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CONTRIBUTIONS OF JOHN KNOX
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCOTTISH NATIONALISM

By

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INTRODUCTION

CONTRIBUTIONS OF JOHN KNOX
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCOTTISH NATIONALISM

INTRODUCTION

Speaking of the results of the Reformation in his country a Scottish thinker of the last century said, "Scotland was not merely reformed, it was revolutionized."¹ With a view to examining one aspect of these important changes in the life of the nation, it is proposed in this thesis to investigate the influence of John Knox on the development of nationalism among the people of Scotland, and the contribution he made to nationalist thinking in general.

A. The Relation of the Nationalist Emphasis to Knox's Work

1. The Main Emphasis.

Before entering upon this investigation it is necessary to remove a possible misunderstanding. This work is begun with a full recognition of the disadvantage of looking at only one set of facts in a field as inclusive as that of the Reformation in Scotland. It is by no means intended that the results attained should show that Knox's work was one which had political consequences alone. Neither is it to be supposed that because the presence of economic factors is noted as having an effect upon the work of the reformers, these forces are regarded as the only historical forces of importance. It would be a

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1. Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, p. 255.

serious error to belittle the religious and spiritual effects of the work of Knox; these are the things in which he was mainly interested on any fair reading of what he said, and they constitute his most significant contribution to the life of the world. Any other view will do injustice to this man.

2. The By-Products.

Yet his work had important by-products. It is like that of all the reformers in this regard. The ramifications of the movement are to this day hard to follow. For example, the relationship between Puritanism and the new economic conditions of the seventeenth century in England is hard to define, so deeply are both of these phenomena rooted in the whole life of the people of that epoch.¹ Whether the Puritan emphasis on certain qualities of character produced prosperity, or whether the newly opened markets of the world were the occasion for the new religious outlook, is a question that is too often decided by the preferences of the historian. The true account of the relation is probably summed up in the word interaction. The point that concerns us, however, is simply to note the fact that in any case there were by-products. The Reformation went deep into all departments of life in men and nations alike. As was the case with Luther in Germany, and Calvin in Geneva, Knox left his stamp upon the organized life of the community.

Many of these indirect effects of their work were not foreseen by the reformers themselves. This was certainly the case with such changes

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1. E.g., Marti, *Economic Causes of the Reformation in England*, a representative study of this subject.

in national feeling as that which we denominate the growth of nationalism. They were not the result of a premeditated program, but of historical forces beyond the control of any one man. One of the greatest authorities in the field of political theories has this to say in the course of his discussion of the theories of the reformers:

The Reformation allied itself, more perhaps on practical than on theoretical grounds, with the national idea which had already received extensive recognition in the leading monarchies of Europe.¹

In many ways the work of John Knox was unique in the extent of its influence on the life of the people, especially in the direction of welding them into a national unit. To discover the connection which existed between the development of Scottish nationalism in its initial stages and the reforming labors of Knox is the particular task of this thesis. By this examination of one set of circumstances light will be shed on the manner in which the by-products of the Reformation were produced.

B. The Definition of the Term "Nationalism"

1. Its Appearance in Modern History.

A second preliminary matter requires attention at this point. This is the definition of the term "nationalism." Although the study of this subject has only recently come to the fore as one of the major interests in modern history, the thing itself, like many another great process in this field, has a long past.² Difficult though it may be to put into words the exact meaning of the term, a fact due in part to the

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1. Dunning, Political Theories, Luther to Montesquieu, p. 35. Chaps. 1, 6, and 7 are related to this problem.
2. See Hayes, Essays on Nationalism, chap. 2. Prof. Hayes is one of the leading authorities on Nationalism.

variety of senses in which it is used, it represents nevertheless a real force in the events of the last two centuries and is a real force in the world now. If its first clear expression came in the days of the French Revolution and the wars that followed, its beginnings are to be traced back of that time into the changes that were coming over Europe since the age of discovery and in the rise of national states out of the ruins of the Holy Roman Empire. It is related intimately to the fall of the system of the Middle Ages, and the rise of the bourgeois in the cities, which latter movement has been described by Prof. Hayes as the most significant fact in modern history.¹ Finally, it is also related to the liberalizing effect of the new freedom in religion, with its emphasis on the rights of the individual.²

2. Chief Elements in the Idea.

How then is this term to be understood for the purposes of this investigation? It will be used to denote the emphasis upon loyalty to the national group as the supreme loyalty, the group being bound together by a common language, a common background of tradition, and a common culture. As is pointed out by one of the leading students of nationalism, nations have always existed; loyalty to some group has always existed; the new thing in nationalism is the extension of this loyalty to include the nation, and the erection of rigid barriers against those belonging to other groups.³ Further-more there is in the idea

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1. The writer has been a member of the seminar in Nationalism conducted by Prof. Hayes. The statement was made by him in the presence of this group.
2. Cf. Preserved Smith, *The Reformation Historically Explained*, Papers of the Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist., 2nd series, vol. 7, pp. 111-130.
3. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 29.

of nationalism an element for which we have no good word. The French call it "etatisme." It is the exaltation of the state over all other interests, the intrusion of the state into all the affairs of the citizens. Etatisme manifests itself in such things as compulsory education of the children, compulsory military service, public ownership of utilities, and increasing control of industrial and social relations. This magnifying of the functions of the state is an interesting concomitant of the growth of democracy. There appears to be the possibility that if this development continues absolute monarchy will be among us again under the new name of the "people" or the "majority," and with a new sanction, "patriotism."

One of the best illustrations of nationalism in its extreme form is to be found in present day Germany where the party known as the "Nazis" bases its appeal on the excellence of the Nordic race, and the need for eliminating the inferior peoples from the country. Having finished the process of racial purification, the land might be found too small for the genuine Nordics who remain. In that case there would be no choice but to lay bare the sword and displace other inferior peoples that this flower of the races might continue to expand. This was the doctrine preached at the meeting of the National Socialist Pharmacists and Physicians in December, 1931.¹

It would be outside the limits of this thesis to undertake to determine the amount of good and bad in the nationalism of the twentieth century. It is probably neither wholly the one nor the other.

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1. This account is based on the report of this meeting in the New York Times, Dec. 8, 1931.

The estimate will depend on the point of view from which the subject is approached. It is here, and it has had a history. Our concern is with that expression of it which is to be found among the Scottish people where it has followed a rather unique course. In Scotland the growth of national feeling has been accompanied, not with the gaining of independent political existence, but with the merging of political life with a state which was for centuries an enemy. There has been no war in recent times for independence. There has been an absence of many of the harsh features of the struggle for self-expression in other lands. Yet the Scotch have been no less a distinct people. They possess the qualities of a nationality as noted above - language, tradition, and culture. In their case there is also an excellent argument in favor of geography as one of the controlling influences in the national destiny. They have been conscious, though not offensively so, of their own excellence, and jealous of every encroachment on their rights. To this day, for all their union with Great Britain, they are one of the most clearly distinguished nationalities on earth.

3. Recognized Relation of Knox to Scottish Nationalism.

Scottish Nationalism goes back directly to the days of John Knox. The reformation of religion was bound up with the development of group consciousness as in few other European nations, partly because of the size of the land. The grounds for these statements constitute the problem of this thesis.

It was in the convulsions attending the change of the national faith that the Scottish nation first attained to a consciousness of itself, and the characteristics it then displayed have remained its distinctive characteristics ever since. It is precisely the combination of a

fervid temper with logical thinking and temperate action that have distinguished the Scottish people in all the great crises of their history.¹

So writes one of their own historians, talking in nationalist tones the while; and even those who would not agree with his characterization of the nation are bound to admit that the derivation of their individuality is correctly traced.

C. Sketch of the Career of Knox

With this understanding of the purpose in view, and with the idea of nationalism as here described as the basis for the discussion, it remains to survey rapidly the career of Knox, emphasizing such aspects of it as may have significance for the true estimate of his historical influence.

1. Obscure Origin of His Ideas of Reform.

It used to be an accepted fact that Knox was born in the year 1505; his 400th anniversary attracted considerable notice in 1905.² But of late historians have seen reasons for putting this event in 1515.³ This difference of opinion is cited as an excellent illustration of the extent to which his early life is shrouded in mystery. In his writings he makes no mention of himself before 1546. Of his family, his youth, and his education so little is known that it is not easy to form a conception of the origin of his career as a reformer. He was already past

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1. Hume Brown, History of Scotland, vol. II, p. 73.
2. Cf. the John Knox number of the Hartford Sem. Rev., Aug. 1905; Scottish Historical Review, vol. II, 1905, and other periodicals of that year.
3. Hay Fleming and Andrew Lang support the later date.

forty years of age when, like Elijah, he suddenly appeared on the scene of action sword in hand, and acting as body-guard to Wishart, the Protestant preacher. From his own statements we infer that he had entered the priesthood sometime before the date mentioned above. It is not altogether unimportant to remember that we know Knox only as a mature man.¹

At what time did the ideas of the Reformation begin to take hold on him? This is a question that we should like to be able to answer; but we are left to inferences. It is a known fact that Scotland was affected by the doctrines of the reformers at an early date. Knox's History of the Reformation begins with the burning of Patrick Hamilton in February, 1528. Many of the youth of Scotland who sought a higher education went to the continent to find it,² and it is to be supposed that they soon came into contact with the movement that was disturbing Europe. Knox must have been among the first to be impressed by the preaching of the new faith. He made an independent study of the Scriptures and of the writings of St. Augustine; these together with the factor mentioned above may have led him to break with the Roman Catholic Church. On all accounts it appears that he came to his convictions more or less independently.³

After the death of Wishart, the man for whom he acted as body-guard, he joined other members of the reform party in taking refuge from the storm in the Castle of St. Andrews. He was acting then as tutor to the sons of one of the nobles. His manner of instruction was overheard.

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1. See M'Crie, Life of Knox, ed. 1855, Note E, pp. 309-310.
2. Lindsay, History of the Reformation, vol. II, pp. 275-279.
3. See M'Crie, Life of Knox, ed. 1831, p. 24. Also Laing, Pref. to vol. VI of Knox's Works, pp. xix-xxiii.

It dawned upon the other inmates of the Castle that here was a man eminently fitted to instruct them all in the doctrines of the new faith. He refused their first request that he become their minister. Then one Sunday the preacher turned to Knox at the close of his sermon, and told him it was his duty to heed this call. Knox fled from the church in tears, having been taken wholly by surprise by this "pious ruse" on the part of the congregation.¹ It was at this point that his career as a leader of the reformation movement in Scotland may be said to have begun.

When the Castle of St. Andrews surrendered to the French fleet in 1547, Knox was taken with the rest of the garrison to France. He spent the next nineteen months as a galley slave. The manner of his release is not known; but he came out of this experience with his health permanently impaired, and, we may well suppose, with his spirit of resistance not a little hardened. Efforts to compel him to return to the fold of the Catholic Church were not likely to be successful in the case of such a man.²

The next five years he spent in England, preaching with considerable success at Berwick, and acting as chaplain to Edward VI. The accession of Mary in 1553 made it both desirable and necessary for him to leave England once more, and consequently he spent another period of five years in France, Germany, and Switzerland. During these travels

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1. Knox, Works, vol. I, pp. 68 ff.

2. This experience was severe but had spiritual value. "Not only the ungodly, but even my faithful brethren, yea and my own self, i.e. all natural understanding, judged my cause to be irremediable." Writings, p. 79. He says deliverance was an answer to prayer. Cf. Works, vol. I, pp. 348-349.

he made a stay at Geneva which led to a friendship with John Calvin. Knox's admiration for Geneva had important consequences as will be seen later. He cherished a high regard for Calvin all his life.¹

2. Leadership of the National Movement.

In 1559 he returned once more to Scotland, since the Queen who sought his life was dead. He had then thirteen years left to live. He used them to the full. Upon his return he assumed the leadership of his party at once, and he was soon the most conspicuous figure in the land. During these thirteen years he put the stamp of his personality on Scotland; it has borne that stamp until recent times. If it seems to us that this is a very brief period in which to do a work of such lasting significance, it may be accounted for, at least in part, by the fact that Knox, in common with his fellow reformers on the Continent, had the will to perform a prodigious amount of work. Like John Calvin he suffered from physical weakness. Even when he was in Geneva in 1556-1558 he wrote that he was feeling infirmities which made it hard for him to pursue his labors.² Travelling from town to town in Scotland, he drove a sickly body to its task for eighteen and twenty hours a day. He once said of himself,

In twenty-four hours I have not four free to natural rest and ease of this wicked carcase. I have need of a good and an assured horse, for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promised till any that shall kill me.³

This was in the year 1559, and he must have been suffering particularly

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1. Martin, *De la genese des doctrines politiques de John Knox*. Soc. d. l'hist. de prot. franc. Bull. Annee 56, pp. 193-219.
2. Letter to Foxe, 1558, *Writings*, p. 456.
3. Letter to Gregory Railton, Oct. 1559, *Works*, vol. VI, p. 88.

at that time, for he wrote in another letter,

I wraite unto you befor in favouris of my Wief, beseching you yit
eftsones to grant hir fre and ready passage, for my wicked carcass,
now presentlie lauboring in the feveris, neadeth hir service.¹

Two years before his death he suffered a stroke, but he con-
tinued to preach in a room small enough to enable his voice to be heard.
James Melville describes the scene during these last months, when Knox
was lifted into the pulpit,

be the said Richard and another servant, where he behoved to lean
at his first stay; but, 'ere he had done with his sermon, he was
sa active and vigorous, that he was like to ding the pulpit in
blads, and flie out of it.²

His death came in 1572. It was brought on, not by his years, but by
his burdens and anxieties. In concluding one of his sermons he said,

What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not
know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to witness to the truth.
And thus I cease, requiring of all men that has to oppose anything
against me, that he will do it so plainly as I make myself and all
my doings manifest to the world; for to me it seems a thing most un-
reasonable, that, in my decrepit age, I shall be compelled to fight
against shadows and houlets, that dare not abide the light.³

As in the case of Calvin, the exact place of his burial is not known.
In due course we shall see that his most enduring monument is the life
of the nation he served.

D. Note on the Language of the Quotations

One more explanation must be made before the argument is un-
dertaken. It will be found that passages quoted from Knox and from the
other contemporary writers vary in the degree to which the original

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1. Letter to Sir Jas. Croft, Aug. 23, 1559. Works, vol. VI, p. 74.
2. Diary of Jas. Melville, quoted in M'Crie, Life of Knox, p. 324.
3. From Bannatyne's Journal, quoted in M'Crie, p. 255.

spelling and grammar have been modernized. This is due to the fact that the editors of the published source materials have varied in their reproduction of the documents. The exact language of Knox's works would be nearly as difficult for most readers as an unfamiliar tongue. Vocabulary and spelling differ widely from our usage. Knox did not even spell his own name the same way in every case. Consequently most of the editions of the sixteenth century documents have sought to retain the flavor of the originals as far as is feasible while providing some degree of facility in reading.

In this thesis the printed editions of the documents have been used. It would be impossible to secure the documents themselves. Therefore the language of the quotations varies. In some instances the Scotch idiom appears, and in others it is almost entirely eliminated. For example, Laing in the editing of the Works of Knox has retained to a considerable extent the original spelling; but in "The Writings of Knox," edited by the Religious Tract Society, modernized spelling and language have been used almost entirely.

In the following pages references to the "Works" are taken from Laing's edition, and references to the "Writings" are taken from the condensed volume published in London by the Tract Society.

CHAPTER I
THE TIMES AND THE MAN

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THE TIMES AND THE MAN

Introduction

Among the questions which have agitated the historical field of late years is that of the relation of great men to their times. For some time those who maintained that great personalities were the key to history had the field largely to themselves, until under the impulse of the increasing emphasis on social forces in human life another school arose to claim that men are made by their times. One of the most renowned advocates of the former interpretation was the philosopher and historian, himself a Scotchman, Thomas Carlyle.

In one of his books he commented sarcastically on the supposition that when the times called for a man the man would be forthcoming. The times, he asserted, do not produce men. Times have called loudly for a man, and when he did not appear they sank into confusion and darkness.¹ We do not now undertake to settle the issues here involved. The sixteenth century in Scotland called for a leader, and the call was heard. Few men have come to the kingdom with the scene more carefully laid for their action. "Knox was, beyond a doubt, the providential man for his country."² To the believer in Divine Providence his presence at that juncture in Scotland is an outstanding evidence of the reality of that belief.

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1. Heroes and Hero-Worship, ed. 1869, pp. 11-12.

2. Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, vol. I, p. 679.

The point of this chapter is therefore to outline the elements in the situation in Scotland which justify the opinion that the time was ripe for the labors of Knox. His contribution to the development of nationalism cannot be understood without such a survey. He did not create these conditions, and the conditions did not create him; but he and his time form a combination that it would be hard to dismiss as fortuitous. To the consideration of the state of affairs in the realm we now give our attention.

A. The Background of Historical Tradition

1. The Career of Wallace.

When Knox began his work the Scottish nation was already in possession of a glorious tradition which could be used as a basis for stimulating loyalty, and to which appeal could be made against the enemies of the Reformation. The heroism of the days of Wallace and Bruce was familiar to every true Scotsman. In the exploits of these heroes there already existed one of the elements that enters into nationalism, that is, a common background of historical tradition.

The relation of Knox to these former heroes of the nation is tersely put by John Ker in his "Essay on Scottish Nationality": "Wallace made a nation and Knox a people."¹ Wallace brought about the isolation of the mass out of which Scotland was to be formed; it remained for Knox to perform the task of elevating the people of the land to that degree of self-conscious nationhood which made them worthy to play a part among the nations of the world. It was the reformer who raised a standard

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1. Ker, Scottish Nationality, p. 6.

and imparted an ideal by which the mass was fused into a unity.

The fitness of the time for such a work is the only satisfactory explanation of its success.

Alongside of the spiritual influence, and bound up with it in a very notable, expressive, and more intimate form than elsewhere, is the principle of Nationalism. The Scottish Reformation was not merely a spiritual insurrection; it was a national revolution - the expression of a new social life, which now in the sixteenth century had become the most educated the intelligent in the country . . . In no other way can we explain the radical change that then passed upon the face of Scotland, than by the fact that new social forces, which had been for some time working in the country, came now to the surface, and stamped themselves definitely upon its expanding civilization. Knox was at once the preacher of a free gospel, and the representative of this broader and freer nationality.¹

Thus a native interpreter of the genius of the period we are considering relates the influence of Knox to the dawn of the new life then breaking over this land.

2. Resistance to the English.

It was in resistance to the English that this nation had been created at the beginning of its history. What might be called the Scotch war for independence was two centuries before Knox. Bannockburn was the Scotch Bunker Hill and Lexington, and Wallace and Bruce the honored heroes of the struggle for liberty. The ever-smouldering fire of hatred for England was one thing that kept patriotism alive. Early in the days of the Reformation, when Henry VIII instituted his revolt from the Church of Rome, Catholicism and Nationalism were even identified for a short time because the long-standing antipathy of the two nations made any ground for hostility legitimate.

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1. Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, pp. 304-305.

Henry's later course did little to allay the feeling. In 1543 the Scottish Parliament took under consideration his proposal of a union of the two states by a proper marriage of the young Queen of Scots. Every one of his propositions was rejected. The Parliament would not give its consent unless they had guarantees that after the union Scotland should retain its "ancient name and liberties," that these should be protected by a "native and hereditary ruler."¹

Still later Henry called forth another strong expression of loyalty. He was seeking by means of the "Assured Lords" to gain the country for himself. During a storm some vessels belonging to citizens of Edinburgh had taken refuge in English ports. These were seized. The seizure was bitterly resented; but when the offer was made to restore the ships on condition that the owners would join the conspiracy of the "Assured Lords," "they contemptuously rejected his offer, declaring that, rather than prove traitors to their country, they would sacrifice ships, and goods, and life itself."² So the struggle with England, in the days just preceding the Reformation, was a national struggle from the Scotch viewpoint.³ Our concern with the above facts is to indicate the state of feeling already existing when Knox began to preach his message.

3. Limitation of the Monarchy.

Furthermore, out of the War of Independence in the thirteenth century there came a theory of government, a constitution of the state,

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1. Cf. Mathieson, *Politics and Religion in Scot.*, vol. I, p. 10.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. For the "Assured Lords," see below p. 100.
3. Cf. *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. II, pp. 556-557.

to which Knox constantly made an appeal. The right of the nation to a voice in its own affairs was already a recognized fact.¹ In theory, and at times in practice, the King ruled by consent of the nobles.

There is nothing more dangerous for a Scots King that hath not the love of his subjects, than when a great number are convened together; for at such times they use to take sudden consultations to put order to the prince, and his familiar minions.²

This was the advice of an experienced courtier and diplomat to the young James VI; and it was advice that Mary of Guise and Mary Stuart might well have followed somewhat earlier.

The relative position of King and nobles varied to some degree with the strength of the monarch. A strong man was able to govern in the true Stuart manner in fact if not in name. A weak man was apt to find his position difficult. When James V was entering upon his reign, the Laird of Grange in an address to his sovereign rehearsed the woes that had attended James in the days of his youth. He had been held captive, passed from hand to hand, besieged, and dragged into battle against his own subjects. Even after he had assumed the government at the age of thirteen years the Lords "clapped about you, and kept you two years as captive."³ And the same writer records his remark on a later occasion when he said, "Scotland is indeed hereditary and a monarchy," but the trouble in past times had been that the King was not of the type to produce order.⁴

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1. It is to be borne in mind that when we say the "nation" only a small minority had any real voice in government. The mass of the people were not represented at all.
2. Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 341.
3. Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, pp. 11-12.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

When Mary of Guise and Mary Stuart tried to govern Scotland after the French manner, each one discovered to her sorrow that times were changing. The country was ripe for the man who was to make the voice of the nation articulate. How frequently Knox made the ancient liberties of the nation the basis of his appeal is to be seen in due course. It is enough for the present to indicate that he was able to summon to his assistance an instrument which had been in preparation for three hundred years.

4. Independence of the Peasantry.

Finally, among the elements of national tradition which made possible the appeal of Knox to the people at large there was the independent spirit of the peasantry. Knox described himself as of "base estate and condition."¹ He was probably one of the peasant class. Although he spoke thus humbly of his ancestry, his class was by no means in a condition of hopeless servitude. Andrew Lang gives the following interesting comment from the chaplain to the Queen Mother in 1515:

You know the use of this country. Every man speaks what he will without blame. The man hath more words than the master, and will not be content unless he knows the master's counsel. There is no order among us.²

In 1559 Scotland was a fertile soil for sowing the seeds of the Gospel of the common man. Knox confronted Lords and Queens in his dignity as a born subject of the same.

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1. Works, vol. IV, p. 78.

2. Lang, Knox and the Reformation, p. 4. The above statements on the freedom of the peasantry are based on pp. 1-4 of that volume.

B. The Lack of Leadership

1. The Weakness of the Rulers.

We have just had occasion to note the character of the limits under which the monarch of Scotland in the sixteenth century exercised his authority. It is necessary to add, then, that the extent to which royal authority was effective in the actual government of the country depended to a large extent upon the man. It would have been possible for a sovereign of the proper calibre to make his administration a great advantage to the realm. The fact of the case, however, was that for some time preceding the Reformation Scotland had lacked a king with the qualifications of a real administrator.¹

When the unfortunate and none too efficient James V died, he left a nation disorganized by a disastrous defeat. From that time till the accession of Mary of Guise as Regent in 1554 the country was bordering on anarchy. By the time Knox went to work in 1559 there had been a period of nearly thirty years with no effective control.² The thinking men of Scotland must have been ready to listen to any man who would rally the scattered resources of the nation.

About the year 1590 Sir James Melville wrote a memorial to James VI. He declared that the country had been suffering too long from kings who were either "more than a monarch" or "less than elective." They had been the victims of the caprice of turbulent nobles. The land

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1. Cf. Hannay, "A Study in Reformation History," Scot. Hist. Rev., vol. XXIII, pp. 18-33.
2. Cf. A. Lang, History of Scotland, vol. I, Chaps. 14-17; vol. II, Chap. 1. For sources see Cal. Scottish Papers, vol. I.

had been the sufferer from the constant disorder until the one great need had come to be a guiding hand. James VI was but increasing his woes by adding to the number of this turbulent group.

It appears your Majesty is not well advised, while you are creating more noblemen, making them thereby the stronger; whereas divers other princes endeavored to make them lower and fewer: by reason of the old emulation which hath lasted between the Kings of Scotland and their nobility, the Kings to command absolutely as sovereign monarchs; the nobles to withstand their absolute power, sometimes by secret or indirect means, and oft-times by plain resistance and force.¹

The fortunes of the contest had varied with the strength of the prince, and the degree of unity attainable by the nobles. This was the situation which had afflicted the land for generations; and the loyal and gentle Melville, having had a share in the affairs of state for a lifetime, knew the source of Scotland's weakness.

It is not too much to add to this statement that the chief reason for the inefficiency of the kings had been not only the conditions under which they had borne rule; but also the lack of moral fiber. Scotland was more than ready for the man who was able to assume leadership because he was the master of his own spirit. There is no better illustration in modern history of this need for character in the leadership than the situation of this little country at the opening of the Reformation.

2. The Cupidity of the Nobles.

If the constituted head of the nation had proved inadequate, so also had the class of men from which there might have been expected a substitute. The nobles were a thoroughly selfish and unworthy group

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1. Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 342.

of men, with the exception of the few who might have been leaders had they known their own minds in the crisis. No better picture of this group of men is to be had than that afforded by the *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville of Halhill, quoted on the preceding page. He himself was confidential adviser to Mary, Queen of Scots, and he knew at first hand the jealousies, intrigues, greed, and ambition that actuated these men. Professing patriotism and loyalty to their sovereign, they plotted secretly for their own advantage. With threats to the safety of Scotland on every side, the men who could have made the state strong became themselves the source of its greatest peril, while every effort to secure unity among them came to grief on the rocks of selfishness.¹

This turbulence was of long standing.

The nobles of Scotland, particularly since Malcolm II divided the lands of the kingdom amongst them seven hundred years ago, have not only been frequently factious, and very troublesome to one another, but have often extended their insolencies even to the sacred persons of their sovereigns; and this very King had sufficiently experimented the like treatment during his minority.²

The quality of the nobles had proof in the case of the negotiations with England in 1543. The treaty which was concluded was the result of bribery rather than of honest consideration for the good of the nation. "The hands of our lords were liberally anointed, besides other commodities promised and of some received."³

The occasion of the adoption of the Book of Discipline in 1560 brought out the characteristics of the lords again.

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1. See Melville's *Memoirs*, passim.
2. Keith, *Hist. of Ch. and State in Scot.*, vol. I, p. 60. The king referred to was James VI.
3. *Works*, vol. I, p. 102.

At the samyn tyme of Parliament, Johne Knox taught publicklye the propheet Haggeus. The doctrine was proper for the tyme; in applicatioun quhairof he was so speciall and so vehement, that sum (having greater respect to the warld than to Goddis glory,) feilling thaie selffis prickit, said in mockage, "We mon now forget our selffis, and beir the barrow to buyld the housses of God."¹

A little farther on the same impure motives are noted as operating in the Parliament.

Als sone thair war that uprichtlie favorit the cause of God, sa was thair many that for warldlie respectis abhorrit ane perfect Reformatioun, (for how many within Scotland that have the name of Nobilitie, ar not injust possessouris of the patrimony of the Kyrk).²

The difficulty lay, of course, in the disposition of the confiscated lands of the Church. The nobles were not able to resist the sight of this wealth. In spite of every effort of the reformers to secure it for the support of their schools and ministers, their ideal was constantly blocked by the cupidity of their none too religious allies. Every call to personal sacrifice fell on deaf ears. One of the bitter disappointments of Knox's life was to see the land which would have made the work of the Reformation so effective clutched by greedy hands and added to estates already too large, while the poor preachers of the Kirk were compelled to live on a mere pittance.

Otheris, perceaving thair carnall libertie and worldlie commoditie somewhat to be impaired thairby grudged, insomuche that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto thame. Everie thing that repugned to thair corrupt affectionis, was termed in thair mockage, "devote imaginationis." The caus we have befoir declaired; some war licentious; some had greadelie gripped to the possessionis of the Kirk; and otheris thought that thei wald nott lack thair parte of Christis coat; yea, and that befoir that ever he was hanged, as by the Preacheris thei war oft rebuked. The cheaf great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refuissed to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskyn; and no wonder, for besydis that he

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1. Works, vol. II, p. 89.
2. Ibid., p. 92.

has a verray Jesabell to his wyffe, yf the poore, the schooles, and the ministerie of the Kirk had thair awin, his keching wald lack two parttis and more, of that whiche he injustlie now possesses. Assuredlye some of us have woundered how men that professe godlynes could of so long continewance hear the threatyningis of God . . . Thair was none within the Realme more unmercyfull to the poore ministeris then war thei whiche had greatest rentis of the Churches. But in that we have perceaved the old proverb to be trew, "Nothing can suffice a wreche"; and agane, "The bellie hes none earis."¹

And Knox was not the only one who sensed the greed of the unstable friends of reform.²

In the troubles that arose as a result of the murder of Darnley the country was divided into factions. The King's lords and the Queen's lords contended for control of the government.

The Laird of Grange . . . took great displeasure to see Scotsmen so furiously bent against each other, set on by the practices of England, and the extreme avarice of some particular men for their selfish designs, who intended to augment their estates, and raise their own fortunes upon the ruins of their neighbors.³

It was not the Church alone that suffered at the hands of this greedy aristocracy; they put their own aggrandizement above the welfare of the nation itself. The reason that no leadership came from this class of men in the days of the Reformation is plain to see. Centuries of such conduct had brought Scotland to the place where the voice of a man who knew his own mind and had insight into the need of the people would be sure to be heard.

3. The Man With a Message.

That man was Knox. In contrast to the King and the nobles he possessed the qualities to make him the true leader of his countrymen.

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1. Works, vol. II, pp. 128-129.
2. Cf. Spottiswoode, Hist. of the Church of Scot., p. 175.
3. Sir James Melville, Memoirs, p. 209.

We should value highly the sermons in which he proclaimed his doctrine and roused the patriotic as well as the religious sentiments of his audiences; and it is a matter of regret that of all the hundreds he preached only one has been preserved. In response to a request he wrote it out some weeks after its delivery.¹ It was preached August 19th, 1565, in Edinburgh. It was his preaching that roused the people, for he travelled from end to end of the country, carrying his message by the power of the living voice. In the provinces he found the constant support that made the Reformation successful.

He himself considered his call to be preaching and not writing.

That I did not in writing communicat my judgement upon the Scriptures, I have ever thought, and yet thinke my selfe to have most just reason. For considering my selfe rather cald of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowfull, confirme the weake, and rebuke the proud, by tong and livelye voyce in these most corrupt dayes, than to compose bokes for the age to come, seeing that so much is written (and that by men of most singular condition), and yet so little well observed; I decreed to contain my selfe within the bondes of that vocation, whereunto I found my selfe especially called.²

And to this he might well have added that he had not the time to write if he had the inclination, for he wore himself out in a life of ceaseless labor, having none of that leisure which enabled other reformers of the day to write "for the age to come."

But the impression of the sermons was deep in spite of the fact that they were not put into writing. Of his first sermon, preached at St. Andrews, one of the hearers wrote:

In the opening up of his text he was moderate the space of an half hour; but when he entered to application he made me so to grew and

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1. This sermon is in Works, vol. VI, pp. 229 ff.

2. Works, vol. VI, p. 229. This is from the preface to the sermon referred to.

tremble, that I could not hold a pen to write.¹

The only extant sermon referred to above was preached with Darnley in the audience, and resulted in the expulsion of Knox from Edinburgh not long after. Of this sermon we read that, "Darnley was so moved at this sermon that he would not dine; and being troubled with great fury, he passed in the afternoon to the hawking."² Maitland of Lethington wrote to a friend that Knox sometimes uttered "such sentences as cannot easily be digested by a weak stomach."³ And John Calvin paid tribute to the ability of his fellow-laborer as the moving spirit among his nation:

As I am not ignorant how energetic a counsellor you are, and how great readiness and power God has given you for acting such a part, I have thought it superfluous to stir up the brethren.⁴

The memory of Knox did not soon fade, as is attested by the following rather striking incident. After James VI had become James I of England, he granted an interview to Mrs. Welch, one of Knox's daughters, who was seeking a pension. The King inquired who her father was. She replied, "John Knox." "Knox and Welch," exclaimed he, "the devil never made such a match as that." "It's right like Sir," said she, "for we never asked his advice." In answer to further questions she stated that Knox had left three children, all lasses. "God be thanked!" cried the King, lifting up both hands; "for an they had been three lads, I had never enjoyed my three kingdoms in peace."⁵

There is surely only one explanation for this man's achievements. He was a man with a message. Among contemporaries who were torn

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1. Quoted by A. B. Hart, Amer. Hist. Rev., vol. XIII, p. 259.
2. Hart, "Knox as Man of the World," Amer. Hist. Rev., vol. XIII, p. 259.
3. Ibid., p. 259.
4. Works, vol. VI, p. 95.
5. M'Crie, Life of Knox, p. 362.

between French alliances, English trade, and their own selfishness, he arose like a mountain peak in his disinterested devotion to the cause of God and the welfare of the state. He knew his own mind. He had a program. He advocated it in season and out of season. Such leaders do not labor in vain in spite of the coldness in the ranks of their party.

C. The Corruption of the Clergy.

It will probably be noted that from the preceding discussion of the failure of leadership the Church has been omitted. We have reserved for separate treatment this particular side of conditions in Scotland in the sixteenth century; of this subject it is now necessary that a few things be said. There is little question that the effectiveness of the Scottish Reformation was in some part due to the breakdown of the religious institutions maintained by the Roman Catholic Church.

In one sense it would be laboring with the obvious to devote any great amount of space to this aspect of the discussion. Even the reserved Cambridge Modern History states that "nowhere else" was there so fruitful a field for reform.¹ The article on "Knox" in the Catholic Encyclopedia is highly critical of the man, but makes no statements in extenuation of the Church of the day in Scotland. There have been few who would argue in favor of the corrupt organization which was so totally destroyed in the fires of the religious revolution.

The only possible criticism of the work of the Reformation would be to say that it was too impatient, and that the Church would

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1. Vol. II, chap. XVI, p. 553.

have reformed itself had the opportunity been given it. To which it may be replied that the abuses did not grow up over night; that the Church had held the field in Scotland for centuries; and that only under the impulse of the reformers, and then reluctantly, was any change in the ancient system even suggested. Even a historian like Andrew Lang admits that the Church was doomed, and that it is difficult to see how the pains of the revolution could have been avoided.¹ Conditions in Scotland were worse than those which produced the Reformation on the Continent.²

For an indictment of this Church it is only necessary to have recourse to the contemporary records. The Laird of Grange, Treasurer of the kingdom, included remarks on the clergy in his words of advice to the young James V.

Did not one of your predecessors, called St. David, give the most part of the patrimony of the crown to the Kirk, erecting the same into bishoprics, and rich abbacies? whereby your Majesty is presently so poor, and the prelates so rich, so prodigal, so proud, that they will suffer nothing to be done without them; and are also so sworn to the Pope of Rome, when they get their benefices confirmed, that they ought not to be credited in anything that toucheth the Pope's profit or preferment.³

Even the worldly statesman recognized the danger that lurked in this institution.

Before we hear anything at all of John Knox, the Parliament was making feeble attempts at reform of religious abuses. March 14th,

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1. Lang, Hist. of Scot., vol. II, p. 1.
2. In 1551 Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism was ordered to be read in Church. The clergy were enjoined to practice the reading daily so that they would not be jeered at by their congregations. Nearly a century after the introduction of printing the Bishop of Dunkeld "thanked God that he knew neither the Old Testament nor the New." Cf. Fleming, Martyrs and Confessors of St. Andrews, p. 13.
3. Sir James Melville, Memoirs, p. 12.

1541, an Act was passed for the reform of the Church in Scotland.

Because the negligence of divine service, the great dishonesty in the Kirk through not making of reparation to the honour of God Almighty, and to the blessed Sacrament of the altar, the Virgin Mary, and to all holy saints; and also the dishonesty and misrule of Kirkmen, both in wit, knowledge, and manners, are the matter and cause that the Kirk and Kirkmen are slighted and contemned . . .¹

the King exhorted the officials of the Church to reform themselves in "habit and manners." This attempt at reformation had born little fruit by 1560, however.

Knox takes for granted the corruption of the clergy whom he opposed. He thus described the results that flowed from the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton:

Within few yearis eftir begane baith Black and Gray Frearis publictlie to preache against the pride and idile lief of Bischoppis, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiasticall estaite. Amongis whome was one called Frear Williame Arth, who, in a sermone preacheit in Dundye, spak somewhat moir liberallie against the licentious lyifes of the Bischoppis no thei could weall beair.²

He gave in his History the following example of the kind of preaching that was being done at the services of the Church during the "thirties" of the sixteenth century.

The preast, whose dewitie and office is to pray for the people, standis up on Sounday, and cryes, "Ane hes tynt a spurtill. Thair is a flaill stollin from thame beyound the burne. The goodwyiff of the other syd of the gait hes tynt a horne spune. Goddis maleson and myne I geve to thame that knowis of this geyre, and restoris it not."³

And in concluding his summary of these results that came from the martyrdom of Hamilton and the preaching that was done by the Churchmen themselves, Knox said, "So it pleased God to open the mouth of Balaam's own ass."⁴

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1. Keith, Hist. of Ch. and State in Scot., vol. I, p. 29.
2. Works, vol. I, p. 36.
3. Ibid., p. 38.
4. Ibid., p. 41.

In 1558 the reformers petitioned the Regent for the same reform of the Church which had been enacted in 1541, but never put into effect.¹ To deny the corruption of the clergy according to Knox was to expose one's ignorance, so manifest were the conditions which called for correction.² In 1562 he wrote his answer to the Abbott of Crossraguel, the matter in discussion being the doctrine of the Mass. He described in strong language the lives of the men who were supposed to be the spiritual leaders of the nation. "Superstition, idolatry, pride, vainglory, ambition, unjust possessions, superfluous rents and filthy living,"³ comprise one list of their offences. A little farther on in the argument he repeated the charges.

How many ministers this day within Scotland, is my lord abbott able to convict to be adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, blood-shedders, oppressors of the poor widow, fatherless, or strangers, or yet do idly live upon the sweat of other men's brows? And how many of them, from the highest to the lowest, are able to abide an assize of the forenamed crimes?⁴

It might be said that the partisan reformer was exaggerating the case or credulously believing mere gossip, were it not for the almost universal testimony that Scotland was suffering under a corrupt ecclesiastical regime which was dead while it lived. The passage in which M'Crie paints his picture of the religious conditions in Scotland before the Reformation is well known; some sentences from it will conclude this section on the failure of the Church to provide leadership.

The lives of the clergy were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. The bishops set the example of the most shameless

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1. Works, vol. I, p. 305.
2. Ibid., p. 299.
3. Writings, p. 401.
4. Ibid., p. 403.

profligacy before the inferior clergy; avowedly kept their harlots; provided their natural sons with benefices; and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility. Monasteries had greatly multiplied in the nation; and though they had universally degenerated, and were notoriously become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number . . . The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Of the doctrine of Christianity scarce anything remained but the name.¹

This and more he has to say of the work that Knox had to do when he set his hand to the reform of religion. The record of the Church of Christ has been that when the people were starved the leader has responded in the Providence of God to give them food once more. In the appearance of Knox on the scene, history offers us one more example of the work of the ever-present Spirit of the Living God, who does not permit that men should always cry to Him and have no answer.

D. Economic and Social Changes

From the preceding consideration of the absence of leadership we turn to certain changes that were taking place in the Scottish commonwealth which made that land hospitable to the preaching of Knox and his fellow reformers. The fact that space is given to the study of economic matters is not to be misunderstood. As far as Knox was concerned, at least, these matters had small weight; and it is possible that their importance for others of the reform party has been greatly exaggerated. It is not an improvement on the past method of the study of history to eliminate entirely the influence of convictions. Men have acted from pure motives.

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1. Life of Knox, pp. 8-10. Cf. also Fleming, Martyrs and Confessors of St. Andrews, chap. i, pp. 1-18.

With the opinions of advocates of the supremacy of economics, therefore, we both agree and disagree.

The ecclesiastical revolt of the sixteenth century had its roots deeply embedded in the past. No revolution had ever been more carefully prepared and longer delayed than this one that separated almost half of Europe from the communion of Rome. No factors seem clearer in the foundation and development of the movement than the economic.¹

Because these factors were really present attention is devoted to them in this thesis; but because it is easy to overestimate their importance in the eyes of the actors in those events some words of caution have been included.

1. The Dawning of a New Day.

Scotland was not entirely aloof from the significant movements of the age, which were occupying the attention of the rest of the world. The age of discovery was at its height. Business and industrial interests were broadening. As in the rest of the countries of Europe, the bourgeois were coming to power, especially in the towns. This world was becoming important and more interesting than it had ever been before. Trade was being mingled with religion.²

2. The Rise of a Middle Class.

This new class of traders, or business men, had been growing up in Scotland for almost a century before the Reformation. They had an interest in the world at large. It was among this class that education found its most fruitful soil; they were ready for something new.

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1. Marti, Economic Causes of the Ref. in Eng., p. xxi.

2. Cf. art. by P. Smith, in Papers of the Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist., 2nd Series, vol. 7.

Their increasing enlightenment made them competent critics of the ignorance and corruption of the clergy, as well as impatient at the abuse of the vast possessions of the Church which might be turned to account for the welfare of the nation at large. Furthermore, it was just among these bourgeois, with their new outlook, that any remaining spark of genuine spiritual life was to be found. Their religious and economic needs joined hands to make them the supporters of the movement headed by Knox. "They had character, strong feelings, and political as well as religious aims."¹

3. The Promotion of Trade Interests.

There are contemporary records to show the growth of the new economic conditions. James V, who died in 1542, although not in all respects a model prince, yet appears to have had some enlightened ideas as to the true method of fostering the prosperity of his realm.

His princely regard for the welfare of his people did extend itself yet farther, in encouraging them much to prosecute and apply themselves to foreign trade; and he brought into the country foreign artificers to set up and teach manufactures at home, and particularly men skilled in mining, by whose assistance he first dug up gold in this kingdom.²

The editor of the history from which the above statements are taken adds to the facts mentioned several items from other sources which show the extent to which this fostering of native industry and development of native resources was carried.³ Knox himself has in his "History of the

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1. Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, p. 254. The above statements are largely based on what Tulloch has said there on this subject. Cf. also Grant, Social and Economic Development of Scotland Before 1602, pp. 234-235.

2. Keith, Hist. of Ch. and State in Scot., vol. I, p. 58.

3. Ibid., p. 59. Cf. also Burton, Hist. of Scot., vol. IV, pp. 153-157.

Reformation" a note from the year 1558 which hints at the possibility that the resistance to the French influence in Scotland may have been tinged with regard for some threat to trade interests. "The fredomes of Scottish merchantis war restreaned in Rowan, and thei compelled to pay toll and taxationis otheris then thare ancient liberties did bear."¹

4. The Contest of Crown and Nobility.

Among the special economic and social factors contributory to the success of Knox's work may be specified first of all the state of affairs with regard to the nobles. In particular these men were anxious to be freed from the domination of the Court, and, since the clergy had been on the side of the Court, the Church also shared their hatred.² At first sight it appears remarkable that Knox, who was only a private citizen, was able to resist the sovereign and to denounce in bitter terms the iniquity of the religious institutions for so many years without so much as suffering arrest. The strangeness of this fact is increased when we recall that many of those who were ostensibly his allies were but broken reeds in any religious crisis. In the words of Andrew Lang the explanation is that Knox "was by far the most potent human being in Scotland."³ He had at his back a party of such power that every one of his enemies knew how dangerous it would be to lay hands on him. Knox and a group of the most powerful nobles had a common goal and a common enemy, even though they were often far apart in the motives which ruled them. "No clan was so strong as the warlike brethren who would have

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1. Works, vol. I, p. 293.

2. Hayes, Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. I, p. 146.

3. Lang, Knox and the Reformation, p. 229.

avenged the Reformer, and who probably would have been backed by Elizabeth.¹

The conflict between the Crown and the nobles had broken out before the arrival of Knox in 1559. The records of the Town Council of Edinburgh show how serious this conflict was. Knox's arrival was well timed. He was elected to St. Giles at once by a show of hands, and became the leader of the opposition to the Regent, Mary of Guise.²

Popular ferment would have been vain and opposition futile had not the nobility ranged themselves with the Church's assailants It is incontestable that the nobles made the Reformation possible.³

As far back as 1542 the nobles had been set against the Crown, partly at the instigation of the Catholic clergy. James V had been favorable to reform of the Church for a time. But as the years went by, evil counsellors gained his ear. He was led to renounce his efforts at reform, and he was persuaded that the Protestant nobles, of whom there was coming to be a considerable number, were his foes. Shortly before his death the clergy had succeeded in getting his assent to the surrender of some eighty of these men as heretics. His untimely death prevented the consummation of this scheme which would have dealt a serious blow to any hope for better things in Scotland.⁴ Crown and clergy against nobility constituted the battle array in Scotland at the time when the Reformation began.

In 1559 the economic factor in the contest with the Regent appears in the argument over the debasing of the coinage. The Regent

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1. Lang, Knox and the Reformation, p. 229.

2. Cf. Miller, Jn. Knox and the Town Council of Edinburgh, pp. 8 ff.

3. Terry, Hist. of Scotland, pp. 191-192.

4. Cf. Works, vol. I, pp. 81-83.

accuse the Lords of usurping her authority by taking the dies with which coins were struck. They replied that they did it

for most just causes, to witt, because that daylie thair was suche number of Hard-headis printed, that the basenes thair of maid all thingis exceiding dear; and thairfoir we war counsaied by the wysest to stay the irnes, whill farther ordour mycht be tackin.¹

In addition to the reason assigned, namely, that prices were being forced up by the making of these coins, there was the fact that this indiscriminate coining was making it possible to keep the French soldiers.²

The debate continued. The Lords explained their position in yet more detail in a later reply to the Regent.

Quhat cair ower your commun-wealth dois hir Grace instantlie beir, quhan evin now presentlie . . . sche dois sua corrupt the layit money, and hes brocht it in sick basenes, and sic quantitie of scruff, that all men that hes thair eyis oppin may persaif ane extreme beggaire to be brocht thairthrow upoun the haill realme, swa that the haill exchange and traffique to be had with forane natiounis, (ane thing maist necessarie in all commun-wealthis,) sall thairby be utterlie extinguisst; and all the ganeis resavit thairby is, that sche thairwith intertenis strangearis upoun oure heidis.³

To add to the misery resulting from the coinage of base money, French coins of no value in France were commanded to be received in Scotland, while the good money of the previous reign was being melted to make the new money of less value.⁴

5. The Desire of the Nobles for Land.

We have spoken of the contest of the nobles with the Crown as one of the mingled economic and social factors which cleared the ground for reform. There was also the desire of the nobles to annex the lands

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1. Works, vol. I, p. 365.

2. Ibid., p. 371.

3. Ibid., p. 403.

4. Ibid., pp. 403-404.

of the Church, a motive which appears on all accounts to have operated with the greatest power upon the majority of this class. Whether this is to be regarded as an economic or a social or a personal factor, it had no little to do with the strange alliance which existed between reformed preachers and worldly lords.

In one of his graphic sentences Froude portrays the situation with a single stroke: "The gaunt and hungry nobles of Scotland, careless most of them of God or the devil, were eyeing the sleek and well-fed clergy like a pack of famished wolves."¹ Their own estates impoverished and their purses empty by reason of protracted strife with one another, they saw with feelings which can be imagined the riches of the Church administered for the benefit of a distant Pontiff and of an indolent body of clerics. Unredeemed human nature has not often been proof against such a sight, especially when the opportunity to make some new adjustment has presented itself. Hence came Knox's ill-assorted and unstable allies in the Reformation.

How palpable so ever some errors were that had overspread the Christian doctrine, and however well disposed the great men might have been to apply proper remedies thereunto, yet it is much to be questioned whether they had ever gone so readily, as they did afterwards, into a total suppression of the monasteries and nunneries, which by prudent methods might certainly have been regulated to good purposes, . . . had not their avaricious minds absorbed beforehand the whole revenues thereof, whether it was right or wrong, sacrilege or not sacrilege.²

Even the contemporary historian, therefore, was not deceived when the nobility aided the efforts of the reformers. Sir James Melville perceived the same motives to be at work. In his Memoirs he wrote of a

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1. Froude, History of England, vol. VII, p. 108.

2. Keith, Hist. of Ch. and State in Scot., vol. I, pp. 92-94.

Parliament that convened soon after Mary's return from France. Among the nobles there was more than one who feared the possibility of the return of the lands of the Church to their original owners; the Earl of Morton was one of the chief of these. During the civil war benefices had been taken by noblemen "under pretext of religion."¹ It is conceivable that the Catholic reaction of 1563 would have entirely overthrown the work of Knox had it not been for the help he received on account of the cupidity of various lords.

It is customary for those who pride themselves on being impartial historians to say that Knox was to blame for the destruction of the monasteries, cathedrals, and nunneries. He is saddled with the responsibility for the riots in some places, which led to the shedding of blood. The question might be raised as to whether true impartiality would suggest that all the blame did not rest with one individual. A correspondent of the time thus reported the outbreak in 1559.

In Scotland we hear that there have been some disturbances, I know not of what kind, respecting matters of religion; that the nobles have driven out the monks, and taken possession of the monasteries; that some French soldiers of the garrison have been slain in a riot; and that the Queen was so incensed as to proclaim the banishment of the preacher Knox.²

It is possible that the right interpretation of this is that the fire was laid ready for the match; that the banishment of the one preacher by the Queen was her own selection of a victim; and that the violence was not the result of the vindictiveness of the preacher alone. The statement quoted is probably a reference to the banishment of Knox which

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1. Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 121.

2. John Jewel to Peter Martyr, 1559, *Zurich Letters*, vol. I, p. 24.

took place only three days after he landed in Scotland.¹ Such a period would scarcely be sufficient for even his eloquence to kindle so great a conflagration. The nobles were more than prepared on their own account for the overthrow of the ecclesiastical institutions.

6. The Influence of Edinburgh.

Next among the economic and social conditions by which Knox was aided is to be noted the support he received from the city of Edinburgh. Throughout the stormy days the capital was a tower of strength to the reformed religion and the independence of Scotland. It was the one city where the rising bourgeois were concentrated. From hints in the writings of Knox the craftsmen of the burgh made up a substantial section of his congregation; and they were a turbulent, headstrong body.²

Back in the time of Henry VIII, when the English King was using every possible scheme to secure a marriage of the infant Mary Stuart to one of his own family, the Governor of Edinburgh proved to be the rock on which his schemes were wrecked. To Henry's overtures he replied courteously but firmly that he was resolved to do his duty to "his Sovereign Lady and the realm." With the populace at his back it was impossible to shake this one man's resolution.³

On February 2nd, 1559, some months before the arrival of Knox, some of the reformed preachers were summoned to a "day of law" at St. Andrews. The brethren then, "caused inform the Queen Mother that the

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1. Works, vol. I, p. 318.

2. Works, vol. II, pp. 155-160.

3. Cf. Keith, Hist. of Ch. and State in Scot., vol. I, p. 71.

said preachers would appear with such multitude of men professing their doctrine, as was never seen before in such like cases in this country."¹ They kept their promise, and the preachers were untouchable.

June 10th, 1560, in accordance with the acts of the Parliament the town council of Edinburgh decreed death for the third offence against idolaters who did not instantly profess conversion.² Thereby they gave their testimony to their loyalty to the Kirk and its leaders. On August 19th, 1565, Knox preached a sermon for which he was forbidden by Lethington to preach for two or three weeks. The Town Council at once protested as evidence of the backing they were ready to give the most influential minister of the burgh.³ These examples will be sufficient as illustrations of the support from the capital on which the reformers could rely when they undertook to withstand the constituted authority of the realm.

7. The Suffering of the Poor.

Finally, there was economic pressure on some of the classes in the realm which made them hospitable to Reformation ideas. The breakdown of the feudal system meant hardship for the people of Scotland as it meant hardship for the poorer classes in all other countries. New economic adjustments entail suffering in this ill-arranged civilization; and suffering entails protest and discontent.

Rightly or wrongly the poor attributed the hardness of their lot to the injustice of those who held in their possession two-thirds

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1. Wodrow Miscellany, vol. I, p. 55, quoted in Lang, Knox and the Reformation, p. 91.
2. Edinburgh Burgh Records, quoted by Lang, Knox and the Reformation, p. 122.
3. Lang, Knox and the Ref., p. 247.

of the land in Scotland. That they were oppressed Knox indicates in his History.¹ That they were not as badly used as the poor in some other lands is maintained by one of the greatest of modern Scottish historians.²

On New Year's Day 1559 there appeared in Edinburgh a strange document known as "The Beggars' Summons." It was found posted everywhere that morning. Knox reproduced it in his History. It is the protest of a submerged class against the conditions of their life; but for the style it might have been written yesterday.

Wherefore, seeing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavily oppressed by your false means that none taketh care of our misery, and that it is better to provide for these our impotent members which God hath given us, to oppose to you in plain controversy than to see you hereafter, as ye have done before, steal from us our lodging, and ourselves in the meantime to perish, and die for want of the same; we have thought good, therefore, ere we enter in conflict with you, to warn you in the name of the great God by this public writing affixed on your gates where ye now dwell that ye remove forth of our said hospitals, betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday next, so that we the only lawful proprietors thereof may enter thereto, and afterward enjoy the commodities of the Church which ye have heretofore wrongfully withholden from us; certifying you if ye fail, we will at the said term, in whole number and with the help of God and assistance of His saints on earth, of whose ready support we doubt not, enter and take possession of our said patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the same. Let him, therefore, that before hath stolen, steal no more; but rather let him work with his hands that he may be helpful to the poor.³

This anonymous placard may not have represented the opinion of any large section of the common people of the city. But even though it was the expression of a small group it was a straw that indicated the direction of the wind. When such agitation exists, causes usually exist, and will some day seek open declaration.

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1. Works, Vol. II, pp. 221-222.
2. Burton, History of Scotland, vol. IV, pp. 153-164.
3. Works, vol. I, p. 320n.

In the preceding discussion it has not been thought necessary to separate economic and social forces sharply. For the purpose in hand this brief investigation will be sufficient to indicate the presence of these forces at the time of the Reformation in Scotland. Life was complex even then. Many elements were mingled in the national melting pot, all of them contributing to the formation of the final product. Though we repeat the warning that economics alone did not produce it, we are bound to acknowledge that economic, religious and political interests all converged on Knox when he came to Scotland in 1559.

E. The International Situation

The picture of conditions in the day of Knox would not be complete without some mention of the unique position held by Scotland among the nations for a few years at the middle of the sixteenth century. About 1560 all eyes were turned suddenly to this obscure country. Edinburgh became the state on which the European drama was enacted, and the parts played by the actors there became significant for the world at large.¹

Between 1540 and 1560 religious, political, and economic interests were operating to bring about a new diplomatic alignment of the European states. Spain's friendship with England had immediately turned to hatred on the accession of the Protestant Elizabeth. The rivalry between Spain and France was giving way temporarily by reason of the

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1. Cf. Cambridge Modern History, vol. II, chap. 16. For an illustration of the international complications of the 16th century see R. K. Hannay, "A Study in Reformation History," Scot. Hist. Rev., vol. XXIII, pp. 18-33.

Catholic reaction. The question of which side would win the allegiance of the Scottish nation was a question of importance for both parties.

On the one hand there was a traditional alliance between Scotland and France which dated from the days of Wallace and Bruce; on the other hand there had been an old enmity between England and Scotland since the days of the War for Independence. During the first half of the sixteenth century Scotland and France had come closer together than ever because of the marriage of Mary Stuart and Francis II. It began to appear that France might make her ally a province. The result would be an easy approach to the Protestant enemy. Opposed to these political conditions which favored friendship with the French was the growing sentiment in favor of the reformed religion. For some reason the new faith made progress among the Scotch from the start. The scene was laid for the struggle that took place between 1560 and 1567, when the Lords of the Congregation prevailed over the sovereign and her foreign troops.

It was the unexpected accession of Elizabeth which brought about the shift of the center of interest to Scotland. Politics and religion were mingled in the contest which arose. "C'est a partir d'ici que la reforme se montra une force puissante dans l'Etat."¹ The advisers of the English Queen sensed the fact that the friendship of the neighbor on the north was now a matter of importance for the safety of their own nation. It began to appear advisable to assume a more kindly attitude toward this neighbor. In a memorandum written in 1559

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1. Bannerman, Les influences francaises en Ecosse, p. 186.

Cecil suggested to the Lords the possibility of better relations between them:

If the first be sought, i.e., to be in perpetual peace with England, then must it necessarily be provided that Scotland be not so subject to the appointments of France as it is presently; which being an ancient enemy to England, seeketh always to make Scotland an instrument to exercise thereby their malice upon England, and to make a footstool thereof to look over England as they may. Therefore when Scotland shall come to the hands of a mere Scotsman in blood, then may there be hope of some such accord.¹

At the same time everything was being done by the French to make the land secure for themselves. It was even the expectation of the Court that through Mary Stuart it would be possible to secure the crown of England itself for France, and there by build an empire whose like had not been seen for centuries. Elizabeth's position was none too secure.

Dans les premiers mois de 1559, elle (Mary Stuart) s'associa aux desseins dangereux de la cour de France qui voulait assurer a Marie Stuart la possession de l'Angleterre, comme celle de l'Ecosse, en s'appuyant sur les catholiques deux royaumes.²

Small wonder that the eyes of Catherine de Medicis were dazzled by the vision of the future of her family, if only the little country of Scotland could be made to submit to the rule of its lawful Catholic sovereign.

The French representatives did all they could to oppose the friendship with Scotland which they perceived to be growing up in the English Court. In 1561 Foix was French ambassador at London. He suspected efforts to bring England and Scotland together in spite of Mary Stuart. He wrote to his own Court that serious consequences would certainly follow any such union. "Ce seroit chose dommageable au roi, lui

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1. Keith, History of Church and State in Scotland, vol. I, p. 368.

2. Bannerman, Les influences francaises en Ecosse, p. 185.

etant tres-commode que les Anglois aient a leur dos un ennemie pour les empêcher de rien entreprendre en France."¹

Such in brief were the forces at work when Knox confronted his Queen in the famous series of interviews of which we read in his "History of the Reformation."² The two individuals represented the two great parties in the European conflict of that century. In them the Catholic and Protestant causes stood face to face, and on the result of their meeting hung the outcome of the battle. It was not only Scotland which was to be won; it was the existence of the reformed faith. The issues were momentous. Conceivably the course of subsequent history might have been very different had the sturdy and independent Scot not stood his ground.

How Knox was favored in his appeal to his nation by the dread of foreign encroachments will be seen in due course. The international situation in 1560 was one of the most important aids to the triumph of the Reformation in Scotland.

F. Chief Qualities of Knox

At the beginning of this chapter reference was made to a remark by Carlyle about the relation of the times and the man. In the preceding sections the times have been reviewed. It remains, that the picture may be complete, to say something as to the leading characteristics of the man.

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1. Cheruel, Marie Stuart et Catherine de Medicis, p. 31.
2. Cf. Works, vol. II, Book iv, passim.

No character sketch of Knox is intended. This has been adequately done on many occasions.¹ It is superfluous to add to these. However, the claim that he was peculiarly suited to the need of his age requires that consideration be given to the points at which this fitness was manifested. Seldom has history furnished a better example of a man of the hour than in the appearance of this reformer at a particular juncture of Scottish affairs. Were we to make selection of the man to do the work of reform in Scotland in 1560, it would be difficult to see how a more fitting individual could be named.

1. His Intensity.

First of all, there was his intensity. To be sure, there are those who would qualify it as narrow, but none could well deny the existence of the quality itself. Indeed, its very narrowness is sometimes considered the peculiarly Scottish thing about it.² Moderns who look upon intensity in all its forms as objectionable, and use it as a synonym for intolerance, are against Knox from the start; but historically the men who have left permanent effects upon posterity have been intense. Much of what will be said in subsequent chapters could never be written had it not been for the heat of the fire that burned in one man's heart. One still catches from the reading of the things he wrote the extent of the absorption in his lifework which must have characterized his utterances.

Reference has been made above to the ceaseless labors by which Knox was worn out.³ He was no man for meditation. His writings evidence

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1. M'Crie's Life of Knox is still the best study of the Reformer.
2. E.g., see Terry, History of Scotland, p. 193.
3. Supra, pp. xv-xvi.

the fact that literary pursuits were not attractive to him. Action was his sphere. And by no other leader would the Scotch people of the sixteenth century have been led anywhere. In common with Luther, Calvin, and the others who overturned the world in the Reformation, Knox was intense.

It is this quality which accounts for the violence of his expression. He never hesitated to call an enemy an enemy. During the persecution in the days of Mary Tudor he was on the Continent. From there he wrote the "Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England." He addressed them in these words:

Wonder not, I say, that now the Devel rageth in his obedient servaunts, wyly Wynchester, dreaming Duresme, and bloudy Bonner, with the rest of their bloudy, butcherly broode: for this is their houre and power graunted to them; they can not ceasse nor asswage their furious fumes, for the Devil, their sire, stirreth, moveth, and carieth them, even at his wyl.¹

In the same document he singled out one of the hapless brood for his special attention, directing these words to Winchester: "O thou some of Satan! wel declarest thou, that nothyng can mollifie the cruel malice, nor purge the deadly venom of hym, in whose hert the Devel bearyth the dominion."² In similar language he was wont to address his opponents on other occasions. It was the language of war and not of peace. But it defined issues so that the most unlettered citizen of England or Scotland could distinguish them.

It is to be remembered when we read such expressions as those just quoted that at the time they were written the fires had already been

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1. Works, vol. III, p. 285.
2. Ibid., p. 299.

kindled at the feet of some of Knox's fellow-laborers. Yet more were in prison awaiting the fate to be meted out to the heretics. Neither Knox nor any of the Protestant party knew to what lengths the persecution might go. Mary's reign had only begun. It must have seemed to the contemporary that the body of Christ's faithful people were facing an outburst of fury such as the followers of Christ had had to face in the days of the Roman Empire. Knox was not venting personal spite when he spoke thus of the leaders of the reaction; he was defending his harassed flock. Intensity was needed somewhere if any effect was to be produced.

2. His Faith.

In the next place, Knox shared the indomitable faith of the ancient Hebrew prophets, whom he studied carefully and greatly admired. Although he often bewailed the hardness of the times, cried out against the persecution of the reformed religion, and denounced the lack of zeal in his followers, he would express his confidence in God in the very next breath. Never once did he allow that his cause could fail. He had a confidence in its vindication by history which must have been contagious.

His fundamental tenet was the sovereignty of God; and he held to it in no haphazard way. He maintained that no set of circumstances could by any possibility frustrate the Divine purpose to establish the truth of the Gospel in the hearts of men. In 1565 the fortunes of the Kirk were at a low ebb. Knox preached in Edinburgh on Isaiah 26:13-16. In his closing plea he addressed himself to the faithful in the following words:

Be of good courage, O little and despised flock of Christ Jesus, for he that seeth your grief, hath power to revenge it; he will not suffer one tear of yours to fall, but it shall be kept and reserved in his

bottle, till the fulness thereof be poured down from heaven, upon those that caused you to weep and mourn. This your merciful God, I say, will not suffer your blood for ever to be covered with the earth

Albeit we see his church so diminished, that it appears to be brought, as it were, to utter extermination, we may be assured, that in our God there is great power and will, to increase the number of his chosen, until they are enlarged to the uttermost parts of the earth.¹

Faith and tenderness alike breathe through these words, criticize the preacher as we will. It is not hard to imagine the effect they would produce in a time of crisis. If he spoke with a like power whenever he stood before his countrymen it is no wonder that they gave heed, seeing that the leaders of what had once been their church were so little able to sense the need of the human beings over whom they were set.

With the substitution of "Providence" for "Nature" we may take the words of a distinguished Scottish historian as a correct statement of the mission of Knox to his nation.

We may take for granted, probably, that Nature intended Knox to be the leader of a revolution; at all events, she had admirably equipped him for the task, and had sent him into Scotland at a time when something considerable in that shape was urgently required.²

3. His Courage.

In the third place, Knox had courage. To be sure, this is an assertion in dispute. On the one hand there are two classic statements to the effect that he was a fearless man. One of these is his own remark in the presence of the courtiers after an interview with Queen Mary, "I have luiked in the faces of mony angry men, and yit have not bene affrayed above measour."³ The other is the remark made by

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1. Writings, p. 386.

2. Mathieson, Politics and Religion, vol. I, p. 98.

3. M'Crie, Life of Knox, p. 236. See vol. II of Works.

Morton at the time of the Reformer's death, "There lies he, who never feared the face of man."¹ While there is no reason to question the good faith of either of these statements, there are other facts in the life of Knox on which those who criticize him are prone to dwell. It appears that his departure from England in 1554 was a matter of doubtful meaning to some of his followers. In his "Exposition of the Sixth Psalm" he took up the charge of cowardice.

Some will say then, Why did I fly? Assuredly I cannot tell. But of one thing I am sure, the fear of death was not the chief cause of my flying. I trust the one cause has been, to let me see with my bodily eyes that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus, who, in the day of rest and peace, carried a fair face. But my flying is no matter.²

Later in the same writing he remarked that, even though his actions at the beginning of the battle had seemed to show a faint heart, he was ready then to suffer anything the enemy might do in order to preach a few sermons in England.³

It is not possible to say finally at this date what the verdict on Knox as a result of these facts ought to be. The truth may well be that he gained courage with the deepening of his convictions. Of one thing we may be sure, and that is that he preached with courage enough from 1559 to 1572. He was one man whom the Queen could neither deceive nor overawe. In the presence of the turbulent Lords he stood for his rights without equivocation. He rebuked them to their faces for their unwillingness to give the Kirk its patrimony. He unhesitatingly declared the iniquity of princes and people. He denounced every indication of

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1. Ibid., p. 340.
2. Writings, p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 69.

coldness among his followers. There is another courage than that which is manifested on the field of battle; it has its place in the work of progress. Knox must have been a fearless leader in the cause he championed or else the Scotch people would not have so willingly followed him.

4. His Sense of Mission.

Finally, Knox had an overwhelming sense of mission. His was the voice of the prophet in the land. When speaking from the pulpit he was under a solemn compulsion; then he was not a private man but the instrument for showing the will of God.

"Without the preaching place, Madam," he said to the Queen, "I think few have occasioun to be offendit at me; and thair, Madam, I am nott maister of my self, but man obey Him who cammandis me to speik plane, and to flatter no flesche upoun the face of the earth."¹

On another occasion when summoned to appear before the Queen he remonstrated with her for interrupting his labors; he felt that he was wasting time in such interviews. "I am called, Madam, to ane publict functioun within the Kirk of God, and am appointed by God to rebuk the synnes and vices of all."² Knox was one man within the realm who knew his own mind. When we read such statements we see clearly enough why it was that he was able to accomplish more than the organized Church he opposed, and more than all the Lords whose greed prevented them from doing anything good for the country. A sense of mission has ever been the most persuasive quality of the leaders who have lured the multitude to the heights.

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1. Works, vol. II, p. 387.

2. Works, vol. I, p. 334.

With this review of the chief characteristics which made Knox the man for the age we draw the discussion of the times and the man to a close. It was a scene made for just such an individual as the sturdy Reformer. There was a nation in great need of the light, a Church which had lost itself in the mazes of worldliness and superstition, and a new truth to be applied to the situation. For a time like this he came to the kingdom. The elements were waiting to be fused into a nationality. The heat of the Reformation conflict reduced the scattered materials to the Scotland of modern times.

CHAPTER II

KNOX'S IDEA OF THE STATE

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Introduction

It is obvious that the idea of the state which was held by Knox will have a bearing on any nationalist influences which he may have exerted. In the productions of the reformer's pen politics and religion are inextricably mingled. Interest in the affairs of the state was inevitable for any one who laid his hand on the religious life of the sixteenth century because in every land, including Scotland, the Church was coextensive with the state; the government could not be organized without consideration for the religious establishment. In the nature of the case Knox could not confine the work of reformation to the Church, to the exclusion of other phases of the life of the community. This fact makes it imperative to review such suggestions as he had to offer in the field of political theory.¹

However, the very mention of the undertaking of such a task makes us liable to a misconception. In dealing with Knox's idea of the state it must always be borne in mind that he himself gave no systematic presentation of his thought on this subject; therefore any systematizing that may be done is imposed on him. It would not be correct to infer that he was in any sense a political theorist; no man was ever less deserving of that title.

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1. A Scotch historian, W. L. Mathieson, has written a book entitled "Politics and Religion, a Study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution." As the title indicates, the subjects are closely related.

There are two reasons, principally, why Knox did not present his political ideas in definite form. First of all, as we must continually remind ourselves, he was interested primarily in religion and only incidentally interested in anything else. It sometimes seems difficult for modern historians to conceive of such a man, especially if self-interest or economics has been assumed beforehand to be the key to all history. Even the document known as "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," while dealing with a certain problem of government, was produced because the dangers to the true faith were weighing on Knox's mind.

In the second place Knox was not one of the thinkers of the Reformation. This assertion needs no argument; it is admitted by friends and critics alike.¹ He is at the other extreme from John Calvin, a man of action and not a man of meditation. It was only against his will that he was constrained to write one of his sermons, the only one extant;² it is hardly to be supposed that he would take the trouble to put in writing what was for him a secondary matter.

Not unworthy of being added to the two considerations above is this other fact, that Knox never had the time to formulate his opinions on any subject systematically, even if he had had the inclination. His brief career was crowded as few lives have been. His work was done by the living presence, and his monument is a nation.

Yet there is the authority of one of the leading historians of

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1. E.g., Carlyle and Glasse among his admirers, and Lang among his critics. M'Crie's comparison of Knox and the other reformers is classic, cf. Life of Knox, pp. 354-355.
2. Cf. Writings, pp. 353-354.

the twentieth century in support of the assertion that religion cannot help having an influence on government; avow as we will our conviction that Church and state are and must be separable, they touch each other in important ways.

Pantheism and Polytheism, Judaism and Islamism, Protestantism, and even the various Protestant as well as Mahometan sects, call forth corresponding social and political forms. All power is from God, and is exercised by men in His stead. As men's notions are, therefore, in respect to their position towards God, such must their notion of temporal power and obedience also be.¹

It is not strange that close relations existed between the doctrine of the reformer as to the Church and his idea of what the state ought to be and to do. And it is not strange that among his ideas of the state there should be nationalist emphases. It is to this aspect of the thought of Knox that our attention will now be directed.

A. The Ruler

1. Opposition to the Rule of Women.

Among the political thoughts of Knox those which have to do with the idea of the ruler receive the most space, and with these we begin.

a. Its Occasion.

Knox was perforce interested in rulers whether he wanted to be or not. The Regent Mary in Scotland, Mary Tudor in England, the Guises in France, and Mary, Queen of Scots, all crossed his path. In 1557 he wrote one of the most singular documents of modern history, "The First

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1. Lord Acton, History of Freedom, p. 193.

Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women."¹ He had been driven from England by Mary Tudor. Behind the throne of France he saw Catherine de Medicis, an avowed foe of the reformed faith. Another Mary was acting head of the government in Scotland until such time as the daughter of James V should be of age. This daughter, Mary, was being educated at the French court; she was married to a French prince; and she was indoctrinated with the hated Roman Catholic faith. In every case these sovereigns were bitter foes of the reformed religion.

As for Mary Tudor, Knox gave expression to his thought of her in his "Letter to the Faithful in London," in 1554. He compared England with the kingdom of Judah in the days of Jeremiah. They then had a king who was hostile to true religion. "And ye have a queen, a woman of stout stomach, more stiff in opinion than flexible in the verity, who in no wise can abide the presence of God's prophets."²

As for Mary of Guise, who became Regent in his own country in the same year, 1554, Knox wrote in his "History" the following not very complimentary opinion: "A croune putt upone hir head, as seimlye a sight, (yf men had eis,) as to putt a sadill upoun the back of ane unrewly kow."³ He was at least consistent in his opinion, for on other occasions he expressed himself in much the same language. When she first arrived in Scotland as the wife of James V he wrote, "What plagues sche brought with hir, and how thei yitt continew, such as ar nott blynd may manifestlie see."⁴ Later, after an exhibition of her falseness, he said,

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1. Works, vol. IV, pp. 349-422. "Regiment" here means Government.
2. Writings, p. 18.
3. Works, vol. I, p. 242.
4. Ibid., p. 61.

"Ane woman crafty, dissimulate, and fals."¹

Five years later there occurred trouble between the reformers and the Regent at the town of St. Johnston. A truce was agreed upon, and Mary and the Frenchmen entered the town. On their entrance the soldiers wantonly fired a volley. Six or seven shots were directed at the house of one Patrick Murray, a well-known and active supporter of the Protestant cause. His son, ten years of age, was killed. The body was brought into the Regent's presence. When she had been informed as to the circumstances she replied, "It is a pitie it chanced on the sone, and nocht on the father; bot seing that so is chanced, me can nocht be against fortune."² The terms of the above truce had provided that the religion of the inhabitants should be unmolested. In spite of her promise the French soldiers were quartered on the people and the Catholic religion was set up in as open and offensive a manner as possible. When a protest was made to her that she was not keeping the terms of the agreement, she said:

Princes must nocht so straitlie be bundin to keap thair promesses. Myself, (said sche,) wold mak litill conscience to tak from all that sorte thair lyves and inheritance, yf I myght do it with als honest ane excuse.³

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1. Ibid., p. 307. Those who criticize Knox sometimes overlook the quality of the people he had to deal with. The following statement by Mary of Guise is indicative of the quality of that lady. At Leith, during the siege in May, 1560, the English and Scotch had been repulsed with some loss. "The Frenche, pround of the victorie, strypeit naikit all the slayne, and laid thair deid carcassis befoir the hot sune along thair wall, quhair they sufferit thame to lye ma dayis nor ane: unto the quhilk, quhen the Quene Regent luikit, for myrth sche happit and said; 'Yonder are the fairest tapestrie that ever I saw: I wald that the haill feyldis that is betwix this place and yon, war strowit with the same stuiffe' . . . Hir wordis war hard of sum, and mislykeit of many." Works, vol. II, p. 68.
2. Works, vol. I, p. 345.
3. Ibid., p. 346.

It is not altogether strange, therefore, that Knox should have developed something of a mistrust of the rule of women, even though from this distance it appears that he was more alarmed than necessary.

b. Its Results.

His singular treatise brought with it considerable trouble for its author, for he found it difficult to maintain a consistent position in later years. Before long Mary gave place to Elizabeth in England, and the new sovereign had read the pamphlet with emotions that can easily be imagined by anyone who is familiar with the character of the Virgin Queen. Knox wrote an apology of a sort. He sent it to Cecil, Elizabeth's minister, yet added in the accompanying letter,

We must be careful not to make entrance and title to many, by whom not only shall the truth be impugned, but also shall the country be brought to bondage and slavery. God give you eyes to foresee and wisdom to avoid the apparent danger.¹

Knox continued to oppose the "Regiment of Women" in spite of his willingness to yield to the rule of Elizabeth.² Later experience with Mary, Queen of Scots, was not calculated to reassure him on the subject of queens. In 1567 occurred the murder of Darnley. Late that year a Parliament was called by the Regent Murray. Before the meeting a committee of barons met to draw up an agenda, i.e., a statement of the matters which should be discussed. The assistance of five ministers was sought in drawing up the ecclesiastical overtures to be submitted to the

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1. Works, vol. II, p. 27.

2. Knox made an apology to Elizabeth for the "Blast," but it was not much of a retraction. He boldly told her she must seek God's will and the safety of the land if she would prove herself a worthy ruler. Cf. Works, vol. II, pp. 28-31.

Parliament. The five were "Johne Spottiswoode, Johne Craig, Johne Knox, Johne Row, and David Lindsay." One of the recommendations of this sub-committee interests us, although it was not enacted into law. "Als it is thocht expedient that in na tymes cuning ony women salbe admitit to the publict autoritie of the realme, or function in publict government within ye same." To the quotation of this recommendation M'Crie adds: "On the margin, opposite to this, is written, 'Fund gude'; which is expressive, as I understand it, of the committee's approbation of the motion." There is reason to believe that Knox did not originate this action; but also there is reason to believe that he gave his vote for it.¹ First of all, then, among Knox's thoughts on the subject of the ruler there was this strange presentation of his antipathy to the rule of women, arising under the circumstances which we have passed in review.

2. The Ruler Responsible to God.

We now turn to other remarks on the ruler which illustrate his political theory. Knox never questioned the merits of monarchy. If at a later point in this argument attention is given to his contribution to the growth of democracy, it is to be remembered that he himself never conceived of a state without a king. But the king was responsible to God. Good rulers were distinguished first of all by their readiness to obey God; and bad rulers by their disobedience to Him. The title "Most Christian King" would be no mere complimentary term in Knox's speech.

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1. The above is based on M'Crie, Life of Knox, nKKK, p. 480. He refers to Act. Par. Scot., vol. iii, pp. 38-40, Bannatyne's Journal, p. 117.

Knox felt that disobedient rulers, even though they might be tolerated for a time, would ultimately be punished. Evidence of this was to be found in the Old Testament. The prophets were the voice of God to unworthy kings such as Saul, Ahaz and Zedekiah, all of whom were tolerated for a time that they might have opportunity to repent, and all of whom were ruined by their refusal to heed the admonition of the messengers. In Knox's day the place of the prophets was occupied by the reformed preachers, to whom even the ruler was to listen that he might know the will of God.¹

The sparing of tyrants was that their iniquity might be the more manifest; it did not mean that God was indifferent or that they were absolute in their power. When their character has become sufficiently manifest, the judgment falls.

Of lady Mary, who has not heard, that she was sober, merciful, and one that loved the commonwealth of England? Had she, I say, and such as now are of her pestilent council, been dead before these days, then their iniquity and cruelty should not so manifestly have appeared to the world.²

Knox was not afraid to utter his words in the very presence of the sovereign. His only extant sermon, which he preached in August 1565 with Darnley in the audience, and which led to Knox's being silenced for a time, dealt with this matter at length.

Kings then have not an absolute power in their regiment what pleaseth them; but their power is limited by God's word: so that if they strike where God commaundeth not, they are but murderers; and if they spare when God commaundeth to strike, they and their throne are criminal and gilty of the wickednesse that aboundeth upon the face of the earth, for lack of punishment.³

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1. Cf. Writings, pp. 132-133.

2. Ibid., p. 124.

3. Works, vol. VI, p. 138.

This was bold speech for a time when monarchs had not been taught as yet to feel the power of the people, and considered themselves the special agents of God in their realms.

This accountability of the sovereign to God rested on the great truth of the sovereignty of God, which truth is the very cornerstone of everything Knox believed and preached.¹ He believed as much as he believed anything that the office of the king was a divine appointment, not for the benefit of the king, however, but that the will of God might have expression in the life of men. No matter how much he may have attacked individual rulers, he had the highest regard for the office itself; it was an office not to be abused by the incumbent himself, to say nothing of abuse of it by the subject.

It is neither birth, influence of starres, election of people, force of armes, nor, finally, what soever can be comprehended under the power of nature, that maketh the distinction betwixt the superior power and the inferior, or that doth establish the royall throne of kings; but it is the onely and perfect ordinance of God, who willeth his power, terror, and Majestie in a parte, to shine in the thrones of Kings, and in the faces of Judges, and that for the profit and comfort of man; so that who soever would study to deface the order of regiment that God hath established, and by his holy words allowed, and bring in such a confusion as no difference shuld be betwyxt the upper powers and the subjects, doth nothing but evert and turne upside down the very throne of God.²

Such was the dignity and inviolability of the sovereign. But the sovereign had limits.

The sword of God is not committed to the hande of man to use as it pleaseth him, but only to punishe vice and maintayne vertue, that men may live in such society as before God is acceptable.³

So far from advocating a democratic form of government, Knox here expressly states that the office of the sovereign is not derived

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1. Cf. Writings, p. 271.
2. Works, vol. VI, p. 236.
3. Ibid., pp. 236-237.

from the people. It is fair to infer that he would have opposed an elected executive with about as much feeling as he opposed the "Monstrous Regiment of Women." The rule of the majority might well have appeared monstrous in his sight also. He probably would have shared the horror of the conservative at the French Revolution, or even at the American Revolution.

For all that, there is here a first step in the direction of democracy. The arbitrary will of the king is put under limits. Divine right is viewed, not as a cloak for the aggrandizement of a dynasty, but as the literal stewardship of a God-given responsibility. It remained for nationalists of a later day to find in the voice of the people the voice of God, and thus to give to the rule of the majority the divine sanction taken from the monarch.

Knox's views all had their Scriptural basis; this doctrine is no exception. The sermon which contains the extracts given on the preceding page was based on Isa. 26:13-21. Especially did he dwell on the 13th verse: "Other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name." The struggle to free Scotland from Catholicism he found paralleled by the struggle of the ancient people of God as it was portrayed by the prophet.¹

3. The Ruler Responsible for National Welfare.

The ruler rested under great responsibility, for his misconduct might entail national calamity. Of Mary Tudor Knox said that she was making England to be "a common stew for Spaniards."² In a letter

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1. Cf. Writings, pp. 356 ff.

2. Ibid., p. 127.

to Cecil dated October 6th, 1563, he spoke gloomily of the results of Mary Stuart's course in his own country:

The multitude of calamities that I see appearing to fall upon this isle - 'all becaus the inordinat affections of hyr that is born to be a plague to this realme, ar followed without contradiction - the foresight I say, of appearing calamities, to me more fearfull then ten corporall deahtis'.¹

There is plain indication in these statements of a trend of his thought in the direction of the supremacy of the national welfare over every other consideration. Even the king must be governed by it. Scotland and England ought to be ruled with a view toward their own interests---a doctrine which, for that day, is highly to be commended. If the interests be not the mere selfish interests of national aggrandizement, it is a doctrine which might well be commended to any age.

Nothing more significant as to Knox's attitude in the matter of the rights and duties of the sovereign can be cited than his conduct and that of the nation with reference to the Queen's marriage with Bothwell after the murder of Darnley. The details of the outrage it is not necessary to repeat.² Mary was finally shut up in a castle. Three courses were considered: first, to allow Mary to leave Scotland unmolested; second, to sentence her to life imprisonment; third, to bring her to trial for her life on charges of murder and adultery. Knox was in favor of the last.³ The significant point is the innovation of seeking to put the supreme authority on trial; Scottish law did not afford a basis of procedure, but the basis was to be found in Scripture, for example, in the wiping out of the house of Jezebel at the command of the Lord.

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1. Cal. Scottish Papers, vol. II, p. 24.

2. For the history see A. H. Millar, *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 159-194.

3. Cf. M'Crie, *Life of Knox*, pp. 295-296. Quotes Bannatyne's *Journal*, p. 113.

Knox stood out for the infliction of the extreme penalty. It was only with great reluctance that he gave his approval to the sentence of life imprisonment which was actually inflicted. History in one sense justified him. Mary escaped, and a civil war rent Scotland anew before the matter was finally disposed of. The nobility found one more opportunity to let loose their turbulent spirits and display their ambition to secure selfish ends.

4. The Ruler the Defender of Religion.

Last of all we note that Knox regarded the chief duty of the ruler to be the defence of the true religion. His opinions of rulers had this consideration for their basis. He thought well of Edward VI because of his favorable attitude toward the reformed religion, and regarded his death as a great calamity for the truth.¹ Mary, his successor, was a traitor because of her support of the false religion.² As a result of the Reformation in Scotland the Church was regarded as having an interest in the coronation of the king. When James VI was crowned, Knox "took instruments." As part of the oath the king engaged to maintain the reformed religion, and the privileges of the Protestants.³ Knox wrote thus to Dudley, an adviser of Mary: "God has placed you in favour, credit, and some authority, whereby you may greatly advance the purity of religion, 'yf uprightlie ye will apply your wittis and power thairto.'"⁴

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1. "Under a lamb (Edward VI), the fearful edge of that devouring sword was taken from the necks of the faithful." Writings, p. 111. The reformers thought very highly of this king. "Our king is such an one for his age as the world has never seen." Hooper to Bullinger, Feb. 5, 1550, Zurich Letters, vol. III, p. 76.
2. Writings, p. 126.
3. Keith, History of Church and State in Scotland, pp. 438-440.
4. Oct. 6, 1563, Cal. Scottish Papers, vol. II, p. 25.

It may be well to add that this duty extended to the nobles also; and in their hands it rested to restrain the ruler who failed to perform his duty to religion.

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 may be defended from all oppression and tyranny; that true teachers may be maintained and such as blind and deceive the people . . . may be removed and punished.¹

B. The Right of Resistance to Rulers

1. New Ideas the Concomitant of the Reformation.

One of the most distinguished Roman Catholic historians contrasts the pre-Reformation days when the peace of the world was secured by the ascendancy of the Catholic Church, with the subsequent Protestant times when there has been no great central authority. He appears to regret the turbulence which has succeeded the removal of the former restraint. As an example of endless change without direction he cites the United States.² What has been said in the preceding section as to Knox's thinking on the subject of the ruler is an indication of the fact that the Reformation in Scotland meant new ideas of government. It is therefore the next step in this discussion to review what the reformer had to say on the matter of resistance to the sovereign.

2. Knox's Doctrine Regarding Resistance.

There are times when Knox appears to have been an advocate of open disobedience to the sovereign, when that sovereign was one whose

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1. Works, vol. IV, p. 480.

2. Lord Acton, History of Freedom, pp. 188 and 204.

conduct put him outside the pale. Yet the problem of what to do in the case of one who had disobeyed God or was hindering the truth was complicated by the fact that the king was an agent of God. The reformer wished to call wrong to account, but he had inherited the doctrine that monarchy was a divine appointment.

Therefore, in spite of the seemingly revolutionary remarks he made on some occasions, his injunctions to his followers were not all to this effect. In 1554 he had fled from England, and was staying at Dieppe. His spirit was deeply stirred because of the reaction which had necessitated his sudden, and some would say inglorious, departure.¹ At least he was in a mood to deal none too gently with those who had made this departure expedient. "I am assured that the judgment of these tyrants that now oppress us shall not slip, but that vengeance shall fall upon them without expectation."² Still, he had no specific program as to the execution of this sentence. "With what kind of plagues they shall be stricken in this life; and whom God shall appoint to execute his vengeance upon them, that I remit to his good pleasure and further revelation."³ Contrary to what might have been expected, he did not say anything on this occasion to rouse in the believers a spirit of open revolt.

In the meantime he issued a warning to the recipients of his epistle that they were not to take the law into their own hands. Vengeance

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1. Even in his lifetime he felt called on to say something about his flight from England, which had the appearance of cowardice. Cf. letter to his mother-in-law, Writings, p. vi. Lang finds opportunity for criticism, Knox and the Ref., p. 40.
2. "Comfortable Epistle," Writings, p. 447.
3. Ibid., p. 447.

belonged to God.

Albeit that now a fyre cumes out from hir (Mary of Guise), that consumes many, lett no man wonder, she is Goddis hand, in his displeasur punishing our formare ingratitude. Lett men patientlie abyde, and turne unto thare God, and then shall he eyther destroy that hoore in hir hurdome or ellis he shall putt it in the harttis of a multitude, to tak the same vengeance upoun hir, that hes bein tane of Jesabell.¹

Besides, "carnal hatred" of these persecuting foes must be avoided, though it is to be regretted that they have given themselves to the work of the devil.²

To these remarks as to the restraint which the persecuted church ought to exercise a rather peculiar qualification is added. He drew a distinction between carnal and spiritual hatred, and he maintained that the latter was permissible, even that it is to be desired. He identified it with David's "perfect hatred" and with Jeremiah's desire to see vengeance upon the enemies of the Lord. "With this hatred may we hate tyrants, and earnestly may we pray for their destruction, be they kings or queens, princes or prelates."³

In the situation above described Knox's doctrine of resistance to rulers is truly set forth. He did not advocate violence or direct action. He was so firmly convinced of the divine government of the world that he did not lift his own hand against unholy tyrants, nor did he exhort his people to go forth from the congregation to exact vengeance.

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1. Works, vol. I, p. 218.

2. Writings, pp. 447-448. Cf. also his restraint of the nobles, Works, vol. IV, pp. 284-285.

3. Ibid., p. 448. An illustration of this distinction appears in this opinion on deposing the ruler: "That and yf we deposed the said Quene Regent rather of malice and privat invy, than for the preservatioun of the commoun-wealth, and for that her synnes appeared incurable, that we should nott escheap Godis just punishment, howsoever that sche had deserved rejectioun from honouris." Works, vol. I, p. 443.

He left the matter with God in the firm assurance that as tyrants had been dealt with before so would they be again.¹ He was equally convinced that he was fighting the battles of the Lord. He could therefore rely on the help of the One for whom he contended. His words have of course been misunderstood by those who do not share his religious conviction. If one does not believe in the sovereignty of God and in the reality of the divine action in history, Knox is judged from the start; to the one who believes as he did in the reality of these forces something may be said on the side of the reformer--a man who steadily maintained his cause in the face of adverse circumstances and claimed the future as his won when the present was hostile.

3. Its Application by the Church.

That the party of Knox did not deliberately seek to make trouble may be seen from the record. In 1558 the contest with the Regent was coming on. The reformers had sent to her a communication which received a seemingly favorable reply. They were pleased, and carried out her request not to preach in Edinburgh or Leith. When one of their number insisted on preaching in the latter town, they restrained him. "For in all thingis we soght the contentment of hir mynd, so far furth as God should not be offended against us for obeying hir in thingis unlawfull."² The same year the Protestant party disavowed any responsibility for trouble that might arise. A petition had been sent to Parliament, through the Queen, which the Regent kept "close in hir pocket." To this ignoring of their wants they filed a further protest.

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1. Cf. Works, vol. VI, pp. 242-245.

2. Works, vol. I, pp. 306-307.

We, Thirdly, protest, that yf any tumult or uproare shall aryise amanges the membres of this realme for the diversitie of religioun, and yf it shall chance that abuses be violentlie reformed, that the cryme thairof be not impute to us, who most humlie do now seak all thinges to be reformed by ane ordour: Bot rather whatsoever inconvenience shall happin to follow for lack of ordour tacken, that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.¹

It can easily be understood, however, that such things as Knox wrote and said might release the whirlwind if they were entrusted to certain people. One could speak of God's vengeance to some believers; but violent men would find in it all too readily a cloak to cover actions that were not at all in the author's original intention.

I think it was true that Mr. Knox said, "Down with those crow nests, else the crowes will big in them againe!" And was there anything wrong there? I will not justifie all particulare things done at that tyme . . .; for, can any think, that in such a great alteration in a kingdome, everie man did everie thing rightlie?²

Even the contemporary historian recognized that in this human world there are possibilities of wrong action from the best of intentions. If modern historians have imputed sinister motives to Knox and misread his words in the study, is it to be wondered at that riotous and impetuous hearers should have done the same? He is assuredly not the last preacher of righteousness to have been misunderstood. To the question, therefore, Did Knox preach revolt? it is necessary to reply both yes and no. He did not directly advocate the overthrow of any government. Yet indirectly he did. He expected it. He prophesied it. He gave grounds for doing it.

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1. Works, vol. I, p. 314. Later the Lords again protested their peaceable intentions. "Quhair sche accusis us, that we usurp authoritie, to command and charge free Browchis th cheise Provestis and officiariis of our nameing, etc., we will that the haill Browchis of Scotland testifie in that case, quhydder that we have usit ony kynd of violence, bot lovinglie exhortit sick as askit support, the cheise sick in office as had the feir of God befoir thair eyis, luffitt equitie and justice, and war nott notit with avarice any brybing." Works, vol. I, p. 431.
2. Row, History of the Kirk, p. 12.

At periods in history when passions are aroused, such doctrine will bring not peace but a sword. Whether the sword should be laid bare, whether established authority should be overthrown, it is not now our purpose to discuss.¹

4. Religion the Paramount Interest.

a. Bullinger's Answers to Knox.

Knox appears to have given some thought to the question of resistance to a lawful ruler before he committed himself to such a radical position. While he was in Geneva he had the matter under consideration. Geneva was his ideal, as we shall see in the next section. He sought advice from some of the leaders there by submitting a set of written questions, having in mind especially the publication of the "First Blast of the Trumpet." The replies were written by Bullinger. On the main question of government by women Knox did not receive much satisfaction. But among the questions was one which had to do with resisting an established government.

3. Whether obedience is to be rendered to a Magistrate who enforces idolatry and condemns true religion.

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1. It is possible to exaggerate the value and uplifting influence of the buildings destroyed in the riots during the early days of the Reformation. Fleming has this to say about one of these churches: "In the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, founded, under Calton Hill, by Mary of Gueldres, a couple of apes were seen strangling a monk on the capital of one of the great pillars; while, in the words of Daniel Wilson, 'Its vaulting-shafts sprang from corbels fashioned into all manner of grotesque imps, leering masks, and caricatures of monks and friars, such as a jolly brother who looked out from one of the angles of the apes over the very site of the high altar, as if in purposed mockery of the mysteries enacted below.'" Martyrs and Confessors of St. Andrews, p. 10.

(Answer) The history of Daniel, and the express command of God, Matthew x, and the examples of the apostles in Acts iv and v, as also that of many of the martyrs in ecclesiastical history, teach us that we must not obey the king or magistrate when their commands are opposed to God and his lawful worship; but rather that we should expose our persons, and lives, and fortunes to danger But as other objects are often aimed at under the pretext of a just and necessary assertion or maintenance of right, and the worst characters mix themselves with the good, and the times too are full of danger; it is very difficult to pronounce upon every particular case.¹

These cautious words would not appear to have given ground for an active program of resistance; it is possible that Bullinger knew something of the nature of the man with whom he was dealing.² At any rate, Knox was thinking for himself. He seems at some time to have come to the conclusion that there is a higher loyalty. The godly man must be true to it first of all, regardless of the commands of any earthly power.

Maintainers of idolatry, and provokers to the same, intend to draw us from God; and therefore will he, that we neither obey them, be they kings or be they queens, neither yet that we conceal their impiety, were they son, daughter, or wife, if we will have the league to stand between God and us.³

This covenant relation was the supreme interest in life for the true man of God. It is an argument that carries little weight with the political economist, and it is hardly to be understood by him. But it is an argument that has had force with many Christian men.

b. The Scriptural Basis.

Therefore it was the position of Knox that if the issue of true religion were raised the ruler was to be resisted when he was in the wrong. He found his justification, as might be supposed from the extracts

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1. Works, vol. III, pp. 224-225.
2. Cf. Martin, "De la genese des doctrines politiques de John Knox," Soc. d. l'hist. d. protestantisme fran., vol. 56, p. 200.
3. Writings, p. 22.

given above, in the Scriptures; they were always his authority. Daniel came to mind naturally enough as an example of the proper conduct of the godly man in a time of stress. Having positively identified the practice of the Roman Catholic as idolatry there was no difficulty in citing his case. He had thought nothing of despising the command of the most powerful monarch in the world even though it required merely a temporary suppression of his faith.

Daniel would not keep secret the profession of his faith only thirty days, . . . but he openly prayed, his windows being open, and his face turned towards Jerusalem; declaring thereby that the king's law and commandment, devised by his nobles, was wicked, and therefore it was not to be obeyed, but boldly to be contemned of all such as had faith towards God.¹

In his "Admonition to England" he cited Jeremiah's words to Judah in the days of Zedekiah, Jonah's preaching to Nineveh, and the sermon of the Apostle Peter at Pentecost as instances of the right and duty of the Christian man to be loyal to God when a decision was forced upon him.²

These premises are sufficient to prove, as well that God's word draws his elect after it, against worldly appearance, against natural affection, and against civil statutes and constitutions; as also, that such as obey God, speaking by his ministers, never lack just reward and recompense.³

In the experience of his beloved Jeremiah he found a clear case of what the world would judge treason. That calculated to weaken the morale of the defenders of the city. By ordinary tests this was speech worthy of punishment, worthy even of death. Yet Jeremiah did not forfeit the favor of God, for he spoke in the Lord's name what he had been commanded.

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1. Ibid., p. 28.
2. Ibid., p. 138.
3. Ibid.

"The Chaldeans shall take the city, and shall burn it with fire." Let a thing here be noted, that the prophet of God sometimes may teach (what some may call,) treason against kings, and yet neither he nor such as obey the word spoken in the Lord's name by him, offend God.¹

c. The Rational Basis.

Reason came to the support of Scripture in establishing Knox in his convictions. If God is a righteous ruler, then He cannot overlook the willful disobedience to His commands in a high place any more than in a low place. It is impossible to think that there should be variety in the application of the divine law to men.

As the righteous Judge of the whole earth cannot destroy the just with the wicked, so can he not spare one sort of obstinate malefactor and punish another; as himself witnesses by the prophet Jeremiah saying, "I have begun to punish in the house where my name is called, and shall I spare the rest?" (Jer. xxv, xlv) As though the Lord God would say, How can my justice suffer and permit their crimes and offences to go unpunished in proud contemners, who neither regard me nor my own people and children, who externally bear some reverence to my name?²

d. Knox and Mary.

Knox did not hesitate to express these sentiments to the very sovereign whom he opposed, Mary, Queen of Scots; he was not a man to say one thing in secret or among his followers, and another thing in the royal presence. In the first of his interviews with the Queen, she asked him whether he thought princes might be resisted by power, and he replied that they could be if they exceeded their bounds. Mary then said somewhat indignantly that power was hers and she would use it according to her own judgment. Knox then cited the analogy of the relation of parent and child. Ordinarily it was the duty of the child to obey; but if the parent

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1. Ibid., p. 16.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

were in a fit of madness it became the duty of the child to take command and to restrain.

Even so, madam, if princes will murder the children of God, their subjects, their blind zeal is but a mad frenzy. To take the sword from them, to bind them, to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a sober mind, is not disobedience, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God.¹

5. Correct Understanding of Knox's Position.

At this date it is easy to entirely misunderstand a man like Knox. The heat of the battle has long since cooled. The actors have all passed from the scene of action. We can only reproduce the emotional stress of the crisis by an effort. We judge by our day and not by his. If the historian dwells only on the harsh words a biased opinion is likely to result. In the light of history and from a distance of four hundred years the reformer may seem cold and bitter; but his convictions were neither casual nor cold. They were the products of a spiritual struggle of which he had little to say in later life; but a man does not become a great leader without paying the price in inner tension and hard-won principles. There are things to show that he was not a bloodthirsty seeker of vengeance. When Mary became Queen of England in 1553 he did not immediately preach or practice revolt. He accepted her rule and prayed for her well-being; this is attested by the petition he used in his services during the summer of 1553, while he was as yet unmolested and Mary had not yet shown her hand.

Place above us, O Lord, for thy great mercy's sake, such a head, with such rulers and magistrates as fear thy name, and will the glory of Christ Jesus to spread Illuminate the heart of our sovereign

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1. Cf. Howie, Scots Worthies, p. 55; Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, p. 290.

Lady Queen Mary, with fruitful gifts of thy Holy Ghost, and inflame the hearts of her council with thy true fear and love. Repress thou the pride of those that would rebel . . .¹

Glasse suggests the possibility of a comparison of Knox with Mazzini, the Italian patriot.² Knox, too, may have sensed the results of his preaching. He may have realized that he would set Scot against Scot by releasing the forces of reformation. In his letter to Mrs. Guthrie, April 16th, 1558, he suggested such thoughts as these. His very presence in the land might become the occasion of conflict and even of bloodshed. His hesitation over the matter of returning has ordinarily been attributed to fear or to unfavorable news; but there is the equally feasible hypothesis that he dreaded the consequences. He had enough of human feeling to hesitate before taking a step which might, for all he knew, mean civil war.

Knox, therefore, resisted rulers on the ground of their hostility to what he conceived to be the true religion. He found the justification for his position in the Scriptures. He did not actually incite men to violence; but he used language which easily became the excuse for aroused passions to find an outlet. The statement with which we began, that any religion is bound to have an effect on the views of government held by its adherents, finds support in the career of Knox.

C. Geneva, the Ideal Christian State

1. Knox Before 1555.

When Knox was driven into exile from England in 1553, he crossed over to Dieppe and remained there for a few months. Early in the year 1554

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1. Writings, p. 94.

2. Glasse, John Knox, p. 32.

he continued his wanderings, going first to Geneva where he met John Calvin for the first time. Before settling in Geneva as pastor of the English refugees he visited some other continental centers of the Reformation, notably Zurich, Frankfort, and Dieppe once more. When he arrived at the last named place he found affairs across the Channel in worse condition than ever; consequently with heavy heart he returned to Geneva in March, 1555, almost at the very moment when Calvin had succeeded in establishing the theocracy in that city. It was an occasion of some importance in the life of our Reformer. He beheld here a visible reproduction of his ideals of the government of Church and state, and he was permitted for a while to participate in its life.

It is not any injustice to Knox to say that before 1555 his ideas as to the state were not definitely formed.¹ "Je ne crois pas faire injure au Reformateur ecossais en constatant que tout cela existait chez lui a l'etat plus ou moins chaotique."² While still in England he had sensed the need for a strict and uniform regulation of the Church and of the state as well.³ He had awakened to the realization that the civil power was a problem involved in any effort to reform the Church. By taking his place for a moment one can easily appreciate the disturbing effect on Knox's mind of the persecution in England and the turbulence in Scotland. He had reached the point where the stimulus of the coordination of religious and political elements at Geneva was vital to his thinking.

Tulloch remarks that Carlyle first pointed out the significance of the long period of silence in Knox's early life.

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1. Martin, Soc. d. l'hist. d. prot. fran. Bull., vol. 56, p. 205.

2. Ibid., p. 205.

3. Cf. Works, vol. III, pp. 80-81.

It speaks strongly of his naturally peaceful disposition, of the patient maturity with which he formed his opinions, and of the consequent absurdity of the notion that would fix him down at once as a mere ambitious and turbulent partisan.¹

The same author, Tulloch, thinks that Knox was too old at the time of his arrival at Geneva to have his thinking formed in any important way by external influences. He is of the opinion that the Reformer's convictions were already settled in most things. Before the fall of the fort at St. Andrews and his imprisonment in the French galleys he had stated his views in a disputation with one of the Roman Catholic clergy.² This is true, of course, But Knox probably found at Geneva the very thing that has most importance for the study we are making. He saw there the application of his religious thought to the organization of the state.

2. The Theocracy at Geneva.

a. Its True Character.

Therefore our next inquiry is, what did he find at Geneva? He found a theocracy. But this word has been and still is misinterpreted. To say that he found a scheme in force in which the Church, as an earthly institution, had everything its own way, assuming to itself all the functions of government, is to miss the point. That was not what Calvin contended for, and it was not the genius of the order established at Geneva in 1555. Calvin never intended that the Church should absorb the state. His ideal was that in every sphere of life the will of God should prevail.

Pour lui, la theocratie consiste justement en ceci que, par leurs efforts combines, l'Etat et l'Eglise etablissent dans la cite le regne de Dieu, dont la regle est la Sainte Ecriture sainement interpretee et prise comme une loi divine a laquelle tout le monde doit se soumettre.³

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1. Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, p. 263.

2. Ibid., pp. 272-274.

3. Martin, Soc. d. l'hist. d. prot. franc. Bull., annee 56, p. 206.

The impression has gone abroad that Calvin, as head of a Church, was in every sense a dictator of the public and private life of the city. This is an error due in part, no doubt, to the commanding personality and extraordinary prestige of the man. Everything was subject to him, not by force of legal enactment, but by the homage of the citizens in the presence of one whom they delighted to honor.¹

Regardless of the merits or demerits of Calvin's system, the supremacy of the will of God was the central idea which it embodied; and the practical effect was not the submergence but the emergence of the individual. The norm of life was to be the Word as interpreted by the appointed ministers. He was not imposing a new idea on the citizens. The idea of the glory of God was very old indeed. He formulated its application, and in his books he clarified it; but it was not Calvin who invented it.²

A Geneve est etablie un regime theocratique inspire par le modele de la theocratie israelite. Ce n'est plus la theohierocratie du papisme, ce n'est pas non plus une theoclerocratie, mais une theonomocratie ou une theologocratie: un Etat ou la parole de Dieu fait loi, ou la souverainete de Dieu est manifestee par l'organisation politique et ecclesiastique, ou la loi de Dieu est en vigueur. Dieu est le souverain legislatateur et le souverain justicier, le souverain protecteur de la cite.³

It ought to be recognized that this was the central feature of Calvinism, the system under which Knox lived and by which he was inspired. It is not our purpose to deal with the doctrine of the sovereignty of God

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1. Ibid., pp. 206-207.
2. "Le Calvinisme est une reaction consciente, energique, efficace contre la paganisme romain. Il veut glorifier Dieu par la Reforme des doctrines et des pratiques de l'Eglise. Calvin l'a formule, l'a organise et systematise, il a mis son principe en pleine lumiere, il a rendu possible a des millions d'ames l'experience de l'autorite de Dieu de la loi et de la grace, mais il ne l'a pas cree." Choisy, L'Etat Chretien Calviniste a Geneve, pp. 475-476.
3. Ibid., pp. 509-510.

as a religious postulate; for both Calvin and Knox, however, it was not merely a religious postulate but it was political as well. It was the aim of both reformers to make it the actual basis of society and government. Knox sensed the purpose of his master better than some of the subsequent critics have done. The will of God as revealed in the Scriptures was the order he sought to impart to Scotland. In one of his writings he said:

Nether may the tyranny of princes, nether the foolishness of people, nether wicked lawes made against God . . . make that thing lawfull which by his Word hath manifestlie been condemned.¹

And on this statement the man who has occupied Calvin's pulpit in recent years remarked:

Ici nous ne trouvons plus le disciple des anciens scolastiques, mais L'eleve de Calvin qui, forme a son ecole, applique sans restriction le principe de la theocratie, comprise dans son sens primitif, aussi bien de l'etat que dans celui de l'eglise.²

There will be no proper understanding of Knox till one has grasped that which was for him the central conception.

b. Knox's Study of It.

It is not our particular task to go more deeply into the idea of the Christian state; it will be sufficient to have pointed out the central feature of the model at Geneva. That was the situation which existed while Knox was a resident of the city. He appears to have studied it intently.

Non seulement cette theocratie devint l'objet de l'admiration de Knox, mais elle fut de sa part l'objet d'une etude serieuse, qui lui permit de coordonner en un systeme ayant ses regles et sa logique les doctrines que lui avaient suggerees son education, ses experiences, et les circonstances dans lesquelles il s'etait trouve.³

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1. Works, vol. IV, p. 413.

2. Martin, Les protestants Anglais refugies a Geneve, p. 175.

3. Martin, Soc. d. l'hist. d. prot. franc. Bull., annee 56, p. 204.

The few years at Geneva were almost the only years of quiet Knox enjoyed after his conversion. During the ten years preceding his arrival at Geneva he had been busy here and there among the churches of England and Scotland. During the thirteen years after he left he was tossed on the stormy sea of Scottish affairs. Out of this one short period of calm he came with an ideal of what Scotland might be, if only the teachings of the reformed church could be made the basis of government and society.

c. Knox's Application of It.

Knox's ideal was a state where the prince and the ministers of the Word joined hands to give effect to the will of God. It is a mistake to say that he wanted the power to be in his own hands or in those of the Church. On one occasion he wrote that the reason the Protestants were hated by the Pope was the fact that they would not allow any power on earth to be above the power of the lawful ruler of the realm; to this neither Pope nor cardinal was an exception.¹ The civil power was to be supreme in its own realm and the religious likewise.

In his first interview with Queen Mary, in 1561, he informed her that the subject had a right to resist the sovereign under certain circumstances. The Queen replied that evidently Knox intended the subjects of the realm to obey himself and not their lawful ruler; she had failed to catch the notion of the theocratic state as others have done. Knox denied any such intention. "God forbid that ever I tack upoun me to command any to obey me, or yitt to set subjectis at libertie to do what pleaseth thame. Bot my travell is, that boyth princes and subjectis obey God."²

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1. Cf. Works, vol. IV, p. 324.

2. Works, vol. II, p. 283.

He added that it was God who had subjected the people to the ruler in the first instance. He did it in order that kings may be as fathers and queens as nurses to His children. It is, therefore, no indignity, but the highest possible honor when the sovereign submits to God and thus truly fulfills his calling. This was the end Knox sought in all his contentions in Scotland. Unless everything he said is to be reinterpreted in a sense not conveyed by the plain meaning of the words, he was absolutely sincere in his disclaimer of personal ambition.

Il est impossible d'affirmer plus haut cette souverainete de Dieu qui fut pour Knox la colonne vertebrale de toute son oeuvre, aussi bien pour organiser l'Eglise et la Patrie Ecossaise que pour les liberer du joug du papisme et de l'etranger.¹

Knox found at Geneva a theocracy. This is what he sought with all his might to make a reality in Scotland.² When one reads the narrative of the Reformer's work in his native land and compares a statement of the operation of the Christian state in Geneva during the second half of the sixteenth century he cannot help being impressed by the closeness of the parallel.³

3. Calvin and Knox.

Knox, however, found more than a system at Geneva. He found a man. From the time of their first acquaintance the two reformers had a deep interest in each other. Of the two, Calvin was master and Knox the pupil, a fact the more noteworthy seeing that Knox may have been a little older,⁴ and especially seeing that the Scot was of such an inde-

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1. Martin, Soc. d. l'hist. d. prot. franc. Bull., ann. 56, p. 218.

2. It is not within the scope of this investigation to discuss the influence on Knox's religious doctrines exerted by Calvin.

3. On Geneva cf. Choisy, L'Etat Chretien Calviniste a Geneve, pp. 475-583.

4. Calvin was born in 1509; Knox possibly in 1505.

pendent and violent spirit. Calvin did not always approve of the acts of his fellow-laborer. The "First Blast of the Trumpet" offended him, since he was not given to such vehemence of expression.¹ But he took a great interest in Knox's fortunes during the stormy years of the Reformation in Scotland; he felt deeply the sorrows and trials of the believers and their leader. "Partout dans ses lettres on trouve le ton du protecteur fidele et du sage conseiller."²

Knox more than returned this interest. For him Calvin's word had great weight, though he did not slavishly follow it. When his sisters in Edinburgh inquired of him as to the meaning of Paul's remarks on women's dress, he replied by translating a sermon by Calvin on that subject.³ He called Calvin his father and consulted him on delicate questions. He opened his heart to Calvin when he was made sad by the weakness of his followers and the hatred of his enemies. "Son ton est toujours celui d'un disciple vis-a-vis de son maitre, autant et meme plus que celui d'un ami vis-a-vis de son ami."⁴

Knox's opinion of the state of affairs in the Swiss city was expressed in his letter to Mr. Locke, written during his sojourn there:

In my heart I would have wished, yea and cannot cease to wish, that it would please God to guide and conduct you to this place; where I neither fear, nor am ashamed to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached, but manners and religion so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place besides.⁵

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1. Martin, Les Protestants Anglais a Geneve, p. 275.
2. Ibid., p. 275.
3. Works, vol. IV, p. 227.
4. Martin, Les Protestants Anglais refugies a Geneve, p. 275.
5. Dec. 9, 1556. Writings, p. 454.

In another document he suggested as a possible answer to the cavils of one of the Catholic critics of the Reformation the character of the life in Geneva. So far from opening the door to all manner of evil doers, in that city justice was meted out without distinction of persons. In all Christian history there had not been such an exhibition of order as was to be found there.¹

4. Theocracy in Scotland.

In 1560 the policy of the Kirk of Scotland was drawn up. It was in large part that which had been tried in Calvin's town. "It had been framed by John Knox, partly in imitation of the Reformed Churches of Germany, partly of that which he had seen in Geneva."² The success with which Knox met in the establishment of this system has sometimes been overdrawn by those who wish to criticize the Reformer. In a recent study of the religious influences which were brought to America from European countries the author makes the remark that Knox "established with the help of a small band of high-born leaders a theocracy more nearly approaching Calvin's conception than even Calvin himself was able to secure in Geneva."³ This is not correct. At no time in the course of his career did Scotland become so completely subject to the guidance of the Kirk. The records of the Assembly show how the ministers were engaged in a constant struggle with the crown and the lords to secure even a portion of the land and the legal influence to which they believed they were entitled. Scotland was never in Knox's control during his lifetime.

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1. Treatise on Predestination, Writings, pp. 337-338.
2. Spottiswoode, History of the Church of Scotland, p. 174.
3. Hall, Religious Background of American Culture, p. 122.

His hold on the nation was greater when he himself had passed away than it was when he was actually leading his forces. The adoption of the reforms he advocated came gradually and voluntarily; for, had the reform been forced upon Scotland, there would have been a revolt just as there has always been where progress is too rapid. We meet, then, with the curious phenomenon of historians who exaggerate the extent of the influence of the Reformer in an effort to discredit him.

In all this the nationalism is surely plain enough. Knox and the reformers loosed the hold of the Church upon the state. In doing so their intention was to make the state the voluntary partner of the Church in seeking the kingdom of God and His righteousness. They had a laudable ambition to bring in this new and better order. Unfortunately the freeing of the state from the control of Rome was a step in the direction of the exaltation of the state to be the supreme authority in itself, with rights over the life and fortune of every one of its citizens. That which Knox would never have conceived nor assented to has come to pass. Without regard for the sanctions of religion or for the sacredness of the law of God, a nationalism which is purely secular has assumed the dominating role in the life of the world. The move in this direction was unwittingly facilitated by the ardent preacher of the supremacy of the will of God.

D. The Moral Quality of the State

1. Meaning of the Phrase.

For want of a more accurate phrase with which to describe it we may term this last of the ideas of the state its "moral quality." This phrase is used to designate a manner of thinking about the state

which is very common in Knox's writings. He never thought of the state in merely abstract terms. To him it was always an entity which had both good and bad characteristics and which was accountable for its conduct. The nationalist implications of this belief will be seen in due course.¹ At this point our interest is the view of the state which he held by reason of his ideal of what constituted good government.

2. Its Duty to Maintain God's Truth.

Knox appears never to have reflected on the problem of the origin of government as, for instance, the nationalists of the eighteenth century did; he accepted circumstances as he found them. To him the powers were ordained of God.² Since he believed with all his might in the sovereignty of God, he simply left the problem there, without investigation of the human factors in it. However, he drew the conclusions involved in this premise, and they constituted an important element in such political thoughts as he expressed.

To begin with, if government was God's provision for the ordering of human society, it must have as its aim the maintenance of His standards of character and conduct. This would be a natural deduction. It was, in fact, Knox's firm conviction.

Virtue, justice, and civil honesty have so pleased God, that for the love of the same he hath maintained, and to this day doth maintain, commonwealths, albeit that many grievous crimes are committed in the same. As God loveth equity, justice, chastity, truth, mercy, and temperance, so doth he in some sort highly reward the same, and hateth unrighteousness . . . which often he punishes even in man's eyes.³

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1. See below, chap. III, section D.

2. Cf. Writings, p. 314.

3. Ibid., p. 340. Cf. also ch. xxiv of the Confession of Faith, Writings, p. 257.

In his view such was the standard to which any government worthy of obedience must conform. The state could not conceivably exist on any other basis and be a good state.

The opposite of conformity to the right standard was failure to support or submit to God's revealed truth as declared by the Church. The bad ruler was the one who opposed the Gospel Knox preached. Such a ruler was the servant of the devil, and when the master "blows his wind," the servants must obey by persecuting the adherents of the truth. This they do in spite of the fact that reflection would teach them the folly of resisting God; Pharaoh, Esau, the scribes and pharisees are examples of such blindness in past history, while Gardiner and Tonsal were examples from the days of Knox. All such are, "as subject to obey the devil, their prince and father, as the unstable sea is to lift up the waves when the vehement wind bloweth upon it."¹ Government, therefore, could be either good or bad in an ethical, and not merely administrative, sense. To Knox it was not a non-moral institution whose acts were matters of indifference religiously.

3. Its Duty to Maintain the Welfare of Citizens.

The next proposition is, naturally enough, that the true end of government is to promote the welfare of the citizens. God is interested in the salvation of men. His administration of the world is so conducted that His children shall be provided for. This must be the controlling consideration in any earthly administration, which is His appointment. He had no hesitation in bringing the supreme authority to the bar if it

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1. Writings, pp. 116-117.

did not serve the purposes he considered essential.

No form of civil polity was anything to him, save in so far as it conserved the true dignity and earnest and pious uses of life. Mary was only queen in so far as her government was good for the country. He recognized no divine right in her or anyone to govern, save in so far as they were fit for it. The mere trappings of rule, its artificial splendors, its proud adornments, had no interest, and certainly no awe for him. He stood unmoved before them, and his stern simplicity remained imperturbable alike under the blandishments and the tears of royalty.¹

This doctrine Knox did not advocate merely in the pulpit where he would be comparatively safe, nor in books where it would not be necessary to meet the adversary face to face; he confronted royalty itself and argued his case.²

What was true of the ruler was true also for all subordinate authorities. In a letter to the nobles during the early days of the Reformation he reminded them that it was their business to right the wrongs of their oppressed brethren. And by way of enforcing his admonition he told them this duty was not theirs by the privileges of high birth; it was a duty inherent in the position itself.³ Office acquired its responsibilities as well as its honors by the divine appointment. It was rightly exercised only when the requirements of justice and truth were met.

Events came to the aid of Knox in his effort to impart his views to his followers and to the nation at large. The year 1567 saw the murder of Darnley and the flight of the Queen. The action of the General Assembly in that year shows that they were beginning to see the need for some guarantee of righteous rule. It was a critical time; the Assembly met toward the end of July to consider the state of affairs. Mary's folly was

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1. Tulloch, *Leaders of the Reformation*, p. 299.

2. Cf. the first interview with the Queen, *Works*, vol. II, pp. 281-282.

3. *Works*, vol. I, p. 270; vol. IV, p. 480.

disturbing the hearts of all true lovers of Scotland. There was a manifest need that something be done to prevent the recurrence of such a condition.

Under these circumstances the following resolution was adopted:

That all kings, princes, and magistrates which heerafter in anie time to come sall happin to raigne and beare rule over this realme, at their first entrie, before they be crowned and inaugurated, sall make their faithful league and promise to the true Kirk, that they sall maintain and defend, and by all lawfull meanes set forward, the true religion of Jesus Christ, presentlie professed and established within the realme, even as they are oblised and astricted by the law of God in Deuteronomie and in the second chapter of the first Booke of the Kings, as they crave obedience of their subjects.¹

It would be a great mistake to think that all Knox ever preached was revolution, and resistance to established authority, and the fiery sword. He had an ideal of good government in advance of his time. It was the ideal of government for the benefit of the governed. It ought not to be held altogether a fault with him that he advanced his notion in the interest of the religious welfare of the subjects.

4. The State as a Responsible Person.

In the third place, Knox firmly believed that the nation was as accountable for its acts as an individual. Among the writings of the reformer there are several which lay a great deal of emphasis on the idea of the nation as capable of action and as responsible for the consequences of its action--in itself a manner of speaking that suggests a powerful impetus toward nationalist ways of thinking. In this manner he often addressed England and Scotland. He found his basis for speaking in such a way in the warnings and advice issued to the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel in the Old Testament, especially in the work of the prophet Jeremiah.²

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1. Calderwood, Hist. of the Kirk, vol. II, p. 381.

2. E.g., "Godly Letter to the Faithful in London."

In 1554 he was an exile on the Continent because of the Catholic reaction in England under Mary Tudor. It must have appeared to him a dark and awful time. His fellow Christians were being persecuted, or worse still were proving untrue to their reformed faith. He turned to Isaiah 24, Leviticus 26, Jeremiah, and Amos for pictures of the divine wrath to be visited upon an unfaithful nation. And not only upon Israel, but upon all the ungodly nations of the earth was the bowl to be poured out.¹

These and many more places evidently prove that the plagues spoken of in the law of God do appertain to every rebellious people, be they Jew or be they Gentile; Christian in title or Turks in profession. And the ground and assurance of the prophets were the same, which before I have rehearsed to be my assurance, that England shall be plagued; that is, God's immutable and inviolable justice, which cannot spare in one realm or nation the offences which he most severely punishes in another.²

The condition of England in that day of Roman Catholic reaction he declared to be worse than that of Judah in the days before its judgment.

These things do I rehearse that you may see that more abomination and less fear of God, more unjust dealing and less shame, more cruel persecution, and less mercy and gentleness is now among your chief rulers in the realm of England, than in those days were in Judea; and yet Jerusalem did not escape the punishment of God. Shall we then believe that England shall avoid the vengeance that is threatened? No, dear brethren.³

Idolatry, maltreatment of God's spokesmen, and refusal to hear God's word brought destruction to the ancient Jewish state; they would do the same again. It may seem to us that the imagination of the preacher had led him to exaggerate the desperateness of the situation. The times do not appear now to have been so far out of joint as to justify such language. But it always is well to keep in mind the point of view of the man who

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1. Cf. Writings, p. 7.
2. Ibid., p. 7.
3. Ibid., p. 20.

is fighting in the thick of the battle, and therefore lacks perspective. It was not known in 1554 that Mary's reign would come to an early end; that she would have the Protestant Elizabeth as her successor; that the threats of France and Spain to wipe out the Protestant cause would prove nothing more than hollow sound; that the great Armada of 1588 would be wrecked almost without striking a blow. During those few years of Mary's reign in England fire and banishment were the lot of the professors of the reformed faith; their outlook was not hopeful. Through it all Knox never once wavered in his conviction as to the rightness of his principles, and the sovereignty of God. England's wickedness would bring its punishment.

5. Its Obligation to Obey God.

Finally, the only security of the state Knox considered to be obedience to God; to this conception most Christian thinkers would doubtless give their assent. No structure built on a foundation of falsehood or of injustice could hope to live. In this thought he found consolation for the afflicted Church in England.

Even so shall these tyrants¹ after their profound counsels, long devices, and assured determinations, understand and know, that the hope of hypocrites shall be frustrate; that a kingdom begun with tyranny and blood, can neither be stable nor permanent, but that the glory, the riches, and maintainers of the same shall be as straw in the flame of fire.²

Later in his life, in the very year in which he died, he was contemplating the manifold threats to the progress of the true religion in England and Scotland. He issued once more his solemn warning to those

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1. A reference to Winchester and other divines who assisted Mary.
2. Writings, p. 450.

who built on any other foundation than that of the truth. The preachers had labored strenuously, but for small reward. The life of the two nations still ran in much the same channels. In his answer to a Jesuit he voiced his deep concern.

Lord, be merciful to England and Scotland, for we stand both in a dangerous estate, and that because we would obey thy wholesome admonitions, which were thine, how contemptible soever the persons of thy messengers were And give us not to the opprobrium of thine enemies, of whom the castle of Edinburgh are the principal, within this realm.¹

And with these words, among the last he wrote, we may leave the consideration of the ideas of the state which he held. Without calling in question the form of government already existing, and without the suggestion of revolutionary change, he was at the same time offering a doctrine which would mean a complete reversal of policy in almost every government then existing and in almost every one that has existed since that day. He was in favor of the incorporation of the principles of divine justice in the law of the state. He would have the ruler the chief of the servants of the people. He would inculcate the sense of responsibility in every class of citizens. Were this ideal a reality we should be well on the way to a new earth.

E. The Influence of John Major

1. His Life Work.

In the preceding sections of this discussion of the political ideas of our Reformer attention has been given to his thoughts on the ruler and to his conception of the right of resistance to constituted

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1. Ibid., p. 300.

authority. These special aspects of political theory were almost incapable as far as he was concerned, for under the circumstances of the Reformation movement authority became the question of primary interest. It will not be altogether beside the point to close this chapter with a brief notice of one of Scotland's leading political thinkers, to whom it is likely that Knox was indebted for some of his doctrines and from whose classes it is certain that some of the leaders of thought and action in the sixteenth century came.

In spite of Dr. M'Crie's note it appears that Knox received his advanced education at St. Andrews.¹ There he came under the influence of John Major, whose reputation helped to make that University renowned during the first half of the century. Major, 1469-1550, described himself as "by name indeed a Scot, but by profession a theologian."² He was also a philosopher and an historian of critical ability that is surprising for that age. He was professor for a time at Paris, and an effort was made to induce him to take up his residence at Oxford.

Il publia des ouvrages de philosophie et d'exegese penetres du plus pur esprit scolastique, qui lui attirerent d'un cote les railleries de Rabelais, et de l'autre les eloges et la consideration de plusieurs grands hommes de son temps. Le cardinal Wolsey essaya, mais en vain, de le retenir a Oxford.³

The only work by Major with which students are at all familiar is the "Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae," published at Paris in 1521. Though a work of history, there will be found in it many

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1. It is beyond the scope of the present inquiry to investigate this and other critical questions as to the life of Knox. M'Crie's note is found on p. 370 of the ed. of 1831 of the Life of Knox. Cf. also McKay, preface to Major's Hist. of Greater Britain.
2. Hist. of Greater Britain, title page.
3. Martin, Les Protestants Anglais refugies a Geneve, p. 157.

expressions of political opinion; it combines fact with philosophizing upon it.¹

As for religion, Major remained all his life a true child of the Church of Rome. The fact that he did so instead of playing the part of a Knox is to be accounted for by the difference in the natures of the two men. For, while he was thus loyal to the Church of his fathers, he boldly advocated political theories as subversive of the governments of the day as those of Knox. When it came to pressing his theories upon his contemporaries he drew back.

2. His Position as to Divine Right.

For example, Major called in question the divine right of kings. In the course of his history he came to the discussion of the act of King John of England, by which his whole kingdom was practically resigned into the hands of the Pope and he himself and his successors obliged to pay a yearly tribute. This raised the question, "Whether any king has the power to bestow on any one the rights of his kingdom, or its fixed revenues?" The question was answered in words that sound very much like the replies of Knox to Queen Mary when they were debating the rights of subjects:

The king holds his right as king of a free people, nor can he grant that right to any one against the will of the people.

That king acts wickedly who, without ripe counsel held with the nobles of his kingdom, bestows upon any other the revenues to be granted by the people. The proof: Such king, without the explicit or interpretative consent of the people, lays a burden on that people. But such a tax as this the people is not held bound to pay.²

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1. Eng. trans. by A. J. G. Mackay, 1892. Martin says this history was the first critical history of Scotland. See Soc. d. l'hist. d. protestantisme fran. Bull, vol. 56, p. 220.
2. Major, History of Greater Britain, p. 158.

This was bold speech for 1521. The very phraseology merits attention, for he wrote of taxes as "granted by the people" and burdens laid without "consent." We are reminded of "taxation without representation." We can catch the accents of the twentieth century nationalist as he pleads against the arbitrary bartering of nations by rulers or diplomats. In another document Major stated yet more clearly the same doctrine of the supremacy of the will of the people:

Kings are instituted for the good of the people, as the chief members of the whole body, and not conversely In the second place it follows that the whole people is above the king and in some cases can depose him The king hath not that free power in his kingdom that I have over my books.¹

This comes near being Knox's exact language when he told his sovereign that kings could not do as they pleased with their realms.

3. His Idea of the Origin of Monarchy.

Again, it is interesting to find Major almost suggesting Rousseau and the Contrat Social, when he came to dealing with the matter of the origin of the monarchy. This problem arose when he came in the narrative to the winning of the kingdom by Robert Bruce. The claims of Bruce and of his rivals were discussed at length. John Baliol, the chief claimant, Major declared to have had no legal claim to the Scottish throne for the following surprising reason:

Baliol, born of the elder daughter, departing from his just rights, and relinquishing his whole claim to Edward of England, showed himself thereby unfit to reign, and justly was deprived of his right.²

This assertion was supported by a statement of the reason for Baliol's

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1. Major, History of Greater Britain, p. 158n.

2. Ibid., p. 213.

unfitness:

A free people confers authority upon its first king, and his power is dependent upon the whole people; for no other source of power had Fergus, the first king of Scotland; and thus you shall find it where you will and when you will from the beginning of the world.¹

Assuredly it was in the nature of news to the monarchs of the sixteenth century that their character or the will of the people or any other sanction but birth had anything to do with their tenure of office.

4. His Idea of Removing a Sovereign.

It was, therefore, on the basis of such a view of the origin of the Scottish monarchy that Major suggested the possibility of removing a sovereign who had proved unworthy of his trust. In former times men had deposed rulers found guilty of "foul vices" of which they had no mind to be corrected; and in doing this these men of olden time had committed no wrong.² Bruce deserved the kingdom, and his rival did not; the people made the choice, setting aside the candidate whose was the throne by right of birth. If such a thing had been done once, it could be done again. "A people may deprive their king and his posterity of all authority, when the king's worthlessness calls for such a course, just as at the first it had the power to appoint him king."³

Of course a danger lurked in such teaching. Major recognized it. Some men might make the rights of the people a cloak to cover violent schemes. Consequently the author insisted that only the stubborn refusal of the ruler to receive correction could justify action against him; and the action was only to be taken by the estates of the realm after due

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1. Ibid., p. 213.

2. Ibid., p. 219.

3. Ibid., p. 214.

deliberation. "No element of passion" should intrude.¹

He believed in the maintenance of the ancient institutions of Scotland. In case of doubt as to what the particular situation called for, it was the business of the three estates to take action, even to the extent of diverging from the common law if the exigency demanded it. "In such positive laws, of human enactment, such diversity may be expected; but the common law is not lightly to be interfered with, because such change of laws shakes the foundations."² He was the great advocate at once of stability and of resistance to authority; on the basis of the ancient rights of the people the present order might be overthrown.

5. His Contact with Knox.

Those aspects of Major's thinking, which have been illustrated above, represent only fragments of his work. However, they will answer the present purpose, which is to show the parallel between his ideas and those of Knox, on the ground of which parallel some relation of dependence is usually supposed. Major was a teacher at the University of St. Andrews between 1523 and 1525, and again from 1531 till the weakness of age compelled his retirement in 1545.³ He is known to have had among his pupils Hamilton and Buchanan. Knox was probably in his classes some time after 1531. And so, in spite of the fact that he held aloof from the Reformation, and even applauded the persecution of heretics, it is not unnatural to suppose that he made a substantial contribution to the work of the reformers. The reading of his History discloses an independent thinker on political

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1. Ibid., p. 219.

2. Ibid., p. 243.

3. For the facts of Major's life cf. preface to the Hist. by Mackay.

subjects, whose speculations were admirably adapted to the needs of the more energetic younger generation sitting in his classes.

At any rate, in the idea of the rights of the people, the ancient constitution of the nation, the right of resistance to the prince, and the responsibility of the king to his kingdom, Knox and Major spoke in almost identical terms. It does not appear to be an unwarranted supposition that the Reformer derived the political implications of his message from his teacher.

Ne devons-nous pas être étonnés de voir John Knox s'appropriier les principes de son vieux maître, les affirmer toujours plus nettement, et s'efforcer de les mettre en pratique dans ses luttes contre l'autorité royale, que des femmes exerçaient toute entière d'écraser la Réforme.¹

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1. Martin, Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés à Genève, p. 159. This author was pastor of the Church at Geneva where Calvin's work was done; he has extensively investigated the Reformation history which centers in that city.

CHAPTER III

KNOX AS THE HERALD OF NATIONAL LOYALTY

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Introduction

1. Patriotism the Cardinal Doctrine of the Nationalist.

The ardent nationalist of the twentieth century would probably give first place among his doctrines to the claim of the nation to be the first loyalty of its citizens. The crying of patriotism from the house-tops reminds us early and late of this inescapable duty. One of the most widely circulated newspapers of the United States has borne on its front page for some years the slogan, "My country right or wrong; may it always be right, but right or wrong, my country."¹ In the name of patriotism war is urged upon the nations, acts of aggression on weaker neighbors are justified, and schemes for aggrandizement are promoted. The nation is continually held before the citizens as an entity which demands service and love because of real or imagined benefits bestowed upon its children.

To the nationalist the cardinal sin is the lack of patriotic feeling. The "Man Without a Country" is the classical example of the terrible penalty for disloyalty. The true patriot is the one who believes with the depth of a religious conviction in the superiority of his native land and its institutions. He glories in the noble past of his own race, often enough supplying such a background for his racial culture by the

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1. The Chicago Tribune. Cf. E. Shillito, "The Religion of Nationalism," Hibbert Journal, Oct. 1931, p. 26.

fertility of his imagination. Every institution within the nation is expected to find its chief end in the glorification of the state: the schools are called upon to instill the sentiments of patriotism in the hearts of the young;¹ the churches are called upon to furnish the sanctions of religion for national conduct; even the museums must exhibit the glories of history, nature, and science in such a way as to cause the hearts of the people to glow with pride.² "One hundred per cent" is the phrase often used to describe the man who exemplifies these sentiments to the full extent.

It is pertinent to the subject about to be discussed to observe the way in which the cry against foreigners is raised on the plea of patriotism. "Serbia for the Serbians," "Italy for the Italians," "America for the Americans," are typical of the slogans by which exclusiveness and superiority are maintained. Foreign goods, foreign people, foreign languages, and everything else that belongs to the other state are denounced in the interest of what is native.

2. The Reformation and Nationalism.

This attitude, which historians have come to recognize as one of the marks of the nationalist spirit, has come into existence on an extensive scale as the result of a long period of development. While it is usually considered to have rather suddenly made its appearance late

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1. Rousseau was one of the first to advocate this purpose of education. "Education is the most important device to give people "a national form." See Hayes, *Evol. of Mod. Nationalism*, p. 26.
2. It is interesting to note that in Italy the Catholic Church has been claimed as one of the glorious achievements of that race. Cf. E. Shillito, *Hibbert Jour.*, Oct. 1931, p. 24.

in the eighteenth century and to have come to distinct expression in the French Revolution, at the same time it is admitted that nationalism was the result of forces which became operative centuries before.¹ The breaking up of the feudal system and the discovery of America, for example, had much to do with the growth of national states, a development which is one of the keys to the history of modern times. The Reformation ranks with the other great events as having had an important role in the fostering of an incipient nationalism in the sixteenth century. It sustained a vital relation to the political changes that were profoundly altering the status of Europe.² In the German states, in France, in Holland, and in England the reform of the church was complicated by these political issues.

In few of these states were religion and politics mingled to the extent that they were in Scotland in the days of John Knox. An incident from the reign of James VI, not long after Knox's death will illustrate this fact. Since the King was still quite young the Earl of Arran and the Duke of Lenox became his intimate advisers. These two men were hated by the rest of the nobility. The other nobles, therefore, sought the King to present a protest against the two because, as was alleged, the true religion was in danger, and the French were thus likely to gain an entrance to the country. The nobles appealed to the King to resist the French on the ground of the duty he owed to his native land. They expressed themselves as bound to protest in order to save the state. The

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1. This is the account of it given by Prof. Hayes in his "Hist. Evolution of Mod. Nationalism," chap. 1.
2. Cf. Preserved Smith, "The Reformation Historically Explained," Papers of the Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist., 2nd series, vol. 7, pp. 111 ff.

interests of the nobility, the reformation of the church, and the exclusion of the French formed a complication of motives which it is difficult at this day to disentangle.¹ In the course of this investigation many like illustrations of this connection between church reform and national independence will be cited.

3. The Aim of the Discussion of Knox and Loyalty.

The aim of this presentation of John Knox as the herald of national loyalty is to show how as the leader of the reformation of the church he contributed to the creation of the sentiments of nationalism among his countrymen.

We must beware lest we read into the words or deeds of Knox opinions or intentions he did not possess. He certainly did not hold the views of a modern nationalist on the subject of patriotism. He was not consciously seeking political ends, or formulating a reconstruction of the government. Though he was an ardent Scotsman, it may well be doubted whether he would subscribe to the creed of a nationalist of this generation.

There were elements in the work of Knox, however, which gave a decided impetus to the growth of nationalist ideas, both in Scotland and in countries where Scottish influences have been carried. These elements are the object of this investigation. His successors may have gone far beyond him in the excess of their patriotic zeal—or perhaps it should be said that they have narrowed his doctrine to an extent which he would never have countenanced. Yet he has contributed in no small degree to

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1. Sir Jas. Melville, *Memoirs*, pp. 236-239.

the emphasis on national loyalty which characterizes the type of thinking of which we speak. Patriotic fervor burned brightly in his words. Even when discussing theological subjects or writing to his personal friends he manifested his love for his country. In one of his interviews with Queen Mary she took him to task for his interference in the affairs of the nation. His reply is quoted in every book that deals with his life.

A subject born within the same, Madam! And albeit I neather be erle, lord, nor barroun within it, yitt hes God maid me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes), a profitable member within the same: Yea, Madam, to me it apperteanes no lesse to foirwarne of such thingis as may hurte it, yf I foirsee thame, then it does to any of the Nobilitie; for boyth my vocatioun and conscience craves playness of me.¹

Rarely has a nation had a leader so devoted to the welfare of the state as was this energetic foe of every foreign threat.

A. Foreigners and Natives

1. Resistance to the French Occupation.

The outstanding fact in the public life of Scotland during the first half of the sixteenth century was the presence of the French. All of the men actively engaged in the conduct of affairs were interested, some because of their anxiety for the departure of the foreigner, and some because for personal reasons they were anxious that he should remain. Sir James Melville,² a prominent figure in the diplomacy and politics of the time, was not alone in his opinion that, "the house of Guise were the chief instruments of all the troubles in Scotland."³ He was in a good position to know, for he had been the Scotch representative at the

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1. Works, vol. II, p. 388.

2. This man is not to be confused with the Jas. Melville who was a follower of Knox.

3. Memoirs, p. 58.

French court as well as the confidential adviser to many of the chief men of his own country.

With all his ardor Knox plunged into the struggle to free his land from the foreigner. Religion and politics were mingled for obvious reasons. With Knox there can be no question as to the decisive consideration; but with the men who were allied with him it is not always easy to say which interest was uppermost, whether the French were more to be hated for their Catholicism or for their threat to the independence of Scotland. Regardless of the motive, the result was a great deal of talk about "the foreigner" and about the necessity for giving power into the hands of "born Scotsmen." We have then to this extent the beginning of a nationalist sentiment.

a. The History of Scotch and French Relations.

Close relations between Scotland and France were of long standing. "En effet, des le temps de Charlemagne, il s'establit des relations d'amitie entre la France et l'Ecosse. Charlemagne exercait sur ce pays un veritable protectorat."¹ A definite alliance had been formed as far back as the days of Philip the Fair and Robert Bruce, when the Scotch needed help against their English foes. But the arrangement had never been entirely satisfactory, not even at the beginning, because the attitude of France rose and fell with the rise and fall of Scottish fortunes as well as with its own need for allies. As is usually the case the strong partner does not appear to have been actuated by unselfish magnanimity. Whenever it seemed likely that Scotland would be useful for humbling England, France's

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1. A. Cheruel, Marie Stuart et Catherine de Medicis, p. 2.

friendship became warm again.¹ The following of the vicissitudes of this rather strange alliance is not now our concern; the point to be made is that this is the background out of which the peril to Scotland in the sixteenth century arose, and when we take into consideration the length of the union of these two peoples it is possible to measure the extent of the change brought about by the reformation under Knox.

With the sixteenth century a climax had been reached. The revolt of Henry VIII from Rome gave France a religious excuse to add to political excuses for making Scotland a part of itself, that there might be a better means of attack on the Protestant enemy.

b. The Contest With the Regent.

The fear of France was no figment of the imagination. On the death of James V Mary of Guise had become Regent. The infant daughter, Mary Stuart, was married to the French King, Francis II. The French designs appeared to be taking shape. If the Scottish leaders knew in 1558 what had actually taken place at the court before Mary was to enter upon her responsibilities, they had yet more reason to be alarmed.

Le 4 avril 1558, quinze jours avant que Marie Stuart eut accepte les conditions apportees par les commissaires du parlement d'Ecosse, elle souscrivit a Fontainebleau deux actes secrets de la plus perilleuse gravite. Le premier de cese actes etait une donation pure et simple de l'Ecosse aux rois de France, faite en consideration des services que ces rois avaient rendus de tous temps a l'Ecosse.²

In 1559 the Lords of the Congregation banded themselves together to resist Mary of Guise, the Regent.³ What Knox thought of her is to be found in his History, for he expressed himself as of the opinion

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1. See W. L. Mathieson, Pol. and Rel. in Scot., vol. I, ch. 1.
2. F. Mignet, Marie Stuart, vol. II, ch. 2, p. 46.
3. Works, vol. I, p. 344.

that she was merely waiting a favorable opportunity "to cut the throats of all those in whom she suspected the knowledge of God to be, within the realm of Scotland."¹ The Regent sent word to the French court that she was in danger from the activities of the Protestant nobles. At once the council at the court was in favor of raising a powerful force to be sent to Scotland that the land might be reduced to submission. However, and perhaps fortunately for Scotland, the advice of a cooler head prevailed, and Sir James Melville was sent to deal with his countrymen by peaceful means if possible.² With but a little more persuasion the nation might have been made a part of France at that time.

A report on the status of the contest between the Regent and the nobles in 1559 is to be found in a letter of John Jewel to Peter Martyr, dated Dec. 1st of that year. He stated that the Congregation had declared that "they only regarded the public weal, and that none of them sought any individual advantage to himself." The fortification of Leith, in which enterprise the French garrison was occupied, was objected to by the Lords on the ground that it would afford a foothold for France. "Should she (the Regent) refuse to accede to this, they would then act as became men zealous for liberty, and lovers of their country."³ The writer of the letter from which the above information is taken adds an interesting note to this report: "The Scots have in their camp the preachers Knox and Goodman, and they call themselves 'the congregation of Christ.'"⁴ It is worth while to notice the growth of nationalist

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1. Ibid., p. 244.
2. See his *Memoirs*, p. 52.
3. Zurich Letters, vol. I, pp. 59-60.
4. Ibid., p. 60.

sentiments here manifest, due to the presence of the foreigners; and further, the connection of Knox with this patriotic group, engaged in the preaching of reformation doctrine as an inspiration to the liberators of Scotland.

c. The Attitude of Mary Stuart.

There is thus no lack of evidence that the peril to Scottish independence because of the activities of France was real. The prospect of having Mary Stuart as sovereign was not reassuring to the party of the reformers. The fact that she was married to Francis II in 1558 has been stated. Likewise mention has been made of the fact that soon after her wedding she signed away the liberties of the land in spite of a promise to keep them intact.¹ At the time of her wedding, four of the Scottish commissioners in France were poisoned and a fifth suffered ever after from the attempt that was made on his life.²

Soon after Mary's arrival in Scotland, French incumbents were in most of the important offices, such as that of Comptroller.³ The French ambassador became her chief adviser. All the strongholds but Edinburgh were garrisoned with French troops. The entire nation was stirred at the threat to Scottish liberties and customs; and the barons especially, sensing the probable course of events, prepared to oppose Mary's usurpation of authority, not, to be sure, from entirely religious or unselfish motives.⁴ Religion and patriotism joined hands to put a stop to the encroachments of the foreigner.

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1. An account of this is found in Hay Fleming, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, pp. 23-25, 210-212.
2. Cf. Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 210-212. Knox suspected something wrong, cf. *Works*, vol. I, pp. 263-264.
3. Knox, *Works*, vol. I, pp. 292-293.
4. See Hume Brown, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. II, pp. 39 ff.

d. The French Threat to the Protestant Cause.

As far back as 1548 there were happenings which showed the hostility to the French occupation. Knox gives a description of the growth of this feeling in Edinburgh. The people of the city and the soldiers were in such a state of tension that any trivial occurrence brought on a dangerous conflict. The French thought that they could do as they pleased. An encounter between two soldiers and a Scotchman on one occasion caused a pitched battle between the natives and the foreigners in which several were killed or injured. Knox added as his comment, "This was the begynnyng of the French fruittis."¹ Two years earlier the martyrdom of George Wishart had caused an outcry. The one man most responsible was Cardinal Beaton. In the face of the protest against this harsh penalty the Cardinal had the effrontery to boast of his safety. "'Is not France my friend, and I friend to France? What danger should I fear?' And thus, in vanitie, the carnall Cardinall dellyted him self a lytill befoir his death."² It was not calculated to make the name of France any more acceptable to Scottish men to have it used in such a connection. Writing to Henry Bullinger in 1548, one John Burcher said, "If there is any nation more perfidious than another, it is France, who will some time, I doubt not, receive the reward of her perfidy."³

It is not surprising that to the Protestant of that day there would appear to be no good in the great Catholic power. It was the sworn enemy. Any weaknesses in the French position discernable now were not so

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1. Works, vol. I, p. 224. For the description of the time in Edinburgh, see pp. 220-225.
2. Knox, Works, vol. I, p. 173.
3. Zurich Letters, vol. IV, p. 643.

easily seen then. Besides, those who were actually participating in the conflict could only dimly discern the issue, if they could see it at all. Every reverse or temporary hindrance to the cause appeared at the time in the light of a major catastrophe. It could not be foreseen that Elizabeth would soon follow Mary on the throne of England, and that Mary, Queen of Scots, would ruin her own cause by a devious course which is still the despair of the historian. In 1560 Bishop Cox wrote to Peter Martyr about the difficulties of the cause in Scotland:

Our neighbors, the Scots, have for the most part embraced the gospel, and are professing it under a heavy cross, which they are still forced to bear, through the violence of the French king, who is daily making attacks upon them, and contriving schemes for their extermination; so that, unless there should arise help from some other quarter, an end will shortly be put both to them and to the gospel among them.¹

For Scotland in 1559, when Knox returned from Geneva to assume the leadership of the cause, the foreigner was the problem; both religion and the state would be served best by the appeal to patriotic devotion; and it was this appeal which he proceeded to make. He did not hesitate to mingle politics and religion. As a matter of fact the separation of the two would have been beyond his ken. The state was one of the first concerns of the preacher.

2. The Appeal for National Liberty.

As he surveyed his world he noted that the Reformation cause which was on his heart was threatened in two ways chiefly:

England for satisfying of the inordinate appetite of that cruel monster Mary betrayed to the proud Spaniard:² and Scotland by the rash madness of foolish governors, and by the practices of a crafty dame resigned

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1. Zurich Letters, vol. I, p. 67.

2. A reference to the fact that Mary Tudor was married to Philip II of Spain.

likewise, under title of marriage, into the power of France. Doth such translation of realms and nations please the justice of God, or is the possession by such means obtained lawful in his sight?¹

This was written in 1556 while Knox was in exile because of the Catholic reaction in England. It voices his concern at the threat from these hostile nations to the Protestant cause; and it shows the basis of his appeal for national rights in his sense of the injustice of the bartering away of whole nations. The true faith was endangered by these encroachments of the Catholic powers. Against this seemingly resistless tide of reaction he raised a cry that has the sound of modern nationalism.

All the more plainly does this appear in the remarks on Mary, the English Queen.

And now, doth she not manifestlye shewe her selfe to be an open traitor-esse to the Imperiall Crown of England, contrary to the juste lawes of the Realme, to bring in a straunger, and make a proude Spaniarde kynge, to the shame, dishonoure, and destruction of the nobilitie . . . to the overthrowe of Christianitie and Goddes true religion; and finally, to the utter subversion of the whole publicke estate and common wealth of England? . . .

Who seeth not that she, in all her doynges, declareth moste manyfestlye, that under an Englyshe name she beareth a Spaniardes heart?²

The sovereign was not above his criticism if she had been guilty of disloyal conduct. To be sure, disloyal conduct meant for Knox the failure to support the reformed faith; he was not dealing with economic or political issues. Yet there is distinct preparation here for the men of later times who were to make patriotism the supreme virtue. Even for him it was questionable to bear too high a regard for certain foreigners. The terms "Spaniard" and "Frenchman" were beginning to have an objectionable connotation.

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1. First Blast, p. 45. In English Scholars' Lib., #2.
2. Works, vol. III, pp. 295-296.

If Knox displayed so great interest in the welfare of England, which was his country only by adoption, toward Scotland his expressions of loyalty came to be greater still. In 1559, shortly after beginning his labors there he issued a ringing call to his fellows to expel the foreigner:

We have said that our commonwealth is oppressed, that our brethren are hurt by the tyranny of strangers, and that we fear bondage and slavery, seeing that multitudes of cruel murderers are daily brought in our country without our counsel, or knowledge and consent. We dispute not so much whether the bringing in of more Frenchmen be violating of the appointment as that we would know, if the heaping up of strangers upon strangers above us, without our counsel or consent, be a thing that may stand with the liberty of our realm and with the profit of our commonwealth. It is not unknown to all men of judgment, that the fruits of our country in the most common years are no more than sufficiently reasonable to nourish the born inhabitants of the same. But now, seeing that we have been vexed with wars, taken upon us at the pleasure of France, by which the most fruitful portion of our country in corn has been wasted; what man is so blind but that he may see, that such bands of ungodly and idle soldiers can be nothing else but an occasion to famish our poor brethren? And in this point we refuse not the judgment of all natural Scottish men.¹

This manifesto is a fitting text for the study of incipient nationalist doctrines in the work of Knox. Scotland it is to be noted was for born Scottish men; the foreigner was a parasite. Even difference of religion did not separate born Scots in his view.² One could imagine himself reading a passage from an American patriot of the eighteenth century. The land was too poor for these outsiders who were proving to be a threat to the true religion and to political liberty as well. Speaking of this struggle of 1559 between the nobles urged on by Knox's preaching, and Mary of Guise, a modern historian writes: "As the power of the French soldiers was displayed, the revolutionary movement became more and more national."³

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1. Works, vol. I, p. 409. Cf. also the process for deposing the Regent, p. 447.
2. See pref. to Bk. ii of his History, Works, vol. I, p. 298.
3. F. W. Maitland, Camb. Mod. Hist., vol. II, p. 573.

Knox had a vision of the happy national life which would be possible if only the foreigner could be put out of the way. He longed for the establishment of the theocracy on the Genevan model.¹ He visualized a state in which the reformed doctrines would be the basis of society and government. The Regent and her French troops were the obstacles to the attainment of his ideal, and the Lords of the Congregation were his allies, albeit their interest in the cause arose from motives poles apart from those of Knox, and their lack of constancy caused their leader many a heartache.

However, for the time Knox's sentiments served admirably the cause of his unstable confederates, and they gave expression to their convictions in language which sounds as though it was taken from the lips of the reformer. In July 1559 the contest with the Regent was at its height. She accused the Lords of disloyalty in seeking help from England against their sovereign. She was justified in her charge, and their reply, as Andrew Lang states, did not meet her objection.² But they fell back upon the interests of their country as their argument, thereby showing according to a contemporary historian that "there was some dealing that way for the expelling of the Frenchmen, which they would not deny, and thought not convenient as then openly to express."³ His surmise as to the aim of the Lords was correct.

In justification of their position before the country, the Lords issued a declaration that same year, setting forth in no doubtful

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1. Cf. chap. II, pp. 62-71.

2. Knox and the Reformation, p. 139.

3. Spottiswoode, Hist. of the Church of Scot., p. 282. There were repeated petitions for the removal of the French who made them restless. Knox, Works, vol. I, pp. 367, 370, 377, 379.

terms their plea for a rallying of patriots against those who were despoiling the native land.

As they had often complained of the inbringing of French soldiers, and the manifold oppressions done by them, so they could not but seek redress thereof by all means, in regard the same tended to an open Conquest of the Country, and the laying upon their necks of an intolerable Servitude . . . Therefore required all Scottishmen to judge between the Queen and them, and not to abstract their just and dutiful support from their native Country in so needful a time; assuring them who did otherwise, that they should be esteemed betrayers of the Kingdom into the hands of strangers.¹

Regardless of any lack of conviction or internal dissension in the ranks of the Lords, this was the beginning of the nationalist manner of speech. It was an echo of the pleas of the preachers who were putting heart into the men by whom alone the reformation could be brought about.

3. Hostility Between Scotland and England.

Down to this point the hostility of the Knox and his countrymen to the French occupation has been cited as the occasion for nationalist utterances. But there existed similar feelings with reference to England as well, and it was mainly due to the common religious interest resulting from the Reformation that the two lands were ultimately drawn together. The preservation of a distinct Scottish nationality in spite of the proximity of a kindred people and in spite of the union of the two under one government is an unusual fact. The reason for it is to be found in part in the long-standing antipathy between the two peoples during the Middle Ages. Union with England would have appeared the natural thing; alliance with France the unnatural thing; in both cases it was the unnatural which prevailed.

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1. Ibid., pp. 134-35.

It was the meddling policy of England which hindered for centuries the federation which would have been the true welfare of both peoples. A conspicuous example of this misguided policy is to be found in the very days of Knox. Henry VIII after the battle of Solway Moss in 1542, had in captivity some Scotch nobles. He liberated these men, who were nicknamed the "assured Lords," that they might return to Scotland, carry out his designs, and ultimately deliver the realm to him. They were to get possession of Mary, the infant daughter of James V, and hold her for Henry, so that by her marriage the two kingdoms could be joined. This procedure caused a violent reaction among the people of Scotland, especially among the nobility.¹

This was the sort of intriguing which ruined all hopes of union during many reigns. Henry VIII and Elizabeth were both guilty of it. The perusal of state papers or of the writings of any of the actors in those events makes it abundantly clear that Elizabeth could never have won the confidence of any great portion of the people of the neighboring state without such a change of policy as would have been impossible for her.²

Knox himself was a lover of England. His nationalist feeling did not arise from any antipathy in that direction. The above indication of the state of affairs between the two nations is not intended to show that there was any feeling on his part in the direction of England; it is given merely to point out one of the additional circumstances which made Scotland a fertile soil for the preaching of loyalty by the reformed

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1. Knox, Works, vol. I, pp. 102-3. Cf. Mathieson, Politics and Religion, vol. I, chap. I.
2. E.g., The Border Papers and the Hamilton Papers, ed. Jos. Bain.

ministers. The English policy combined with the French policy to make the people of Scotland hostile to all outsiders, and to bring into existence the sentiment that their country was the proper possession of native Scottish men. Throckmorton, an English representative in Scotland, undertook at the behest of his sovereign, Elizabeth, to guide Mary, Queen of Scots, in the matter of her marriage. His purposes were by no means the result of love for the land of his residence, yet his argument in presenting his case is interesting from the standpoint of this investigation:

Strangers are universally suspected to the whole people; against which your Majesty hath in your marriage wisely provided, by abstaining to match with a foreign prince. So do they advise your Majesty to abstain from any league or confederacy with any foreign prince that may offend England, till you have first assayed what you can purchase by the benevolence of the born subjects thereof.¹

Thus did the scheming ambassador think it wise to present his case before the ruler of Scotland. And to the same effect the statesman, Sir James Melville, sought to advise Riccio, Mary's secretary, when the latter asked for guidance as to the best way to discharge his duties and to satisfy the nation.

I told him that strangers were commonly envied, when they meddled too much in the affairs of other countries It was thought that the greatest part of the affairs of the country passed through his hands, which gave offence to the nobility.²

To enforce the point Melville cited the suspicion aroused by his own position as secretary to the Elector Palatine some years before.

Therefore, when Knox came proclaiming a crusade against the foreign yoke he found an audience prepared to listen. It need be no cause for surprise that he was able to produce quick and lasting results. And so one of the chief elements in nationalism received a great impulse.

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1. Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 115.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

4. Growth of National Feeling in England.

It will not be entirely beside the point for us to make note of the fact that nationalism was developing in England in the days of Knox. Though it sustains only a secondary relation to the purpose of this study, it is an additional evidence of the spirit of the time, of the interplay of religious and national interests, and of the drawing of the lines between peoples. Knox's ideas were not isolated phenomena. He did for his nation what others were doing at the same time in England when he inveighed against foreigners and fanned the fires of Scottish patriotism.

Economic considerations were becoming important for the English during the early sixteenth century. They were looking with disfavor upon the export of English money to Rome; Henry VIII was especially anxious that the resources of his kingdom should not get beyond his jurisdiction. Erasmus had his purse carefully examined on leaving the country, and was called to account for all that he had in excess of regular travelling expenses.¹ The patriotism of the Romish clergy was the object of grave suspicion, which suspicion was at least one cause for the passing of the Act of Supremacy. They were suspected of betraying military secrets.² Their allegiance to the Pontiff meant that they were out of sympathy with the ideals of national loyalty then forming in the minds of the people at large because of the new commercial prosperity. National solidarity and national defence likewise were felt to be matters vital to the welfare

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1. Letter of Erasmus, quoted by Marti, *Economic Causes of the Reformation in England*, p. 217.

2. Marti, *Economic Causes of the Ref. in Eng.*, pp. 176-7.

of England.¹ The early years of Henry VIII were a time of rapid growth for the consciousness of nationality on the part of the citizens of his realm.

This attitude appears to have developed into hostility toward the Scotch on the north before the end of the century. The English felt that the outsiders were acquiring too much liberty in their country. In Aug. 1587 one finds this regulation adopted at Berwick, a town on the border: "There shall be a special market place for the Scots outside the new fortifications, and no Scottishman shall be suffered to lodge in the town or to walk up and down."² The old hostility was finding new expression. The people from the other country were causing difficulty, which appears to have been partly economic, so that the bars to their free entrance had to be erected.

In December of the same year a correspondent named Hemsdon wrote to Burghley, Elizabeth's secretary, concerning the problems of the border:

There are so many Scottes planted within Northumberland, especially upon the verie borders, as no exploit or purpose can be so secretly resolved upon, but upon the gathering of any men together, the Scottes have straight warning.³

He complained that there were more Scotchmen than Englishmen in many English towns. He asked for the appointment of a commission to create "dennysons . . . which commission the sonner it is graunted, the better servis wilbe don."⁴ Later on, in 1593, a regulation was laid down for

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1. Ibid., p. 188.

2. Cal. Border Papers, 1560-1594, ed. Jos. Bain, p. 269.

3. Ibid., p. 291.

4. Ibid.

the army that soldiers married to Scots were to be dismissed from the service.¹

The point to the above facts illustrating the growth of English nationalism is, in the first place, the evidence they afford that Knox was not alone in his attitude toward foreigners and his patriotic ardor. Men across the border were displaying the same spirit in the sixteenth century. The old Duke of Norfolk, commander of Henry VIII's army against the Scots, was called by his master, "Scourge of the Scots."²

But, in the second place, it is to be borne in mind that for five years Knox was at work in England.³ He developed a great affection for that land.⁴ Since, as we have seen, the new spirit of nationality was in the air at that time, and Knox was a man profoundly interested in public affairs, it is not unnatural to suppose that he absorbed something of this atmosphere. It was among the middle classes that this spirit was especially active; it was the middle classes that Knox understood so well. They probably constituted the bulk of his congregations.

5. Lasting Result of the Emphasis on National Distinctions.

It remains to inquire briefly whether there are any indications of the lasting result of this emphasis on national distinctions, which we have been tracing. Such indications are not wanting. In a document dated Feb. 23, 1572, Huntly and the Hamiltons rendered their submission to the Regent. Article four of their agreement contains this declaration:

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1. Ibid., p. 443. The regulation was described as according to "ancient orders."
2. Keith, Hist. of Ch. and State in Scot., vol. I, p. 50.
3. 1549-1554. His ministry was chiefly at Berwick and Newcastle.
4. See Works, vol. III, p. 133.

None of the subjects of this realm shall assist any of this realm or strangers that shall privily practice or openly pretend any treasonable fact, uproar, or hostility against the true religion aforesaid, the King, or the Regent.¹

The following year Robert Melville, brother of Sir James Melville, being suspected of disloyalty and seeking peace with the Regent, wrote to Killigrew in his own defence:

If I ever desired for my 'partycular' anything that might tend to the subversion of these realms, whereby religion might be endangered or the common peace broken, let God judge me thereof, and at my power I would be as loath that strangers should 'impyre' above these two realms as any person within them.²

They burden me here with knowledge of England.³

As for France, I have neither acquaintance nor French to entertain them.⁴

It appears from these documents that encroachments from without were becoming matters of concern.

After James VI became king a Mr. Davison came to Scotland from England on an indefinite and secret mission. He sought to ingratiate himself by reference to his Scottish descent. "He was come of Scotsmen, and was a Scotsman in his heart, and a favourer of the King's right and title to the Crown of England."⁵ He judged that the way to the heart of the people to whom he had been sent was the plea of a blood relationship and a sincere patriotic ardor.

The strangers feared in 1572 were the same as those feared by Knox and the preachers in 1560, the French. On Oct. 6th of that year

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1. Cal. State Papers relating to Scot. and Mary, Queen of Scots, vol. IV, p. 413.
2. Ibid., pp. 611-612.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 287.

Killigrew reported to Burghley and Leicester on the state of feeling in Scotland.

The people in general are well bent to England, abhorring the 'fact' in France¹ and fearing their tyranny He (Knox) said that it was not long off your lordship that he was not a great bishop in England, but the effect grown in Scotland, he being an instrument, much more satisfies him.²

Of all the guardians of Scottish patriotism it is not surprising to find that Knox's successors in the ministry were the most watchful. The minor character of the following incident makes all the more emphatic the jealous care with which they were following the injunctions of their leader.

Thoccasion of the Kings comynge is to see six horses sent furth of France from the Duke of Guyse, which horses arryved at Lleath the ixth of this instant, with the nombre of xvjen Frenchmen, but none of ant great credyt or name.

John Dury, one of the principal preachers, repaired at once to the King and besought him not to accept any gift from the Duke "as beinge a Papist, a blouddy man, and altogether against the Ghospell and Godes religion." The King assured the preacher of his constancy. The preacher then recalled to him the dying injunctions of Knox, to instruct the King in the true religion, and so to preserve the realm.

Moreover yt is reported and gyven furth, that the Duke shall receave the castle of Edenbroughe the xixth of this instant, which (if yt comme to passe) will be very much mislykte of, both with the ministry and many others.³

The multiplication of such instances is not necessary. The Scottish people under the guidance of the preachers continued to develop their sense of nationality. The first contribution of Knox to this growing

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1. The massacre of St. Bartholomew.
2. Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. IV, p. 413.
3. Woddryngton to Walsingham, May 15, 1582. Cal. Border Papers, 1560-1594, p. 83.

sense was his emphatic declaration on religious grounds that Scotland was for its native inhabitants; that therefore the foreigner ought to be expelled; and that this work demanded the loyal cooperation of all born inhabitants.

B. The Fostering of the Democratic Spirit

1. Relation of Democracy to Nationalism.

The handmaid of nationalism is democracy.

By proclaiming the abolition of privilege it (the State) emancipates the subjects of every such authority in order to transfer them exclusively to its own. It recognizes liberty only in the individual, because it is only in the individual that liberty can be separated from authority, and the right of conditional obedience deprived of the security of a limited command.¹

The ideal of the nationalist is here brought out by one who was a great critic of the nationalist spirit. This ideal is that the citizens should all be one hundred per cent--whatever may be the particular nationality. It is achieved, not by the imposition of an absolute authority, but by the willing assent of the individuals who comprise the commonwealth. Thus the resources of the nation can be rallied to resist outside interference, and to glorify the character of the native race. When men feel their own responsibility for national security and progress, and when they have sufficiently developed pride of country the spirit of nationalism has been called into life.² Hence the ardent nationalist by what appears to be a contradiction is often the outspoken advocate of the rights of the people, although he would doubtless reserve the privilege of defining those rights for himself.³

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1. Lord Acton, History of Freedom, p. 151.
2. For an interesting illustration of this see Hayes, Hist. Evolution of Mod. Nationalism, pp. 57-60.
3. On the relation of democracy and nationalism cf. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism, p. 48.

2. Knox's Democracy an Indirect Result.

The next contribution which Knox made to nationalism by his doctrine of loyalty to the state was the impartation of the spirit of democracy to the new political order. In the discussion of his ideas of the state the fact was brought out that he did not conceive of government without a king. He knew nothing but monarchy; he found monarchy in the Scriptures; and he accepted it as an institution which God approved, with certain limitations. As a matter of fact he did not give much thought to the question of the form of government provided it was one which supported the cause of the Reformation.

Yet, though he did not do it deliberately, Knox played an important part in the development of democracy. The next section will undertake to show the ways by which this development was brought about.

3. Calling Governments to Account.

First of all, Knox contributed to a growth of democracy by the way in which he called the governments of his day to account. In a letter to Foxe he defended his course, which must have appeared critical to some of his contemporaries.

To me it is enough to say that black is not white, and man's tyranny and foolishness is not God's perfect ordinance, which I do, not so much to correct commonwealths as to deliver my own conscience.¹

The notable thing in this utterance is his spirit of independence, his determination to decide moral issues for himself, and to take his stand on the position made clear to him by the voice of his conscience. This was a contribution. This was bringing a new line of thought to bear on

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1. May 18, 1558. *Writings*, p. 456.

the question of the organization of society; governments were not accustomed to being subjected to the criticism of any man's conscience. The reading of Knox's works leads to the conclusion that he never realized all that was implied in the stand he took. But later times can see that he spoke more significant things than he knew.

Nor is this an isolated utterance. He did not hesitate to preach from this text in the presence of authority. The one sermon by Knox which we possess he preached on August 19th, 1565, with Darnley in the congregation. On that occasion he was bold enough to say that "Kings then have not an absolute power in their regiment what pleaseth them; but their power is limited by God's word."¹ And the chief evidence of his independence is of course his boldness in the presence of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the five interviews to which he was summoned.² Reference has already been made to his famous reply to the Queen, in which he asserted boldly his right as a subject born within the land to take an interest in the affairs of the government.³ The most distinguished historian of the Reformation quotes this statement and adds, "Modern democracy came into being with that answer."⁴ Speaking of religion Knox said,

As some of the most ancient writers do witness, neither long process of time can justify an error; nor can the multitude of such as follow it change the nature of the same; but if it were an error in the beginning, so is it in the end.⁵

This independence applied in the realm of politics meant revolution ultimately.

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1. Works, vol. VI, p. 238.
2. These interviews are described in vols. I and II of his Works.
3. Works, vol. II, p. 388.
4. Lindsay, Hist. of the Reformation, vol. II, p. 314.
5. Writings, p. 220.

Knox, therefore, gave an impetus to democracy by taking the first and most decisive step in progress--he called into question what was in existence and thought for himself about it.

4. Faith in the People.

In the second place, Knox trusted the people. He was himself one of the people. His writings breathe confidence in them, as well as regard for their rights. His influence was in the direction of quickening the sense of responsibility in them.¹ Rulers were summoned by him to respect, first of all, the religion of subjects, in itself a worth while advance; but also to respect their rights as men. The glories of God partly are displayed in the thrones of kings, "for the profit and comfort of man."² He had a respect for the people not shared by all his contemporaries. An English divine wrote to Bullinger at Zurich,

The people of England, that many-headed monster, is still wincing; partly through ignorance, and partly fascinated by the inveiglements of the bishops, and the malice and impiety of the mass-priests.³

Knox would have been incapable of such words. It was to the people that he carried his appeal, and from them that he received his support. In 1558 he was an exile in Geneva because the Catholic clergy in Scotland had brought about his expulsion from the pulpit. In that year he wrote his,

Appellation from the cruel and unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and clergy of Scotland, with his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonalty of the realm.⁴

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1. See Writings, p. 357.

2. See Writings, pp. 218 ff.

3. Hooper to Bullinger, Feb. 1550. Zurich Letters, vol. III, p. 76.

4. See Writings, pp. 218 ff.

This is the document ordinarily known as the "Exhortation to the Commonalty" by way of abbreviation. In it he desired the people to "compel your bishops and clergy to cease their tyranny."¹ It constituted an appeal over the heads of the constituted authorities of church and state to the nation. It was a step in the direction of popular government, expressive of his willingness to trust the body of the citizens.

Cautious observers were becoming concerned at the growing spirit of independence manifested by the people of Scotland. In 1564 Randolph wrote to Cecil, "I fear more dangers among themselves than from any foreign power, and the liberty they have to speak and write as they list, may cause greater mischief that I trust to see."² The same correspondent wrote a few weeks earlier, in words that almost bring a smile, of the possibility that this restless people might be the product of a peculiar quality of the soil.

I am not yet assured whereto these "oftayne mutterings" may grow.³ "Ther are great mislykynges, I knowe not from whens yt commethe, nor whether yt procedethe of the nateur of Chrystes worde, as yt ys wrytten, Non veni pacem mittere mundo, sed gladium, or of the complection of the soyele that bryngethe fourthe so restles a people that muste ever have somewhat in hande." I persuade what I can, those likely to be stirrers in such causes, not to give over much trust to the benefit they shall find in seeking to root out idolatry so clean as they desire, and subvert their whole commonwealth.⁴

5. Training for Political Action.

In the next place the effect of the work of Knox was to train the people for political action, a much needed work seeing that government had been in the hands of monarchs alone till that time. In 1559 the

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1. Ibid., p. 220.

2. Randolph to Cecil, Feb. 28, 1564, Cal. Scot. Papers, vol. II, p. 49.

3. A reference to the religious disputes.

4. Jan. 15, 1564, Cal. Scot. Papers, vol. II, p. 35.

Lords of the Congregation seriously debated the question of deposing the Regent, Mary of Guise, an exceedingly bold step under any circumstances. Spottiswoode, conservative and critical of the reformers, was grieved at such meddling with the state.

Neither was the opinion they gave sound in itself, nor had it any warrant in the word of God: for howbeit the power of the Magistrates be limited, and their office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great offences; yet it is nowhere permitted to Subjects to call their Princes in question, or to make insurrections against them, God having reserved the punishment of Princes to Himself.¹

But it was just this meddling that raised up at last a citizenry with leaders capable of directing the affairs of state and of intelligently discussing public interests. The beginning of such activity had to be made.

The organization of the Church of Scotland will not be fully discussed till a later chapter. However, it may be said at this point that in the General Assembly of the Kirk and in the Presbyteries men received a training in the handling of democratic institutions which was bound to affect their attitude as members of the state. The election of the moderator of the Assembly, the choice of the pastor, the freedom of debate, were all practical examples of how the work of the nation was to be done.² This church organization was largely the work of Knox. Furthermore his was not merely an administrative task; he travelled from village to village proclaiming his doctrine until it had begun to work like leaven among the common people. One of England's great historians pays eloquent tribute to the influence he exerted.

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1. History of the Church of Scotland, p. 137.

2. John Row, Hist. of the Kirk, gives an account of the activities of the Assembly.

His was the voice that taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a free man, the equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate that had trampled on his forefathers. He was the one antagonist whom Mary Stuart could not soften nor Maitland deceive; he it was that raised the poor Commons of his country into a stern and rugged people, who might be hard, narrow, superstitious, and fanatical, but who, nevertheless, were men whom neither king, noble, nor priest could force again to submit to tyranny.¹

Even those who hated Knox perforce bore tribute to the way in which he was able to move his countrymen.²

It did not take long for the nation to learn the lesson of political action. Throughout the stormy years of the religious conflict the people of Edinburgh stood like a rock for the reformers and their rights. After the murder of Riccio, the foreign secretary of Mary, the Queen sought help for herself from the people of the capital because the lords who perpetrated the deed were holding her in semi-arrest. The Provost of Edinburgh replied that he would summon the people and see what could be done. He expressed himself as doubtful of his power to secure action in support of the Queen, however. The people were dissatisfied with the existing government. To such an extent had resistance hardened and the power of action developed.³

Constitutional historians recognize the importance of this growth of spirit among the citizens. "The independent and aggressive spirit which developed in Parliament under Knox and the Reformation, has played its part in the nationalism of the land."⁴

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1. Froude, Hist. of Eng., vol. X, p. 457.
2. "Fanatical incendiary and holy savage, the son of violence and barbarism, the religious sachen of religious Mohawks." Quoted in pamphlet, Bruce and Knox, by "A Parish Minister."
3. See Sir Jas. Melville, Memoirs, p. 122.
4. Mackinnon, Constitutional Hist. of Scot., p. 287.

And of the movement as a whole it is said that, "Ultimately the will of the people was decisive."¹

There was an element of democracy inherent in the very heart of the Reformation; but the Reformers in Scotland went beyond their contemporaries in the admission of democratic principles. Knox maintained that the King and the ruling political powers were responsible to the people, and that if they abused the trust committed to them, the people might lawfully depose them and appoint others in their place.²

6. The Spread of Knox's Ideas.

The spirit Knox imparted to the men of the sixteenth century lived after him. The Scotch and Scotch-Irish brought to America their hatred for Catholicism, and their ideas of government by consent of the governed. These were the men who fought in the front ranks against France in North America in the eighteenth century. They were the backbone of the Colonial resistance to the English in the American Revolution.³ Men who were the lineal descendants of the Scotch Reformer carried his ideals across the sea so that both at home and abroad nationalism grew up upon a foundation of democracy.

C. Ancient Rights and Laws

There are occasional references in the writings of Knox to ancient laws, privileges, and rights; these constitute a point of interest in connection with this study of his part in the origins of nationalism. To one school of nationalists these ancient things lend great glory to the nation, and constitute the basis of the love of country. An out-

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1. Ibid., p. 285.

2. Mackintosh, Hist. of Civilization in Scot., vol. II, pp. 164-165.

3. Cf. T. C. Hall, Religious Background of American Culture, pp. 125-126.

standing example of this type of nationalist was Edmund Burke, the distinguished British orator. He reacted violently against the French Revolution. That outburst of radicalism served to reinforce his own conservatism. His nationalist doctrine took the form of the glorification of the English constitution and of the merits of old England.¹

Scottish reformers and leaders had nothing in the nature of a constitution to which to appeal, yet in the manner of Burke, they based their arguments on ancient and established practices, laws, or customs. To cite but one conspicuous instance, when the Regent was deposed in 1559, the Lords charged that she had altered an "auld law and consuctude" of the realm which had been observed by previous sovereigns in dealing with pardons to offenders among the subjects. Her offence consisted of introducing "a new captiouse styill and forme of the saidis pardonis and remissionis, attending to the practice of France." They suspected such alterations might be the opening wedge whereby yet more changes in established laws could be effected.² In the same way Knox justified his position and that of the reformed cause in England by stating that the established laws of the nation were on his side, and that the Roman Catholics were guilty of subverting the government.

1. Appeals to English Rights.

The first clear instance of this method of argument by Knox is to be found in his "Admonition to England," written in 1554. He had been exiled not long before. He launched an attack on Mary Tudor, who

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1. See Hayes, *Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, pp. 88-95.
2. Cf. *Works*, vol. I, p. 446. Cf. also a proclamation by the reformers in 1559, *ibid.*, pp. 400-408.

was responsible for the reaction. He laid great stress on the laws, liberties, and acts of Parliament which the Queen was defying in her course of reestablishing the Catholic religion. He appealed to these ancient laws and acts as the foundation of his case.¹ He declared that the Queen was to be judged guilty of treason by the same standard; for she was married to Philip II of Spain, a Catholic prince, in spite of the fact that, "the ancient laws and acts of parliament pronounce it treason to transfer the crown of England into the hands of a foreign nation."² Not only so, but all who had given their consent to her traitorous "fact" were guilty with her of the same crime. Especially did Knox denounce the bishops, Gardiner and Tonsal, for abetting the treason. These dignitaries had not only consented that, "a foreign stranger should reign over England";³ but they had adjudged "the imperial crown of the same to appertain to a Spaniard by inheritance, or lineal descent."⁴ In the climax of his fervent denunciation of such betrayal he exclaimed, "O traitorous traitors! how can you for shame show your faces."⁵

These words have the ring of the nationalist utterance. This was five years before his work in Scotland was to begin, so that he gained from his experience in England a view of the rights of his case which he could apply in his native state as well. We have here already the impassioned appeal to "ancient laws and acts," a heritage from the past by which the liberties of the realm are guarded. It is not necessary for

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1. Writings, p. 125.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 126.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

our purposes to show that Knox was either right or wrong in his argument. It is likely that Mary Tudor was not as far outside her right as he asserted. Had he been called upon to quote the exact language of the statutes that covered the case he might not have found it easy to do so. The value of the statement for the point under consideration is the fact of the appeal. He summoned to his support an argument which the nationalist delights to use, viz, the ancient laws, or rights, or social and political institutions of his country, the glorious and sacred heritage of the past, even though that past is sometimes hazy in the extreme. And how often has it been proved that far more potent than enacted law is the conviction by which the emotions of the people are swayed.

Knox turned his wrath upon Winchester, i.e., Bishop Gardiner, for much the same reason. "Art thou not ashamed, to betray thy native country, and the liberties of the same?"¹ And he called him a "wretched caitiff" because his actions in support of Mary were bringing it to pass that, "England should not be England."² The plea against him was that by reintroducing the Catholic religion, England was to lose its character. It is to be noted that the separation from Rome took place in 1534.³ Therefore the Bishop might conceivably have replied that he was the one who was restoring England to its true character; and that the innovators who had wrought a change in the character of the country were the reformers, partisans of a cause then just twenty years old.

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1. Writings, p. 127.

2. Ibid.

3. The year of the Act of Supremacy.

2. Appeals to Scottish Rights.

What Knox said of England he said with equal emphasis with regard to his own land. Scotland too had an ancient heritage of liberty to be maintained against the foreigner.¹ To allow strangers like the French to rule was contrary to the law of the realm.

In appealing over the head of the sovereign to the nation, he fell back upon a tradition of freedom which had been growing up for years past. In the "Exhortation to the Commonalty of Scotland" he told the people, "Although you are but subjects, you may lawfully require of your superiors, be it of your king, be it of your lords, rulers, and powers, that they provide for you true preachers."² It is worth while to note that he said to them that the provision of reformed preachers was lawful, and could be required if necessary.

In December 1566 the General Assembly addressed the Secret Council concerning an act of the Queen's. She had ventured to reinstate Hamilton as the Bishop of St. Andrews, without consulting the Kirk or the Lords.

The Queen is not well informed, for she may not doe contrare the well established lawes of the land. . . . wherefore crave boldlie and freelie justice of the tyrant, (yet without tumult,) and ye shall see she dare no more be seen nor howletts in the day light.³

This document lends support to the opinion of one of the native Scottish authorities of the last century:

Apart from all ideas of modern constitutionalism, which are of course inapplicable to the question, it was yet possible to be a sovereign even in Mary's time, only at the expense of some personal liberty, and

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1. See Works, vol. I, p. 298.

2. Writings, p. 228.

3. Row, Hist. of Kirk of Scot., p. 31.

as representing a predominant national feeling. War was the only alternative of the disturbance of the practical representative relations of sovereign and people.¹

It was to this sentiment that Knox appealed for support in his cause.

The result of the preaching of the reformed doctrine was the crystallization of the vague feeling of freedom which was already there when the reformers took up their task.

D. The Nation as an Entity

1. Relation of This to Nationalism.

The fourth way in which Knox showed himself to be the herald of a new national loyalty was in his manner of thinking of the nation as an individual, and attributing a character to it. This is a common habit with those who seek to stir the patriotic feelings of the citizens. Nationalism almost requires for its existence a concrete conception of the state by which the imagination may be stirred and to which the emotions may go out. Only a small proportion of any given body of citizens is capable of rising to a great height of enthusiasm over an abstract idea. Hence we have John Bull, Uncle Sam, and other clearly defined embodiments of the real or supposed characteristics of the nation, viewed as an individual. Perhaps, in more dignified passages, these incarnations of the national character would be named Britannia and Columbia respectively.

2. Old Testament Basis of Knox's Conception.

Here again it is necessary to remind ourselves that Knox did not deliberately assume the role of the nationalist; nor did the men who

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1. Tulloch, *Leaders of the Reformation*, p. 289.

immediately followed him immediately apply his doctrines to nationalist ends. There is no hint in his writings that he consciously sought to develop Scottish nationality. The true view of the matter is that his reforming zeal led him to adopt such modes of expression naturally. Occasion has already been found to remark that he was a student of the Hebrew prophets. He evidently cherished a special regard for Jeremiah.¹ His only published sermon has Isaiah 26:13ff for a text.² Now the prophets were wont to use apostrophe quite frequently in addressing Israel and Judah.³ It is a fair inference that Knox adopted his manner of speaking about the nation as a result of this contact with these ancient patriots. He, too, thought in terms of the group. It acted as a unit. It had moral responsibilities. It was subject to correction, or to judgment, or to praise. It suffered the vicissitudes of life. Evidence will here be introduced to show the manner in which Knox addressed nations, a manner which parallels closely that of patriotic orators of recent times, although his aims were far removed from theirs.

3. The Spanish Nation.

First of all, there is an interesting passage on the character of the Spanish nation, which nation had called down his wrath because Mary Tudor was married to Philip II, and the two sovereigns were one in their purpose to stamp out the religion which Knox was preaching.

As that nation surmounts all others, in pride and licentiousness, so for idolatry, vain, papistical and devilish ceremonies, they may rightly be called the very sons of superstition; and therefore are they

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1. See e.g., his "Admonition to England," Writings, pp. 101 ff.
2. Published in Writings, pp. 353 ff. Also in vol. VI of his Works.
3. Good examples of this manner of address in the prophets are to be found in the first two chapters of Isaiah and in the second and third chapters of Jeremiah.

found and judged, by the progeny of antichrist, most apt instruments to maintain, establish, and defend the kingdom of that cruel beast, whose head and wound is lately cured within England.¹

The attributing of such qualities to Spain because of the acts of the government, and of the king in particular, is an attitude characteristic of the advocates of nationalist doctrines. If one had taken the Spaniards of 1550 one by one, he would have found then as now that they were quite varied in their personalities. "The Spaniard" is in one sense an abstraction, though perhaps a useful one. This characterization of one of the leading nations of the day is an example of the point being discussed. The qualities of the Spaniard appear to have been so clearly defined in Knox's thought that he said of Mary Tudor, "Who sees not now, that she, in all her doings, declares most manifestly that under an English name she beareth a Spaniard's heart."²

4. The English Nation.

To England he had many things to say. First of all it was enduring ills as a punishment for its sin of failing to appreciate the extent of its spiritual advantages as the recipient of the true Gospel.

For thy unthankfulness, O England, he suffereth false teachers to be a burden unto thee, whom if thou dost receive and allow their doctrine, be thou well assured his great wrath cometh shortly after to thy destruction.³

He exhorted the unhappy realm to heed the lesson that was being taught:

O England, let thy intestine battle, and domestic murder provoke thee to purity of life, according to the word which openly hath been proclaimed in thee, otherwise thou shalt drink the cup of the Lord's wrath!⁴

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1. From "Admonition to England," Writings, p. 126.
2. Writings, p. 126.
3. From the preface to the "Faithful Admonition," Writings, p. 99.
4. Writings, p. 91.

The reader thinks at once of the solemn warnings of the Hebrew prophets against the sins of ingratitude and forgetfulness.

Again Knox spoke of England as the one who had nourished and brought up Mary, in words that almost sound like faint echoes of Barere's impassioned pleas during the French Revolution.¹ This fostering care received from her country ought to have created in the Queen a feeling of gratitude and a desire to serve. "Who would ever have thought, that the love of that realm, which has brought forth, which has nourished, and so nobly maintained that wicked woman, should not have moved her heart with pity?"² Just what "England" had done for Mary it might not have been easy to say, if specifications had been demanded. It is a common idea with ardent patriots that our country is a mother to us all; Knox appears to have had something of the same conceit of a nation bringing forth and supporting its children. If not pressed too far the conceit doubtless contains a truth. The other side of the idea is that this foster care demanded some fit return from the recipient, in this case a right government by the Queen. We have here, then, a first suggestion of the paternalistic attitude of later times.

It was not to the Queen alone that Knox addressed such words. His remarks on one of the leading churchmen of the Catholic reaction are striking in more ways than one.

I speak to thee, Winchester, more cruel than any tiger--shall neither shame, nor fear, nor benefits received, bridle thy tyrannous cruelty? Art thou not ashamed, to betray thy native country, and the liberties

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1. "Citizens, it is I (the Great Mother) that undertakes to protect your personal safety, your peace, your property: What wilt thou give me in return for constant benefit?" See Hayes, *Evol. of Nationalism*, pp. 69-70.
2. *Writings*, p. 125.

of the same? Fearest thou not to open such a door to all iniquity, that England should be made a common stew for Spaniards? Wilt thou recompense the benefits which thou hast received of that noble realm with such ingratitude? Rememberest thou not that England brought thee forth; that England nourished thee; that England promoted thee to riches, honour, and high dignity? And wilt thou now, O wretched caitiff! for all these manifold benefits received, be the cause that England shall not be England?¹

The nation as an entity, as one who has provided for an individual, and as requiring a return for its care constitute a set of ideas quite remarkable for the sixteenth century.

As a final example of the manner in which Knox addressed England as an entity, there is an eloquent passage in which he compares the state to a ship and combines with the metaphor the declaration that it is responsible to God for its acts. After the death of Edward VI the nation was in great excitement over the accession of Mary. For a few months Knox preached with great success as far as crowds were concerned, for he was not molested at once. At a town named Amersham in Buckinghamshire there was an extraordinary gathering; it was at this very place in 1506 that the Catholic authorities had compelled a daughter to light the faggots by which her father was to be burned for his faith.² Feeling was all the more deep because it was in this section that Wycliff had done his work. Now, in 1554, Knox recalls the burden of his message on that occasion in words that reflect something of his original passion:

O England; now is God's wrath kindled against thee, now hath he begun to punish, as he hath threatened 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 appears to be only the beginning of sorrows, which appear to increase; for I perceive, that the heart, the tongue, and hand of one Englishman is bent against another, and division to be in the whole realm,

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1. Ibid., p. 127.

2. See *ibid.*, p. 134n. Also cf. M'Crie, *Life of Knox*, ed. 1831, p. 82.

which is an assured sign of desolation to come. O England, England! dost thou not consider, that the commonwealth is like a ship sailing on the sea; if thy mariners and governors shall consume one another, shalt thou not suffer shipwreck in a short process of time? O England, England! alas! these plagues are poured upon thee, for that thou wouldst not know the most happy time of thy gentle visitation. But wilt thou yet obey the voice of thy God, and submit thyself to his holy words? Truly, if thou wilt, thou shalt find mercy in his sight, and the state of thy commonwealth shall be preserved. But, O England, England! if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt; that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with such princes as maintain or advance idolatry, such as the emperor, who is no less an enemy unto Christ than was Nero--if for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such princes, thou returnest to thine old abominations, formerly used under the papistry, then assuredly, O England! thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by means of those whose favor thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, and to serve antichrist.¹

This passage is probably a paraphrase of what was said at Amersham a year or more before. He himself recalled to his people the manner in which these words were uttered: "With sorrowful heart, and weeping eyes, I fell into this exclamation."² The effect of such language on a people already aroused must have been powerful. We would give much to possess in greater fulness the sermons and addresses which were delivered under these circumstances; but this gives us a glimpse of the man as he stood before the people of England with the fire of the Hebrew prophet in his eyes, and reached back into the Old Testament for a fitting vehicle for his thoughts on his own age. His utterance is in the style of the warm-hearted patriot gathering up the qualities of his native land and constructing a character. This has come to be one of the favorite attitudes of later nationalists.

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1. Writings, p. 135. The disaster referred to was the death of Edward VI, which caused Knox great sorrow. He expressed himself at length on the excellencies of this ruler in his History. See Works, vol. I, pp. 242-244.
2. Writings, p. 135.

5. The Scottish Nation.

It is not necessary to multiply instances of Knox's manner of addressing nations. He spoke of Scotland in terms similar to those in which he spoke to England and Spain. If the sermon he preached in August 1565 in Edinburgh with Darnley in the audience is a type of his preaching, and it is natural to suppose that it is, then he was accustomed to speak of his own land as an individual, responsible for its acts, and liable to penalties for misconduct.

Wouldst thou, O Scotland, have a King to raigne over thee in justice, equitie, and mercy? Subject thou thyself to the Lorde thy God, obey his commaundements, 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 punishe thee, Scotlande, and thee, Edenborough, in especiall, that before punished the lande of Juda and the citie of Jerusalem.¹

And he continued this address to the nation, saying, with the queen's husband in the congregation, that the permission of wrong in high places would bring on judgment. He appealed over the very head of the King to the country itself; Scotland would be called to account if it permitted a wicked government to continue; its chief duty was to walk in the way of its God. His authority he found in the word of Jeremiah, whose mission to Judah appears to have given him his conception of his own mission to Scotland.

6. His Doctrine of God the Basis of His Thought.

Finally, it must be remarked that it is not a complete account of the origin of Knox's idea of the nation as an entity to say that it is a mere imitation of the Old Testament manner of speaking. He imitated

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1. Works, vol. VI, pp. 241-242.

its language because he accepted its doctrine. Knox's idea was based on his belief in the sovereignty of God; in this respect he has by no means been followed by subsequent nationalists in Scotland or any other land. He regarded the order of things in the world as an order set up by God, by whom the bounds of nations were fixed and the governments established. The best expression of the basis of his thought is to be found in the "Confession of Faith" adopted by Parliament August 17th, 1560.

We confess and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities, to be destinated and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in the same (be it of emperors in their empires, of kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, or of other magistrates in free cities,) to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifestation of his own glory, and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind.¹

To seek to destroy these arrangements is not only unpatriotic; it is impious, for it is resisting the will of God.

This is the basic principle of his treatment of the nation, as it was the basic principle of the Old Testament prophets. Knox did not imitate them in language alone; he shared their conviction. The evaluation of the principle is not the task in hand here; but for those who accept it as a postulate of the religious view of the world, it is the expression of a truth to regard the nation as an entity as Knox did. He might well be the first to repudiate some modern apostrophes of the nation. He was hardly the man to say "My country, right or wrong." For him the righteousness of God was paramount; as a consequence states must be held accountable for their unrighteousness.

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1. Chap. xxiv of the Confession of Faith, Writings, p. 257. That these were Knox's views is shown by two things. He supported this doctrine in his preaching. And he was on the committee which drew up the Confession.

E. The Expanding Sphere of the State

1. Pride in Scottish Characteristics.

As the final aspect of Knox's preaching of a new national loyalty we note that there are signs in his writings of the rise of that pride of country which has been so marked a feature of many types of nationalism. Here again it is not an offensive pride which Knox displayed when he spoke of the merits of his own little country. His message was rather to emphasize Scotland's claim to the dignity of an independent state, and its equal right with others to consideration.

a. Knox's Answer to a Jesuit.

In 1572, not long before his death, he wrote his reply to a letter from Tyrie, a Jesuit. His opponent had introduced into the argument the prophecy concerning the nations in Isaiah 2:2-4, the point being that Rome was the true mountain toward which all the peoples of the world should flow. In his reply Knox himself commented on the passage in these words:

We wonder greatly that the writer considers not that the promise of the prophet is, that all nations shall come to that holy mountain. We are a nation, how abject soever we appear. Why then will the writer deny unto us free passage to the house of the Lord; seeing that the term of the last days is not expired, and seeing that we desire to be taught in the ways of the Lord, and to walk in his paths; yea seeing that thousands in Scotland refuse not to be rebuked of the Lord, and to suffer him to judge amongst us? If the writer will say so, because we will not acknowledge Rome to be the mother of all other churches, we answer as before: Let us hear the commandment of our God, charging us so to do, and our obedience shall not be long craved.¹

The above is an interesting passage. "We are a small people," said the reformer, "but we are worthy of regard." The great merit of the

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1. Writings, p. 281.

Scottish nation was its readiness to obey the injunctions of God. Once convince it that there was a sure word of command, and it would make its conduct conform forthwith. Knox did not proceed to draw any comparisons with others who were less obedient or less humble, but with this remark he dropped the argument. He had come to feel that Scotland was deserving of special praise for its hearty reception of the teachings of the Word of God. He had great confidence in its readiness to respond, a confidence born perhaps of his wide travels through the land by which he came into immediate contact with the common people. It was just this which comprised the great impulse he gave to democracy as there has been occasion to note before;¹ he was sure of the people, no matter what course was followed by wrong-headed rulers or selfish nobles.

b. Sentiments of Contemporaries.

That there were manifestations of pride in Scottish characteristics in other quarters as well, in the time of Knox, would appear from the attitude of some of the early foes of the league of Scotland and France. During the minority of James V,² there were both English and French parties, each having a candidate for the regency. The English party supported Marguerite. They used the difference of customs and institutions as an argument for putting an end to the French influence.

D'ailleurs, ajoutaient les partisans de l'Angleterre, il y avait entre la France et l'Ecosse difference de moeurs comme de climat, tandis qu'ils trouvaient chez les Anglais ressemblance de pays, de physionomie, de langue, de moeurs, et d'institutions.³

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1. Supra, pp. 110-111.

2. About 1521.

3. Cheruel, Marie Stuart et Catherine de Medicis, p. 9.

One of the things which aided materially in rousing dislike for the French among the citizens at large was the fact that most of the corrupt Roman Catholic clergy of Scotland were educated in France; it was easy for the people to attribute to their education the traits which made the priests so objectionable. "Their native savagery was glossed over with a coating of French manners which made the manners all the more unpalatable to the people."¹ It is evident that in Knox's day there were influences at work to produce a feeling of difference, if not of superiority, in Scottish men.

c. Contrast With Other States.

As has been said, Knox did not, unless by inference, introduce any comparison of Scotland with other states. He said harsh things of Spain. When the party of Mary in England made their alliance with Spain, he wrote to his people, "Their own counsels shall make them slaves to a proud, mischievous, unfaithful, and vile nation."² The religious controversy had developed in him a low opinion of this hated enemy of the truth. A like inference that he did not think highly of certain foreigners may be drawn from the prayers of the Book of Common Order, which were to be used in the time of persecution by the Frenchmen. The sins of Scotland are there described as due in some degree to the "pleasure" and "defence" of its ally, for whom leagues have been broken and God himself has been offended. To this league Scotland had been faithful; but the French had been shown to be always full of deceit.³ The prayer for deliverance on

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1. Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, p. 253.

2. Writings, p. 116.

3. Book of Common Order, Works, vol. VI, pp. 310-311.

the above grounds was followed by a thanksgiving for its accomplishment. Such utterances employed regularly in the services of the church would furnish a strong impulse to the national feeling of the common people.

d. Effect of Darnley's Murder.

There were yet other circumstances which tended to foster a feeling of pride in the reputation of the nation. Sir James Melville made an interesting comment on the results of Darnley's murder.

All Scotland cried out upon the foul murder of the King; but few of them were careful to revenge it, till they were driven thereto by the crying out of all other nations against all Scottishmen where ever they travelled either by sea or land.¹

Thus by one means or another a regard for national honour was brought into being.

e. Contagion of Knox's Spirit.

Knox's pride in his country was contagious. Doubtless his preaching was not the sole factor that developed it; yet he was assuredly the leader. In October 1565 the Lords presented a statement of their griefs to the Queen, largely as a result of the insistence of the ministers. In many ways this is an excellent nationalist document, illustrative of the way the combination of reformed preaching and political exigencies produced the results we are investigating. The value of the document for the point now under consideration is the feeling of national pride which pervades it.

The nobility and congregation professing the right religion of Jesus Christ, in Scotland, presently pursued for their lives by the Queen their sovereign

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1. Memoirs, p. 152.

Complain they are styled seditious rebels and traitors--of their sovereign's rigorous proceedings, giving away the thirds of the benefices, inhibiting Knox and others from either preaching or hearing the word, etc. "Protestinge in the presence of Almighty God that we crave not this reformation for any ambition, nether desire we nor seekes the landes, lives, rowmes, honors, nor dignytyes of any Scotis man, but the maintenance of Godes truthe and the good successe, godlie libertye and the renowne of this our native countrie. Declaringe and assuringe all Scotis men that yf they refuse to concurre with us for the causes aforesaide, we can nether judge them faithfull to God, trewe to there soveraigne, loving to this our native contry, nor keepers of there promise made to us in the cause of God . . . "1

Whether the Lords meant all they said may be open to question; but they had absorbed the views of the preachers in so far as their language is concerned.

2. The State of Supreme Loyalty.

This extract from the griefs of the Lords leads to the mention of a second aspect of the expanding sphere of the state, i.e. the growth of the idea that the state is the supreme loyalty. The highest authority in the world of our day is the state. It can impose its will on every citizen to the extent of demanding his life, as was shown clearly enough by the conscription laws enacted during the World War. True it is that in some states this was done under the title of majority rule; nevertheless it was done, and there was no redress. Today it is not church, or king, or clan which demands the last full measure of devotion, but the state. Whether this be a good thing or whether it be the curse of the modern world, this is the fact. It has its roots in the movements that began in the sixteenth century.

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1. Cal. of Scottish Papers, vol. II, p. 219.

a. Knox's Influence.

Knox would never have consented to the present state of affairs we may venture to assert. The first loyalty for him was the cause of the truth, the Gospel. Yet he made an important contribution to this very situation, for he united the interests of the truth and the welfare of the state. A fairly representative statement of his view is the following:

It comes to my mind that on Christmas day, 1552, preaching in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and speaking against the obstinacy of the papists, I made this affirmation, That whosoever in his heart was an enemy to Christ's gospel and doctrine, which then was preached within the realm of England, was an enemy also to God, and a secret traitor to the crown and commonwealth of England.¹

In the course of time the interests of the gospel were largely omitted, or became more and more a cloak for national ambition, not, to be sure, in Scotland, but among many of the European states.

b. Subsequent Crises.

The growing power of the state is to be seen even in Scotland, in spite of the strong individualism of its inhabitants. In 1570 the earls and noblemen issued a proclamation in view of the driving out of Mary, and caused it to be published throughout the realm. It contained a plea for men to put aside everything but the rights of the state, and to consider only what would guarantee the safety, honour and peace of Scotland. They professed that such considerations should in future be the sole basis for their procedure.²

In the fall of 1572 another crisis was on. Rumor had it that the Catholic powers were banded together to reduce all the nations where

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1. Writings, p. 126.

2. See Cal. Scottish Papers, vol. III, pp. 119-121.

reformation doctrine was professed. On October 5th James VI issued a proclamation to call together the representatives of the Kirks to take counsel on a course of action in view of the plots of the Papists.

That everie ane may understand the grund of the bludie and tressonabill interprysis of the Papistis quhairinto thay intend to continew and to execute the same with maist barbarous crueltie, heir ze have subjunit the summe of the heidis and articklis of the confideracie, or rather the devillische conspiracie maid efter the counsall of Trent (11) The King of Spain shall assist the Queen of Scotland to her kingdom and to chase away the Queen of England.¹

Two days later Walsingham wrote to the Regent Mar. He appealed for unity in Scotland on the ground of love for the Gospel, love for country and safety for themselves. The Roman Catholics of Europe were plotting to root out the Protestants. It is necessary to stand together if the danger is to be averted. He made a remarkable appeal for a patriotic submerging of differences in a time of national crisis, coupling defence of religion with the love of country much as Knox had done.²

Other crises were to come, and the same call for service was to be issued. In 1643 we read in the Kirk session book of the town of Carnock that the minister had been "desyrit to send out a fencible man to go in to England to withstand the violence of the Papistes armeis that wer myndit to invad us, and tak away the libertie of the gospell from us."³ The same notice was sent to all the ministers of the land. Through the Kirk the army for defence was raised.

The next year the same kirk session book tells of yet more strenuous measures for defence of the nation.

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1. Cal. of State Papers rel. to Scot. and Mary, Queen of Scots, vol. IV, pp. 410-412.
2. Ibid., pp. 414-415.
3. Row, Hist. of the Kirk of Scot., p. xxiii.

We keipt no session this day, because David Colvill, brother to the Lord of Cleische, cam befor noon, when we wes going to sermon, and after the psalme wes sung, told that the laird, his brother, had gottin advertisement from Sterling that the Lord Montrose, withe all the rebellis that wald cum to him, wes to cum presentlie to Stirling; and thairfore, that all men betwix 60 and 16 auld presentlie go withe the armes and furniture that they had towardis Stirling, under the paine of hanging.¹

This was probably not a national decree, but it is suggestive of an act of conscription. The Kirk was the helper of the state in measures of defence.

There is no intention to give these first steps toward absolute authority for the national group an importance which they did not have. These were not calculated acts by nationalists. They were merely the beginnings. Two centuries later the state was to ride rough shod over the family, the church, and the rights of the individual.

Conclusion

Surveying what has been said as to the development of elements of national loyalty through the activities of Knox, it will not be out of place to reiterate that he differed in radical respects from the nationalist of the present day. In the first place, the doctrines of the eighteenth century are not to be looked for in the sixteenth century. In the second place, the first interest of Knox was religion; his contributions to other fields were certain to be by-products. In his sermon on the Mass, preached in 1550, he described his own motives:

I call God to record that neither profit to myself, hatred to any person or persons, nor affection or favour that I bear towards any private man, causes me this day to speak as you have heard; but only

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1. Ibid., p. xxvii.

the obedience which I owe unto God in ministration and showing of his word, and the common love which I bear to the salvation of all men.¹

Of no man in Christian history has it been more true that he 'sought first the kingdom of God.' It would be very difficult for any one to show that the statement as to his motives given above is not correct. It would involve the rewriting of everything he wrote. His patriotic devotion was the outgrowth of his loyalty to his Master.

Furthermore, Knox was not narrow in the application of his doctrine. It is not intended to give the impression that he hated all foreigners, or offensively boasted of the superiority of his own race or nation. His feelings in this respect too were the outgrowth of his religious convictions, convictions that did indeed lead him at times to give forth utterances at variance with the spirit of the Christian profession. His sympathy for England was probably due to the fact that it too was a Protestant country. It might have been expected that because of the long history of conflict with England and the efforts made to subject his own nation that he would have been an enemy of that state. The opposite was the case.

Somtyme I have thought that impossible it had bene, so to have removed my affection from the Realme of Scotland, that eny Realme or Nation coulde have bene equall deare to me. But God I take to recorde in my conscience, that the troubles present in the Realme of England, are double more dolorous unto my hert, than ever were the troubles of Scotland.²

It is not amiss to suggest that, to a greater degree than some would admit, the stern Reformer gave such a bent to Scottish national feeling that a union with the neighbor state came about in due course. The Scotch,

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1. Writings, p. 185.

2. Works, vol. III, p. 133.

maintaining their pride in their own race, nevertheless never became so entirely intolerant of others that understanding was impossible.

On the other hand, it has been the point of the preceeding chapter that Knox did a great deal to cultivate in his people a sense of their nationality. Like one of the preachers of the Crusades, he proclaimed throughout the land his doctrines of Scottish liberty, religious reform in harmony with the character of the nation, and the rights of the common man. By this campaign the nation was revolutionized. A new vigor was breathed into the corporate life. Self-consciousness was awakened. An organizing principle was set up. From that day to this Scottish nationality has been both a fact and a factor in history.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROPHET OF CHURCH REFORM

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Introduction

There is no more powerful aid to nationalism than a church which preaches its doctrines in such a way as to place the forces of religion at the disposal of the interests of the state. Nationalists have recognized this from the beginning. Writing of the work of the Jacobins during the French Revolution, a historian says,

The national state,--the republic one and indivisible--should supplant the Catholic Church as the object of religious devotion and the dispenser of good works. In other words, religion should be "secularized," that is, it should be strictly subordinated to the national temporal state rather than to an international spiritual church, and it should be utilized for the mission of the nation in this world rather than for the salvation of individual souls in the world to come.¹

In times of war the nationalist expects the church to denounce the iniquity of the enemy; in time of peace he expects it to maintain patriotic ardor in the hearts of its constituency by proclaiming the virtues and superiorities of the national character. From some quarters the charge has frequently been brought against the church in the United States during the decade 1920-1930 that to a greater or less degree every religious body set its seal to the rightness of the most terrible of wars, without seeking to create any conscience against the brutalities of the conflict and without calling into question the dishonesties manifest on every side.²

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1. Hayes, Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 73.

2. Cf. W. L. Phelps, "Christianity and Nationalism," in Christian Cent., Aug., 6, 1930, p. 961.

Our concern is to point out the fact of the church's contribution to the nationalist spirit, not to pronounce judgment upon it. When the reformers loosed the hold of the Church of Rome on the religious life of Germany, Holland, England, Scotland, and the rest of the European countries, which were already on the way to being national states, they cleared the field for the establishment of national churches. There are those who would go farther and say that they helped to create a new autocracy. "Too often Protestantism handed over to the civil magistrates the autocratic power it had wrested from the ecclesiastics."¹

The above is not intended to indicate that it was the deliberate intention of the reformers to bring about such a result. To place the emphasis on something other than their religious motives is to seriously misjudge them. Certainly John Knox can be converted into a politician only by an unwarranted perversion of every expression of his intentions.² The object of this investigation is to discover the manner in which the influence of Knox laid the groundwork for the development of a national church. Subsequent generations may have so treated his ideas that he himself would disown them; this does not alter the fact that he made a contribution, albeit unwittingly, to the growth of nationalism by his preaching of a free Scottish Kirk with the right of governing itself by an organization harmonious with the Scottish character.

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1. Cadman, Christianity and the State, p. 305. For a very interesting example of the attitude of a nationalist toward the church see Hayes, Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 2ln.
2. E.g. A. Lang's Knox and the Reformation scarcely does credit to the sincerity of the reformer.

A. The Church and Uniformity

First of all, it is to be noted that the church contributed to nationalism by its demand for uniformity. Church and state coincided in the area they covered, so that the church operated effectively to unify sentiment in the citizenry. Knox had no idea of opening the way to religious liberty in Scotland. He was preaching one church instead of another, not one church alongside another.

1. No Variety in Religion.

It is to be remembered that the Reformers inherited a set of ideas from which they did not at once free themselves entirely.

1. The "damnablest of heresy."
2. The union of church and state.
3. Severe penalties for heretics.
4. The Old Testament.¹

Knox shared in this inheritance. At the very beginning of his ministry, when he was engaged in debate with a Catholic antagonist at St. Andrews, he exhorted his followers in these words: "We must decerne the immaculat spous of Jesus Christ, frome the Mother of confusion, spirituall Babylon, least that imprudentlie we embrace a harlote instead of the cheast spous."² Further evidence that the leaders of the Scottish reformation, including Knox, did not intend to open the door to varieties of religious opinion, or of church government, is to be found in the document submitted to the Great Council of Scotland in 1560. On April 29th the Council had asked the ministers to state their wishes. The ministers replied as follows:

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1. See J. A. Faulkner, "The Reformers and Toleration," Papers of Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist., 2nd series, vol. V, pp. 1-6.
2. Works, vol. I, p. 188. Cf. the "Answer to a Jesuit," Writings, pp. 269-270.

So many of us as were in the Toune did conveen, and in unitie of myndes do offer to your Honours these subsequents, for Commune Order, and Uniformitie to be observed in this Realme concerning Doctrine, Administration of Sacraments, Election of Ministers, Provision for their sustentation, Ecclesiasticall Discipline, and Policie of the Kirk.¹

They did not conceive it possible that there should be any other arrangement than this which provided for uniform religious practice and belief throughout the realm.²

In the true manner of the reformation leaders they insisted that the Great Council be guided by the teachings of Scripture.³ What was there not allowed should not be allowed; what was required by "equitie, justice, and God's word" should be enacted into law.⁴ The Council gave its approval to the things requested. It is not necessary to dismiss this as mere intolerance; the requests were the expression of the ideal cherished by the ministers, which ideal was that of a nation adhering to the new doctrine. The value of such religious uniformity to nationalism is sufficiently evident. The effect in Scotland is an example of a common religion as the bond of a nationality.

2. Sharp Distinction of Parties.

The basis of the demand for uniformity on the part of Knox is to be found in his conviction that his opponents were the champions of falsehood. He drew a sharp line between truth and error. His cause was the truth, and therefore he was not only justified but obligated to call

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1. Row, History of the Kirk of Scotland, pp. 15-16. Also cf. a letter by the Regent, Works, vol. I, p. 364, vol. II, p. 184.
2. Works, vol. II, p. 233. "To Discipline must all Estaitis within this Realme be subject, yf thay offend, alsweil the Reullaris as thay that are reulit."
3. The views of the Assembly were those of Knox as well. Nothing was considered settled till everyone had his doubts resolved. See Row, Hist. of the Kirk of Scot., p. 52.
4. Ibid., p. 16.

things by their right names.

If any think that I ought not to mock that which the world has so long holden, and great princes still hold, in so great veneration, I answer, that not only I, but also all godly, ought not only to mock, but also to curse and detest, whatsoever is not God, and yet usurps the name, power, and honor of God. And also that we ought both to mock, gain-say, and abhor, all religion obtruded to the people, without assurance of God and his word; having neither respect to antiquity, to multitude, to authority, nor estimation of them that maintain the same.¹

Furthermore, since the doctrine of the reformers was the truth, it was the duty of the state to uphold it. The erroneous teachings of the Church of Rome had had the support of authority; it never seems to have occurred to him that church and state should be separated.

The sharp distinction he drew between his teaching and that of his opponents is illustrated in this statement from his "Exposition of the Sixth Psalm":

Before God, before Christ Jesus his only Son, and before his holy angels, neither am I ashamed to confess, nor doubt I to affirm, that the doctrine which you and others have heard, not only of my mouth, but also faithfully taught by the mouths of many others, is the only word of life, and that all doctrine repugning to the same is diabolical and erroneous, which assuredly shall bring death and perpetual condemnation.²

This utterance is representative. It was addressed to his followers in England shortly after his departure in 1554. Its solemnity and force are characteristic of the depth of conviction with which he held to the rightness of his cause. He could hardly have visualized a state in which the Reformed and Catholic faiths existed side by side. It has been noted that he suffered somewhat at the hands of the Roman Catholic party,³ yet this experience does not appear to have inclined him to be tolerant of others.

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1. Writings, p. 395.
2. Ibid., p. 68.
3. Supra, p. xiv.

He looked upon those who were outside the true faith as being outside the nation as well; that is to say, he thought that the Roman Catholic was by that very fact a potential traitor. His allegiance to the Pope meant disloyalty to the nation. In the "Comfortable Epistle" he spoke of "pestilent papists within the realm of England,"¹ suggesting that such persons were not true members of that realm. In the same letter he confidently expressed his expectation that judgment would fall upon the opponents of the truth.

I am convinced that the judgments of these tyrants that now oppress us shall not slip, but that vengeance shall fall upon them without provision. They have violated the law and holy ordinances of the Lord our God.²

The law of God here cited has reference to the principles of the reformed religion, which Knox firmly believed to be the only true interpretation of the word of God. To violate these was to rebel against eternal truth.

To his "Admonition to England" Knox appended a closing prayer which reflects the style and language of the Psalms and Prophets. The dire condition of the cause of truth is here laid before the throne of grace.

O God! the heathen are entered into thine inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple, and have profaned thy blessed ordinance. In place of thy joyful signs, they have erected their abominable idolatry; the deadly cup of all blasphemy is restored again to their harlot's hand; . . . the poor sheep of thy pasture are commanded to drink the venomous waters of men's traditions.³

The heathen of this petition were none other than those who had reestablished the Roman Catholic religion in England, and he applied the name to them in spite of the fact that they were natives of that land while he himself was not.

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1. Works, vol. III, p. 246.
2. Ibid., p. 244.
3. Writings, p. 149.

One more such statement will suffice to illustrate the identification of religious and national interests in Knox's thinking—or perhaps it would be more true to say that these quotations illustrate the subordination of every other interest to the religious interest. Knox was convinced that for England to become Catholic again was dangerous, not only to the Protestant cause, but also to the independence of the nation. Spain appeared to him to be using this means of making England a part of its empire. Hence he declared in a summary of what he had preached in the summer of 1552,

I made this affirmation, that who so ever in his herte was enemie to Christes Gospel and doctrine, which then was preached within the Realme of England, was enemy also to God, and secrete traytours to the Croune and common wealth of England.¹

3. The Enforcement of Uniformity.

a. The Principle of Enforcement.

The enforcement of this religious uniformity, or intolerance as some would be disposed to call it,² is to be traced in Knox's subsequent labors in Scotland. The Book of Discipline, which was adopted in 1560, set forth the basis on which the Kirk was to proceed. Chapter VII made the following declaration regarding its power to insist not only on correct morals but also on correct belief.

The Church of God is compelled to draw the sword against such open and manifest offenders, cursing and excommunicating all such, as well as those whom the civil sword ought to punish as the others, from all participation with her in prayers and sacraments, till open repentance manifestly appears in them.³

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1. Works, vol. III, p. 297.
2. "Toleration is a good thing in its place; but you cannot tolerate what will not tolerate you, and is trying to cut your throat." Froude, quoted by Schaff, *Creeeds of Christendom*, vol. I, p. 679n.
3. Works, vol. II, p. 227.

This declaration was accompanied by the statement that it was to be impartially enforced; rulers and ruled must be bound by it, and even the ministers were expressly mentioned as not exempted. The relation of the Church and democracy is reserved for separate discussion, but it is not out of place to note here that this was the very point at which the reformation effected a levelling of classes.

b. The Agent of Enforcement.

But further, in the matter of the enforcement of uniform opinion in the realm on religious matters, the question would arise, By whom should it be enforced? The answers to this were two; and the harmonizing of the two answers Knox does not appear to have taken under consideration. One of the two answers is, that it is the duty of civil officials to put down idolaters, i.e., those who believe in the Mass.

Now, shall some demand, What then? Shall we go to and slay all idolaters? That were the office, dear brethren, of every civil magistrate within his realm. But of you is required only to avoid participation and company of their abominations, as well in body as in soul; as David and Paul plainly teach unto you "Ye may not be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils, ye may not drink the Lord's cup and the cup of devils."¹

He followed this statement by citing the immutable law of God which condemns idolaters in many places and forbids communion with them on the part of the people.² According to the doctrine stated above, it was the duty of the officials to see to it that religion was maintained; in other words, it was the duty of the state.

The other answer to the question is found in the very same document from which the first answer is taken, the "Letter to the Faithful

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1. Writings, p. 23.

2. Ibid., p. 25.

in London." God is the one who will see that justice is done to those who despise the Gospel. It was his justice which meted out vengeance to the false priests in the days of ancient Israel; to God therefore Knox expressed himself as willing to commit his own cause for vindication when it seemed that all was lost.

Jeremiah had spoken against the temple, saying it should be destroyed and made like to Shiloh, which the Lord formerly had destroyed, removing from them the ark of his covenant, principally for the iniquity of the priests. And was not this judged heresy, think you? No less, I warrant you, than now it is in England, to say, that all the doctrine of Winchester, and which his shavelings now maintain, is the doctrine of their father the devil, and therefore that it shortly shall provoke God's vengeance to strike all that adhere thereto.¹

c. The History of Enforcement by the State.

The history of the enforcement of this uniformity shows that it did not prove an easy task, as might well have been expected. In 1563 the reformers were much discouraged; even Knox was heavy at heart because of the attitude of the Queen, the selfishness of the lords, and the apathy and even disloyalty of the country. On October 6th of that year he wrote to Cecil giving vent to his emotions: "The conveying of the mess through those quartouris which longest have bein best reformed, hath so dejected the hartis of many, that men appeir not to have that coraig thei had before."²

So touchy were the reformers on the subject of the Mass that when Mary came to Scotland in 1561, and requested that she might celebrate it in private, the preachers cried out against it. "Such libertie could not be granted, except they would willinglie bring the plague of God upon

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1. Writings, p. 17.

2. Calendar Scottish Papers, vol. II, p. 24.

hir and all those who consented therto and to the whole country."¹ The permission was finally granted in spite of the ministers, but they continued to protest vehemently until the murder of Damley turned almost the whole nation against the Queen.

The assembly of 1563 petitioned the Queen that laws abolishing the Mass or any toleration of it be enacted.² The next year the first question submitted to the Secret Council was, "What remedy for open and avowed Masses?"³ Evidently those who had remained Catholic were lifting up their heads again. The next year, 1565, the nobility were petitioned to entreat the Queen to abolish idolatry and the Mass, including her own celebration of it.⁴ Later in that same year the matter came to a climax, when the Queen did not return a satisfactory reply to any of the petitions of the Assembly. They declared themselves bitterly disappointed at her obstinacy. They,

affirmed no religion to be saveing but the Reformed, as being onlie grounded upon God's trueth; Turks and Jewes have to pretend antiquitie, consent of people, authoritie of councells, multitudes of followers, and such lyke cloaks; we not onlie preach the trueth, but offers public dispute to all adversaries.⁵

d. The History of Enforcement by the Church.

Yet for all this seeming failure to secure action at the Court, the Church was making progress in other directions. Indications found in the records of the time show that dissent was finding it ever more difficult to continue. In 1562 the General Assembly with Knox as

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1. Row, Hist. of the Kirk of Scot., p. 23.
2. Ibid., p. 26.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 27.
5. Ibid., pp. 27-28.

moderator enacted that, "Whoso hes bene popish before, and hes not as yet satisfied the Kirk, be inhibited to preach."¹ In 1563, the very year when Knox was downcast because of the return of the Mass in part of the country, there were nevertheless strenuous measures taken for the stamping out of the old error.

At Easter five or six priests were apprehended in the West country saying mass and ministering to the people, "som in secret howses, some in barnes, other in woodes and hylles," and are all in prison.²

The prior of Whythorne, "a notable archipapyste," and five other priests are condemned.³

The same correspondent stated that an abbott was summoned to appear before the lords, but he did not respond to the summons. The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church he described as creeping into England.⁴ Not many days later in the same year, 1563, Randolph wrote that the Bishop of St. Andrews was in prison for religion. He had transgressed the Queen's ordinance that religion should stand in her realm as she found it on her arrival, and the reformers had succeeded in bringing action against the offending clergyman.⁵ The Bishop made a plea to the Queen to be set at liberty, and won her consent. "The lordes were fayne to resyste her wyll so farre, as the teares burst owte, but nothyng hable to prevaile."⁶

The vigor of the Reformation in Scotland in its early days is graphically described in a letter of John Jewel to Peter Martyr, August 1, 1559.

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1. Ibid., p. 24.

2. Cal. State Papers rel. to Scot. and Mary, Queen of Scots, vol. II, p. 7. Letter of Randolph to Cecil.

3. Randolph to Cecil, Ibid., p. 9.

4. Randolph to Cecil, Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 16.

Everything is in a ferment in Scotland. Knox, surrounded by a thousand followers, is holding assemblies throughout the whole kingdom . . . The nobility with united hearts and hands are restoring religion throughout the country, in spite of all opposition. All the monasteries are every where levelled with the ground; the theatrical dresses, the sacrilegious chalices, the idols, the altars, are consigned to the flames; not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left. What do you ask for? You have often heard of drinking like a Scythian; but this is churching it like a Scythian.¹

In spite of all the seeming reverses, it would appear that even by the time of the death of Knox in 1572 the Kirk had made great strides in the direction of controlling the religious life of the nation. In numerous documents church and state are mentioned as standing or falling together. When men enumerated the objects of their allegiance the interests of religion stood at the head of the list; to betray it is to commit a crime equal to the betrayal of the state itself. Reference has been made in another connection to the articles in which Huntly and the Hamiltons gave in their submission to the Regent in 1572;² the fourth of these articles stated that no subjects shall assist either a native or a stranger in "any treasonable fact, uproar, or hostility against the true religion aforesaid, the King, or the Regent."³ Robert Melville, brother of Sir James Melville, had been accused of disloyalty. In justification he wrote as follows: "If I ever desired for my 'partycular' anything that might tend to the subversion of these realms, whereby religion might be endangered or the common peace broken," God should be his judge.⁴ In June 1574 Killigrew wrote to Walsingham a report on

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1. Zurich Letters, vol. I, pp. 39-40. Also cf. Burton, History of Scotland, vol. V, pp. 50-53.
2. Supra, pp. 104-105.
3. Cal. of State Papers rel. to Scot. and Mary, Queen of Scots. vol. IV, p. 495.
4. Letter to Killigrew, Sept. 12, 1573. Ibid., p. 611.

events in Scotland. One of the items had to do with a little book of which he had heard. A scholar of St. Andrews had written the book in opposition to an order issued by the Regent for placing ministers throughout the realm. "The man should have appeared yesterday and answer . . . which he durst not, and therefore is fugitive."¹

Such statements indicate that the church was making progress. As a matter of fact, Parliament formally established the Reformed Church as the religion of Scotland in 1567. The assent of Mary had been sought in 1560.² The messenger of the Congregation had not met with a favorable response on that occasion. Subsequent efforts to secure formal action had not met with any more success.³ But Mary's own actions had at last given the opportunity to her opponents, and Knox's church became the national church. In 1572 the ministers were all compelled to subscribe to the Confession of Faith. From that time till 1688 this Confession was the recognized doctrinal standard of the Kirk.⁴

4. Presbyterianism a National Bond.

Scotch Presbyterianism came in the course of time to be a phrase known throughout the world; the two words are hardly separable. Nothing operated more powerfully to make this people a self-conscious unit than this church with its idea of including the nation within its fold.⁵

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1. Cal. of State Papers rel. to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, vol. IV, p. 675.
2. Works, vol. II, pp. 125-126. Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 62, 280, 281.
3. Supra, pp. 145-146.
4. Cf. Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, vol. I, p. 682.
5. An interesting example of this is to be found in the Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress, Springfield, Ohio, 1893.

The ideal of this national Church is well described by one of the historians of the Scottish Kirk.

It must be remembered also that their claims of jurisdiction were not confined to the members of their own communion. Every living soul within the realm must either conform to the same profession, and practice the same worship, and submit to the same discipline, or undergo the vengeance of the law A gentleman would not be allowed to educate his child unless the Church approved of the choice of a pedagogue. A stripling or a girl of the examinable age must either communicate in the parish church, or else pay a fine according to the rank of the party . . . These were powers actually granted to presbyteries, who had a right to crave, receive, and pursue for the penalties.¹

B. The Relation of Church and State

1. The Relation in Knox's Own Thinking.

What has just been said regarding the hold of the Church upon the people of Scotland leads to the consideration of the union of Church and state which was the result of the preaching of the reformed doctrine by Knox. In his view the territory covered by the two was identical. For him religion was the chief concern of the state. To the modern nationalist the order is reversed; the interests of the state are supreme, and while he preaches the separation of church and state, in his heart he often enough believes that the church should be an adjunct of the national life.² The doctrine of the reformer has been reversed.

The point which is now to be made is that Knox gave a great impetus to the growth of the overweening power of the state--the thing denoted by the French as "Etatisme." Church and state were to be united in the control of the affairs of the government and of the citizens as

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1. Lee, History of the Church of Scotland, vol. I, p. 204.
2. For an example of this attitude toward the church the English politician Bolingbroke may be cited. Cf. Hayes, Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, pp. 17-22, especially, p. 21n.

well. Although he never succeeded in securing that degree of cooperation which he desired, yet in spite of Queen Mary and the worldly lords the reformed faith attained a large influence over the nation in his own lifetime. The way in which this came about is now to occupy our attention.

2. The Old Testament Basis of the Relation.

Once more Knox went back for the basis of his position to the Hebrew prophets. He studied their relation to the state and applied the lesson to himself. He believed that the preachers of the new church were the guides of the realm. Their expositions of the Scriptures, if faithfully delivered, should be an admonition to the people and to the ruler alike as to where the path of rectitude lay and wherein they had deviated from it. If the truth had thus been delivered, the nation would pay the penalty for disobedience. He predicted in 1554 that there would be dire results from the apostasy under Mary Tudor. The preachers had warned the Court and the people at large against godless living.¹

What reverence and audience, I say, were given to the preachers this Lent (1553) by such as then were in authority, their own consciences declared—assuredly even such as by the wicked princes of Judah was given to Jeremiah. They hated such as rebuked vice, and stubbornly said, We will not amend. And yet how boldly their sins were rebuked, even to their faces, such as were present can witness with me.²

3. The Church Responsible for Directing the State.

The church was directly responsible to God for the direction of the state. Knox could not have conceived of the separation of the two in which we now boast. Religion and politics were inseparable.

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1. Cf. Letter to Faithful in London, Writings, p. 10.

2. Ibid., p. 11.

An excellent illustration of Knox's feeling that it was the business of the true church to interest itself in the affairs of the state is found in his own conduct at the court of Edward VI. He reviewed this experience in some detail in the "Admonition to England."¹ Evidently he had preached at the Court on one occasion.² He used that opportunity to warn the King against false counsellors who were both traitors to the state and secret enemies of the Gospel. His text was Psalm 41:9. He used as examples of this false conduct Ahithophel's conduct toward David and Shebna's toward Hezekiah; both these good kings were the victims of scheming advisers. When the fitting time came the falseness was exposed.

Whose, then, was the task of issuing a warning against the deceivers? That task belonged to the prophet--to the prophet Isaiah in the case of Hezekiah. The kings themselves were not discerning enough to penetrate the flattery of their servants, but the man of God was. It was the mission of the prophet to warn the ruler of his danger. This mission Knox felt that he, too, was called to discharge. So he said to the young King, Edward VI, "I am greatly afraid, that Ahithophel is counsellor, that Judas bears the purse, and that Shebna is scribe, comptroller and treasurer."³

Incidentally Knox appears to have been justified in one instance at least. "Shebna" was William Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, who was comptroller under Edward VI, and an earnest supporter of the reformed

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1. Cf. Writings, pp. 113 ff.

2. Ibid., p. 113.

3. Ibid., p. 115. The above account of his ideas is based on his recapitulation of his sermon, pp. 114-115.

religion; while under Mary Tudor he was continued in the same office, and even sat among the examiners who sent Cranmer to the Tower. Upon this "Shebna" Knox poured out the vials of his wrath without sparing.¹

However, our main consideration is the assumption by Knox that the Church was, in the ministers, under an obligation to advise the ruler. The real arbiter of issues was the prophet. Once more it is to be carefully noted that the first interest of Knox was the preservation of the true Church; but we are seeking tendencies that led to nationalism, and this is one of them. The nationalists of later times have made the state rather than religion the end of the life of the Church, and have found here a powerful force for the propagation of their ideas.²

4. The State Responsible for Supporting the Church.

On the other hand, it was the belief of Knox that the chief business of the ruler was to maintain the true religion first of all. In 1560 the Confession of Faith was drawn up. Sir James Sandiland was directed to go to France to Queen Mary to seek her ratification of the Confession and of the other acts; but he returned with a refusal. "No less was expected, but it was thought meet to try her disposition."³ This was the beginning of the conflict between Mary and the party of the reformers; she would not conform to their religion nor take steps to maintain it; and this they considered to be her chief function as Queen.

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1. Cf. Writings, p. 115.

2. "Now political zeal occupies the place made vacant by the decline of religious fervor, and commands to an almost equal extent the enthusiasm of men. It has risen to power at the expense of religion, and by reason of its decline." Acton, History of Freedom, p. 188.

3. Calderwood, True History of the Church in Scotland, p. 14.

The Confession of Faith referred to above, made the following declaration as to the duties of the sovereign:

Moreover, to kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates, we affirm, that chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of religion appertains; so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of all idolatry and superstition whatsoever.¹

As Scriptural enforcement of this description of executive functions the examples of David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah were cited.

During his stay at Geneva two years earlier Knox wrote a "Letter to the Commonalty in Scotland."² This was a writing intended to fan the flame of reforming zeal among his followers during his absence. He informed them that for themselves the first interest in life ought to be the religious interest, "the glory of God." That this end might be the better attained, he encouraged them, though they were but subjects, to

require of your superiors, be it of your king, be it of your lords, rulers, and powers, that they provide for you true preachers; and that they expel such as, under the name of pastors, devour and destroy the flock, not feeding the same as Christ Jesus hath commanded.³

Such power of rulers and lords to control the affairs of the church has been turned to account in ways Knox would have been far from approving. Nevertheless, he helped to break the Papal hold and to make way for the state church.

The Kirk soon began to make progress in the matter of requiring the aid of the sovereign for the maintenance of the true religion. After the stormy days of the reign of Queen Mary the ministers were able to secure more effective measures for their support. Mary's own crooked

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1. Art. xxiv, Writings, pp. 257-258.
2. Writings, pp. 217 ff.
3. Ibid., p. 228.

course did more to win this success for the reformers than their own struggles. The bitter lesson learned from the Queen made the Estates ready to listen to the pleas of the Assembly.

In 1567 Bishop Grindal wrote to Bullinger giving a summary of the Acts of the General Assembly of that year. Two of these Acts are pertinent to this discussion.

6. A form of oath is prescribed, which all future sovereigns are to take at the time they are proclaimed. They must solemnly promise and swear that they will endeavor, to the utmost of their power, that the Christian religion which is now preached throughout the whole kingdom shall be faithfully retained, without being contaminated by any tradition of papists and other heretics.
8. None are to be appointed judges, scribes, notaries, public apparitors, and beadles, until they have made a profession of the Christian religion.¹

The same letter shows that the Estates put these recommendations into effect almost at once.

Not long after was held a convention of the estates, in which were decreed these five things: first, they declared the Lord James Stuart, . . . of whose piety I think I have before written to you, the king's guardian and regent of the kingdom. Next, they prohibited under a heavy penalty, all exercise of the popish religion. Thirdly, an universal reformation of the churches was determined upon. Fourthly, the stipends of the clergy were confirmed and augmented.²

Furthermore, it will be recalled that it was in this same year, 1567, that Parliament met and for the first time legally established the reformed religion in Scotland.³

At least for the time the Kirk met with a degree of success in its efforts to secure loyalty to religion on the part of the sovereign. Some time after Knox's death James VI went to Denmark for his bride. He

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1. Aug. 29, 1567. Zurich Letters, vol. I, p. 197. The exact wording of this oath is to be found in Calderwood, True History, vol. II, p. 381.
2. Zurich Letters, vol. I, p. 197.
3. Cf. Glasse, John Knox, p. 140.

had not been giving a wholly satisfactory account of himself. The Estates were come together to set the affairs of the country in order. Sir James Melville remarked that there was hope of better conduct on the part of the King:

Every man was in expectation to see a settled estate at his Majesty's home-coming, by reason of his Majesty's promise made publicly in the high Kirk of Edinburgh, to be a new man, and to take up another kind of care and doing in his own person.¹

The above is a rather surprising revelation of the fact that one could be king in Scotland only under certain limitations even in the sixteenth century.

5. The General Assembly and Public Affairs.

In the next place, the General Assembly sought from the first to guide the actions of the Estates with reference to matters of religion and morals; and Knox was a ruling spirit in the Assembly during his lifetime. The Church body met twice a year. After each session it sent its recommendations to Parliament as to laws that should be enacted. For example, the Assembly of June 29th, 1562, supplicated the Estates that Kirks be repaired, "and that Ministers have housses and aikers, whilk they called Manses and Gliebs."² The Church was dependent on the state for its material things even while it sought to make spiritual things the dominant interest of the nation. The Acts of Parliament for 1563 indicate that the wishes of the Assembly were being carried out.

1. Ane Act for restitution of mansis and glebis unto the ministeris of the kyrk.
2. Ane Act for repairing of the parochial kyrkis and burialis.

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1. Memoirs, p. 335.
2. Row, History of the Kirk, p. 15.

3. Death against witches, necromancers, and manifest adulterers.¹

The interest taken by the Assembly in the morals of the citizens is evidenced in many of the documents of the time. The case of James VI, who though he was the sovereign yet made his promise of good conduct in the Kirk at Edinburgh, has just been cited. Others besides the King were made to answer to the Kirk for their conduct, one of them being no less a personage than the Lord Treasurer of Scotland. He was compelled to attend divine service in order to make amends for his immorality.

The Lord Treasurer of Scotland, for getting a woman with child, must on Sunday next, do open penance before the whole congregation, and Mr. Knox "mayke the sermonde." Murray willed me to write this to you, "for a note of our greate severitie" to offenders. The French "pot-ticarie" and the woman he got with child, were both hanged this Friday, causing much sorrow in Court. We have had many evil fortunes by our "Frenche fowlkes," and yet I fear we love them over well.²

So hard did it prove, even in the time when reforming zeal was at its height, to remove from the human heart the longing to taste the vices from the Continent.

The records indicate that matters of divorce also came before the Assembly for consideration, a duty which the state in recent times has assumed to itself, in spite of the vehement protests of the Church of Rome.³

6. The Church and the Nationality.

These activities of the Kirk under Knox's guidance resulted in the imposing of religious uniformity on the nation, and the development of loyalty to the nationality on the part of the citizens. This

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1. Cal. of Scottish Papers, vol. II, p. 31.

2. Ibid., p. 33.

3. Ibid., p. 31.

became the strongest of the bonds by which Scotsmen of every degree were held together. The cooperation of Church and state, therefore, was a long stride in the direction of a self-conscious nationality in Scotland. When in the seventeenth century men sought to unite England and Scotland under one Church, the Kirk of Scotland refused to be absorbed. James I could not bring his countrymen to accept such an arrangement. Cecil's efforts could not prevail. The Scotch kept their national Church, established by the labors of the great reformer.¹ Who can say but that it was this very loyalty to the new Kirk which preserved the distinctiveness of the nation in spite of the political union which had been effected. When the union did come to pass the Scotch remained free to live their own life in practically every respect except that of governmental independence.

Other nations and other times have developed the relation of Church and state to the place where the former becomes the mere instrument of ardent nationalists, whose first love is their country's honor and not the glory of God.²

According to nationalism's prevailing creed, the moral is, that if you want a powerful state, thoroughly modern, with the latest scientific equipment, fresh ideas and enduring government, it must be a free State in which the Church is also free, and does not prohibit the expanding life of the Commonwealth, nor regard an ecclesiastical frontier as the sacred enclosure of intellectual stagnation.³

Historically the doctrine of the free state in the hands of politicians comes to be the doctrine of the autocratic state with every institution

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1. Cf. Cal. of Scottish Papers rel. to Scot. and Mary, Queen of Scots, vol. I, p. 471. Also Lindsay, Hist. of Reformation, vol. II, pp. 301-302.
2. Cf. Lord Acton, Hist. of Freedom, p. 153.
3. Cadman, Christianity and the State, p. 307.

within its limits bent to serve the will of the sovereign power.

One of the most discerning of American historians comments caustically on the fate of English institutions in the eighteenth century.

He says of them that they,

suited the great land-owning families admirably; a monarchy so reasonable nobody could mind; Parliament was a convenient instrument for their wishes, and the English Church the very thing to keep religion in its place.¹

To such base uses did the Reformed Church return when it fell into the hands of men fired by economic and political zeal rather than by the holy flame of service to God which burned in the heart of John Knox and his fellow-laborers in the Gospel.

C. The Church and Education

The full discussion of Knox's educational scheme is reserved for a later point in the argument, together with the indication of the nationalist implications of the development of the public school system.² For the present it will be sufficient to state that compulsory education has been one of the chief instruments for the formation of national loyalty and for the preservation of the group culture. In so far as the Church brought about this revolution in education, it contributed materially to the rise of nationalism at a later day. Some notice must therefore be taken of the fact that under the leadership of Knox a new educational program was formed. The reformers in Scotland struggled manfully to put this program into effect.

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1. J. T. Adams, Revolutionary New England, p. 289.

2. See below, Chap. V.

1. The Invitation to Think.

To begin with the Church invited every man to think on the subject of religion, which thinking did not stop with religion, but must needs go on to the subject of the state, and to other things as well.

Knox was willing to leave the issues of his cause to fair consideration.

In his "Exhortation to the Commonalty" he wrote:

We require nothing of you, but that patiently you will hear our doctrine, which is not ours, but the doctrine of salvation revealed to the world by the only Son of God; and that you will examine our reasons, by which we offer to prove the papistical religion to abominable before God; and lastly, we require, that by your power the tyranny of those cruel beasts, I mean, of priests and friars, may be bridled, till we have uttered our minds in all matters this day debatable in religion.¹

At the time of Knox's first preaching at St. Andrews he issued an invitation to any who would to debate with him the religious questions which were under discussion.²

2. The Reading of the Bible.

Even before Knox had begun to preach a step of importance had been taken. In 1543 under the Regent Arran a measure passed a committee of the Parliament, known as the Lords of the Articles, which authorized the "reading of the Scriptures in the common tongue." The Regent, being well disposed toward reform at that time, gave his approval.³ To say nothing of the effect of this measure upon the growth of a Scottish language, it was a great move toward a new day in the state and in education. The reformers began to take with them every where the Bible in the tongue of the people.

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1. Writings, p. 227.

2. Cf. Works, vol. I, pp. 188 ff.

3. See Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, p. 259.

The Regent proved fickle. The privilege was not allowed to remain.¹ Consequently in 1558 we find the Regent Mary being petitioned by the Congregation for the right to read the Scriptures and to receive the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the "vulgare tounge."² The request was not granted; and the deposing of the Regent had to come about before the open Bible could be secured again.

3. The Selection of Teachers.

Furthermore the Kirk evinced a great concern about the instructors of the youth, fully realizing the importance of imparting its ideals to the rising generation.³ Evidence that this concern was not a passing emotion is found in the Acts of the General Assembly during the years of Knox's activity. In 1567 a special Assembly was called to consider the state of religion. Action was taken on several matters that had to do with the schools because of the recognition that the preservation of the true religion depended on the inculcation of its principles at an early age. Article IV among these enactments was this: "That none be instructors of youth, publictlie or privatlie, but these that are admitted by the Superintendents and Visitors of Kirks, being found both sound and able." And Article IX dealt with a special educational problem: "That wise, godlie, and learned men have the charge of the education of the Prince."⁴

Other acts of the same Assembly are given in a letter of Bishop Grindal to Henry Bullinger, August 29th, 1567, in which letter the Bishop

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1. Cf. M'Crie, Life of Knox, pp. 39 ff.
2. Cf. Works, vol. I, pp. 303-305.
3. Cf. preface to Sections on Schools in "Book of Discipline," Works, vol. II, p. 209.
4. Row, Hist. of the Kirk, p. 34.

gives a report of the progress of the Reformation in Scotland.

10. None shall be admitted to the instruction of youth in learning and morals, until he shall have made an open profession of religion.
12. The patrons of those preferments which the mass-priests heretofore enjoyed in the colleges, may now convert them to the support of those whom we commonly call bursars, into the number of whom are generally chosen such young men as, being without friends or means of support, would otherwise be unable to procure a learned education.¹

Three years later a yet more inclusive action was taken. It was then enacted that, "All pastors begin to catechize the children of their congregations, being nine years of age."²

4. The Development of Church Control.

The continued progress of Church control of education is indicated by subsequent events. Unity of thought was maintained among the people by careful supervision of the schools. In June 1632 Mr. John Row, Jr., was made master of the Grammar School of Perth, a school which was then looked upon as one of the most flourishing in the land. This appointment was made by the "Provest, Baillies, and Counsale," without the consent and vote of the Presbytery. Upon this "there was much outcrying in the pulpitt." Such action was noted in the Presbytery Register for May 23rd, 1632, as contrary to the custom of the town, the Acts of the General Assembly, and Parliament. A protest was filed because of the oversight.

Accordingly we read in the Presbytery Register for August 15th, 1632, the following entry:

- * Whilk day the ministers of Perth report, that, on Monday last, Mr. John Row, master of the Grammar School of Perth, acknowledged his

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1. Zurich Letters, vol. I, p. 200.
2. Row, Hist. of the Kirk, p. 42.

oversight in entering to the said school without being tried by them, conform to the Acts of General Assembly and Parliament; and in presence of the Bishop of Dunkeld, and divers others of the Council of the said Burgh, offered himself to tryall if it were their pleasure, of which offer they rested contented, and therefore overpassed all tryalls because of the divers testimonies they had received of his qualification and sufficiency; whereupon they went immediately to the Grammar School of the said Burgh . . . ; and there having publicly admonished the said Mr. John of his duty in all respects . . . did accept him by the hand.

Two days later the Session Register noted the admission of the candidate to office.

However, this teacher was not settled finally. About one year later Row and his pupils marched out of the parish church in a body because the communion service had been altered as Row alleged. He was summoned before the session to give account, and after some months submitted to the Presbytery and promised to communicate with the local church.¹

This affords us a glimpse into the progress of the affairs of the Church in Scotland after Knox was gone. The Kirk had a strong grip on the educational system in Burgh of Perth, at least. General Assembly and Parliament cooperated in the law making. Together they kept a strict control of the instruction of youth, for only the doctrines of the true Church were permitted to be taught.

Here, then, there is evidence both of the demand for education which lifted the Scotch Presbyterian clergy to a high intellectual level, and of the control of education by which the Reformed Church maintained itself in later years. It is to a large extent responsible for the power of religion to unify the nation.

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1. The above account of the action in the case of this teacher is taken from the Preface to Row, Hist. of the Kirk, pp. xxxix-xlii.

D. The Church and Democracy

We come finally to the contribution to democracy made by the establishment of the Kirk in Scotland.¹ In so far as it was instrumental in giving the people a greater voice in the government and in raising the level of the common citizen, the Kirk was an agent for the creation of a Scottish nationality. The fact of this relationship between the Church and democracy in Scotland is recognized by the modern historian.

For many years afterwards (1560) those who desire to see the true contribution of Scotland to the history of representative institutions will look, not to the blighted and stunted conclave of the three Estates with its titular Bishops and Abbots commendatory, but to the fresh and vigorous Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.²

We may well take as a point of departure this expression of opinion by one who is moved by no prejudice in favor of the Church nor by any tendency to enhance the extent of its influence.

1. Knox's Belief in Equality.

a. The "Exhortation to the Commonalty."

Knox was aware of the democratizing influence of the movement he supported, and he delighted in it, for he himself was a man of the people. In the "Exhortation to the Commonalty" he discussed at length the equalizing effect of the preaching of the Gospel. This document was his parting injunction as he was leaving Scotland. He felt called upon to emphasize the fact that in the true Church there are no distinctions.

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1. The relation of democracy to nationalism has been pointed out in an earlier chapter. *Supra*, p. 107.
2. F. W. Maitland, *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, vol. II, chap. xvi, p. 552. Also cf. Rait, *Parliaments of Scotland*, pp. 15-18.

The subject is saved by the same faith as the prince; the rich man by the same faith as the poor man. This is true in spite of the inequalities in government and society, for while God has set some as rulers in places of authority, "yet in the hope of the life to come he has made all equal." The basis for this is, of course, the Scriptures. In the case of the building of the Tabernacle, all shared alike in giving to it--which seems at first unfair, but on second thought was clearly a just procedure since the rich were thus kept from pride in their ability to give and the poor from despair because they could do but little. And the reason for this insistence on equality in the construction of this transitory house was the fact that God was the sole deliverer of the whole people.

The poorest, I say, and most simple, who this day on earth, in the days of this cruel persecution, firmly believes in Christ, and boldly confesses him before this wicked generation, is no less acceptable before God, neither is judged in his presence to have done any less in promoting Christ's cause, than the king, who by the sword and power, which he has received of God, roots out idolatry, and so advances Christ's glory.¹

Knox left the application of this principle to the realm of politics to other men and other times; but this stout defence of equality in religion led almost inevitably to the claim of equality in the state and in society. In the preaching of such an idea the Church of the Reformation laid a foundation for democracy.

b. The Popular Defence of the Ministers.

Before Knox's arrival for active leadership of the reformers there took place in Edinburgh an incident that merits our attention.

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1. The above is based on Writings, pp. 223-226. The quotation is found on p. 226.

This was in 1558. Some of the preachers of the new doctrine were summoned to the city by the Regent and the Bishop of St. Andrews for trial. It happened that some of the men from the West, who had been fighting on the Border, were returning home, and stopped at the capital. They heard what was afoot, and boldly invaded the Queen's private chamber to protest. One outspoken man, James Chalmers, addressed the Regent and her councillors in behalf of his companions:

"Madame, we know that this is the malice and devise of thei Jefwellis,¹ and of that Bastard, (meanying the Bischope of Sanctandros,) that standis by yow: We avow to God we shall maik ane day of it . . . Thei truble our preacheris, and wold murther thame and us: Shall we suffer this any longare? Na, Madame: It shall nott be." And thare-with everie man putt on his steill bonet.²

It is easy to see that with such material on which to work, Knox was able to rally the nation to his support to a remarkable degree. A religion which laid emphasis on the rights of the least of men was well calculated to find a response in the hearts of these independent subjects.

c. The Popular Defence of Knox.

Knox himself had occasion to summon to his aid the people of the country. On October 9th, 1563, he addressed the Lords of the Congregation regarding two of his fellow-ministers who were to be tried. They had gone to the Queen's mass on August 15th of that year in order to see who were in attendance. Their presence was noted, and trouble ensued. They were blamed for originating the trouble, and a charge of sedition was lodged against them. Knox called on the nation to rally to their defence.

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1. The Jesuits.
2. Works, vol. I, pp. 257-258.

And now I . . . crave of you my brethren of all estates in this realm, "your present comforte and assistance the said day in towne of Edenburghe" as you tender God's glory, the safety of your brethren, and your own assurance in like danger. Hoping that no persuasion to the contrary, as that it is not necessary, or will offend the "upper powers," shall make you decline from Christ Jesus.¹

This appeal had far more important bearings than the mere defence of two accused men; it involved the raising of the people against the sovereign, an act done in the name of the Reformation but well calculated to create the consciousness of nationality among the people at large.

2. The Meetings of the Kirk.

But beyond any such special act which the needs of religion required, there was the new element introduced into the life of the people by the meetings of the Church. The local congregation, the Presbytery, and the Assembly all served to give men training in the activities of democratic institutions and to teach the people responsibility.² To the words of the Cambridge Modern History quoted above may be added the opinion of a Scottish thinker of the last century, who also traces the birth of popular political action in his nation to the work of those early Assemblies of the persecuted Kirk.

The General Assembly of the Church was in reality a Commons' House of Parliament, discussing the most varied interests of the country, and giving effect to the popular, or at least the middle-class feeling, on all the urgent questions of the day. It was the substantial national power which the Assemblies thus enjoyed, which made them so prized on the one hand, and so feared and hated on the other The sovereign and great nobles knew that in the face of these Assemblies they could never hold the country by the old feudal bonds of government. It was a life-and-death contention on either side; and Scottish Presbytery became thus, in the very circumstances of its origin, and still

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1. Cal. Scottish Papers, vol. II, p. 26.

2. Cf. for example Works, vol. II, p. 226.

more in the progress of its history, intensely political, and could not help becoming so.¹

In what way the men of the General Assembly availed themselves of the opportunity there afforded to practice the arts of self-expression and to develop interest in community affairs may be seen by this glimpse of the deliberations of that body given us by Alexander Hume in 1609.

The confusione of your Assemblies is suche, that their is neyther reverence, sylence, nor attendance: for when grave materis ar in hand, sum ar whispering, and at thair quyet confabulation. Many speake before they be requyred. And it can not suffice that one speake attonce, bot a number all at once, and often tymes they that can worst speak have most speache. And many speak to smal purpois; in such sort, that it wald appeare, that men rather contend to have thair word about, than to gif licht for the decisioun of anie wechtie caus.²

3. The Activities of the Ministers.

As has been so often said, Knox found the true parallel to the work of the ministers in the work of the Hebrew prophets; they sustained a like relation to the life of the nation; they were equally responsible for religious and political affairs. A description of his high conception of the calling of the minister is found in his "Treatise on Predestination." He cited as examples the commission of Jeremiah who was called to build and to plant and to destroy nations; and that of Paul who was called to turn men from darkness to light. To no less degree was the power of God entrusted to Knox and his fellow-laborers. Their word was life to those who received it. They were mighty to cast down strongholds. "Fire passeth forth of their mouth, which devoureth their enemies."³

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1. Tulloch, *Leaders of the Reformation*, p. 305. Also cf. Mitchell, *Scottish Ref.*, pp. 160-162, for the value of the Assembly as a national institution.
2. Alexander Hume to The Ministrie of Scotland (1609). *Wodrow Misc.*, p. 587.
3. Cf. *Writings*, pp. 348-349. Quotation from p. 349.

Knox and his fellows covered the country with their message. He came into immediate touch with the mass of the people.¹ "Great as was the stand of Bruce and Wallace for liberty, it did nothing for the common folks like the contendings of Knox."² It was this carrying of his cause to the country that made for democracy; the like was not known before in Scotland. His utterances had the finality and conviction which gives effectiveness.

He came into contact with great sections of common people . . . As he applied the truth from the pulpit to the events of the day, he enlisted the interest of the commonalty in the welfare of the nation as a whole. He generated an educated public opinion, and the Commons in his hand became a power in the state.³

This is the secret of his influence. It was a compact community; Knox was a born Scot; his message quickened all who came within the sound of his voice.

The work of the leader was made permanent by the faithfulness of the ministers. To some extent every one of them became a reproduction of him. Their presence through the land meant the spread of his ideas, and the perpetuation of them as well. The ministers were supported by the state, and at the insistence of Parliament they were planted everywhere.⁴ The year after Knox died an observer wrote to Killigrew that,

This Assembly has allowed the order for planting and distributing of the present ministers over all parts of the realm, which may well help the policy of the Kirk, but it will not greatly enrich the King, as now we find by calculation.⁵

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1. As an instance of the travels of Knox through the country, cf. Works, vol. I, p. 347. Cf. also vol. VI, p. 78.
2. Drummond, *The Christian as Protestant*, p. 199.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-213.
4. Cf. Wodrow *Miscellany*, p. 396.
5. Alex. Hay to Killigrew, *Cal. Scottish Papers*, vol. IV, p. 610.

It was sensed even then that the spread of these ministers would not in all respects be to the interest of the existing form of government.

In John Row's "History of the Kirk of Scotland" an interesting conversation between James VI and one of the reformed preachers, David Ferguson, has been preserved. The King asked the preacher why there could not be bishops in Scotland as well as in England. Ferguson replied that there could be, provided all the preachers were made bishops, for they could not endure to have ten or twelve dishonest men set over honest men—and only dishonest men would accept the positions. "The d - l haid aills you," replied James, "but that ye would all be alike; ye cannot abide ony to be abone you." - "Sir!" said Ferguson, "do not ban."¹ The evidence of the records of the Church after Knox's time is that the spirit of democracy which was so strong in him was to be found in his successors. Thereby his contribution to nationalism through the development of democratic institutions was assured.

Modern Scots are fond of attributing their national excellencies to their Church. One of them asserts that they are proud of Presbytery because it has cared for the laity as well as for the ministers, and because by it,

The nation has been trained for representative government, the democracy have been trained to take their share in the management of the nation's affairs. The framework of that system is more than sketched by Knox.²

4. The Effect of the Scriptures.

In passing it is worth while to add that the Scriptures played

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1. Row, *Coronis to Hist. of Kirk*, p. 314.
2. Drummond, *The Christian as Protestant*, p. 216.

their part in the growth of the democratic spirit. The materialistic historian might be inclined to disagree; but those who are willing to grant the presence of spiritual influences in history would probably not question seriously the assertion, that the Scriptures had an important part in transforming the organization of society and government. "Nationalism, in its ascent toward democracy, has to admit that at every stage the sacred writers of the Orient have been the pathfinders for their more adventurous brothers of the West."¹ When the reformers, following as always the lead of Knox, released the Bible among the people of Scotland, they set to work the greatest force for the uplifting of men that has ever been discovered. It teaches equality and brotherhood and the dignity of the least of the children of God. The evidence for the statement is not available, yet it might well be found that the most liberating thing done by the Kirk in the sixteenth century was the circulation of the Bible in the tongue of the people.

5. The Defence of the Poor.

It ought to be set down to the lasting credit of the reformed Church in Scotland that it cherished the desire to elevate the lower classes, as well as to bring down those that were on high. The tyranny of the Catholic Church in Scotland before the Reformation in its dealings with the laborers was a cause of complaint.² Knox believed that the Church was responsible for every citizen of the realm; neither geography nor society set limits to its parish.³ In his view it was important

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1. Cadman, Christianity and the State, pp. 293-294.

2. E.g., The Beggars Summons, Works, vol. I, p. 320.

3. Works, vol. II, p. 202. Instructions to the Superintendents in the Book of Discipline.

that the poor be adequately cared for; the thought that men should be in want and that nothing be done to provide for them was abhorrent.

Fearful and horrible it is, that the poore, quohm nott onlie God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his evangell, and the Holie Spreit speaking by Sanct Paule, hath so earnestlie commended to oure cayre, ar universallie so contempned and dispysed.¹

When the subject of the patrimony of the Kirk was taken up in the Book of Discipline, before everything else the rights of the laboring man were given consideration. The Kirk would take nothing at the expense of those in need. Under the new order the laborer must have a fair return.

With the greaf of our hertis we heare, that sum Gentilmen are now als creuell over thair tenmentis as ever war the Papistis, requiring of thame whatsoever before thay payit to the Church; so that the Papistie-cale tirrannye shall onlie be changeit in the tirrannye of the lord or of the laird.²

The judgment of God on greed was threatened. Comfort and relaxation for the poor were to be among the blessings secured by the reformation of religion. Life for them before had been bitter by reason of the exactions of unreasonable masters. Willingness of the Kirk to forego its income was proof of sincere regard for the poor.

Furthermore, it was declared to be unjust that one man should possess the tiends of another; each should have the use of his own under proper supervision. If it was objected that this meant taking something away from present holders, the reply was that in God's sight unjust possession was no possession at all. Any man taking from the Church to enrich himself was no better than a thief.³ Relief of the poor and freedom

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1. Ibid., p. 200.

2. Ibid., pp. 221-222.

3. Ibid., p. 223.

for the Church meant that there should be justice in the distribution of the income of the land. It is not adequate to say that we have here merely the intrusion of the economic question once more. The reformers were actuated by a great ideal and guided by sensitive consciences. They were prepared to make their state democratic in deed as well as in name. No other interpretation than that which is based on their manifest sincerity is true to the evidence.

E. The Result in History

1. The Church the Rallying-Point of the Nationality.

The treatment of the relation of Knox's reform of the Church and nationalism requires that some notice be taken of the manner in which this movement operated in subsequent history. In most instances the object of the nationalists' pride has been the culture, or the political institutions, or the superior character of his native land. Scottish nationalism is unique in the fact that the rallying point for loyalty and the object of national pride, at least until recent times, has been its Church. To an unusual extent Church history and national history coincide.

A recent study of the factors constituting the background of American culture finds that the Scotch influence is one of these factors. And that influence was the direct result of the type of national life produced in the home country by the Presbyterian form of government and thought.

After a desperate struggle the Church of Scotland actually became the organizing principle of the nation's life The strong points of this type of faith are its sense of order, discipline, and feeling for group action. It shares with the sects a great devotion to

the letter of the Bible, and lays great emphasis upon education and reading.¹

Even the existence of small groups of dissenters does not mean that the hold of Presbyterianism on the main body had lost its vigor. Since the sixteenth century there have been those who did not assent to the doctrine of the ruling Church, lacking even a "capacity of appreciating the meaning of the main current of the national religious feeling."² "Catholicism vanished into obscure corners,"³ from which it was not possible to call it forth again except in weak manifestations; and whenever the national spirit was roused it crept back into hiding.

From the beginning there were indications that the new faith was taking firm hold on the people. Randolph, as early as 1560, was impressed with the rapid spread of this doctrine.

It is almost miraculous to see how the word of God takes place in Scotland. They are better willing to receive discipline than in any country I ever was in. Upon Sunday before noon and after there were at the sermons that confessed their offences and repented their lives before the congregation.⁴

There must have been something more than a mere surface suitability between the reformed doctrine and the character of the Scottish people. No one man could have imposed a dour, unwelcome theology upon a whole nation, to say nothing of making it continue for three centuries in practically the same form as that in which it had been delivered, unless he laid hold on something deep in its life. Even in history effects must have adequate causes. Contemporary observers justify this impression.

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1. T. C. Hall, Rel. Background of American Culture, pp. 122-123.
2. Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, p. 306.
3. Ibid., p. 255.
4. Quoted in Cambridge Modern Hist., vol. II, p. 580.

They repeatedly noted the fact that the reformed doctrine made remarkable progress in that land. Not every Scot became a member of the Kirk, but apparently a substantial majority did so.¹

2. The Persistence of the Reform Spirit.

The Assemblies of the Kirk meeting twice a year, and on special occasions besides, struggled resolutely against the nobles and the indifferent rulers to give effect to their discipline. When in 1567 the cause seemed to be at a standstill, and the zeal of the Church seemed to be waning, an extraordinary session was held in July. They issued a summons to the Church to rally to the faith.

That they shall convene themselves and all their forces, the host of God shall goe through the wholl land and root out the Masse and all countenancers of it, shall destroy all monuments of idolatrie, shall punish all odious crymes, shall revenge the King's murther, shall pull doune all unlawfull jurisdiction, shall put out all corrupt instructors of youth, and all that exercise any function in the Kirk not being lawfullie admitted to the Ministrie, and shall doe all incumbent to them for the establishing of the true religion.²

The courage of this resolution in the face of obstacles is the secret of the final victory. The natural tendency of reforming ardor is to cool off with the passing of the emergency which brought it into being. The Assembly contrived to carry on the crusade, made resolute, we believe, by the gift and presence of the Spirit of God.

Andrew Lang can certainly not be accused of bias in favor of Knox or of his Church. He feels that the effort to establish the Presbyterian discipline throughout Scotland was "unfortunate," that Geneva was no model to be copied in that country. "The results were 129 years

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1. These statements are made as a result of the reading of vol. I of the Zurich Letters. E.g., Jewel to Bullinger, Feb. 9, 1562, p. 104.
2. Row, Hist. of the Kirk, p. 35.

of unrest, civil war, and persecution."¹ He blames the reformers for this whole period of discord from 1560 until the removal of the civil penalties on the excommunicated in 1690. He quotes David Hume, who traced to May, 1559, the fanatical spirit which infested Scotland and which was still ready to break out on occasion.² All of this is unfavorable to Knox as far as the character of the results is concerned. But it is interesting to see that the fact of the continued influence is there just the same. Aside from any question of the merits or demerits of the stand of Knox in 1559, there is no question of the extent to which our reformer dug the channel through which subsequent history was to flow in that land. This it is which makes Knox the outstanding figure in the study of Scottish nationalism.

3. The Difficulties Overcome.

What has been said, however, must not be taken as meaning that from the start the Scottish Reformation had an easy course to follow, and that its ultimate success was evident to Knox and to his fellow-workers. One of the common errors made in judging them is to look upon them as the partisans of a winning cause who ruthlessly rode down their opponents because they had them in their power; as a matter of fact during Knox's lifetime the Church was in a precarious position most of the time. Its fate was doubtful. Heaviness of spirit was often the portion of its leaders.

For example, the adoption of the Book of Discipline of 1560 was not accomplished at once. It came about only after a protracted struggle.

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1. Lang, Knox and the Reformation, p. 73.
2. Ibid., pp. 115-118.

Row points out that "there were great hindrances cast in," as is the case with all good movements. Many Catholic hearts remained unchanged. Many selfish men were but "unheartie friends" of the Kirk. However, progress was slowly made, so that in 1578 James VI finally consented to do his part in advancing the true religion, and by 1590 the General Assembly at Edinburgh required all ministers to sign the Book. The leaders kept constantly exhorting until they had measurably achieved the ideal of the Church as it was conceived at the outset in the heart of the great leader.¹

As for the partisans of the Kirk, some of them proved to be but a sorry lot. The fickle and selfish nobles were not transformed in a body.² Knox was himself burdened because of the instability of their religious convictions. In a letter of October 6th, 1563, when reaction had set in, he poured out his feelings to Dudley.

It is true that zeal joined with knowledge once appeared in great part of our nobility, but alas! to the grief of many hearts, it is now "waxen cold," whether by reason of the late tranquillity, wherein every man seeks to build his own house, and make himself great, having small care to re-edify the house of God-- or else that from the beginning they sought not the truth but their own advantage, I know not--God knoweth--but it is certain there is no such fervency in the most as I have sometimes seen. I am confounded at this mutation in so short a space.³

His concern might have been greater still had he been able to look into the future. The affairs of this world continued to receive attention, but the complaints of the ministers of the Kirk fell all too often on deaf ears. Continual exhortation of Parliament failed for many

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1. For this account of the adoption of the Book of Discipline see Row, Hist. of the Kirk, pp. 19-20.

2. Supra, Chap. I, Sec. B.

3. Cal. Scottish Papers, vol. II, p. 25.

years to produce results. The attitude of the law-makers is to be sensed quite clearly in the following quotation, taken from a letter in which the proceedings of the Parliament in 1587 were reported.

Att the rising of the parlyamant uppon Sat. the xxix of July (1587), the Lorde Chauncelour made an oration in the presence of the Kinge and his nobilitie, towchinge a revenge for the death of the Quene,¹ and then and there all the lordes (uppon their knes) which weare there present, made a solumn voue, that they wolde alwayes be readie to aide and assist him, bothe with the hassard of landes, lives, and goodes, whensoever his Majestie sholde comawnde them in that action. But for mayntenance of the gospell and the mynestery, there is no provision made.²

Out of such adversities as these came at last the Church which was to be the unifying force in the national life, a state church with nearly as complete a control as was ever achieved by direct legal enactment. The reality would never have come about had there not been men to visualize the ideal. "The ideal of Knox has moved like a pillar of fire before the people of Scotland."³ The outcome has been what Hume Brown believes may aptly be called a "Christian Socialism," a system in which Church and state united to control the individual, to provide for his needs, and to order his life.⁴

4. The Covenants.

In Scotland in the seventeenth century some of the most remarkable transactions of modern times were to be seen. Reference is made to the renewal of the "Covenants." These documents are unique.⁵ John Craig,

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1. Mary, Queen of Scots, had just been executed.

2. Carville to Walsingham, Cal. Border Papers, p. 265.

3. Glasse, John Knox, p. 291. Mitchell, Scottish Ref., p. 119, does not hesitate to call Knox's church "National."

4. Life of Knox, vol. II, p. 149.

5. These are clearly described in Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, vol. IX, p. 686.

a co-worker with Knox, drew up a Covenant to which James VI subscribed in 1581. It was renewed on several occasions. The most famous of these took place in 1638 at the time when Charles I was seeking to impose the royal supremacy on the Scotch Kirk, together with a Romish liturgy. In a great gathering at Edinburgh, comparable in emotional fervor to the Field of Mars celebration but far surpassing it in quality, the Scotch nation renewed its allegiance to the reformed faith, many of the signers of the Covenant opening their veins in order to sign in their own blood.¹ Knox's work stood fast. Charles I and his ministers could only confirm the old allegiance by their efforts to break it.

5. The Impress of a Personality.

This result was not accidental, as was said above. Knox was a man who incarnated the qualities of his nation. In this his friends and his critics agree. He had the intimate knowledge of the mass of the people which is the first qualification of the effective leader. Hence the work he performed had permanent results.

A man of the people, he made the people and stamped them with his character. The Scottish fervor, the Scottish dourness, the Scottish argumentativeness, the Scottish humour, the Scottish patriotism, the Scottish piety—you have them all in Knox

You can see a strain of him in all the men who have made the Scottish name famous, not only in Melville and Henderson and the Covenanters, in Erskine and Adam Gib and Gillespie, in Chalmers and Cairns and Rainy, the Evangelical Succession, but in David Hume and James Watt, in Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle. Knox is the Scottish type—courageous, tenacious, humorous, tender, homely, sincere, true-hearted, law-abiding, enterprising, democratic, devout. That is the Scot, and that is Knox.²

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1. See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. I, pp. 686-689. Also, Dunning, *Hist. of Pol. Theories*, p. 224. Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. VI, pp. 441-506.
2. Drummond, *The Christian as Protestant*, pp. 199-200.

This is a nineteenth century Scottish nationalist speaking; and the fact that he traces his nationalism to Knox could not be more plainly stated. By way of summing up the effects of Knox's labors, the same author says that to him Scotland owes its Protestantism, the polity of its Church, and its cosmopolitan outlook.¹ Here is one of many witnesses who are able to confirm the statement that by the establishment of the Reformed Kirk the nationality was brought into being.²

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 213-218.

2. The volume entitled "The Scots Worthies," by John Howie, is another very interesting example of national feeling. It was first published in 1781. See also Peter Ross, *Scotland and the Scots*, pp. 120-126.

CHAPTER V

THE ADVOCATE OF AN EDUCATIONAL IDEAL

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Introduction

In 1772 the French philosopher, Rousseau, was requested to make some suggestions as to how the kingdom of Poland, beset on every side by predatory neighbors, might become more nationalistic. His response to this request is contained in his book, "Consideration sur le Gouvernement de Pologne." He asserted that it was by its institutions that a nation preserved its identity. He told the people of Poland to develop such institutions, for then, though Poland might be swallowed by Russia, it could not be digested.

As devices for quickening national sentiment, Rousseau mentions the award of special honors to meritorious patriots, the revival of national customs, the holding of national games, the presentation of national plays, and the observance of holidays which should "breathe patriotism." But of all such devices, education is the most important to give people "national form." "A child in opening its eyes ought to see the fatherland," and until death the citizens should see no other; all should be educated in "the love of country, that is to say, in the love of liberty and the laws."¹

Here is a clear statement of the nationalistic view of the value of education to the commonwealth. It is by education rightly directed that love of country is developed, the national accomplishments are impressed on the rising generation, and the national institutions are preserved. "The nation in schools" is the ideal of twentieth century

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1. Hayes, Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 26. The statements on Rousseau are taken from pp. 25-26.

nationalism; but not merely in schools, for there must also be a proper arrangement of the curriculum, choice of texts, and selection of instructors that the ends of nationalism may be well served. Twenty years after Rousseau the Jacobins were declaring, "Education is the need of all, and society owes it equally to all members."¹ The ardent partisan of one of the nationalist groups of the present day (1932) adopts as his text, "Ireland alone and Ireland her own and all therein from the sod to the sky." And having proclaimed this as his object, he added that one of the means for the realization of this national identity will be education.

In America, you are deeply interested in education, and for us here it is in more than one sense a most important question. Besides the progressively increasing use of the Irish language in our schools, we intend to develop a system of primary education more in accord with our economic life than at present exists in the Saorstat.²

To the nationalist the system of education is one of the most potent instruments for accomplishing his purposes. Our immediate concern is not the evaluation of this relationship, but the recognition of its existence; both good and evil have been the outcome of the use of the schools to promote national interests.

The political economist recognizes that the modern state is the result of the Reformation, at least deriving from that crisis its most marked characteristics.³ Of these characteristics the control of educational facilities is one of the most notable, for in every land it touched, the Reformation begat a new interest in education. The history of education cannot be written without at least a passing recognition of

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1. Ibid., p. 62.

2. From address by Eamonn de Valera, New York Times, March 18th, 1932.

3. Cf. Laski, Authority in the Modern State, p. 21.

the vast change which sprang from the religious revolt. Luther in Germany and Calvin in Geneva must be taken into account as important factors in educational methods and ideals; both reformers gave them a great impetus wherever reformed doctrines were carried. Especially did Geneva become the source of a stream that flowed into many lands, watering the soil of France through the Huguenots, of England through the Puritans, of Holland through the Reformed Church, and of Scotland through the Kirk which John Knox served.¹

Knox, because of his admiration for Geneva in general, and because of his keen sense of the need of his country also, had embodied in the Book of Discipline of 1560 a long chapter on Schools; and in addition he gave attention throughout his career to the elevation of the common people by the spread of knowledge and the appeal to original thinking on questions in dispute. This chapter is to be given to a discussion of the educational background into which his scheme was to be fitted, the features of the scheme itself, and the results in the subsequent life of the Scottish nation. Of this scheme one historian has said, "For breadth and comprehensiveness it has no peer among the educational proposals of this period."² And another has described the extent of Knox's influence in these enthusiastic terms: "He laid the foundation of that national popular education which has made Scotland so intelligent at home and carried Scottish men with honor abroad."³

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1. Cf. Boyd, History of Western Education, chap. VII, pp. 192-219, "The Reformation and Education."
2. Ibid., p. 211.
3. R. M. Taylor quoted by Kistler, "Knox's Services to Education," Education, vol. XIX, p. 116.

A. The Background of Scottish Educational Tradition

1. Existence of Schools in Early Times.

The early records of Scotland, dating from before the War for Independence in the thirteenth century, show that there was a "machinery for education always abundant," even at some periods of the history when other elements of civilization were conspicuously lacking.¹ These records indicate that the Catholic Church was the support of the schools, which appear to have been rather widely distributed throughout the country in the parishes, although it is likely that the Highlands were backward then as always. What purpose may have been in view in the operation of these parish schools it is not now possible to say; perhaps they were instituted mainly in order to raise up a leadership for the Church. There is no evidence to show that the conception of the general improvement of the population as a whole was in mind. But it is important for our purpose to bear in mind the fact that in Scotland the Reformation found a school system above the average of European nations when its doctrines began to be taught.

2. Bringing Schools Under Public Control.

The first step that had to be taken by Knox and his fellow reformers was to free the schools from the control of the Catholic Church. This work had been under way for some time before the Reformation, and independently of it. There are fifteenth century records which show that in certain towns, at least, the school was being brought under municipal

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1. This statement and the following paragraph are based on Burton, History of Scotland, vol. IV, p. 107 ff.

control. These may have been exceptional localities. Doubtless the quality of the education varied widely in the different parts of the country. Some communities were probably much more concerned over education than others. Yet even the exceptional cases are sufficient to indicate the beginning of a movement.¹

Assuredly there were towns in Scotland in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries where a scholar could receive a fair education. John Major was one of the leading pre-Reformation thinkers of Scotland. He was born in 1469, and was sent to the school at Haddington. Some time between 1515 and 1525 another distinguished scholar was attending the same school, namely, John Knox.² It would hardly be said of these two men that their early schooling was wholly without influence on their subsequent careers.

It will be of value to us to note a little more fully the progress of this movement in the direction of bringing the school under municipal control.

What seems to be the earliest recorded case of a purely municipal appointment in Scotland occurred in 1464, when "the bailies and neighbors" of Peebles appointed one Sir William Blaklok schoolmaster of the burgh.³

As early as 1418, however, the provost and community of Aberdeen presented a candidate for the mastership of the grammar school there; almost a century later, in 1509, we read that in the same burgh a headmaster was put in office in spite of a protest from the Church and in spite of the fact that the protest was carried to Rome.⁴ In 1538 the climax was

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1. Cf. Boyd, History of Western Education, p. 165.

2. Mackay, Memoir of John Major, pp. 3-4.

3. Boyd, History of Western Education, p. 165.

4. Ibid.

reached when the burgh of Aberdeen succeeded in putting its own candidate into office, although the officials of the Church had a man of their own.¹ It seems then that by the time of Knox there were some communities, perhaps the most progressive, in which education was becoming to some extent a public interest; it is to be remembered, of course, that even in these progressive towns there would be a large proportion of the population which did not participate in public affairs. To say that a community did this or that is to speak of the deeds of one class of the citizens as though they were the deeds of the entire body.

That the interest in the schools among the citizens of Peebles and Aberdeen may have been quite exceptional we might infer from the writings of one experienced teacher, who sorely lamented the failure of most Scottish communities to make any adequate provision for the education of the youth. The great value to the state of a proper education caused him to wonder all the more at the apparent indifference and even disrespect toward learning; especially since the Roman Catholic Church by rich donations had abundantly provided for schools in many places. It was this man's opinion that in the grammar schools the work which was of greatest importance to the state was done. "In mony townis thair is not sa mekle prouidit thairto as a common house; and in nane almaist of ane sufficient life to ane techear."² Winzet, who was the teacher referred to above, thought it all the more peculiar that the work of the grammar schools should be thus slighted seeing that the desire to investigate all things now possessed the nation.

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1. Ibid.

2. Winzet, Certain Tractates, vol. I, p. 24.

It was, to be sure, not the fault of Knox or of the Assembly of the Kirk that the schools were not amply sustained. They would assuredly have had their new educational program in operation within a few years after 1560, had they been able to carry out their wishes. The hindrances with which Knox had to contend in his own party together with the restlessness attendant on any great change made it impossible to realize at once the ideal he had conceived. In his diary James Melville tells of the little school to which he was sent as a boy; because of the lack of money it had to be closed in 1566 before he had finished the course.¹ This may well have been typical of the fate of many another such school in the days of the Reformation.

However, regardless of the lamentable lack of support it received in many of the less enlightened towns, education had a hold on Scotland long before the opening of the Reformation. St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, dated its existence from 1418. In 1538, after a long struggle, it was fully equipped, and embarked on an extended career of usefulness.² The University of St. Andrews itself dated from 1411; Glasgow from 1450; and Aberdeen from 1494.³ These institutions were all influential in the national life by 1560.

3. Putting the Youth to School.

So far we have been speaking of the general interest in education in Scotland and of the early attempts to assert municipal control of the schools. In the next place it is to be noted that the idea of

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1. Melville, Diary, p. 14. This book is valuable for the light it throws on the life in the schools of the time.
2. Mitchell, The Scottish Reformation, App. A, pp. 285-287.
3. Cf. Knox, Works, vol. II, p. 213n.

putting the youth to school was not absolutely new at the opening of the Reformation. In 1496 an Act of Parliament required,

through all the realm, that all barons and freeholders that are of substance pitt their eldest sons and heirs to the schools, fra they be aught or nine years of age; and till remain at the grammar-schools until they be competently founded and have perfect Latin; and thereafter to remain three years at the schools of art and jure, so that they may have knowledge and understanding of the laws.¹

It will be observed that this Act was limited in its scope, and the education was limited as well. It only applied to the sons of those who could pay. It probably was, as Burton said, more of a wish than anything else; it may be doubted that Parliament ever expected to put it into force strictly. But enforced or not, it establishes the fact of a public interest in schools which was characteristic of Scotland in the age before the Reformation.

4. Dignity of the Schoolmaster.

Next it is a fact of considerable significance that in Scotland the schoolmaster held a position of honor; some men even achieved wide fame through their eminence as teachers, an unusual feat for that day.² Among these was a Roman Catholic, Ninian Winzet, teacher for ten years in the grammar-school at Linlithgow. He wrote in one of his tracts an opinion of the teaching profession that shows the honor in which the position was held.

Reuolueand in mynd that maist flurissand part of my aige, spent in the teching of the grammar scule of Linlychtquow, about the space of ten zeiris, I iugeit the teching of the zouthhed in vertew and science, nixt efter the auctoritie with the ministeris of iustice vnder it, and efter the angelicall office of godlie pastours, to obtene the third

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1. Quoted in Burton, History of Scotland, vol. IV, pp. 107-108.

2. Ibid., p. 108.

principal place maist commodious and necessare to the Kirk of God. Ze, sa necessar thocht I it, that the dewe charge and office off the prince and prelate withoute it is to thaim, efter my iugement, wonderous pynefull and almaist importable, and zit lytle commodious to the commoun welth, till vnfenzit obedience and trew godlines, quhen the peple is ruid and ignorant: and contrarie be the help of it to the zouthhed, the office of all potestatis is lycht to thaim and plesand to the subiectis. For the mynd of man of ane gude inclination (as ane auncient wryttar rycht warly notis) obeyis not, nor submittis not the self willinglie to ony commandar or techear, bot to sich quhome it is persuadit, to command iustlie for vtiliteis cause, - quhilk persuasioun throw ignorance it maye not weill haue, without the lycht of vnderstanding.¹

At least one teacher of that day, therefore, knew the value of his work; and by exalting his own calling he opened for himself a career. The above extract was addressed to the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1562, in behalf of the "Afflicted Catholics." The author recognized the importance of education as a means for securing the welfare of the commonwealth; an educated citizenry could make the government all the stronger when they yielded it an intelligent obedience.

The honor in which this same teacher was held is indicated in his "Address to the Christian Reader," for he there stated that because of his religion he had been,

schott out of that my kyndly toun, and fra my tender freindis thair, quhais perpetuall kyndnes I hoipit that I had conquest, be the spending about ten zeris of my maist flurissing aige, - nocht without manifest vtilitie of thair commoun welth, - and be all appearance had obtenit sik fauour of thame as ony sik man micht haif of ony communitie.²

Even though Winzet's case was exceptional, it has value as evidence of the possibilities open to a talented man in the teaching profession.

It is a sign of a considerable advance when a man could thus make him-

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1. Winzet, Certain Tractates, vol. I, pp. 23-24.

2. Ibid., p. 49.

self an influential place in the community on the basis of his achievements in the class room.

Nor is it to be forgotten that Knox first came to the attention of the reform party as a possible preacher because of his skill as a teacher. In 1547 he was engaged in tutoring the sons of Hugh Douglas and the Lord of Ormiston while he was at the Castle of St. Andrews. He thus described what he was doing:

Besydis thare grammare, and other humane authoris, he redd unto thame a catechisme, a compt whairof he caused thame geve publictlie in the parishe Kirk of Sanctandrois. He redd moreover unto thame the Evangell of Johnne.¹

From this tutoring he was called, after what must have been one of the great struggles of his life, to become the leader of the movement which overturned his country.

Before taking up the matter of the contribution of Knox to education we have dwelt upon the Scottish educational tradition. The effectiveness of the Reformer's work was in no small degree due to the preparation afforded by this tradition. He went to school himself. The people with whom he had to deal had attended the schools. The importance of education was recognized in some quarters. How he related his movement to this tradition we shall see in due course.

B. The Stimulus of the Reformation

To point out that the Reformation afforded a stimulus to the work of educating the young can no longer be regarded as a contribution to knowledge. Especially is this the case with regard to the effect of

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1. Works, vol. I, pp. 185-186.

the movement in those nations which came under Calvin's influence, and of the Calvinistic nations none adopted his ideas more wholeheartedly than Scotland. Competent Scottish historians have not failed to do justice to the result of the labors of the reformers on their country's school system.

However, it is essential for the adequate understanding of the point being made in this chapter that some statement be included as to the general effect of the preaching of the new doctrines among the Scotch people. We are considering the place of Knox's educational ideals among his nationalist emphases. The effectiveness of these emphases was in large part due to the fact that he had to do with a nation already interested in the training of the youth and aware of the importance of such training. To the remarks which have just been made with regard to the educational tradition of the country we will therefore add a brief description of the stirring of interest in intellectual pursuits which began nearly twenty years before the critical times in 1560.

1. The Release of the Scriptures.

Among the enlightening influences released by the Reformation first place must be given to the Scriptures. In Scotland, no less than in other lands, it was the searching of the Scriptures which stimulated the desire to read, to print, and to write. They started men on the road to the new freedom.

It is not necessary here to go farther back in history than the Parliament of 1543 to trace the releasing of the Bible among the people of Scotland. On March the 15th of that year there met what one described as the "most substantious Parliament that ever was seen in

Scotland in any man's remembrance."¹ The character of this gathering was in part due to the aroused interest spreading among the higher classes because of their contacts with England and the Continent. At this "substantious Parliament" there began to be questioning of the regulations of the priests by which the reading of the Bible on the part of the people was prohibited.

There begane questioun of the abolishing of certane tyrannicall Actes, made befoir, at devotioun of the Prelattis, for manteanyng of thair kingdom of darkness, to witt, "That under pane of heresye, no man should reade any parte of the Scriptures in the Engliss tounge, nether yitt any tractat or expositioun of any place of Scripture." Such articles began to come in questioun.²

It was more than questioning that went on at this assembly of the estates of Scotland. The following Act was passed at this Parliament and received the approval of the Regent.

It is statute, and ordanit, that it sal be lefull to all our sovirane ladyis leiges to have the haly writ, to wit, the New Testament and the Auld, in the vulgar tounge, in Inglis, and Scotis, of an gude and trew translation, and that thai sal incur na crimes for the hefig and reding of the samen; providing always that na man dispute, or hald opinizeonis under the pains conteinit in the actis of parliament.³

During the closing years of the reign of James V that monarch had been under the influence of the prelates. They had been able to secure his aid in suppressing the incipient movements in the direction of reform. With the passing of the King the new party was able to raise its head once more.

For a brief time it seemed that the country was in a fair way to adopt a tolerant attitude. Four days after the passing of the Act

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1. Quoted by Dobson, Hist. of the Bassandyne Bible, p. 35.
2. Knox, Works, vol. I, p. 98.
3. Quoted by Dobson, Hist. of the Bassandyne Bible, p. 35.

quoted above, the Governor of Edinburgh came to the aid of the reformers. He issued a proclamation making known to the citizens of the town the action of the Parliament. He instructed Sadler, the representative of the English court, to send to his country for a supply of Bibles in English, and for copies of Henry VIII's statutes reforming the Church as well.¹

Soon after the passage of the Act the Scriptures began to circulate.

Then mycht have bene sein the Byble lying almaist upoun everie gentilmanis table. The New Testament was borne about in many manis handis. We grant, that some prophaned that blessed wourd; for some that, perchance, had never red ten sentences in it, had it maist common in thare hand; thei wold chope thare familiars on the cheak with it, and say, "This hes lyne hyd under my bed-feitt these ten yearis."²

There was a seamy side, even to the reform of religion. The men who came into the new liberty were not always prepared by nature or training to make a right use of their privilege. There has never been a great change in the estate of men which did not have like unfortunate accompaniments. Yet on that account we would hardly care to retrace the progress that has been made.

No subsequent government could call a halt to what had thus been begun. Neither Mary of Guise nor Mary Stuart could root out the error. It was the reading of the Bible in secret that nourished the reform, even when the power of the state was set against it. "Becaus the Spirit of God will never suffer his awne to be idle and voyde of all religioun, men began to exercise thameselfis in reading of the Scriptures

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1. Cf. Keith, Hist. of Ch. and State, vol. I, pp. 91-92.
2. Knox, Works, vol. I, pp. 100-101.

secretly within their own houses."¹ Apparently they read there to some purpose of the right and dignity of the common man, of the duty of the sovereign to be faithful in his trust, and of the control of God over the affairs of the world. It was the chink through which the light began to penetrate.

2. The Increase of Literary Activity.

The reading of the Bible led at once to the reading of other things. First of all, and as might have been expected, there was an outburst of writing to refute the claims of the Roman Catholic Church; and these began at once to fall into the hands of the people.² It was a natural step to go from the narrow field into ever wider fields of learning. Through the circulation of the Scriptures the habit of reading was formed. When men had mastered the Bible they were at least ready to read other things. The record of the publishing of books in Scotland in the sixteenth century makes it clear that this is what they proceeded to do.³ "The Reformation may be said to have founded the book trade in Scotland."⁴ Of the three hundred books that were printed there during that century, only thirty-four had appeared before the Reformation. This was not entirely due, perhaps, to the religious movement; there is to be taken into account the fact that the facilities for printing were being rapidly improved. On the other hand, the religious interest cannot fairly be ignored.

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1. Ibid., vol. II, p. 151.

2. Ibid., vol. I, p. 101.

3. Bald, "Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland," Scottish Hist. Rev., vol. XXIII, p. 266.

4. Ibid., p. 266.

The first Scottish printing-press dates from 1508. From 1561 onwards there was publishing of books in English as well as in Scots or Latin. The most prominent printer was Lepreuik. At first these books were mostly liturgies and pamphlets on theology, but toward the close of the century the range broadened out to include even light reading. The demand for books in English, moreover, did not come from a small group; English books came into the hands of people of every type.¹ It was the beginning of the mental activity which became a marked feature of Scottish life.

3. The Stimulus to Thinking.

This dissemination of literature was one illustration of the manner in which the Reformation stimulated thinking. Another illustration of the same thing is to be found in the way in which previously accepted doctrines were called in question and debated. Ninian Winzet, a defender of the Catholic faith, wrote in 1562, "All men were minded to be theologians and curious searchers of the high mysteries of God."² Knowledge was no longer the private possession of the dignitaries of the Church. Investigation could no longer be checked. The example of Knox and the ministers seems to have been contagious, for they boldly challenged their opponents to open discussion of the points at issue and on more than one occasion had the honors of the debate. Knox was on all occasions ready to defend his cause in the presence of the foe. In his "Answer to a Jesuit" he said,

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1. Cf. Bald, "Anglicisation of Scottish Printing," Scottish Hist. Rev., vol. XXIII, p. 107; and "Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland," *ibid.*, p. 267.
2. Certain Tractates, vol. I, p. 24.

We give master Tyrie to understand, that we are better acquainted with the lives and conversations of the popes and cardinals than they think us to be; and that we know the strength of their laws, decrees, statutes, and councils better than the Jesuits know the rules of Jesus, albeit presumptuously they have usurped his name. And therefore we will crave of master Tyrie and of all his faction, that in writing either to us or to such as they would persuade, that they use truth and simplicity; and so shall they find themselves better contented, in reading of our answers.¹

It was this first-hand study of the issues involved, and independent thinking about them that constituted the one great contribution of the Reformation to educational progress among the Scottish people.

4. The Meetings of the Church Groups.

We may bring this survey of the general effect of the reformed doctrine on education to a close by noting the value of the meetings of the followers of the new teaching. The little Church gatherings all over the land make an interesting picture. It must have been the beginning of a new day for many a common Scotsman when he found himself one of a group met for the reading and discussion of the Scriptures. He participated in the activities. Things were ordered with a view to his understanding what was done. He had the opportunity for self-expression for what may in most cases have been the first time in his life. The very privilege of being one of such a group must have been an initial step in the direction of an elementary education.

Such groups appear to have been the result of Knox's early labors. In 1556 he left Scotland to take charge of the English Church in Geneva. He addressed a letter to the followers whom he was leaving, reminding them that it was of vital importance that they continue to meet

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1. Writings, p. 290.

for the reading and exposition of the Bible and exhorting them to pursue it diligently.¹ The rapid development of the Kirk is evidence of the obedience rendered to this parting injunction. During 1558 it is recorded that the Lords had meetings in their homes to which others were invited. At these gatherings the discussion was free and outspoken. The Regent and the Bishop both expressed their great displeasure at the proceedings, but nothing could be done to put a stop to them.²

Not least among the groups where the new activity manifested itself was the family. In the same letter to his followers referred to above Knox reminded the heads of the houses that they were set over their families to minister in the things of the faith.

Brethren, ye are ordained of God to rule and govern your own houses in his true fear, and according to his holy word Your wives, children, and family are your bishopric and charge; of you it shall be required how carefully and diligently you have instructed them in God's true knowledge, how you have studied to plant virtue in them, and to repress vice. And therefore I say, you must make them partakers in reading, exhortation, and in making common prayers, which I would in every house were used once a day at least.³

The value of such an environment for the training of the youth it would be hard to overestimate; and in order to appreciate it one need only recall the state of affairs before the reformers took hold of the life of Scotland.

It is not necessary to extend the discussion of this general educational emphasis which came with the labors of Knox and his party as an essential aspect of their influence upon their commonwelath. In the light of what has been said on this point in these two sections we are

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1. "Wholesome Counsel to the Brethren in Scotland," Writings, pp. 214-216.
2. Cf. Works, vol. I, pp. 275-276.
3. Writings, p. 214.

now in a position to appreciate the special plan for the revision of the schools which occupied a large place in Knox's program.

C. The Book of Discipline

In 1560 the Reform in Scotland had reached a critical time. Parliament had abolished the Roman Catholic domination of the religious life of the country, but nothing was put in its place. Religious anarchy was threatening. Knox's experiences in England and Geneva had taught him the importance of discipline, and his sense of its importance was shared by his fellow-ministers. They realized also the need for adapting the order of the Church to the conditions of the people of Scotland, where it was necessary to have worship and doctrine suited to the large variety of congregations included within the Kirk.

As a result of agitation by the ministers, and especially by Knox who was preaching in Edinburgh, the Privy Council appointed a committee of five to draw up a plan for the government of the Kirk to be submitted to Parliament. The result of their labors was the Book of Discipline.¹

Chapter V of this Book contains the detailed outline of the educational program of the Scottish reformers. It is a comprehensive and progressive scheme. When we take account of the fact that it was a product of the sixteenth century, and when we recall the educational status of most European countries in that day, our admiration cannot fail to be stimulated. They were far ahead of their time in their understanding of what constitutes an education.

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1. For the facts of these two paragraphs cf. Knox's Works, vol. II, pp. 88-92, 128-130, 180-182. Cf. also M'Crie, Life of Knox, pp. 208-210.

1. The Educational Need Defined.

First of all attention is to be given to the definition of the need for schools, on the basis of which this chapter was included in the Book. Apparently it was felt to be necessary to instruct the law-makers in the value of education, although it is to be remembered that the committee did not discover that schools were necessary.

a. The Stirring of Educational Interest.

There were those before the Reformation itself who were alive to the importance of right instruction of the youth, as was pointed out in the first section of the present chapter. For example, in 1558, two years before the adoption of the Book of Discipline, the Regent had been memorialized by the Lords of the Congregation for the reform of religion. They gave as the ground for their memorial the desire, "that ignorance may be expelled, trew doctrine and good maneris may ones agane appeare in the Church of this Realme."¹ The need for "good maneris" is an especially arresting idea. Long before 1558, in the days of James V, it was reported that that king found "few of the nobility capable to serve him as ministers of state, for want of education and letters."² In 1551 a Provincial Council, met in the city of Edinburgh, boasted in its resolutions that heresy was almost totally suppressed. However, to the boast they added the following significant admission:

Yet it is confessed that the inferior clergy and the prelates for the most part are not in the meanwhile sufficiently learned to instruct the people rightly in the Catholic faith, in things necessary to salvation, or to reclaim them from the path of error.³

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1. Knox, Works, vol. I, p. 306.

2. Keith, History of Church and State, vol. I, p. 61.

3. Quoted in Fleming, Martyrs and Confessors of St. Andrews, pp. 12-13.

Six years later, in 1557, the Lords formed the first of their famous "Bands." Among other things, they asked that the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI be authorized for use in the Scottish Church. They added this condition to their request: "If the curates are able to read."¹ Therefore, in spite of the background of educational tradition among the people of Scotland, there was still land to be possessed in that field.

b. The Preservation of a Pure Church.

Now, in 1560, in the chapter on schools in the Book of Discipline, the program for improving the whole people is offered. The plan began with the instruction of Parliament as to the necessity which called for such a scheme as that about to be given. Primarily it was needed that a pure Church might be handed down to posterity. The preamble stated,

That the office and dewtie of the godlie Magistrat is nocht onlie to purge the Churche of God from all superstition, and to set it at libertie from bondage of tyrannis; but also to provide, to the uttermost of his power, how it may abide in the same puritie to the posteriteis following.²

The reformers sensed almost from the start the fact that any permanence they hoped to give to their labors in behalf of the Church would depend on the instruction given to the young.

Knox's own appreciation of the value of education appeared in his exposition of the Sixth Psalm. "Hath it not been openly preached and affirmed in schools, and set out by writings, that faith alone doth not justify, but works also do justify?"³ He traced the wide spread of such false doctrine, apparently, to the hold upon educational institutions

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1. Knox, Works, vol. I, pp. 275-276.
2. Works, vol. II, pp. 208-209.
3. Writings, pp. 50-51.

which its advocates possessed. Seeing this, it was not unnatural that he should have appreciated the value of the same thing for the propagation of the reformed cause.

Every man that is not degenerated to the nature of brute beasts, will appear to bear such love to his children, that, to leave them rich and in good estate, he will patiently suffer troubles, and will do many things for the weal of his children, which otherwise were contrary to his pleasure . . . The only way to leave our children blessed and happy, is to leave them rightly instructed in God's true religion; for what avails all that is in the earth, if perpetual damnation follow death, yea, and God's vengeance also go before the same; as of necessity they must where the true knowledge of God is absent. Therefore God straitly commands the fathers to teach their sons his laws, ceremonies, and rites.¹

When, therefore, Knox and the committee drew up their plan in 1560 they were giving expression to an educational need of which they had been sensible for many years. Their first purpose in the development of a school system was the preservation of the true religion.

c. The Provision for a Trained Leadership.

Along with the preservation of the faith there was the equally great necessity for the raising up of a trained leadership.

Seing that God hath determind that his Churche heir in earth, shall be tawght not be angellis but by men; and seing that men ar born ignorant of all godlynes; and seing, also, now God ceassith to illuminat men miraculuslie, suddenlie changeing thame, as that he did his Apostlis and utheris in the Primitive Churche: off necessitie it is that your Honouris be most cairfull for the virtuous educatioun, and godlie up-bringing of the youth of this Realme.²

We understand here that the proper teaching of the Church was the thing in view. It was of the highest importance that any who taught the people of God be adequately prepared, and that not in experience alone. The

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1. Ibid., p. 29.

2. Works, vol. II, p. 209.

value of this to Scotland was pointed out by the further statement that if God moved the hearts of the Parliament to put these things into practice, "Your hole Realme, (we doubt nott,) within few yearis, shall serve the self of trew precharis, and of uther officiaris necessarie for your Common-wealth."¹ The reformers had had reason to realize the need for creating some agency capable of producing equipped leaders for both Church and state.

This is made the more evident by the strict qualifications for ministers, superintendents, deacons, and readers, which are laid down in the same Book of Discipline.² Ministers who were incompetent were to be lowered to the rank of readers. Readers could not rise to the rank of ministers till they had given proof of their gifts and had passed an examination.³ Both classes were particularly required to know the differences between the Reformed and Catholic faiths, and to be able to give a reason for their own faith.⁴ It might conceivably have been objected that in the exigencies of the new movement to put up a high standard would mean too great a limitation in the number of ministers; the many new congregations required to be adequately manned. The reply to this was ready. It were better to have no minister at all than to have an idolater. Nothing was better than the old system. Besides, if the people had no minister they might be spurred to seek one; whereas if they had a teacher of falsehood they would probably be content with him, such is the sloth of human nature.⁵

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1. Ibid., p. 212.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 189-196.
3. Ibid., p. 196.
4. Ibid., p. 190.
5. Ibid., p. 194.

d. The Training of the Citizens.

As a third aspect of the need for education there was the implied thought that the welfare of the state demanded a trained citizenry as well as a trained leadership. This seems to underlie the paragraph in the Book of Discipline entitled "The Necessitie of Schollis."¹ Youth ought to be so developed that the Commonwealth would have some profit from them. Especially the thought seemed to have impressed the reformers that it was not seemly for the sons of the rich to grow up in ignorance and luxury into useless manhood, just as it was not seemly that the sons of the poor should be allowed to wallow forever in misery and despair.

e. The Welfare of the Youth.

Finally, there was need for this scheme of education that the youth themselves might be benefitted thereby.² The modern educator would doubtless have given far more space to this aspect of the need than was given in this particular document, just as he would have given far less emphasis to some of the other considerations noted. Knox and the committee, however, were not trained in the principles of twentieth century pedagogy. They did well that to any degree whatever the pupil was considered the center of interest. The following is by no means a discreditable doctrine to hold with reference to the needs of the rising generation:

The youtheid and tender children sall be nurischit and brocht up in virtue, in presence of thair freindis; by whose good attendance many inconvenientis may be avoided, in the which the youth commonlie fallis, eathir by too muche libertie, which thei have in strange and unknowin placis, whill thei can not rule them selffis; or ellis for lacke of gude attendance, and of such necessiteis as thair tender aige requireth.³

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 209 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

3. *Ibid.*

After all a great deal of educational theory is tersely put in the above words. The reformers' common sense filled many of the gaps in their pedagogical knowledge. And what shall we say as to the final injunction appended to the statement quoted, to the effect that the work of training children in every congregation "shall be great instructioun to the aigeit"?¹

To sum up what has been said as to the reformers' conception of the need for education, it may be stated that they perceived how intimately it was related to the welfare of the nation. The people were to be lifted to the level of intelligent citizenship as well as to the level of intelligent church membership. Scotland's progress depended on dispelling darkness by the light of the new faith and of the new liberty. To sense the need is to take the first step in the direction of new life.

2. The Educational Ideals Stated.

Having shown the Lords the need for a school system, Knox and his associates embodied in their recommendations also some indication of the ideals they hoped to realize by its establishment. We turn next to the consideration of these ideals.

They had in mind a vision of national life organized on the basis of the Reformation principles. The schools were to be among the instruments by which this organization was to be set up and made effective. It will be found that their ideals had, to some extent, nationalist implications, although we must remind ourselves again that any such implications were not present as clearly defined purposes in the minds of the reformers themselves. Their theocratic state was far removed from

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1. Ibid.

the nationalistic state of the twentieth century. Yet, in the light of subsequent developments in education nationally controlled, some of the purposes of these sixteenth century Scotchmen are indeed interesting.

a. The Service of the State.

To begin with, there was the ideal of the service of the state as one of the chief ends of the citizen's life. According to the plan outlined in the Book of Discipline the student should ordinarily have completed his course in the university at about the age of twenty-four. Since only those with special talents were to be put through the university, these graduates would all be young men who had been trained in a special branch of learning and were therefore capable of assuming places of leadership in the commonwealth.¹

Whiche tyme of twenty-foure yearis being spent in the schollis, the learnar most be removed to serve the Churche or Commoun-wealth, unless he be fund a necessarie Reidare in the same Colledge or Univer-sitie. Yf God shall move your heartis to establishe and execut this Ordour, and put these thingis in practise, your hole Realme, (we doubt nott,) within few yearis, shall serve the self of trew precharis, and of uther officiaris necessarie for your Common-wealth.²

None of the youth were to be permitted to neglect education, whether sons of rich or poor. The children of the rich must be dedicated to the service of the state and the Church; the children of the poor must be tried also, "that the Commoun-wealthe may have some comfort by them."³ In both cases the public good was to be served.

In the course of study, it is surprising to discover, there were the rudiments of vocational guidance. It was thought wise to specify

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1. Ibid., pp. 210-211.

2. Ibid., p. 212.

3. Ibid., p. 211.

the subjects in which instruction must be given.

A certane tyme must be appointed to Reiding, and to learning of the Catechisme; ane certane tyme to the Grammar, and to the Latine tounge; ane certane tyme to the Artis, Philosophie, and to the (other) TounGIS; and a certane tyme to that studie in which thei intend cheaflye to travell for the proffit of the Commoun-wealth.¹

To be sure it is an exaggeration to speak of the above as vocational guidance; yet the course here outlined was not the university but the grammar-school course; and it is of value to observe that early in life there was intended to be some decision as to the calling by which the student could best be of service to the country. It was added that at the conclusion of the work in the grammar-school one of two alternatives was to be followed; the pupil might either continue in school for advanced training, or adopt at once some handicraft that would be useful.²

Thus, there was the ideal of a community in which all the citizens should be employed in a manner profitable to the state and in harmony with their endowments; it was not an unworthy ideal. Possibly to modern ears it smacks of socialism. That was not the nature of Knox's plan, however. He was at the other extreme from the modern socialist. He advocated the sovereignty of God, not that of the government. The principle which ought to control the life of the Church was to operate in the state as well.

And moreover, men in whome ar supposed any giftis to be, which mycht edifie the Churche yf thei war weall applyed, must be charged by the Ministeris and Eldaris to joyne thame selfis with that sessioun and cumpany of Interpretouris, . . . And yf any be found disobedient, . . . discipline must procead against thame; provided that the Civile Magistrate concur with the judgement and electioun of the Churche. For no man may be permitted to leave as best pleasseth him within the Churche of God.³

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp. 211-212.
3. Ibid., pp. 244-245.

Knox's ideal was that of stewardship; it was to be applied in all spheres of life.

b. The Building of Character.

Among the ideals sought by the reformers in their plan for education was that of the building of character. The statements already quoted indicate the existence of a feeling that men ought not to spend their lives in idleness; that it was easy for the unemployed to discover mischievous occupations. In particular, this danger threatened the rich. "The riche and potent may not be permitted to suffer thair children to spend thair youth in vane idilnes, as heirtofore thei have done."¹ And with that fine regard for economy and justice which marked the Reformation under Knox throughout, it was provided that the rich must pay the expenses of the education of their children "becaus thei ar able,"² and ought not to add to the public burden that which they could bear themselves.

More than once the emphasis was put on virtue as the goal of the process of education. The minister was charged with the duty of teaching the rudiments, especially in the poor Highlands, that the youth might be brought up in virtue.³ The father was not to be permitted to use his children "at his awin fantasie," but must be compelled to impart "learnynge and virtue" to them.⁴ With the same end in view it was insisted that the principles of the true religion must be thoroughly inculcated in

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1. Ibid., p. 211.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 210.

4. Ibid., p. 211.

youth, for only thus would the youth grow up into Christian manhood and womanhood.¹ That this emphasis in the educational process should have been given to character is a remarkable thing. It speaks well for the insight of the reformers that they so clearly understood the deeper significance of their effort. The fact that they regarded religion as a chief element in the accomplishment of their aim is not to be overlooked. In the regulations for the location of the superintendents of the Kirk, it was provided that where there were schools there should also be good preachers lest the garden should not send forth many plants.² Christian history may yet more abundantly justify the wisdom of these men of the sixteenth century.

c. The Transmission of Institutions.

They cherished, in the third place, the ideal of transmitting in its purity the faith and the learning which they themselves possessed, together with the state by which these things were maintained. The concluding remark in the section of the Book of Discipline on schools is as follows:

Yf God sall grant quietnes, and gif your Wisdomes grace to set fordward letteris in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdome and learnyng to your posteritie, ane treasure more to be esteemed nor ony earthlie treasure ye ar abill to provide for thame; whiche, without wisdome, ar more abill to be thair ruyne and confusioun, than help or confort.³

Neither the quietness nor the grace was in fact fully granted, for troubled times and human weakness intervened to prevent that full assumption of obligation which the reformers desired. Yet the work began, even though

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1. Ibid., p. 212.
2. Ibid., p. 208.
3. Ibid., p. 221.

feebly, and gathered momentum.¹ To have had the ideal and to have advocated it was labor not entirely lost.

d. The Elevation of the Poor.

The right of the poor to an opportunity was an ideal embodied in this scheme; it was democratic in aim. The children of the poor were to be tried, "whethir the spirit of docilitie be fund in them or not."² If they had aptitude for learning, they must be required to develop it. In order to ascertain what prospects the youth showed, "discreit, learned, and grave men" were to visit the schools, examine the scholars, and take note of the progress made.³ Provision was to be made especially for those from "Landwart" that the rudiments might be offered to every child.⁴ In arranging for the administration of the three universities, allowance was made for twenty-four scholarships, "bursaris," in each of the colleges, that is, seventy-two in St. Andrews and forty-eight each in Glasgow and Aberdeen. Examination was to be carefully made to see that such help was not given to the sons of parents who could afford to pay.⁵ It is especially interesting to observe in the educational plans of the Scottish reformers that they were particularly concerned to bring the rich down to the level of the nation at large. In most cases the effort has been mainly to raise the level of the vicious and outcast classes of society. But there was already a degree of independence among the common people of Scotland in 1560; the reformers were bothered rather by the lawlessness

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1. Cf. section "D" below.
2. Works, vol. II, p. 211.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 210.
5. Ibid., p. 218.

and uselessness of the nobility and their households. It was part of the new educational system to make these turbulent citizens of some value to the state. In the meantime the man who had hitherto found all doors closed was to have a new lease on opportunity.

e. The Value of Human Life.

In conclusion, it may be said that underneath this whole school program there lay the new respect for human life, the greater sense of values, the new appreciation of the worth of a man, and the vision of a harmonious community life of useful people, all of which ideas came to Scotland with the Reformation. The old indifference to, and shameful neglect of, the people was gone. This, which is not specifically stated in the Book of Discipline, was yet one of its most valuable achievements. There was a new day for the common man. Leadership must assume responsibility; citizenship must render service; the nation must have a sense of its stewardship. Thus a nationality became conscious of itself.

3. The Scheme Outlined.

We have now dealt with the need for a school system and with the ideals of the system as Knox expressed them. Before taking up the evaluation of the system with reference to nationalism it will be in order to give an outline of the plan itself as contained in the Book of Discipline. This plan does not seem to have had anywhere near the recognition it deserved. A reading of histories of education shows that very little attention has been given to Knox and his ideas on the subject. As will be pointed out he had some original contributions to offer; the failure on the part of the nation to put his ideas into practice ought

not to blind us to the excellence of his intentions.¹

a. The Prescribed Course.

First of all, then, it was thought necessary that every individual congregation should have its schoolmaster, able to teach grammar and Latin if the town were of any importance. In the Highlands, where people were more scattered and could convene but once a week, the reader or minister of the parish was designated as the one to teach at least the rudiments together with the catechism. These parish schools, to be set up in connection with the individual congregations throughout the land, roughly corresponded to our primary schools; that is to say, they provided the fundamentals of education.

Next above these schools it was provided that in every notable town, and especially in every town where a superintendent of the Kirk was stationed, there should be a college. The meaning of this term is not to be confused by our own use of it. The colleges were the equivalent, after a fashion, of our own high schools. In these institutions the Arts, that is at least logic and rhetoric, together with the "tongues," should be taught by qualified masters.

Finally the great Universities completed the arrangement. The three already in existence were deemed sufficient, St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. Of these St. Andrews was the principal, having three colleges. The first college, in which the entrants were enrolled, had four classes,² "Dialectique," "Mathematique," "Phisick," and "Medicine."

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1. The chapter on schools is to be found in Works, vol. II, pp. 209-221. The following paragraphs are based on that section. The source of quotations only will be noted.
2. "Classes" were approximately what we term courses.

The second college had two classes. "Morall Philosophie" and "Lawis." The third college had two classes, "Toungis" (Greek and Hebrew), and "Divinitie." Each of the other two Universities, Glasgow and Aberdeen, had but two colleges; in the first college there were three classes and in the second college four. In every University "Divinitie" was to be, so to speak, the climax of the entire system, the keystone of the arch.

Such was the outline of the course. The time to be taken in each of the schools was specified. For the grammar-schools it was thought that four years at the most would be required to equip scholars thoroughly in the rudiments; in some cases the course would be completed in three years. For the completion of the work in the colleges, or secondary schools, another four years was required. The rest of the time until about the age of twenty-four was

to be spent in that studye, whairin the learnar wald proffit the Churche or Commoun-wealth, be it in the Lawis, or Physick, or Divinitie; Whiche tyme of twenty-foure yearis being spent in the schollis, the learnar most be removed to serve the Churche or Commoun-wealth, unless he be fund a necessarie Reidare in the same Colledge or Univer-sitie.¹

It should be stated that pupils were probably eight or nine years of age before they entered upon this course.

b. The Provision for Advancement.

Provision was made that advancement should be on the basis of proved ability. There was to be a sifting at the end of both grammar-school and college courses. Those who had approved themselves as having aptitude for learning must, not might, continue in school; the others

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1. Works, vol. II, p. 212.

were to be put to work at once in a handicraft, which provision suggests an approach to technical education. Even in the University course advancement was contingent on demonstrated worth. None were to be admitted to the first class of the University,

onles he have frome the Maister of the Schole, and the Minister of the toun whair he was instructed in the toungis, ane testimoniall of his learnyng, docilitie, aige, and parentage; and likewayis triall to be tane be certan Examinatours, deput be the Rectour and Principallis of the same.¹

Advanced education in medicine depended upon testimony of time well spent, "in Dialectique, Mathematique, and Phisicque, and of docilitie in the last."² With reference to the law there must be acceptable work in, "Dialectique, Ethick, Oeconomiques, and Pollitiques, and of docilitie in the last."³ To cap the climax, the course leading to graduation in divinity was the most strenuous of all; there must be,

sufficient testimonialles of his tyme weill spent in Dialectique, Mathematicque, Phisique, Ethique, Oeconomique, Morall Philosophie, and the Hebreu toung, and of his docilitie in the Morall Philosophie and the Hebreu toung.⁴

c. The Provision for Administration.

To secure the proper execution of this plan provision was made for visitation in the grammar-schools and the colleges. This was to take place every three months that the talents of the pupils and the welfare of the state might both be cared for. Discreet, learned, and grave men were to do this visiting and examining, that is, the ministers, elders, and the "best learned" in every town. The Universities were left

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1. Ibid., pp. 214-215.

2. Ibid., p. 215.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

to themselves as to the administration of internal affairs such as discipline, the keeping of accounts, and the selection of text books.

The financial affairs of the Universities were arranged in detail. The officers and their salaries were specified. The method of rendering accounts was described. The stipend of the Beadle was fixed. The tuition rate for those who should pay was arranged according to the financial ability of the head of the house--the Earl's son forty shillings, the Lord's son thirty, the Baron's son twenty, the "substantious Gentil-mannis" son one mark, the "substantious Husband" son ten shillings. From the fees the fellows of the University were exempt.

d. The Educational Value of the Scheme.

Our interest in the above outline of the system of education is in part the merit due the man who devised it. Of the entire Book of Discipline approximately one-fifth is devoted to the section on schools. This figure itself speaks well of the Reformer's understanding of what Scotland and the Church needed. It has been noted that Knox was one of the few to whose lot it has fallen to organize the educational program of a nation.¹

As a clear-headed organizer of a system of education almost perfect in its plan showing a conception of the worth of a liberal training and a method of extending this education to all who are worthy of it, he stands centuries in advance of his time.²

We may conclude this summary by noting what it was that Knox did for his country in this field. He did four things. First, he put a moral purpose into the work of education. The Scotch had had schools; he put

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1. Kistler, "Knox's Services to Education," Education, vol. XIX, p. 105.
2. Ibid.

a soul into these schools. Second, he systematized what had before been sporadic or ill conceived. Third, he put a new value on human life by insisting that every child have an opportunity to find and occupy the field for which he was fitted. Fourth, he created a sense of social responsibility by making the state provide educational facilities. Even though his plan was never fully put into operation, he set up an ideal toward which the nation could and did make progress. The question now arises as to what the nationalist implications of all this are. We turn to the answer to this question in the remainder of the section.

4. The Nationalist Implications of the Scheme.

On the one hand, it should be said that this system of education lacked many of the important nationalist emphases of a system of the present day in a nationalist state. There was no attempt to arrange a curriculum in which patriotic ends should be paramount; there was no effort at all to inculcate Scottish culture. As a matter of fact the effort was nearly all in the opposite direction, for the languages taught were either foreign or ancient. There is no mention of Scottish history as a subject of study.

a. The Absence of Important Nationalist Emphases.

Perhaps the ignoring of the Scottish tongue was the greatest lack in this system from the standpoint of nationalism. For a German patriot of the type of Schlegel the native language, which involved necessarily a native literature, was the one most important instrument for the cultivation of a proper regard for one's own country.¹ So far

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1. Cf. Hayes, Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, pp. 107-108.

from there being any attempt to promote the language of Scotland in the work of Knox, the whole tendency was in the opposite direction. If one seeks for an appreciation of the native tongue he must look to one of the most bitter foes of the Reformation, Ninian Winzet, who wrote a translation of a tract by Vincentius Lirinensis. In the preface to this book he said, "Zit I hoip that yow sal think me to speik propir langage conforme to our auld brade Scottis."¹ In fact, it is rather remarkable to note that the spread of Scottish nationalism in the sixteenth century was accompanied throughout by a steady decline of the Scottish dialect. Beginning with 1561, the year after the establishment of the Reformation, English books were printed in Scotland. By the year 1600 the anglicising of the language was very little opposed. Between the years 1603 and 1606 the effort to print Scottish books had ceased. By 1625 it may be said that the anglicising of printed works was complete.² The native tongue remained only as a spoken language.

Furthermore, all through the sixteenth century there was a trade in smuggled literature. Early in the century the smuggled books were those in which the new religious doctrines were set forth. Acts of Parliament of 1525 and 1535 denounced heretical works secretly brought in. Later, when the Reformation was in full swing, the forbidden books were those of the Catholic writers, and Bishop Leslie, an active enemy of the reformers, sought to introduce disturbing literature. In 1587 Parliament passed an Act against Catholic books, and in 1599 a more

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1. Certain Tractates, vol. II, p. 15.

2. Cf. Bald, "Anglicisation of Scottish Printing," Scottish Historical Rev., vol. XXIII, pp. 107-115.

sweeping Act against seditious books. In 1600 the Privy Council prohibited the entry of both the Jesuits and their books.¹

The point is, therefore, that in the matter of the native language and the publishing of books the interests of religion determined the attitude of Knox and of the other reformers. They cared only for the reading of the proper things by the people, and the proper things were those which defended the position of the reformed Church. It is one more illustration of the fact that the main concern of our Reformer was religion and not politics. Therefore, with respect to the curriculum and especially the teaching of languages there was no attempt on the part of the framers of the Book of Discipline to promote the interests of nationalism. It is especially surprising to learn that the French language was one of the subjects to be taught in view of the feeling between the natives and the French at the time of the Reformation.

b. Compulsory Education.

On the other hand, there were features of this plan for education that had decided nationalist qualities. Among these features was compulsory education.² Knox was two centuries or more ahead of his time when he included the regulation that all children were to be put to school. But to-day there is no requirement more to be insisted upon by the ardent partisan of nationalism than that all the children must be in the schools under direction of the state. Barere, spokesman of the

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1. Cf. Bald, "Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland," Scottish Historical Rev., vol. XXIII, pp. 265-266.
2. On compulsory education as the outcome of the Reformation, see Perrin, "Rise of National Education in the Sixteenth Century," Nat. Ed. Ass'n, Journal, 1901, pp. 613-619.

French Revolution, put the doctrine of the "nation in schools" in the clearest terms:

The principles that ought to guide parents are that children belong to the general family, to the republic, before they belong to particular families . . . The spirit of private families must disappear when the great family calls. The republic leaves to parents the guidance of your first years, but as soon as your intelligence forms itself the republic proudly claims the rights it has over you. You are born for the republic and not for the pride or the despotism of private families.¹

The relation between the doctrine of Knox and the doctrine here expressed can be seen clearly enough; but it is important to remember that Knox would never have assented to the secularization of human life which the Frenchman proclaimed. Knox believed that life belonged first of all to God; and therefore the state and the Church were to be served.

c. Democracy.

Another of the nationalist features of the Book of Discipline was the democratic element which it introduced through the school system. The relation of nationalism and democracy has been sufficiently elaborated.² It is only necessary to say at this point that in the plan for educating rich and poor, and for offering equal opportunity to every youth, there lay the same democratic spirit which the Church so effectively maintained.

d. Growth of State Influence.

In the third place, it can be seen that Knox's plan for schools would tend to promote the encroachment of the state on all spheres of life. Parliament and the Church together had in their hands the adminis-

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1. Quoted by Hayes, Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 63.
2. Cf. Chap. III, section B, and Chap. IV, section D.

tration of the schools, and all the youth would be required to attend. The result of such an arrangement, when it came into the hands of a government with merely political or materialist ideals can readily be understood. Add a properly constructed curriculum to compulsory attendance and state control, and an instrument has been created capable of almost limitless good or ill to the commonwealth.

e. Unification of National Life.

Finally, beyond the specific contributions which have been mentioned, there was implied in the scheme outlined in the Book of Discipline a unification of national life, which it was hoped would come about as the result of the right instruction of the young. Could the scheme have been made effective Scotland would have stood before the world as a unique example of national harmony and solidarity. Knox desired to see men trained to the point where they could give intelligent assent to the truth. This he sought for the Church first of all, but for the state as well. He emphasized the necessity for understanding on the part of the worshippers as one of the essentials in Church order. When men came together to receive religious instruction they were not "to patter upon beads or books" which meant nothing.¹ In addressing an answer to a Jesuit he wrote that the ideal of the reformers was to have men "dilligently consider what doctrine they embrace, what foundation and ground their faith has, and, finally, what way they follow, thinking thereby to attain to eternal felicity."² It was this desire for an instructed and intelligent adherence to the cause that did more to promote

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1. Cf. Writings, p. 89.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 298.

nationalism among the Scottish people in the sixteenth century than any other one thing. When men have thus by their own consent arrived at a common conviction the unity of the group has been effectively secured. Such was the motive behind the plan for education, advocated in 1560, but not yet adopted in this twentieth century.

D. Subsequent Developments in Education

1. The Failure of Parliament.

We have just said that the plan for education which Knox advocated was never adopted. It will be of some value to the argument of the chapter to trace briefly the fate of this plan, and to point out also the fact that the ideal of the Reformer did have influence on subsequent educational developments.

The obstacle to the adoption of the plan as outlined in 1560 was the greed of the nobles. It required money to put the schools into operation. The money was to be supplied from the income of the lands formerly held by the Catholic Church. The nobles seized this land, and the income from that day on was lost to the public welfare.¹ The ministers sought continually to secure the operation of the plan; but their pleas fell on ears not inclined to hear anything which involved the sacrifice of personal interest. On July 12th, 1568, Mr. John Gordon addressed the Regent Murray on the subject:

I would remind you of your promise to me "this tyme almeist tuelf monethes, that your graice was we and sory that the scoilles of Scotland was so iwil maintenit; saying that gif ever it plesit God to grant your grace the moyen, that your grace suld avance theim." God

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1. Supra, pp. 10-11.

grant you may perform so godly a promise: "for Scotland was never so fertil of gud ingynis as it is at this present, and I persaive and syis a far that letres is flittin out of thir hoit cuntres, to refreche thaim withe cauld and hoilsuim air of Scotland.¹

Another of the ministers preached before the Regent and the nobility on January 13th, 1571, at Leith. He took the third chapter of Malachi for a text; and on the basis of this passage asserted that the Church had been robbed, that God was dishonored, and that the cause of the Reformation could not prosper because the support allotted to the schools had not been given.

Our youth aucht also to be nurischit and maintenit at the schuillis, and thairoutof efterward might spring pricheris, counsellouris, physiciounis, and all other kinds of learnit men that we have neid of. For the scheulis are the seid of the kirk and common welth, and our childrene are the hope of the posteritie, quhilk being neglectit, thair can nathing be luikit for bot that barbarous ignorance sall overflow all. For suppois God has wonderfullie, at this time, steirit up pricheris amang us, even quhen darkness and ignorance had the upperhand, he will not do sa heirefter, seeing we have the ordinarie meane to provide them, quhilk gif we contempne, in vane sall we loke for extraordinary proviscioun. Israel was miraculusslie fed in the wildernes with mann, bot how soon thay did eit of the corne of the land of Canaan, the manna ceissit, nouthar had they it ony moir, bot levit efterward on the frute of the ground, ordinarilie labourit with thair handis. I speik to prudent men that may understand and judge quhat I say.²

To this sermon Knox gave his approval. It was typical of the appeals that were constantly made.³ Neither the influence of Knox, nor the eloquence of the ministers, nor the conscience of the nobles was able to secure favorable action.

The universities suffered also. St. Andrews continued to be very poor.. After the Reformation it was frequently plundered and the

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1. Calendar Scot. Papers, vol. II, p. 455.
2. M'Crie, Life of Knox, note 00, p. 451. The sermon is in Tracts by D. Fergusson, pp. 61-80.
3. Cf. Row, Hist. of the Kirk in Scot., passim. Also Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies, Part I.

"common good" was "dilapidated by the professors."¹ The other universities suffered a like fate for three centuries after the time of Knox. It was in spite of their poverty and neglect that they lived and played a part in the life of the nation.

2. The Progress of the Schools.

There is another side of the picture, however. The successors of Knox, in the face of their discouragements, continued to do their best. The people learned to read the Bible. The upward movement was not stopped by the selfishness of the upper classes.² Here and there schools were authorized to be set up; in 1563 the Assembly granted aid to certain poor scholars, ordered that instructors of youth "be well tried," and permitted schools in Moray, Banff, and Inverness.³ In 1641 Parliament was petitioned to set up grammar schools in the burghs, but not till 1696 was an Act finally passed requiring a master to be provided in every parish. "The authorities were bound to meet and vote the sum necessary for the maintenance of the school and salary of the teacher and to furnish the teacher a suitable dwelling."⁴ This was the educational act in force till 1872.

The progress of the compulsory feature of the program can be traced back to the sixteenth century. In 1595 the Church at Anstruther ordered all the youth to attend school. A similar action appears in the records of the Town Council of Cupar in 1628, and by 1664 compulsory

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1. Cf. Lang, Hist. of Scot., vol. IV, pp. 400-403.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 393.

3. Cf. Row, Hist. of the Kirk, p. 25.

4. Kistler, "Knox's Services to Ed.," Education, vol. XIX, p. 110.

education was the accepted thing in that burgh. In 1637 in the town of Peebles a penalty was imposed for failure to send children to school, and the same regulation was being enforced in 1653. In 1643 a like order to present the children at school under pain of a penalty was issued in Jedburgh. The author from whose work the above facts are taken adds the following remark: "No country in the world can show an equal zeal in the promotion of education, especially during the time from the Reformation to the union with England in 1707."¹

The instances given above may well have been exceptional. Probably a few communities displayed an interest in education not to be found in the rest of the country. Granting their exceptional character, however, they are indicative of a trend; the best is to be taken into consideration along with the worst in making an estimate of progress. At any rate, Scotland was far from being a barbarous, benighted nation in the seventeenth century. The following description of life in one of the schools of that time would indicate no mean degree of culture:

In those days the gramer schoole of Perth was famous, many noble and gentle men sent their eldest sonnes to be educate there, and many of them were tabled with Mr. Johne Row, to be helped by him in their education. As they spake nothing in the schoole and feilds but Latine, so nothing was spoken in his house but French. The portion of Scripture read befor and after meals, if it wes in the Old Testament, wes read in Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, French, and English; if it wes in the New Testament, it wes read in these (Greek, Latin, French, and English).²

It cannot be said of a land in which such an institution is to be found that it is lagging in educational efforts.

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1. Cf. Kistler, "Knox's Services to Education," *Education*, vol. XIX, pp. 110 ff. Quotation from p. 113.
2. Row, *Hist. of the Kirk, Additions to the Coronis*, pp. 455-456.

3. The Evaluation of Knox's Educational Influence.

If Knox's plan did not meet with immediate acceptance, it gave an impetus which has been felt until recent times. He set before his country an ideal to which many of its best thinkers are glad to pay tribute. One of them expressed his sense of the nation's obligation to Knox in these words:

Scotland is proud of her educational system, and justly, for while other nations were still groping and feeling their way, she was already turning out educated men from the humblest ranks. And why this difference? Because Knox long ago conceived a system of education, graduated and progressive, by which the child of the humblest parents might reach the best education that could be given.¹

To this might be added the opinion of an authority on the history of education, who remarks that the failure to put into effect the plan of the Book of Discipline was regrettable, and then says:

Nevertheless, they (the recommendations of the Book of Discipline) have never ceased to exercise a deep influence on the course of educational development in Scotland. To that, perhaps more than to anything else, is due the fact that education has always been highly esteemed and earnestly sought by all classes in Scotland.²

It was no less a son of Scotland than Adam Smith who paid his tribute to the value of the school system of his native land in "The Wealth of Nations." Himself something of a nationalist, and an eminent authority on questions of political economy, he made a place in his work for the establishment of education for the people. "In Scotland the establishment of such parish schools has taught almost the whole common people to read, and a very great proportion of them to write and account."³ He saw in the right instruction of the people the means by which the

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1. Drummond, The Christian as Protestant, pp. 216-217.
2. Boyd, Hist. of Western Education, p. 213.
3. Wealth of Nations, vol. II, p. 270.

disorders which to him were so abhorrent might be avoided. Ignorance was the root of all manner of trouble in the life of the state. The measures of government could only be rightly supported where the people were able to support them intelligently, or at least did not oppose them for want of instruction.¹ Smith evidently had in mind the parish system of his native land. The substitution of the control of the state for that of the Church is practically the only change he suggested. It would appear that the work of Knox was bearing fruit in the thinking of one of the leading products of Scottish culture.²

So from Geneva, through John Knox, to America and England, as well as to Scotland, there flowed the stream of the new educational ideals which were destined in time to become one of the outstanding features of the life of all these peoples.³ To Knox is due the dawning of the light upon his countrymen. His vigorous advocacy of the value of the school fell on deaf ears when he addressed the nobles; but it met with a warm response when he carried his cause to the common people of the nation. His labor was not in vain. However narrow or partisan he may have been, he did a constructive work of the highest value when he wrote into the Book of Discipline the chapter on Schools. In 1581 a Frenchman by the name of Simon Goulart published a French translation of a book by Beza, entitled "Les Vrais Pourtraits des Hommes Illustres en piete et doctrine, etc." In this volume there are some French verses added to the work of Beza by the translator. One of these is this stanza on John Knox:

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 272-273.

2. Cf. Boyd, *Hist. of Western Education*, p. 324.

3. Cf. Hall, *Rel. Background of American Culture*, p. 125.

O Dieu, c'est de ta main que procede cest heur!
La gloire en soit rendue a ta sainte faveur.
Soit aussi reconu ce Cnox, qui ton image
(Assavoir ta parole) aux Escossois rendit,
Et qui fait qu'a present l'homme fidele dit
Que l'Escosse n'est plus obscure ni sauvage.¹

Nations, like men, are the better for having had ideals. Knox's conception of an educational system has not been without value to the people of his country. Even its partial fulfillment was an elevating influence.²

In a semi-barbaric age, he fought for liberty of speech, and for the right of private judgment, and for an open Bible in our mother tongue, and for the "godly upbringing" of the young Where is John Knox's monument? It is Scotland's Presbyterian Church and her Parochial Schools.³

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1. Works, vol. VI, p. lxxxiv in preface.
2. Cf. Mitchell, The Scottish Reformation, p. 178.
3. "A Parish Minister," Bruce and Knox, pp. 23-24.

CONCLUSION

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1. The Three Lines of Knox's Contribution to Nationalism.

In the course of the preceding pages evidence has been given at some length to show the extent to which the reforming labors of John Knox contributed to the political and national development of the Scottish people. In the accomplishment of these labors in behalf of the Church he practically remade the state also. From him Scotland may with reason date the origin of its sense of nationality; the elements which have constituted its character since that time were largely those which he gave it.

His contributions were in three fields mainly. In the first place he was an ardent lover of his country. In the second place his idea of the Church was such that in preaching it he preached the national solidarity which is essential to the realization of nationalism. In the third place he outlined an educational system admirably adapted to the achievement of nationalistic ends; and in spite of the fact that the system was not put into operation, the ideals it embodied were influential throughout the next three centuries. In each case the discussion of these contributions has been concluded with an indication of the values discovered with reference to this study.

It is not necessary at this point to repeat in detail these summaries. Religion and education are in any case among the most powerful instruments of the apostle of nationalism. There is no more effective method of arousing the emotions of a nation than to couple the religious sentiment with the patriotic; when the sanctions of religion are

invoked to stimulate the obligation to defend national honor or interest an almost irresistible force is released. There is no more effective method of inculcating the love of native country than the proper direction of the agencies of education; when the curriculum has been properly constructed it is almost certain that the rising generation will grow up with national loyalty in its heart. Therefore, by his labors in these two fields John Knox fostered Scottish nationalism. Religion and education have been the two forces which more than any others brought about the solidarity of these people.

2. The Value of His Work to Scotland.

The above statements are not to be taken as disparaging the Reformer's work. He did something for Scotland for which he deserves lasting credit. He lifted the entire nation to a new level.

The reformer's expectation of victory . . . was neither disappointed nor long deferred. The great body of the nation, with unexampled rapidity and unanimity, embraced the truth, and submitted to the discipline of their teacher, and under its salutary influence, as Staehelin in his "Johannes Calvin" affirms, from being one of the rudest, most ignorant, indigent, and turbulent peoples, grew to be one of the most civilized, prosperous, and upright which our family of nations can show.¹

The author of this statement was himself a lover of Scotland, and he expressed what many of his countrymen thought in regard to Knox until recent times. When the present wave of humanizing our heroes has passed perhaps the bitterness of the criticism of Knox will pass as well. He will then return to his rightful place as a great benefactor of his people in spite of his faults.

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1. Mitchell, The Scottish Reformation, p. 98.

One of Knox's contemporaries, evidently somewhat disgruntled at the vehemence of the Reformation and at the high moral standards of the preachers also, wrote a long, lewd, and abusive poem, in which he called the ministers wolves in lambskins, hypocrites, agents of the devil, and as guilty of fornication as the papists. In one of the stanzas he complained that, "Knox is grown a king."¹ Whatever justification his statement may have had, it may safely be asserted that the position of Knox had been attained, not by force of legal enactment, but by the force of his character. If he imposed his will upon the nation, it was done by the power of his leadership. He never had at his command any other instrument.

Knox was a vehement man. He would not be a subject of discussion to-day if he had not been vehement. We may not agree with his methods or his style of speech. We may regard the slower processes of education as more worthy. Yet it is difficult to see how permanent results could have been achieved in any other way. The difference between the dispassionate teacher and impassioned preacher could not be better expressed than in the contrast between Knox and John Major. The latter was the life-long student. He did what he could in the classroom to impart new ideas to his pupils. He tried to inform his countrymen.

But it was beyond his power to reform his age by the potent words, and unflinching courage, which in spite of grave errors make most of his countrymen reverence, and impartial judges of other nations respect, the name of John Knox. The deeper, stronger work of the Reformer has, as it deserved, lasted longer than the work of his master the Schoolman.²

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1. From a ballad taken from the writings of Lord Seton, 1571, Cal. of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, vol. IV, p. 74.
2. Mackay, Memoir of John Major, p. 86.

Knox's earnest proclamation of the theocracy made a profound impression; he was a man with a message.

Elle a pu s'exprimer chez lui sous une forme parfois rude et meme violente, elle n'en a pas moins contribue, par l'action de la puissante personnalite de celui qui s'en constituait la prophete, a la formation du peuple ecossais avec toutes ses energies, et a la preparation des libertes modernes dans les pays anglo-saxons.¹

One cannot help but admire the persistent courage of the Reformer, as he prosecuted his task in the face of all the indifference and discouragements with which he had to contend. His followers were fickle. The leaders of the nation were sometimes scoffers and sometimes enemies. The government was either openly hostile or unsympathetic. The support of the poor ministers was taken from them by the greed of the very men who should have been their chief allies. The leader was at times led to complain bitterly of the disappointing character of his following.² Shot at by his foes, reviled by his Catholic opponents, and deserted by his followers,--it was not an easy life he led. When he died in the month of November, 1572, the anonymous author of the "Diurnal of Occurrents" dismissed the event with this casual notice: "John Knox, minister, deceased in Edinburgh, who had as was alleged, the most part of the blame of all the sorrows of Scotland, since the slaughter of the late Cardinal."³ It has often been the lot of the persistent reformer to be dismissed as a trouble-maker; later generations have rendered a more impartial verdict.

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1. Martin, Soc. d. l'hist. d. prot. franc. Bull., Annee 56, p. 219.
2. Cf. Works, vol. II, p. 266.
3. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 320.

3. The Character of Knox's Nationalist Ideal.

So much for Knox himself; but what are we to say of the nationalism to which he contributed? Was it a bane or a blessing? Shall we heap blame on the men who have helped produce our situation in a world where nationalism has brought forth a harvest of disasters? Was the nationalism of Knox a thing to be praised or criticized?

So extensive a task as the evaluation of modern nationalism cannot be undertaken here. But it is in point to speak briefly of the ideas of our Reformer. The charge is often made that Knox had never heard of the New Testament. This is an exaggeration. However, it is true that he dwelt much on the conceptions of the Old Testament, and for the reason that it is in the Old Testament that national and political affairs receive prominence. There we find the thought of the nation face to face with God. And it was the essence of the thought of Knox that in his day Scotland was face to face with God.

The Zion of the Old Testament is not a small conception. The prophetic dream of a city where God should dwell in all His glory, where the people should be all righteous, where the prince upon the throne should be worthy of his trust, where the administration of the laws should be on the basis of God's justice, was a dream eminently worthy to be cherished. It was the program of the great leaders of Israel for their own land. It was the bringing to reality upon earth of the religion which they were set to maintain. It was the goal of human effort and of the Divine plan.

Knox caught this dream. He wanted to see it realized in Scotland. That was the essence of his nationalism. It was a Christian state for which he labored. If the national loyalties of our day could be held

with reference to the Kingdom of God, so that in being ardent defenders of their native land men could be at the same time ardent preachers of a new heaven and a new earth, there would be little that a sincere Christian man could say in opposition to nationalism. If loyalty to the state could be a training for some larger loyalty, if it could be loyalty to a state where human welfare was the supreme consideration and the glory of God the supreme end of life, then nationalism might become the way to a new world. Unless the purpose of Knox has been wholly misunderstood, it was such a nationalism that he desired. We do not blame him, but rather commend him, that to such an extent he had entered into the experience and faith of the prophets of the Hebrew state.

We bring this study of the work of John Knox to a close with the picture of him drawn by one who loved him.

Mr. Knox wald sum tyme com in and repose him in our collage yeard, and call ws schollars unto him and bless ws, and exhort ws to knaw God and his work in our contrey, and stand be the guid cause, to use our tyme weill and lern the guid instructiones, and follow the guid exemple of our maisters. Our haill collage, maisters and schollars, war sound and zelus for the guid cause.¹

The aged warrior, sitting in the sunshine in the college yard, with the scholars hearing from his lips the story of those thirteen years of conflict, is a not unattractive picture. We prefer to think that it was not the rigidity of his system, but the force of his convictions which made him the prophet of the nation.

The place where Knox was buried is not certainly known. It is thought that he lies beneath the flags of the pavement between the Cathedral of St. Giles' and the Parliament House. Daily the feet of the hurrying

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1. James Melville, Diary, p. 21.

inhabitants of the capital pass above him. It is the fitting place for him to rest.¹

He had a sore fight of an existence: wrestling with Popes and Principalities; in defeat, contention, life-long struggle; rowing as a galley-slave, wandering as an exile. A sore fight: but he won it. "Have you hope?" they asked him in his last moment, when he could no longer speak. He lifted his finger, "pointed upwards with his finger," and so died. Honor to him! His works have not died. The letter of his work dies, as of all men's; but the spirit of it never.²

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1. Cf. Oliphant, Royal Edinburgh, p. 284.
2. Carlyle, Heroes and Hero-Worship, p. 202.

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B. Secondary Materials - Books

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- Martin, Charles - Les Protestants Anglais refugies a Geneve au temps de Calvin, 1555-1560. Geneve, 1915. The author was at one time pastor of Calvin's church at Geneva.
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- Taylor, William M. - John Knox. New York, 1885.
- Terry, Charles S. - History of Scotland. Cambridge, 1920. Chapters xii-xvi.
- Thompson, C. L. - Religious Foundations of America.
- Tulloch, John - Leaders of the Reformation. Boston, 1859. John Knox, pp. 249-309.

C. Secondary Materials - Periodicals and Brief Articles

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- "Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland: 1500-1625," Scottish Historical Review, vol. XXIII, pp. 254-267.
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- Hannay, R. K. - "A Study in Reformation History," Scottish Historical Review, vol. XXIII (1926), pp. 18-33.
- Hart, A. B. - "John Knox as a Man of the World," American Historical Review, vol. XIII (1908), pp. 259-280.
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- Kistler, M. S. - "John Knox's Services to Education," Education, vol. XIX (Oct. 1898), pp. 105-116.
- Lang, Andrew - "Knox as a Historian," Scottish Historical Review, vol. II (Jan. 1905), pp. 113-130.
- MacIntosh, John S. - "John Knox in Independence Hall," Scotch-Irish Congress; Proceedings, 1889.
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- Milot, R. - "John Knox, 1505-1572. Ein Erinnerungsblatt zur vierten Zenterarfeier." Verein fur Reformationsgeschichte, Halle, 1904.
- Smith, Preserved - "The Reformation Historically Explained," Papers of the American Society of Church History, Second Series, vol. VII, pp. 111-130, New York, 1923.
- Taylor, J. H. - "Some Contributions of Calvinism to Thought and Life," Union Seminary Review, vol. XLIII (Oct. 1931), pp. 84-99.
- Warfield, E. D. - "John Knox: Reformer of a Kingdom," Princeton Theological Review, vol. III (1905), pp. 376-398.

D. Secondary Materials - Nationalism

(The following brief list, selected from a wide field, contains some suggested readings on the subject of "Nationalism." From these it is possible to secure some idea of the meaning of the term and the status of this philosophy in the world at present.)

- Acton, Lord John - The History of Freedom, and Other Essays. Edited by J. N. Figgis. London, 1907. Lord Acton was editor of the Cambridge Modern History.
- Cadman, S. Parkes - Christianity and the State. New York, 1924. Especially pp. 273-353. This book is mainly useful for the number of works on the subject to which reference is made.
- Figgis, John N. - Churches in the Modern State. London, 1913. The author was the editor of some of the work of Lord Acton. He was a life-long student of some of the problems of political philosophy.
- Hayes, C. J. H. - Essays on Nationalism. New York, 1928. This was one of the first systematic treatments of this subject. Prof. Hayes is probably the outstanding authority in America on Nationalism.
- Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism. New York, 1931. This volume constitutes at present the most thorough treatment of the subject to be found. For the understanding of Nationalism it is indispensable.
- Humphrey, Edward F. - Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789. Boston, 1924.
- Laski, Harold J. - Authority in the Modern State. New Haven, 1927. The author is a member of the History Department of Harvard University.
- Ross, Peter - Scotland and the Scots, Essays Illustrative of Scottish Life, History, and Character. New York, 1889. This volume is an excellent example of the nationalism of the Scottish people.
- Scotch-Irish in America, Proceedings of the Scotch - Irish Congress, Springfield, Ohio, 1893. Published at Nashville, 1893.
- Shillito, E. - "The Religion of Nationalism," Hibbert Journal, Oct., 1931, pp. 20-29.
- Phelps, William Lyon - "Christianity and Nationalism," Christian Century, Aug. 6, 1930, pp. 961-963.