[**NOTE:** There are several quotes in this article and their original spelling has been retained.]

ARTICLE II.

[by the Rev. Stuart Robinson]

JOHN KNOX, AS THE ENGLISH AND AS THE SCOTTISH REFORMER.

John Knox and the Church of England: His work in her Pulpit, and his influence upon her Liturgy, Articles, and Parties. A Monograph, founded upon several important papers of Knox never before published. By PETER LORIMER, D. D., Professor of Theology, English Presbyterian College, author of "Patrick Hamilton," "The Scottish Reformation," etc. Henry S. King & Co., 65 Cornhill and 12 Paternoster Row, London. 1875.

Some three years ago, the amiable and accomplished Dr. Lorimer, of the English Presbyterian College, London, while mining in the rich quarry of the William's Library, London, laid his hand upon certain "Knox papers," in what is known as the "Morrice Collection" of manuscripts, which, for some unaccountable reason, had never yet been published. They consist of four papers, all relating to Knox's work as a Reformer in England, viz.: (1) "An Epistle to the Congregation in Berwick, in 1552;" (2) "A Memorial or Confession laid before the Privy Council of Edward VI. in 1552;" (3) "The Practice of the Lord's Supper, used in Berwick, by John Knox; and (4) "A Letter written to Knox from London, 1566." These papers, though not originals, but transcripts from the originals—the one made by a contemporary of Knox, in the era of Edward VI., and the other in the last quarter of the seventeenth century—Dr. Lorimer has demonstrated to be, beyond all question, genuine productions of Knox and his contemporaries.

The discovery of these papers, furnishing so much new material towards a more correct estimate of the character of Knox, suggested to Dr. Lorimer the thought of re-writing the English section of Knox's life, interweaving with the facts already well known concerning him, the new facts brought out by these papers. The result of this happy thought is this *monograph* on the English section of Knox's life. He has done his work with singular skill and ability, and laid under lasting obligation to himself, all genuine Presbyterians; for genuine Presbyterians so reverence

the memory of Knox that an author who brings to light any new facts to his honor is looked upon with a sort of family affection, as having added to the honor and the good repute of the family name.

It gives special value and interest to the discovery and the labors of Dr. Lorimer that he has been enabled to bring out a phase of Knox's character hitherto almost entirely unnoticed. The current estimate of this grand historical personage makes him all sternness and boldness—distinguished for narrowness of view and uncompromising iron-sidedness—one ever ready

> "To prove his doctrine orthodox
> By apostolic blows and knocks."

Nor has it been his enemies who have been responsible wholly for this injustice to the character of the great Reformer. His friends, many of them, have regarded his bold, fierce, unmerciful attacks upon those who set themselves openly or by treachery against the progress of the Reformation in Scotland as the crowning honor of his life and character, while others of them have been too ready to apologize, when no apology was necessary, for what they deem his too fierce spirit by pleading the spirit of the age in which he lived. Even Dr. Paul Henry, the eulogist of Calvin, is found indulging in the loosest and most careless statements in regard to the character of John Knox, whom he styles "the founder of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, from which arose the rude, fierce spirits of a subsequent period." He even sets up Knox as a foil for the better display of the character of Calvin in the following style:

> "The difference of character in Calvin and Knox was early displayed when the latter was in England and interested himself in the revision of the Prayer-book. Then, as subsequently, he exhibited the most decided hostility to the Anglican Church on account of its retaining some of the Catholic forms, and not adopting the severe rule of the Scotch. Calvin, who so energetically strove against superstition, was not in this case disposed to agree with Knox. He willingly suffered outward forms to remain, or at least did not *assail them with fanatical violence, as if they had a real importance.*"*

Now, in the first place, at the time when Knox was interested

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*Life and Times of Calvin, vol. 2, p. 328.

in the revision of the English Prayer-book, he had never seen Calvin, nor probably had much acquaintance with Calvin's writings; for the revised Prayer-book of Edward VI. was just issuing from the press when Knox first landed in England after his captivity, and began his more public labors as a preacher. He could, therefore, have had no communication and comparison of views with Calvin on the subject. In the second place, it would have been little to Calvin's credit as a Reformer if he had differed seriously with Knox in his chief objection to Edward VI.'s Prayer-book, namely, the claim set up in one of its forty-two articles that the Church has the right to ordain rites and ceremonies, and, therefore, was competent to ordain kneeling at the Lord's Supper. And, in the third place, as will be seen further on, Knox, so far from "fanatical violence" against outward forms to which he objected, exhorted his former parishioners to conform to the order for kneeling at the Lord's Supper rather than create disturbance, as appears from one of the newly discovered papers.

It is gratifying to note that even before the recent discoveries of Mr. Tytler and Dr. Lorimer, more philosophic and less partisan writers, such as Thomas Carlyle, Froude, and Dean Stanley, had gathered even from the general history of those times the evidences on which they have felt bound to depart from the current estimate of the character of Knox. Carlyle had said of him, in his own quaint way:

> "They go far wrong who think this Knox was a gloomy, spasmodic, shrieking fanatic. Not at all; he is one of the solidest men; a most shrewd, observing, quietly discerning man; an honest-hearted, brotherly man—brother to the high, brother also to the low: sincere in his sympathy with both: a cheery, social man with faces that loved him. An ill nature he decidedly had not. Kind, honest affections dwelt in the much-enduring, hard-worn, ever-battling man. Close at hand, he was found to be no mean, acrid man, but at heart a healthful, strong, sagacious man."

And the truthfulness to nature of this picture Dr. Lorimer's new discovery combines with Knox's letters, as published by Dr. Laing, to confirm. So the candid, nicely discriminating

Froude had said of Knox, among many similar references to his character in his history:

> "Penetrated to the heart with this conviction, John Knox became thus the representative of all that was best in Scotland. *He was no narrow, fanatic*, who, in a world in which God's grace was equally visible in a thousand creeds, could see the truth nowhere but in his formula. He was a large, noble, generous man, with a shrewd perception of actual fact, who found himself face to face with a system of hideous iniquity."*

And, in spite of both ecclesiastical and Rationalistic prejudice, even Dean Stanley had suggested that "John Knox himself *had a tinge of moderation* which has been little recognised, either by his friends or his enemies," though he cites as an evidence of his moderation the not very significant proofs that Knox proposed in the Confession prepared by him to take back any of its utterances which might be shown to impugn God's word; and also that Knox was not a rigid Sabbatarian.†

Dr. Lorimer shows from these newly discovered papers that in the capacity of an English Reformer Knox exhibited, in a remarkable degree, the combination of tenderness with strength; of playful humor with the profoundest seriousness; of all genial human sympathies with fervor of devotion and burning zeal for truth. And if our author had done nothing more than bring out the facts which go to establish these more just estimates of the character of the great Reformer, he would have done no mean service to the cause of truth and righteousness. But he has accomplished far more. He has drawn a distinct and most attractive picture of Knox as the English Reformer—the gospel preacher invited by the Privy Council of Edward VI. to preach the Reformation gospel in the north of England; singularly tender and wise as a guide of souls in trouble; the chaplain of Edward VI., having a high place in his confidence, and the confidential adviser of his Privy Council; in all of which official capacities he displayed remarkable wisdom and moderation. He has brought out not only another photograph of Knox, but one so contrived that when placed side by side with the old portrait,

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*Froude's Hist. of England, Vol. 6, chap. 37.

†Lectures on the Church of Scotland, Lect. iii, p. 112.

the two combine to create a more distinct and life-like representation. Just as in the beautiful results of the stereoscope, it requires two pictures, somewhat varied in the point of view to be seen together as parts of a whole, in order to the beautiful statuesque effect; so the tame uniformity of the current portrait of the Scotch Reformer, when it is viewed side by side with this new portrait of Dr. Lorimer, has a sort of stereoscopic distinctness and completeness which it could not have alone.

Referring the reader to Dr. Lorimer's admirable monograph for the view of Knox as simply an English Reformer, it is proposed here to present the character and spirit of Knox as they appear from the combination of Dr. Lorimer's picture of the English Reformer Knox with the picture of McCrie and others of Knox as the Scottish, Reformer.

It is worthy of note that nothing is known of the first forty years of Knox's life, beyond the mere fact that he was born in 1505; was educated in part at the University of Glasgow; at fifteen was the fellow-student of George Buchanan, under the famous scholastic Doctor John Mair; was admitted to orders in the Church of Rome as a secular priest, at the usual age; and that he united with the office of "Rood-Priest" in the chapel of St. Nicholas, in the neighborhood of his birthplace, the function of private tutor in the family of the Kers of Samuelston.

His character and convictions as a Reformer must have developed very slowly. For though the books of Luther and Tyndale had come into Scotland so early as 1525, and Patrick Hamilton had suffered martyrdom for the gospel truth in 1528; yet Knox is found so late as 1543 signing a notarial instrument of assignment as still an apostolic notary of the Church of Rome, entitling himself, "*Johannes Knox, sacri altaris minister, Sancti Andreæ diocesos auctoritate apostolica notarius.*"

But in 1546 we find him the friend and companion of the holy George Wishart, accompanying him with a two-handed sword to protect him, up to the time of his martyrdom. Calderwood relates that when Wishart was leaving Haddington on the evening of his arrest, "Johne Knox preassing to have gone with him, he said, 'Nay, returne to your childrein (his pupils) and God

blesse you. One is sufficient for one sacrifice. So he caused a two-handed sword which commounlie was carried with him to be takin from Johne Knox. He obeyed, albeit unwillinglie, and returned with Hugh Dowglas to Langnidrie."* Knox had by this time thoroughly embraced the Reformation under the teaching of Guillaume and Wishart, and it must be borne in mind that Wishart's Protestantism was of the Helvetic type, demanding a "Thus saith the Lord" as authority for every religious opinion and practice. So that the life of Knox as a Protestant Reformer, of the Helvetic or Calvinistic type, began in his forty-second year, immediately after the martyrdom of Wishart. The death of this martyr being avenged by the taking of the Castle of St. Andrews and the murder of Cardinal Beaton by Norman Leslie and his fellow-conspirators, they continued to hold the castle as a place of refuge for themselves and other Protestants against the wrath of Cardinal Beaton's Popish adherents. Into this castle Knox retired for shelter in 1547. His own account of this going into the shelter of St. Andrews with his pupils, and the reasons for it, is thus given in his own History of the Reformation in Scotland:

"At the Pasche after (April, 1547) came to the Castell of Sanctandrois Johnne Knox, who, wearied of removing from place to place by reassone of the persecution that came upon him by this Bischoppe of Sanctandros, was determinat to have left Scotland, and to have vesited the schooles of Germany (of England then he had no pleasur be reassone that the Paipe's name being suppressed, his laws and corruptions remaned in full vigor). But becaus he had the cair of some gentilmenes childrene whome certain yearis he had nurished in godlyness thare fatheris solisted him to go to Sanctandros, that himself might have the benefit of the Castell and thare children the benefit of his doctrine; and so (we say) came he the tyme forsaid to the said place, and, having in his cumpanye Francis Dowglas, of Langnudrye, George, his brother, and Alexander Cockburne, eldast sonne then to the Lard of Ormestoun, began to exercise thame after his accustomed manner. Beside thare grammar and other human authoris, he redd unto them a catechisme, acompt whareof he caused thame gave publictlie in the parishe Kirk of Sanctandrois. He redd moreover unto thame the Evangell of Johnne. Thei of the place, but especeallie Maister Henry Balnaves and Johnne

*Calderwood's Hist., vol. i, p. 195.

Rowght, preacher, perceaving the manner of his doctrin, begane earnestlie to travail with him, that he wold tak the preaching place upon him. But he utterlie refuissed, alledging that 'he wold nott ryne whare God had not called him,' meaning that he would do nothing without a lauchfull vocatioun."*

But, after advice with Sir David Lindsay, it was agreed that the preacher Rowght (Rough) should, after a sermon on the nature of a call, publicly demand of Knox that he enter upon the work of the ministry, in the name of God as now calling through them. He yielded and preached with great power on several occasions. But soon the French fleet came in the interest of Mary and the Papists, and captured the fortress of St. Andrews, carrying off the occupants as prisoners of war, and in violation of the Articles of Capitulation, which provided for carrying them to any port in Europe out of Scotland, they were kept as chained prisoners in the galley for eighteen months or more, and subjected to every sort of annoyance in order to bring them to the service of the mass. It was at this time that the celebrated scene occurred between the galley master and Knox, when the attempt was made to force the Scotchman to kiss a splendid image of the Virgin. The story is most interesting, as told by Knox himself, though he does not mention his own name. After speaking of their attempts to worry the prisoners back to the Popish services, he continues:

"Yea, when upon the Setterday at nicht thei sung thare *Salve Regina*, the hole Scottishmen pute on thare capps, thare hoodis, or such thing as thei had to cover thare headis; and when that otheris war compelled to kyss a paynted brod, (which thei called Nostre Dame,) thei war not pressed after ones; for this was the chance. Sone after the arrivall at Nances (Nantes) thare great *Salve* was song, and a glorious painted Lady was brought in to be kissed, and, amangis otheris, was presented to one of the Scotishmen then cheyned. He gentillye said: 'Truble me nott; such an idole is accursed; and tharefore I will not tuich it.' The Patron and the Arguesin, with two officeris having the chief charge of all such materis, said: 'Thou shalt handill it,' and so thei violentlie thrust it to his face, and put it betwix his handis; who, seeing the extremitie, took the idole, and advisitlie looking about, he caist it into the rivare and said: 'Let our Ladie now saif herself; she is lycht aneuch:

*Knox's Hist. of Reformation, book i, p. 185.

let hir learne to swyme.' After that was no Scotish man urged with that idolatrie."*

It was during this imprisonment that his friend Balnaves wrote his treatise of Justification, and Knox the famous preface to it.

After eighteen months of such ignominious bondage as Knox describes it—"going in irons, miserably intreated, and sore troubled by bodily infirmitie"—the Reformer was released, probably by English interposition. He went to England, and then began his labors as an English Reformer in 1549, in the forty-fifth year of his age. And now of the twenty years of active public service that followed, a summary chronological statement will show that about one-half of them were spent in connection with the Church of England, either in England or with refugees from England on the continent. Thus, early in 1549 Knox came to England, and was appointed by the English Council to be preacher in the town of Berwick. At the close of 1550 he was removed from Berwick to Newcastle. In December, 1551, he was appointed by the Privy Council one of six chaplains to Edward VI., which led to his occasional residence in London during 1552 and 1553. In October, 1552, he was offered the Bishopric of Rochester, but declined the preferment. In April, 1553, he declined the vacant living of All-Hallows in London, and on his refusal was summoned before the Privy Council to show why he refused these positions. In July of that year Edward VI. died, after which followed the persecutions of the Protestants under "the Bloody Mary," which drove him with multitudes of others to the continent. In 1554 Knox was called to become minister of the English congregation of Frankfort. In 1555, on account of the troubles stirred up by Cox, Grindal and others concerning the use of the English Liturgy, and their unworthy accusations of Knox before the Government as a seditious person, to secure their partisan ends, Knox left Frankfort and went to Geneva, and became one of the pastors of the English congregation there. In 1555-6 he made a visit to Scotland, where he preached privately in Edinburgh and elsewhere. He married in 1556 and returned to Geneva. In 1559, at the

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*Knox's Hist. of Reformation, book i, p. 226.

invitation of the "Lords of Congregation," he finally left Geneva and reached Edinburgh on the 2d of May, in which month the Queen Regent published her Declaration against the Protestants, and drove them to take up arms in self-defence, and to seek alliance with England. In 1560 English troops entered Scotland, and the Queen Regent died in the Castle of Edinburgh. Peace was concluded in July, and the Parliament assembled in August, adopted the Confession of Faith, and established the Protestant religion, and in December the first General Assembly met. In 1561, at the invitation of the Scotch nobility to their young Queen Mary to visit Scotland, she came and assumed the Government, and began the attempt at once to overthrow the Protestant established religion. From this time until 1567, when Lord Darnley was murdered, when Bothwell carried off the Queen, and when the young Prince James was crowned, Knox was engaged in a constant struggle, with the Queen on the one hand and the treacherous nobles on the other, to maintain the established religion. In 1569 Regent Murray was assassinated, and Knox preached his funeral. In the following year Knox had a stroke of apoplexy, and in 1572 died.

From this chronological outline it will be seen that the prime of Knox's life was devoted to the work of reformation among Englishmen, either in England or on the continent.

It is noteworthy that so little account is made of the five years of Knox's labors in England in the Scottish Church histories of that era. Calderwood despatches his chapter of "Mr. Knox; His Travells in England," in a very few lines beyond citations from his sermons before King Edward VI. and his Privy Council, and his apostrophe to England at Hammershame:

"Mr. Knox had taught at Berwick, Newcastle, London; at Winsore before the King's majestic; at Hampton Court, at Westminster, and many other places. In his admonition to the faithful in London, Newcastle, Berwick, printed *anno* 1554, we may perceave how painfullie, how powerfullie he taught the word in England since he was delivered out of the galleys. He foretold Newcastle and Berwick of the Tweate. He was free and plaine before the Duke of Northumberland at court. Before the Duke of Somerset he was apprehended."*

*Calderwood's Hist., vol. i, p. 279.

And even in Knox's own History of the Reformation in Scotland, though so largely occupied with transactions in which he took part, the account of his labors in England is summed up in one paragraph:

"The said Knox was first appointed preachar to Berwick, then to Newcastell; last he was called to London, and to the sowth parts of England, whare he remaned to the deathe of King Edward the Sext, when he left England; then he passed to Geneva, and thare remaned at his privat study till he was called by the Engliss congregation that then was assembled at Franctfoorde to be preachear to them; which vocation he obeyed, (albeit unwillinglye,) at the command of that notable servand of God, John Calvyne. At Franckforde he remaned till that some of the learned (whose names we suppress) moir given to unprofitable ceremonies than to sinceretie of religion began to quarrall with the said Johnne; and because thei dispared to prevail before the magistrat thare, for the establissing of their corruptionis, thei accused him of treason committed against the Emperoure and against thare Sovereigne Quein Marie, that in his 'ADMONITIOUN TO ENGLANDE,' he called the one lyttle inferiour to Nero, and the other more cruell than Zezabell."*

But of however small importance this era of his life in the estimate of himself and the Scottish historians, as compared with the subsequent twelve years of his labors in Scotland, the papers now published by Dr. Lorimer show that, during his life among the English, Knox not only became intimately connected with English life, and connected himself by marriage with influential English families, but as a public man exerted a very great influence, not only while in England, but by his association on the continent afterwards with such men as Coverdale, Bale, Whittingham, Goodman and others, and, as the result of all, left his powerful impress upon the Reformation in England.

But our present purpose is to show that, though Knox's Reformation views, derived from Wishart, were of the most decided Helvetic type, as his discourses in the Castle of St. Andrews had clearly shown, and though he held that every question of doctrine and Church order must be brought to the test of the word of God, yet in all his teachings, and even in all his controversies, he exhibited a broadness of view and a true catholic spirit that surpassed most of his contemporaries. And on all oc-

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*Knox's Hist. of Ref. in Scotland, vol. i, p. 231.

casions, so far from stickling at trifles, he proceeded upon the principle which Row has so comprehensively and philosophically stated: "Many thingis must be tolerated for a tyme in the infancie of a Kirk which may not be tolerated when the Kirk comes to greater perfection—many things in *ecclesia constituenda* which are not to be tolerated in *ecclesia constituta*;"* a principle, by the way, of very large application to the measures of the Presbyterian fathers.

Dr. Lorimer brings out very prominently the thought that Knox was a Puritan—entitled to be regarded as the father of English Puritanism. While the facts cited make it evident that Knox was indeed the champion of what would now be called Evangelical Protestantism as against the High Church half-way Reformation of the Church of England, which the people were subsequently compelled by the Government to be content with, it may be questioned whether the term "Puritan," as that term came to be understood afterwards in England, may be properly applied to John Knox. The Scottish as well as many of the English Protestants were indeed Puritans, and were banded together against the common enemy, the advocates of royal prerogative under the Tudors and Stuarts. But while the English Puritans fought the Tudors and the Stuarts, because they trod upon their individual rights as freemen, the Scottish Puritan resisted the Tudors and Stuarts with their high claims to prerogative because they trod upon the crown rights of Jesus Christ in his Church. English Puritanism represented the freedom of the *individual* conscience in religion as its primary idea; Scotch Puritanism represented as its primary idea the freedom of the Church of Christ as the spiritual commonwealth. This distinction was not developed in the era of Knox in England as subsequently. But one maintaining the principles of Knox would not, in the second Reformation of the following century, have been found in sympathy with the "thorough" school of English Non-conformists. His Presbyterianism, as all true Presbyterianism, was as churchly as the Church of England.

At Knox's advent in England, the Reformation, under the

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*Row's Hist. Kirk of Scotland, p. 22.

young King Edward, had proceeded to the point of the issuing and the sanction by Parliament of the "*Book of Common Praier* and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of Englande." To this Book, with its peculiarities, most of his work as a Reformer in England had reference. While the book was a vast advance on the superstitions of the Papal worship, it fell as far short of what the more zealous Protestants desired as its advance beyond Popery shocked the prejudices of the party, then immensely in the majority, who favored reconciliation with Rome. The book could not command the services of over a half dozen bishops in the whole kingdom to introduce it into their several dioceses. Hooper, in a letter to Bullinger, in 1549, declares: "On the other hand, a great portion of the kingdom so adheres to the Popish faction as altogether to set at nought God and the lawful authority of the magistrates, so that I am greatly afraid of a rebellion and civil discords." And in another letter, a few weeks later: "The Marquis of Dorset, the Earl of Warwick, and the greater part of the King's Council, favor the cause of Christ as much as they can. Our King is such an one for his age as the world has never seen." In still another letter Hooper points out the real difficulty: "It is no small hindrance to our exertions that the form which our Senate, or, as we term it, our Parliament, has prescribed for the whole realm is of so very defective and doubtful construction in some respects, indeed manifestly impious. I am so much offended with that book, and that not without abundant reason, that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the Church in the administration of the Lord's Supper."

It will be seen, therefore, from this picture of the sad state of things in England at this period, and this protest of Hooper against the earlier forms of the English Liturgy, that any protests that Knox may have made were no evidence of peculiarly rigid and narrow views on his part; but that he only protested in common with Hooper and other earnest and godly men of the Church of England against principles fatal to true reformation.

The chief issue in controversy at the time may seem to us at

this day to have been trivial. The Liturgy offered by the Government to the Church, particularly the order for administration of the Sacraments, (which were the great subject of the controversy with Rome,) retained many of the old Popish usages, as vestments, candles, wafers, and kneeling to receive the emblems in the Lord's Supper. The last of these came into great prominence. To superficial thinkers and writers, this would seem too small a matter upon which to divide and agitate the Church. But as men can understand so readily how so small an affair as a three-penny tax upon tea could become representative of the great issues of constitutional liberty involved in the American Revolution, why can they not understand how this question of kneeling at the Lord's Supper might involve all the tremendous issues involved in the death struggle with Popery in England at the middle of the sixteenth century? This question did involve in it the question between a real and a half-way reformation from Popery.

The Ritual of Edward VI., though introduced by authority of Parliament in 1549, seems to have worked its way so slowly that so late as 1552 it had not been brought into use in the churches so far north as Berwick. Knox, though one of Cranmer's licensed preachers, seems to have preached, and administered the Sacraments there according to his views of the word of God, without encumbering himself with the forms prescribed by the Prayer-book of Edward VI. His success as a minister among a rude, fierce people, in a border town, garrisoned with soldiers, seems to have been astonishing. In the popular impression and rumors of his success doubtless originated the charge repeated by Queen Mary ten years afterwards, that he had "practised necromancy upon the people in England when a minister there." He carried over the great bulk of his people from the superstitions of the mass to the simple form of the Lord's Supper, as administered by Presbyterians ever since. His bold, manly style seems to have been very attractive to the soldiers of which the town of Berwick, being on the border, was always kept full. And though within twelve months he was transferred to Newcastle, the letter to his congregation at Berwick which Dr. Lori-

mer recently discovered, shows that there grew up between him and them a lasting affection. In his famous vindication in response to the demand made of him in 1550 to give account of the doctrine he had constantly affirmed in Berwick, occurs this characteristic passage, when contrasting the doctrine of the mass with his true doctrine of the Lord's Supper:

> "They differ in use, for in the Lord's Supper *the minister and congregation sat both at ane tabill*—no difference betwixt thame in pre-eminence nor habit, as witnesseth Jesus Christ with his discipills and the practice of the Apostles after his death. But in the Papisticall Masse the priestis (so they will be stylit) are placed by themselves at ane altar. And I wold ask of the autorite thairof and what scripture cornmandeth so to be done. They must be cled in a sevarill habit, whairof no mention is made in the New Testament. It will not excuse tham to say Paule commandit all to be done with ordour and decentlie. Dair thai be so bold as to affirme that the Supper of Jesus Chryst was done without ordour and undecentlie, whairin were seen no disagysit vestamentis? Or will thai set up to us agane the Leviticall priesthood? Suld not all he taught by the plane word?"

It is very manifest, therefore, that the popular conception of a ritual of the Church of England at that time, and also that of her real Reformers, and of the Council at whose request Knox made this exposition, was far different from that which was settled upon after the Bloody Mary had crushed out the first Protestantism. Knox, in this grand vindication before the Council and an immense crowd, represents the Protestantism of Cranmer, and Ridley, and Hooper.

In December, 1551, it was determined that the King should retain six chaplains in ordinary; who should not only attend upon him, but also be itineraries and preach the gospel over the whole of Britain—two of them remaining at court, and four of them to go preaching, two and two, changing circuits year by year. It was doubtless in this character as one of the Government itinerants that Knox preached next at Newcastle; for there is an entry in the Privy Council Journal of 1552 in these terms: "A warrant to the four gentlemen of the Privie Chamber to pay to Mr. Knokes, preacher in the North, in the way of the King's reward the sum of XL *l*." And Knox himself refers in one of

his letters to the fact that "the Queen's majesty (Mary) or the Thesaurer will be XL pounds richer by me;" that is, that his stipend had failed to be paid by that much. As these six itinerant chaplains were selected on account of their distinction as preachers, here is evidence clear enough that Knox had gained the confidence of the pious young Edward VI. and his Privy Council. In such position it was occasionally his duty to speak of national affairs. No marvel, therefore, that a man who spoke with his faithfulness should arouse the fierce wrath of the Popish and semi-Popish nobles, and cause the memory of Knox's ministry in England to be execrated by these, and by their admiring biographers and historians, and the devotees of a half-reformed, mongrel, semi-Papal, semi-Protestant Church.

It was in the autumn of 1552 that Knox visited the court in his capacity as chaplain to the King, and preached the sermon before the court which created so much stir on the subject of kneeling at the Lord's Supper. This was no new question to the King and court, for Hooper, in one of his Lent sermons on Isaiah in 1550, had declared, touching the receiving of the Lord's Supper:

"The outward behaviour and gesture of the receiver should want all kind of suspicion, shew, or inclination of idolatry. Wherefore, seeing kneeling is a shew and external sign of honouring and worshipping, and heretofore hath grievous and damnable idolatry been committed by the honouring of the Sacrament, I would wish it were commanded by the magistrates that the communicators and receivers should do it standing or sitting."

Knox's sermon on the subject before the court is nowhere reported; but the record is that it was a vehement one and produced so great an effect upon the minds of the nobles and great men as to have excited the expectation that a further reform of the Church would grow out of it. The excitement was no doubt the greater because Parliament was then issuing a new Rubric for the first time *commanding* kneeling at the Lord's Supper. Nor is it singular that Knox, having taught his people for two years past that sitting was the proper position, and foreseeing the trouble which the new Rubric must excite in the Northern churches, should speak strongly as a royal chaplain against it.

That Knox displayed none of the spirit of a fanatic in his opposition against certain errors of the new Prayer-book, but with frankness and moderation stated his views, is evident from Calderwood's picture of the scene between Knox and the Privy Council, before which he was called to answer why he had refused, first, the Bishopric of Rochester, and subsequently also the benefice of All-Hallows in London. Since, so far from taking offence, the Council immediately sent him out again as a royal chaplain itinerant to Buckinghamshire:

"He was called before the Counsell the 14th of April, 1553, and demanded three questions: First, Why he refused the benefice offered to him? Nixt, Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ministree of England, according to the rites and lawes of the realme? Thirdly, Why he kneeled not at the Lord's Supper? To the first he answers that his conscience did witness to him that he might profite more in some other place than in London; and, further, Northumberland had given a contrare command. To the second, that unless many things were reformed, no minister could discharge his office before God in England, for no minister had authoritie to divide and separate the lepers from the whole, which was a cheefe point of his office. Yit he did not refuse such office as might appear to promote God's glory in utterance of Christ's gospel in a mean degre. To the third he answered that Christ's action was most perfyte; that it was most sure to follow his example; that kneeling was man's addition or imaginatioun. In this last question there was great contention between the whole table and him."*

And just here it is that the newly discovered letter to his congregation at Berwick a year or two later brings out the new view of Knox's character. Though his appeal was so powerful as to cause a desire in many of the Privy Council to reconsider the Rubric, Cranmer, who in this strongly dissented from Knox, pressed his point that Parliament had already decided the question, and went forward to put forth the order for kneeling. But Knox, with so much to arouse his spirit, when subsequently the new Rubric, as he anticipated, was likely to create great excitement in his old charge, wrote to them from the continent in the following considerate, compromising strain:

"These things granted unto me, I nether will gainstand godly magistrates, nether brak commune order, nor yit contend with my superiors or

*Calderwood's Hist., vol i, p. 280.

fellow-preachers, but with patience wile I bear that one thing; daylie thirsting and calling on God for reformation of that and others. * * * And, thairfore, brethren, it is not the feare of corporall punishment, but *onlye the feare that Christian charitie be violated* and brokin that swaideth and moves me to give place in this behalf. Albeit I could, with all soberness and dew obedience, shew causes why sitting at the Lord's table is to be preferred unto kneeling; yett if the upper powers, not admitting the same, would execute upon me the penaltie of their law, (because they may not suffer a common order to be violated,) assuredly Christian charitie was broken and dissolved," &c.

"And besides the breach of charitie, which is always to be avoided, I have respect to the quieting of your consciences, that if ye shall be compelled by the rigor of a law to alter that order, which of God's assured truth ye have learned and receaved, that nether shall ye dampne yourselves as transgressours of any law or violators of any common order for that which before ye have godlie used; nether yet that ye shall be accused as declinars or fallen back from the treuthe for that which ye shall after do; for when ye followed and received Christ's simpill institution sitting at a tabill, thair was no law, (except the statute of that Roman Antichrist,) and, thairfore, where there is no law there can be no transgression. And if now, by especial command of your uppar powers, ye shall be compelled to observe the common order, God forbid that ye shall be dampned or judged as shrinking from Christ; if first ye rejois not that ye are called back again to a gesture that is joyned with danger in that action. * * If these things by you be righteouslie observed, understand and believed, God forbid yat any of you shall be suspected, as that your former fervencaye toward the treuthe began to abaitt and wax cold, albeit contrary to your harts' desire, your order be altered; which unto my heart is so dolorous yat_ yf anye corporall, pane that my wicked carcass is able to sustean micht confirm and establish that ordour which Godd's treuthe hath planted among you, rather I should suffer deathe," &c.

Such is the tone in which the Berwick ex-pastor writes back to his beloved flock when the new Rubric concerning kneeling at the Sacrament is about to be enforced upon them by the Govment (*sic*). It tends greatly to enhance the force of this testimony in favor of moderation and peace in the Church, when we come now to examine another of these newly discovered papers, which proves to be a powerful "*Memorial to the Privy Council*," which Knox and some of his co-workers had presented to the court against the thirty-eighth of the forty-two articles of the Prayer-book of Edward VI., which seems to have been submitted

to them for their advice. While speaking in such a tone of moderation as we have seen to the body of the people, Knox (for this memorial to the Privy Council is evidently in large part his or inspired by him) can speak in tones of manliest protest to men in power against the very order to which he afterward advises the people to submit. The memorialists, taking exception to the thirty-eighth article on "The Book of Common Prayer," which declared the whole ritual, including the new Rubric, to be in conformity with the word of God, proceeds to except specially to this one ordinance of kneeling, and presents an elaborate argument against it, of which the following are some of the points:

"First. No mane as we suppose of holie judgment will denye but knelying in the action of the Lord's table proceaded from a fals and erroneous opinion, to wit : That there was Christis natural body contayned either by way of transsubstanciation or else by conjunction reall or corporall of his body and blood within the visible elements. That the same deceavable opinion doith yet remayne in the heartes of many, experience itself will well testyfye and playnelie declare. Then if a law may be confirmed, (Goddes majesty not offended,) that ceremonie that hath spronge furthe from a false opinion, &c.

"Secondaryly. By knelying in the 'Lord's Supper the consciences of weyke brethren are not a lyttel offended, &c.

"Third. The Churche of God that be strong and growne to some perfection is greatly injured; for it is permitted for idolatours to triumph over the Church of God, seeing that after so long contention between the professors of the treuthe and maintenors of idolatrie, the idolatours have vanquished; and of their victorie they glorie not a littel, &c.

"Finally. As knelying is no, gesture meete at the Lord's table, so doth it obscure the joyfull sygnyfications of that holie mysterie," &c.

These extracts are of profound interest ecclesiastically as pointing out the origin of the famous "Declaration on Kneeling," which was appended to the English Prayer-book, and was the most Protestant thing in it; and also as an evidence of the powerful influence of Knox in framing the English Articles of Religion. But they have a special interest as bearing upon the personal character of Knox as a Reformer, showing, by a comparison with his letter to his former charge at Berwick, that whilst he could stand forth boldly for the truth before the court, he could act as pacificator of the people when disposed to rebel

against the very order of the Government which he had labored to prevent.

It adds still further to the force of the facts already stated that his moderation exposed Knox occasionally to the sorrowful rebukes of his brethren, as having taken a position in which his views were used by their enemies against them. This appears from the fourth of these newly discovered papers, which is "A Letter Written to Mr. Knoxe," from which we can present but brief extracts:

> "Our brethren do give harty thanks for your gentle letter written unto them, but, to be plain with you, *it is not in all points liked*; and, for, my part, if I had known the tenor of it when I was with you, I would have said many words that I never spoke. * * *
>
> "Wheras you wish that our consciences had a better ground, truly we cannot see by these Scriptures that should alter our consciences from a Reformed Church that hath those marks to go back to mixtures. * * Also, when you say, 'God forbid that we should damn all for false prophets and heretics that agree not with us in our apparel, and other opinions that teacheth the substance of doctrine and salvation in Christ Jesus', we heartily thank you for your good desire, but we never were of that mind to condemn any man's person," &c.

Now, taking these presentations of Knox in these three papers—first, as the calm, moderate adviser of the people to waive every matter of feeling and prejudice against an obnoxious ritual; secondly, as the bold and manly protester again the Government action when proposing to order such ritual; thirdly, as bearing the reproaches of his brethren, interpreting his moderation as unfaithfulness to his testimony—and we have a character in many points the opposite that of the Knox who has heretofore figured in Presbyterian history. We add here an extract or two from Knox's private letters by way of showing that the internal movings of the man's spirit corresponded with this view of the gentleness and moderation of his public acts and deliverances.

Dr. McCrie tells us of the somewhat romantic courtship of Knox and Marjory Bowes, daughter of Richard Bowes, of Aske, whose family resided near Newcastle while Knox was there, and how, as usual, "the course of true love did not run smoothly," by reason of the opposition of the father to the marriage. But

Mrs. Bowes, the mother, was a woman of eminent piety, yet subject often to profound religious melancholy and doubts of her acceptance with Christ; and between her and Knox, who was her constant spiritual adviser, there grew up the strongest friendship. Dr. Laing, of the Advocate's Library, the editor of Knox's writings, who deserves the thanks and affectionate regards of all English speaking Presbyterians for his eminent services, has brought out in his "Knox's Works" (vol. 3) a collection of "Epistles to Mrs. Bowes and her daughter Marjory." In these letters we get views of the inmost heart of the great Reformer. In one of them, addressed to Mrs. Bowes to relieve her spiritual darkness, we find him saying of himself, after referring to former conversations with her:

"But now absent, and so absent that neither of us by corporeal presence can receive comfort of the other, I call to mind how that oftimes when, with dolorous hearts, we have begun our talking, God hath sent great comfort unto both, which now, for my own part, I commonly want. The exposition of your troubles and the acknowledging of your infirmities were first unto me a very mirror and glass wherein I beheld myself so rightly painted forth that nothing could be more evident to my own eyes," &c.

Then, again, in another letter, we find a paragraph in which this man, supposed to be so rough and plain spoken when reproving the sins of others, is as plain spoken of himself in sentences not less eloquent than the famous passage in Hooker which it so much resembles:

"Albeit I never lack the presence and plain image of my own wretched infirmity, yet, seeing sin so manifestly abound in all estates, I am compelled to thunder out the threatenings of God against all rebellers; in doing whereof (albeit as God knoweth I am no malicious and obstinate sinner) I sometimes am wounded, knowing myself criminal and guilty in many, yea, in all things, (malicious obstinacy laid aside,) that in others I reprehend. Judge not, mother, that I write these things debasing myself otherwise than I am. No! I am worse than my pen can express. In body ye think I am no adulterer; let so be. But the heart is infected with foul lusts, and will lust, albeit I lament never so much. Externally I commit no idolatry, but my wicked heart loveth the self, and cannot be refrained from vain imaginations; yea, not from such as were the fountain of all idolatry. I am no man-killer with my hands, but I help not my needy brother so liberally as I may and ought.

I steal not horse, money, nor clothes from my neighbor, but that small portion of worldly substance I bestow not so rightly as his holy law requireth. I bear no false witness against my neighbor, in judgment or otherwise, before men, but I speak not the truth of God so boldly as it becometh his true messenger to do. And thus, in conclusion, there is no vice repugning to God's holy will expressed in his law wherewith my heart is not infected."

It needs only the following extract from another letter to Mrs. Bowes, illustrative of the great Reformer's tenderness toward all troubled souls bewailing their sinfulness and helplessness, to complete the view of his inner life:

"Fear not, mother, that the care of you passes from my heart. Na! He to whom nothing is secret knoweth that I never present myself, by Jesus Christ, before the throne of my Father's mercy, but there also I commend you; and seldom is it that otherwise ye pass from my remembrance. The very instant hour that your letters were presented unto me I was talking of you, by reason that three honest poor women were come to me, and were compleaning of their great infirmity, and were showing unto me the great assaults of the enemy, and I was opening the cause and commodities thereof, whereby all our eyes weeped at one time, and I was praying unto God that ye and some others had been with me for the space of twa hours; and even at that instant came your letters into my hands, whereof ane part I read unto them, and ane of them said: 'O would to God I might speak with that person for I perceive there be more tempted than I.'"

Behold, then, this fierce man of war, before whose Herculean blows the kingdom of Satan trembled and sinners in high places quaked, now unfolding the secrets of his own heart and confessing that his strokes at sinners fell first upon his own soul, and, anon, sitting weeping with three honest poor women, bewailing their sins together! Here we have the secret of that "necromancy" to which the unspiritual multitude attributed his power of fascination over the English people.

Space fails us to follow the Reformer through his labors among the English on the continent, to which they and he were alike driven on the death of young Edward VI. by the "Bloody Mary" and her parasites, now exalted to power. The history of his labors at Frankfort and Geneva could be shown to have been in tone and spirit but a continuation of his labors in England. Had he been left undisturbed in his labors at Frankfort,

there is every reason to believe his success would have been as wonderful as at Berwick and Newcastle. The influx of a new element from England, driven out by the inconsiderate savagery of Mary's rule, soon, however, disturbed the peace of the congregation. A coterie of those Ritualistic martinets, (whose pseudo-aristocratic airs, and their intensely narrow and brainless conceptions of the public worship of God as a display of man-millinery and lisping cockneyism, has exposed the Church of England, so far as represented by them, to the contempt of both Papists and Protestants,) came into the congregation of the exiles at Frankfort with insolent demands to introduce the Liturgy of Edward VI., which as yet one-tenth of the English people themselves had not accepted; and in order to get Knox, their fellow-exile, out of the way, were guilty of the Iscariotism of trumping up against him the charge of treason against the Emperor, founding the charge upon some old strongly rhetorical expression which he had used long before he came to the continent. Of course, a foreigner and an exile could not afford to discuss ritual questions with a party which sought to bring in the secular power to their aid. Knox, therefore, removed to Geneva, and labored there as pastor of the English congregation, enjoying meanwhile the society and the instructions of the illustrious Calvin. Through the whole of this period Knox's correspondence exhibits him as the same earnest but moderate advocate of the great doctrines of the Reformation, never stickling for forms and non-essentials, as Dr. Paul Henry and others represent, but in the spirit of a broad catholicity, laboring to bring all Protestants to stand upon a common platform in their protest against the tyranny and wickedness of Rome.

With the key thus furnished in the first ten years of his public ministry in the Church of England and among the English on the continent, we are able to unlock the secrets of the character, conduct, and spirit of Knox, the Scottish Reformer, when, in 1560, he was called by the "Lords of Congregation" to return to his native country, and became the guide of the Reformation movement there. We may now see that whatever of uncompromising harshness and unyielding stubbornness he may have ex-

hibited came not altogether from the personal disposition of the man, nor from his ambitious desires to rule or ruin, but from his courageous and earnest zeal for a true spiritual Church against avaricious nobles and other leaders, traitors to the cause, who sought to grasp the wealth of which the Church of Rome was despoiled; and the open effort of a Popish Queen, backed by the power of France and Spain, to crush out the Reformation in Scotland, as it was crushed out in France and Spain. Knox, who, as the English Reformer, was a man of peace, was, as the Scottish Reformer, compelled to become a man of war or prove faithless to his mission. Thus forced into the conflict, he recognised the fact that so many are slow to comprehend—that "war is war."

The limits of one article forbid such illustration of this proposition as the subject merits. The other view of Knox as the Scottish Reformer must be left to a future occasion.