it were, in testament with them, That when they were in the extremity of all bondage, they should call to minde, what the Prophet of God had before spoken.

And lest that his doctrine, and this promise of God made unto them by his mouth, should have been forgotten (as we are ever prone and ready to forget Gods promises when we are pressed with any sorrow) God raised up unto them, in the midst of their calamity, his Prophet *Ezekiel*, unto whom, among many othervisions, he gave this; *The hand of the Lord first led him in a place, which was full of dry and dispersed bones.* The question was demanded of the Prophet, if these bones, being wondrous dry, should live. The Prophet answered, The knowledge thereof appertained unto God. Charge was given unto him, that he should speak unto the dry bones, and say, *Thus saith the Lord God to these bones, Behold, I shall give you breath, and you shall live; I shall give unto you sinews, flesh, and skin, and you shall live.* And while the Prophet spake (as he was commanded) he heard a voyce, and he saw every bone joyn in his Marrow; he saw them covered with flesh and skin, albeit, there was no spirit of life in them. He was commanded again, to speak, and to say, *Thus saith the Lord God, Come O spirit from the four quarters, and blow in these that are slain, that they may live.* And as he prophesied, the spirit of life came; They lived and stood, upon their feet. Now doth the Lord interpret what this vision meant, saying, *O Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel.* Behold, they say, our bones are dryed, our hope is perished, we are plainly cut off; But behold, saith the Lord, *I will open your graves, I will bring you forth of them, ye shall live, and come unto the Land of Israel, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.*

Ezek. 37.

This vision I say, given to the Prophet, and by the Prophet preached to the people, when they thought that God had utterly forgotten them, compelled them more diligently to advert, what the former Prophets had spoken. It is no doubt, but they carryed with them, both the prophesie of *Isaiah* and *Jeremy*, so that the Prophet *Ezekiel* is a Commentary to these words of *Isaiah*, where he saith. *Thy dead, O Lord, shall live, with my body they shall arise.* The Prophet bringeth in this similitude of the *dew*, to answer unto that part of their fidelity, who can believe no further of Gods promises, then they are able to apprehend by naturall judgement; As he would say, Think ye this impossible, that God shall give life unto you, and bring you to an estate of a Common-wealth again, after that ye be dead, and as it were raced from the face of the earth. But why do ye not consider, what God worketh from yeer to yeer,

yeer in the order of nature, ſometimes ye ſee the face of the earth decked and beautified with herbs, flowers, graſſe, and fruits. Again, ye ſee the ſame utterly taken away by ſtorms, and vehemency of the Winter. What doth God to repleniſh the earth again, and to reſtore the beauty thereof. He ſendeth down his ſmall and ſoft dew, the drops whereof, in their deſcending, are neither great nor viſible, and yet thereby are the pores and ſecret veins of the earth, which before by vehemency of froſt and cold were ſhut up, opened again; and ſo doth the earth produce again the like herbs, flowers, and fruits. Shall ye then think, that the dew of Gods heavenly grace ſhall not be as effectuall in you to whom he hath made his promiſe, as that it is in the herbes and fruits that from year to year buddeth forth and decayeth? If ye do ſo, the Prophet would ſay your incredibility is inexcuſable, becauſe ye do neither rightly weigh the power, nor the promiſe of your God. Anno

The like ſimilitude uſeth the Apoſtle *Paul* againſt ſuch as called the reſurrection in doubt, becauſe that by naturall judgement they could not apprehend that fleſh once putrified, and reſolved, as it were, in other ſubſtance, ſhould ariſe again, and return again to the ſame ſubſtance and nature. *O fool* (ſaith he) *that which thou ſoweſt is not quickned, except it dye, and that which thou ſoweſt, thou ſoweſt not that body that ſhall be, but bare corn, as it falleth, of wheat, or ſome other, but God giveth it a body as it pleaſeth him, even to every ſeed his own body.* In which words and ſentence, the Apoſtle ſharply rebuketh the groſſe ignorance of the *Corinthians*, who began to call in doubt the chiefe article of our faith, the reſurrection of the fleſh after that it was once reſolved, becauſe that naturall judgement (as ſaid he) reclaimed thereto. He reproveth (I ſay) their groſſe ignorance, becauſe they might have ſeen and conſidered ſome proofe and document thereof in the very order of nature: For albeit the wheat, or other corn caſt in the earth, appeareth to die or putrifie, and ſo to be loſt, yet we ſee that it is not periſhed, but that it fructifieth according to Gods will and ordinance.

Now if the power of God be ſo manifeſt in raiſing up of the fruits of the earth, unto the which no particular promiſe is made by God, what ſhall be his power and vertue in raiſing up of our bodies, ſeeing that thereto he is bound by the ſolemne promiſe of Jeſus Chriſt his eternall wiſdom? And the verity it ſelf that can not lie: yea, ſeeing that the members muſt once communicate with the glory of the head, How ſhall our bodies, which are fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones, lie ſtill for ever in corruption, ſeeing that our head Jeſus Chriſt is now exalted in his glory. Neither yet is this power and good will of God to be reſtrained unto the laſt and generall reſurrection onely, but we ought to conſider it in the marvellous preſervation of his Church, and in the raiſing up of the ſame from the very bottome of death, when by Tyrants it hath been oppreſſed from age to age.

Now of the former words of the Prophet, we have to gather this comfort, That if at any time we ſee the face of the Church within this Realm ſo defaced (as I think it ſhall be ſooner then we look for) when we ſhall ſee, I ſay, vertue to be deſpiſed, vice to be maintained, the

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the verity of God to be impugned, lies and mens inventions holden in authoritie; and finally, when we shall see the true Religion of our God, and the zealous observers of the same, to be trodden under the feet of such as in their heart say, That there is no God. Let us then call to mind what have been the wonderous works of our God from the beginning, that it is his proper Office to bring forth light out of darknesse, order out of confusion, life out of death; and finally, that it is he, that calleth things that are not, even as if they were, as before we have heard: And if in the day of our temptation (which in my judgement approacheth fast) wee be thus armed, if our incredulity cannot utterly be removed, yet shall it so be corrected, that damnable despaire oppresse us not. But now let us hear how the Prophet proceedeth:

Psal. 14.

Come (saith he) *thou my people, enter within thy chamber, shut thy door after thee, hide thy self a very little, whilenntill the indignation passe over.*

Here the Prophet bringeth in God amiably calling upon his people to come to himself, and to rest with him, untill such time as the fury and sharp plagues should be executed upon the wicked and inobedient. It may appear at the first sight, That all these words of the Prophet in the person of God calling the people unto rest, are spoken in vain; for we neither finde chambers nor rest more prepared for the dearest children of God (so far as mans judgement can discern) then there was for the rebellious and disobedient; for such as fell not in the edge of the sword, or dyed not of pestilence, or by hunger, were either carryed captives unto *Babylon*, or else departed after into *Egypt*, so that none of *Abrahams* Seed, had either chamber or quiet place to remain within the Land of *Canaan*. For the resolution hereof, we must understand, That albeit the Chambers whereunto God called his Chosen, be not visible, yet notwithstanding they are certain, and offer unto Gods Children quiet habitation in spirit, howsoever the flesh be travelled and tormented.

The chambers are then Gods sure promises, unto the which Gods people are commanded to resort, yea, within the which they are commanded to close themselves in the time of greatest adversitie. The manner of speaking is borrowed from that judgement and foresight, which God hath printed in this our Nature; for when that men espie great tempests appearing to come, willingly they will not remain uncovered upon the fields, but straightway they will draw them to their houses or holds, that they may escape the vehemency of the same; and if they fear any enemy to pursue them, they will shut their doors, to the end that suddenly the enemy should not have entry.

After this manner God speaketh to his people; as if he should say, The Tempest that shall come upon this whole Nation, shall be so terrible, that nothing shall appear but extermination to come upon the whole body: But thou my people (I say) that heareſt my word, beleeveſt the same, and trembleſt at the threatnings of my Prophets, now when the world doth insolently resist, let such (I say) enter within the secret Chamber of my promises, let them contain themselves quietly there, yea let them shut

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ſhut the door upon them, and ſuffer not infidelity, the mortall enemy of my trueth, and of my people that depend thereupon, to have free entry to trouble them (yea, farther to murther) in my promiſe; and ſo ſhall they perceive that my indignation ſhall paſſe, and that ſuch as depend upon me, ſhall be ſaved.

Thus we may perceive the meaning of the Prophet; Whereof, we have firſt to obſerve, That God acknowledgeth them for his people; that are in greateſt affliction; yea, ſuch as are reputed unworthy of mens preſence, are yet admitted within the ſecret Chamber of God. Let no man think that fleſh and blood, can ſuddenly attain to that comfort; and therefore moſt expedient it is, That we be frequently exerciſed in meditation of the ſame. Eaſie it is I grant, in time of proſperity, to ſay, and to think, That God is our God, and that we are his people; But when he hath given us over in the hands of our enemies, and turned (as it were) his back unto us, then I ſay, ſtill to reclaim him to be our God, and to have this aſſurance, That we are his people, proceedeth wholly from the holy ſpirit of God, as is the greateſt victory of faith, which over-cometh the world; for increaſe whereof, we ought continually to pray. 1 John 5.

This doctrine we ſhall not think ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider how ſuddenly our ſpirits are carryed away from our God, and from believing his promiſe; ſo ſoon as any great temptation doth apprehend us, then begin we to doubt, If ever we beleeved Gods promiſes, if God will fulfill them to us, if we abide in his favour, if he regardeth and looketh upon the violence and injury that is done unto us, and a multitude of ſuch cogitations, which before lurked quietly in our corrupted hearts, burſt violently forth when we are oppreſſed with any deſperate calamity. Againſt the which, this is the remedy, once to apprehend and till to retain, God to be our God, and firmly to believe, that we are his people whom he loveth, and will defend, not onely in affliction; but even in the midſt of death it ſelf.

Secondly, let us obſerve, That the judgements of our God, never were, nor yet ſhall be ſo vehement upon the face of the earth, but that there hath been, and ſhall be, ſome ſecret habitation prepared in the Sanctuary of God, for ſome of his choſen; where they ſhall be preſerved untill the indignation paſſe by, and that God prepareth a time, that they may glorifie him again, before the face of the world, that ſometimes deſpiſed them; And this ought to be unto us no ſmall comfort in theſe appearing dangers, to wit, that we be ſurely perſwaded, That how vehement ſoever the tempeſt ſhall be, that it yet ſhall paſſe over, and ſome of us ſhall be preſerved to glorifie the name of our God, as is aforeſaid.

Two vices lurke in this our nature; the one is, That we cannot tremble at Gods threatnings, before that the plagues apprehend us, albeit, that we ſee cauſe moſt juſt, why that his fierce wrath ſhould burn as a devouring fire. The other is, That when calamities before pronounced, fall upon us, then begin we to ſinke down in deſpair, ſo that we never look for any comfortable end of the ſame.

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To correct this our mortall infirmity in time of quietneſſe, We ought to conſider what is the juſtice of our God, and how odious ſin is. And above all other, how odious Idolatry is in his preſence, who hath forbidden it, and who hath ſo ſeverely puniſhed it in all ages, from the beginning; And in the time of our affliction we ought to conſider, what have been the wondrous Works of our God, in preſervation of his Church, when it hath been in uttermoſt extremity: For never ſhall we finde the Church humbled under the hands of Traytors, and cruelly tormented by them; but therewith, we ſhall finde Gods juſt vengeance to fall upon the cruell perſecuters, and his merciſull deliverance to be ſhewed to the afflicted: And in taking of this tryall, we ſhould not onely call to minde the Hiſtories of ancient times, but alſo we ſhould diligently mark what notable Works God hath wrought even in this our age, as well upon the one, as upon the other. We ought not to think that our God beareth leſſe love to his Church this day, then that he hath done from the beginning: For as our God in his own nature is immutable, ſo remaineth his love towards his elect, alwayes unchangeable; For as in CHRIST JESUS he hath choſen his Church, before the beginning of all ages, ſo by him will he maintain and preſerve the ſame unto the end. Yea, he will quiet the ſtorms, and cauſe the earth to open her mouth, and receive thoſe raging flouds of violent waters, caſt out by the Dragon, to drown and carry away the woman which is the ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom, God for his own Names ſake, will be the perpetuall Protector.

Eccleſ. hiſtor. Sozomoni. lib. 5. cap. 5.

This ſaw that notable ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, *Athanaſius*, who (being exiled from *Alexandria* by that blaſphemous Apoſtata *Julian* the Emperour) ſaid unto his flock, who bitterly wept for his envious baniſhment; *Weep not, but be of good comfort, ſaid he, For this little cloud will ſuddainly vaniſh.* A little cloud, he called both the Emperour himſelf, and his cruell tyranny; And albeit, That ſmall appearance there, was of any deliverance to the Church of God, or yet, of any puniſhment, to have apprehended the proud tyrants, when the man of God pronounced theſe words, *Yet ſhortly after, God did give witneſſe, That thoſe words did not proceed from fleſh, nor blood, but from Gods very ſpirit.* For not long after, being in warfare, he received a deadly wound, whether by his own hand, or by one of his own ſouldiers, the Writers cleerly conclude not, But caſting his own blood againſt the Heaven, he ſaid, *Viciſti tandem Galilee*, That is, *At laſt thou haſt overcome thou Galilean*; So in deſpite, he termed the Lord Jeſus, and ſo periſhed that tyrant in his own iniquity; The ſtorm ceaſed, and the Church of God received now comfort.

Such ſhall be the end of all cruell perſecuters, Their raign ſhall be ſhort, their end miſerable, and their name ſhall be left in execrations to Gods people; and yet ſhall the Church of God remain to Gods glory, after all ſtorms. But now ſhortly, let us come to the laſt point.

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For behold (ſaith the Prophet) *the Lord will come out of his place to viſit the iniquitie of the Inhabitants of the earth upon them, and the earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood and ſhall no more hide her ſlain; becauſe that the finall end of the troubles of Gods Choſen ſhall not be before that the Lord Jeſus ſhall return to reſtore all things to their full perfection.*

The Prophet bringeth forth the Etenall God, as it were from his owne place and habitation, and therewith ſheweth the cauſe of his coming, to bee, That hee might take account of all ſuch as have wrought wickedly; for that he meaneth, where he ſaith, *Hee will viſit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them.* And leſt that any ſhould thinke, That the wrong doers are ſo many that they cannot bee called to an account, he giveth unto the earth (as it were) an Office and charge to beare witneſſe againſt all thoſe that have wrought wickedly, and chiefly againſt thoſe that have ſhed innocent blood from the beginning; and ſaith, *That the earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood, and ſhall no more hide her ſlain men.*

If Tyrants of the earth, and ſuch as delight in the ſhedding of blood ſhould be perſwaded that this ſentence is true, they would not ſo furiouſly come to their own deſtruction; for what man can be ſo enraged, that he would willingly do even before the eyes of God, that which might provoke his Majeſtie to anger, yea, provoke him to become his enemy for ever, if that he underſtood how fearfull a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God?

The cauſe then of this blinde fury of the world, is the ignorance of God, and that men think that God is but an Idoll, and that there is no knowledge above, that beholdeth their Tyranny; neither yet Juſtice that will, nor power that can repreſſe their impiety; but yet the Spirit of truth doth witneſſe the contrary, affirming, That as the eyes of the Lord are upon the juſt, and as his ears are ready to receive their ſobbing and prayers, ſo is his angry viſage againſt ſuch as work iniquitie, he hateth and holdeth in abomination every deceitfull and blood-thirſty man, whereof he hath given ſufficient document from age to age, in preſerving the one, or at leaſt in revenging of their cauſe, and in puniſhing of the other. Where it is ſaid, That the Lord will come from his place, and that he will viſit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and that the earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood, we have to conſider, what moſt commonly hath been, and what ſhall be the condition of the Church of God, to wit, That it is not onely hated, mocked, and deſpiſed, but that it is expoſed as it were, in a prey, unto the fury of the wicked; ſo that the blood of the Children of God, is ſpilt like unto water upon the face of the earth.

The underſtanding whereof, albeit it be unpleaſant to the fleſh, yet to us it is moſt profitable, leſt that we ſeeing the cruell entreatings of Gods ſervants, begin to forſake the Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe that ſhe is not ſo dealt withall in this unthankfull world, as the juſt and upright dealing of Gods Children do deſerve: But contrariwiſe, for mercy they receive crueltie; for doing good to many,

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of all the reprobate they receive evill: And this is decreed in Gods eternall Councell, that the members may follow the trace of the head; to the end that God in his just judgement should finally condemne the wicked; for how should he punish the inhabitants of the earth, if their iniquitie deserved it not? How should the earth disclose our blood, if it should not bee unjustly spilt? Wee must then commit our selves into the hands of our God, and lay downe our neckes, yea, and patiently suffer our blood to bee shed, that the righteous Judge may require account, as most assuredly hee shall, of all the blood that hath been shed, from the blood of *Abel* the just, till the day that the earth shall disclose the same; I say, every one that shedeth, or consenteth to shed the blood of Gods Children, shall be guilty of the whole: So that all the blood of Gods children shall crie vengeance, not onely in generall, but also in particular, upon every one that hath shed the blood of any that unjustly suffered.

A terrible, but most true sentence.

And if any thinke it strange, that such as live this day, can be guilty of the blood that was shed in the dayes of the Apostles, let them consider, that the verity it selfe pronounced, That all the blood that was shed from the dayes of *Abel*, unto the dayes of *Zacharie*, should come upon that unthankfull generation, that heard his Doctrine, and refused it.

The reason is evident, for as there is two heads and captains that rule over the whole world, to wit, Jesus Christ, the Prince of Justice and Peace; and Sathan, called the Prince of the world; so are they but two Armies that hath continued battell from the beginning, and shall fight unto the end: The quarrell is one which the Armie of Jesus Christ do sustain, and which the reprobate do persecute, to wit, The eternall truth of the Eternall God, and the Image of Jesus Christ printed in his Elect, so that whosoever in any age persecuteth any one Member of *JESUS CHRIST*, for his Truths sake, subscribeth as it were, with his hand, the persecution of all that have passed before him.

And this ought the Tyrants of this age deeply to consider, for they shall bee guilty, not onely of the blood shed by themselves, but of all (as is said) that hath been shed for the Cause of Jesus Christ from the beginning of the world.

Let the faithfull not bee discouraged, although they bee appointed as Sheepe to the Slaughter-house, for hee, for whose sake they suffer, shall not forget to revenge their cause. I am not ignorant, That flesh and blood will thinke that kinde of support too too late, for wee had rather bee preserved still alive, then to have our blood revenged after our death; and truely if our felicitie stood in this life, or if death temporall should bring unto us any damage, our desire in that behalfe were not to bee disallowed or condemned; But seeing that death is common to all, and that this temporall life, is nothing but miserie, and that death doth fully joyne us with our God, and giveth unto us the possession of our Inheritance, why should we thinke it strange to leave this world, and go to our Head and Soveraign Captain Jesus Christ?

Lastly, we have to observe this manner of speaking, where the Proph

phet saith, that *The earth shall disclose her blood :* In which words the Prophet would accuse the cruelte of those that dare so unmercifully and violently force from the Breasts of the Earth, the dearest Children of God, and cruelly cut their Throats in her bosome, who is by God appointed the common mother of mankinde, so that she unwillingly is compelled to open her mouth and receive their blood. Anno

If such Tyrannie were used against any naturall woman, as violently to pull her infant from her Breasts, cut the Throat of it in her own bosome, and compell her to receive the blood of her deare Childe in her owne mouth, all Nations would hold the fact so abominable, that the like had never been done in the course of nature; no lesse wickednesse commit they that shed the Blood of Gods Children upon the face of their common mother the earth (as I said before :) But bee of good courage (O little and despised Flock of Christ Jesus) for hee that seeth your griefe hath power to revenge it, He will not suffer one teare of yours to fall, but it shall bee kept and reserved in his Bottell, till the fulnesse thereof bee poured downe from Heaven upon those that caused you to weep and mourne; this your mercifull God (I say) will not suffer your blood for ever to be covered with the earth, nay, the flaming fires that have licked up the blood of any of our Brethren, the earth that hath beene defiled with it, I say, with the blood of Gods Children; for otherwise, to shed the blood of the cruell blood-shedders, is to purge the land from blood, and as it were to sanctifie it; The earth (I say) shall purge her selfe of it, and shew it before the face of God; yea, the Beasts, Fowls, and other Creatures whatsoever, shall be compelled to render that which they have received, bee it Flesh, Blood or Bones that appertained to thy Children, O Lord, which altogether thou shalt glorifie, according to thy promise made to us in our Lord and Saviour *JESUS CHRIST* thy welbeloved Sonne, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be honour, praise, and glory for ever and ever. *Amen*

Let us now humble our selves in the presence of our God, and from the bottome of our hearts, let us desire him to assist us with the power of his Holy Spirit, that albeit for our former negligences God giveth us over into the hands of other then such as rule in his fear, that yet he letteth us not forget his mercy, and that glorious Name, that hath beene proclaimed amongst us; but that wee may look thorow the dolorous storm of his present displeasure, and see as well what punishment hee hath appointed for the cruell Tyrants, as what reward hee hath laid in store for such as continue in his fear to the end; That it would further please him to assist, That albeit we see his Church so diminished, that it appear to bee brought (as it were) to utter extermination, that wee may be assured, that in our God there is great power and will, to increase the number of his Chosen, untill they bee enlarged to the uttermost parts of the earth: Give us (O Lord) hearts to visite thee in time of affliction, and albeit we see no end of our dolours, yet our faith and hope may conduct us to the assured hope of that joyfull resurrection, in the which wee shall possesse the fruit of that for which now we labour: In the mean time,

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grant unto us (O Lord) to repose our selves in the sanctuary of thy promise, that in thee we may finde comfort, till that this thy great indignation (begun amongst us) may passe over, and thou thy selfe appear to the comfort of thy afflicted, and to the terrour of thine and our enemies.

Let us pray with heart and mouth.

Almighty God and mercifull Father, &c. Lord into thy Hands I commend my spirit, for the terrible roaring of Gunnes and the noise of Armes do so pierce my heart, that my soule thirsteth to depart.

The last day of *August* 1565. at four of the Clock in the Afternoon, written indigestly, but yet truly so farre as memory would serve, of those things that in publike I spake on Sunday, *August* 19. for the which I was discharged to preach for a time.

The Castle of *Edinburgh* was shooting against the exiled for Christ Jesus sake.

Be mercifull to thy Flock, O Lord, and at thy [illegible] pleasure put end to my misery.

JOHN KNOX.

FINIS.

His [illegible] Edinburgh 9th November