

# THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY ITS HISTORY AND STANDARDS.

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## LECTURE I.

### ORIGIN OF PURITANISM, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND HISTORY UNDER THE EARLIER TUDOR SOVEREIGNS.

THE Westminster Assembly, if it does not form a landmark in the history of our common Protestantism, must at least be admitted to constitute an epoch, and a notable one, in the history of British Puritanism. There, for the first time, its long pent-up forces had something like free play given to them, and there were framed those standards, the influence of which in the development of Presbyterianism, in the New World as in the Old, has been no less potent than permanent. This Puritanism was no mere excrescence on the fair form of the Church of England, which might be removed without hazard of marring her symmetry, or lowering her vitality ; far less was it any fungus

growth, endangering life or indicating decay. Neither was it, as it was at one time the fashion to assert, a mere over-sea fancy which had taken captive a few grateful exiles when abroad, and was spread among not a few restless adventurers and brain-sick enthusiasts at home. It was in the English movement for the Reformation of the Mediæval Church from its very origin. It was the spring of many of its holiest activities, quickening earnest thought and life, sustaining in Christian enterprise, and nerving for stern self-sacrifice; and 'for more than a century it exercised an influence such as no other party, civil or religious, has obtained at any period of our history.'<sup>1</sup> It finds unmistakeable expression in the writings of Tyndale, who first in the sixteenth century gave to British Christians the New Testament in their native tongue. Nay, its root ideas may be traced back to a greater than Tyndale,—to England's one Reformer before the Reformation,<sup>2</sup>—the great and dauntless Wyclif, of whom it has been truly

<sup>1</sup> Marsden's *Early Puritans*, p. 3. See Appendix, Note A.

<sup>2</sup> 'The former (Puritanism) may be fairly dated as a system from the days of Wyclif.'—Thorold Rogers in *Princeton Review*. 'If the Reformation of our Church had been conducted by Wyclif, his work, in all probability, would nearly have anticipated the labours of Calvin; and the Protestantism of England might have pretty closely resembled the Protestantism of Geneva. There is a marvellous resemblance between the Reformer with his poor itinerant priests and at least the better part of the Puritans.'—Le Bas' *Life of Wyclif*, pp. 365, 366.

said, his country could produce no Luther in the sixteenth century, simply because it had had its Luther already in the fourteenth. In other words, the thing is older than the name.

The names Puritan and Precisian are supposed to have been originally nicknames, applied by way of reproach to those they were used to designate, because they claimed to adhere more purely and precisely than their neighbours to the Word of God as the only authoritative and sufficient rule in matters of doctrine, worship, church polity, and Christian life. This was no empty claim on their part, but one which, notwithstanding many shortcomings and much remaining narrowness, they honestly and earnestly endeavoured to make good. They were not ashamed of the names imposed on them. They took them meekly, and bore them worthily, and I trust their descendants will never feel ashamed either of the names or of the men who did so much to make them honourable. The points of difference between the Puritans and those who fall to be distinguished from them in the Reformed Church of England seem at first to have been few in number, and of minor importance, partly, perhaps, because the full significance of the principle on which these depended was not yet clearly apprehended by themselves; but much more because, to a certain extent, that principle

was then accepted by almost all leal-hearted supporters of the Reformation. So far as concerned doctrine, the principle in fact may be said to have been embodied in the Sixth Article of the English Church: 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that *whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.*' They and their opponents at that time were at one as to the sufficiency and supremacy of Holy Scripture in matters of faith, and even as to the general import of its doctrinal teaching. Almost all who really valued the Reformation in England held as yet by the evangelical system taught in early times by Augustine, and in later by Anselm, Bradwardine, and Wyclif. It was the Anglo-Catholic party which, as it developed, first broke up the doctrinal harmony of the Reformed Church, and drifted farther and farther from the standpoint of its early leaders, till the Supralapsarianism of Whitgift passed into the minimised Augustinianism of Hooker, and that into the Arminianism of Laud, and the semi-Pelagianism of Jeremy Taylor. So far again as concerned matters of worship and church polity, the only expression at variance with the principle of Puritanism in the Articles of the Church was the first clause of the xxth

Article, asserting the power of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies. This clause was not contained in the corresponding Article as framed in the time of Edward VI.; and they strenuously contended it had been foisted in somewhat inconsiderately in the time of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> They further contended that, when viewed in connection with the limiting clause that followed, it was insufficient to justify what they condemned and renounced. The rites and ceremonies at which they scrupled were not, they held, things purely indifferent, which the Church, under such a clause, might claim to enjoin, but things unlawful as having been abused to purposes of idolatry and superstition, and therefore to be laid aside as contrary to the spirit if not to the letter of Holy Writ. In this respect too the agreement between them and those who stood aloof from them, was greater in early than in later times. Many of the first Elizabethan bishops agreed with them, and would willingly have abandoned the obnoxious ceremonies if the queen would have consented.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of them attributed it to Laud, but wrongly, as he did its omission to them. It is found in the Latin edition of 1563, but not in that of 1571, nor in the first English edition of 1563, nor in that of 1571. Lamb, Cardwell, and Hallam doubt if it was authorised by Convocation or by Parliament.

<sup>2</sup> *Zurich Letters, passim.* In the doctrinal declaration issued by them in 1559, the subscriber is required to disallow all 'vain worshipping of God devised by man's phantasy, BESIDES or contrary to the Scriptures.'

Indeed, for more than a century there were not wanting great and good men, free from all taint of Puritanism, who contended that, if only the authorities in Church and State could be persuaded to consent, all that the Puritans desired in regard to worship might be conceded without injury to religion or danger to the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Their assertion of the essential identity of bishops and presbyters in the apostolic church was also to a certain extent allowed; and while some contended for the reduction of the hierarchy to more primitive dimensions, others who defended it as lawful did so not on the ground of any supposed Divine sanction, but on the ground of antiquity, expediency, or the propriety of the Church adapting her external framework to the state of monarchies as well as of republics. It was not till the very close of the sixteenth century that higher ground was taken by the opponents of Puritanism on this point, and at first it was taken only by a few of them.

But it must never be forgotten that Puritanism was something more than a system of doctrine

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated John Hales of Eton, though neither Calvinist nor Precisian, did not hesitate to say 'prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, and administration of the Sacraments in the plainest and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion or of Church pomp, of garments . . . or of many superfluities which creep into the Church under the name of order and decency did interpose itself.'—*Tract on Schism*, p. 5.

however scriptural, or a form of worship and church polity however primitive. It was above all, as Heppe has recently so well shown,<sup>1</sup> a life, a real, earnest, practical life,—a stream welling forth pure and copious from the deepest depths of their spiritual natures, and by its unfailling supplies stimulating and sustaining many forms of Christian activity and loving self-sacrifice—a fire kindled and kept alive from above, to purge, re-mould, and transform the soul, and so the whole man. It was

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte des Pietismus*, etc., pp. 20, 21. Their idea was, 'Dass das Christenthum nothwendig Leben, und zwar ein ernstes, ganz und gar vom Worte Gottes beherrschtes und streng geregeltes Leben sein müsse, in welchem der Christ sich nicht gehen zu lassen sondern sich unablässig zu üben, sich in Zucht zu nehmen, sich selbst in Angesichte des Wortes Gottes zu prüfen und durch anhaltendes Gebet, durch Meditation, durch Fasten, überhaupt durch methodische und ascetische Uebung in der Gottseligkeit einer immer vollkommeneren Heiligung nachzustreben habe.' 'The distinctive feature of Puritanism was not to be found in its logical severity of doctrine or in its peculiar forms of worship, but in its clear conception of the immediate relation existing between every individual soul and its God, and in its firm persuasion that every man was intrusted with a work which he was bound to carry out for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. Under both these aspects it was pre-eminently the religion of men who were struggling for liberty. The Puritan was not his own. He belonged to God and to his country. The motives which urged other men to give way before the corruptions of despotism had no weight with him. The temptations which drew other men aside to make their liberty a cloak for licentiousness had no attractions for him. Under the watchwords of faith and duty our English liberties were won; and however much the outward forms of Puritanism may have fallen into decay, it is certain it is under the same watchwords alone that they will be preserved as a heritage to our children.'—*History of England from the Accession of James I.*, by S. R. Gardiner, vol. ii. pp. 487, 489. See also Appendix, Note A.

not till this wellspring of higher life was dried up, —not till the glowing fire within which the Spirit of God had kindled had died out, or died down, that Puritanism became rigid and repulsive, and lost its real power both over its own adherents and over the outside world. Let me enter a little more, though it can only be a little more, into details as to its origin and development.

I have told you that the principle of Puritanism—the principle which, in fully developed form, was to be enshrined in the xxth chapter of our Confession of Faith<sup>1</sup>—may be traced, at least in germ, in the writings of the noble man who, in the sixteenth century, followed most closely in the footsteps of Wyclif, and is now regarded by many as the true Reformer of his country. More sweetly persuasive, more powerfully constraining, than all the fitful edicts and articles of Henry VIII., and all the timid concessions of the cautious Cranmer, were the silent, gentle, holy influences proceeding from the lives, labours, and sufferings, from the teachings, oral and written, of the unofficial men who had given up all for Christ, and, notwithstanding the hazards they incurred, shunned not to declare the whole counsel of God. They strove to set it forth purely and fully by first of all

<sup>1</sup> 'God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to His Word or *beside it in matters of faith and worship.*'

translating into their native tongue the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Foremost among these worthies stands William Tyndale, 'an apostle of our England,' as Foxe has termed him, and beyond question the chief instrument used by God in preparing for the Anglo-Saxon race that best of His gifts to it, our time-honoured English Bible, with its simple, racy yet majestic, and now venerable forms of speech.

Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire about 1484, was early sent to Oxford, where he distinguished himself in several liberal studies. He then removed to Cambridge, where he prosecuted the study of Greek under Erasmus. Soon after, he formed the resolution which it may be said to have been the one object of his life to carry out, viz., that if God should spare him he would cause the boy that driveth the plough to have more knowledge of the Scriptures than the priests of the Church then had.<sup>1</sup> At first he thought to attain his object through the aid and patronage of Tunstal, Bishop of London, whose learning and liberality Erasmus had so generously lauded. He found, however, by sad experience not only that there was no room for the translator of the New Testament 'in my Lord of London's palace,' but

<sup>1</sup> Demaus's *Life of William Tyndale*; also Biographical Notice prefixed to Parker Society's edition of his *Doctrinal Treatises*, by Professor Walter, pp. lxi, lxxiii, lxxv.

also that there was no safe retreat for him in all England. Even in his exile but little peace and safety fell to his lot. His steps were dogged by the emissaries of the king and the prelates, as well as by their foreign sycophants. The reformer's noble work was retarded and his life embittered by their hostile efforts. But in exile and poverty he laboured on even as he had done in England, 'studying most part of the day and night at his book, eating but sodden meat if he might have his will, and drinking small single beer;' largely dependent on the charities of Christian friends for the supply of his wants, yet reserving most of what they bestowed on him for the sick and poor, and commending himself to the English merchants at Antwerp, as to Scottish students at Marburg, by his singularly gentle and attractive life. Notwithstanding all difficulties and privations he faltered not in his sacred purpose till he had brought out several editions of his New Testament, had introduced it into Scotland as well as into England, and had got ready for the press a large portion of the Old Testament. In the weary months which he spent in the prison at Vilvorde, just before his trial and martyrdom, it has been supposed that, literally to carry out his cherished purpose, he prepared for the press an edition of the New Testament in the vulgar dialect, and with its spelling conformed to the rude pronunciation

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of the ploughboys of his native district.<sup>1</sup> He perished at the stake on the 6th of October 1536, with the prayer on his lips, 'Lord, open the king of England's eyes.' And before another year had begun its course 'his prayer may be said to have been answered, for the first volume of Holy Scripture ever printed on English soil came forth from the press of the king's own printer—a folio Testament, of Tyndale's version, with his long-proscribed name on its title-page.' In the prefaces and prologues prefixed to his translation of the several books of the New Testament, as well as in the didactic and controversial treatises which he published separately, Tyndale maintained the sufficiency and authority of Holy Scripture in thorough Protestant and Puritan style, and defended the doctrines of grace against the semi-Pelagianism of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, ere Calvin had yet entered the lists as the champion of the old Augustinianism. He asserted the Scriptural identity of presbyters and bishops, and the propriety of a simple Scriptural form of worship, and especially of that form of observing the Lord's Supper, which came to be identified with the Puritan name and with our Scottish Reformer.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Professor Walter (p. lxxv.); but Demaus gives (p. 411) a different explanation of the peculiar spelling of that edition.

<sup>2</sup> Tyndale's treatise *Of the Supper of the Lord*; vol. iii. pp. 265, 266 of Parker Society's edition of his works: 'Come forth

Next to Tyndale falls to be placed Miles Coverdale, who followed so closely in his footsteps, labouring in the same great work, and sharing many of the same great trials and privations. Coverdale is supposed to have been a native of the North Riding of Yorkshire, and to have been born in 1488. He was educated at Cambridge, and formed one of the band of youthful reformers trained by Dr. Barnes, Prior of the Augustine Friars there. 'Nothing in the world,' he says in the first letter he wrote to Cromwell, 'I desire but books; these once had, I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me which he hath begun.' The books were got and God blessed the study of them, so that he became one of the earliest preachers of the new faith in Essex and Suffolk. In October 1535, he published the first edition of his translation of the whole Bible. It appears to have been printed abroad, probably at Zürich; but in 1537 it was republished in London. Though occasionally favoured by Cranmer and Cromwell, Coverdale had to hurry into exile when the bloody statute of the Six Articles was passed. He spent some time at Tübingen, and for several years he had to content himself with a very humble post in the Palatinate, and to endure pinching poverty, while by his writings he was making reverently unto the Lord's table, the congregation now set round about it and in their other convenient seats.'

many rich. He was raised from the post of pastor and teacher at Bergzabern to the bishopric of Exeter by the good king Edward, and contributed largely to the progress of the Reformation in his brief reign. But he had to leave again on the accession of Mary, being rescued from prison and death only by the persistent intercession of the king of Denmark, to whom his brother-in-law—a Scot by name M<sup>c</sup>Alpin or Machabeus—was chaplain.<sup>1</sup> He did not disdain when again in exile to act as a humble elder in Knox's congregation at Geneva;<sup>2</sup> nor, though himself the author of an English version of the Scriptures, did he refuse to take a principal part in preparing and carrying through the press the well-known Genevan version of the Bible, which became so soon and remained so long the favourite one among the Puritans. On his return to his native country after the death of Mary he consented to take part in the consecration of the first Elizabethan archbishop of Canterbury, and was permitted to do so, without rochet or surplice, and in his plain black gown.<sup>3</sup> Yet for his nonconformity in regard to the habits, as they were termed, or for his connection with the Genevan exiles, he was left for four years

<sup>1</sup> Biographical Notice of Coverdale, prefixed to Parker Society's edition of his Remains, pp. vii.-xiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Livre des Anglois*, printed by J. S. Burn in 1831.

<sup>3</sup> See documents as to Parker's consecration in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*; No. 9: 'Toga lanea talari utebatur.'

without preferment, and within two years afterwards he had to give up the only preferment allotted to him—the humble benefice of St. Magnus, London Bridge. Thus the man who after Tyndale did most to perfect our Anglo-Saxon version of the Scriptures, when on the verge of eighty years of age, was consigned to neglect and penury—in such circumstances not less hard to bear than the prison and the stake at Vilvorde.

Hugh Latimer<sup>1</sup> and John Hooper were hardly less notable characters and bold confessors of the truth in days when it was dangerous to be so, than the two I have mentioned; and though they were both ultimately placed in high official stations, their influence tended decidedly in the same direction as that of Tyndale and Coverdale. No

<sup>1</sup> The following account of him by Alexander Alesius, written just after his cruel martyrdom, cannot fail even yet to interest us in him:—‘He who has made the acquaintance of Dr. Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, has seen Polycarp—a venerable old man, gentle, grave, affable, learned, eloquent, the friend of the poor, dear to all the pious and learned, revered by myself. How often have I seen and heard him teaching the gospel before Henry VIII., the King of England, in the royal palaces at Westminster, Greenwich, and Hampton Court, with the greatest commendation and applause of the king, of the nobles of the realm, and of all ranks of the community. Who at that time was dearer to the king—and to all the nobility? Who then was not proud to shake hands with him? Who did not esteem it a great privilege to converse with him? And yet such was his humility and kindness that at court, and in the streets of London, he would take me, an exile, by the arm and converse with me right pleasantly. I remember yet the things he then foretold me, and which events have since verified.’ Psalm xxxvii. verses 1 and 2, in his *Primus Liber Psalmorum*.

one who reads the homely, racy, yet earnest sermons of the former, or the record of the theological discussion in which he took part at Oxford, will venture to identify him with Anglo-Catholicism in any shape or form. No one who studies the story of the latter can fail to own that if he was not, as Heylin affirms, the first Nonconformist in England, he was at least, as Principal Lorimer has recently shown, the father of that school of Moderate Puritans, who whether, as at first, under that name, or as in later times, under the name of Evangelicals or Low Churchmen, have clung to the Church of their fathers and made good their right to a place within her pale, emphasising her Protestant teaching,—striving in every possible way to foster her inner life, and her efficiency in every department of Christian work,—at times sympathising with the efforts made for further reform, and longing to draw closer the bonds between their own Church and the other churches of the Reformation. Early imbibing the principles of the Reformers, and obliged in consequence to flee from his native land, Hooper, after passing through many privations, found a refuge at Zürich. There he studied under Henry Bullinger,—Zwingli's successor,—who was honoured through him, and others, as well as more directly by his own writings, largely to aid the progress and determine the character of the

Reformation in England. He brought back with him to his native country, much of the earnest faith and liberal thought of his teacher. Immediate scope was found for his great powers as a preacher, and notwithstanding his advanced opinions, he was speedily promoted to high office, being installed in one bishopric, and appointed administrator of another. It ought to be more generally known than it yet is, that long before proscribed Papist or contemned Baptist had ventured to put in a plea for toleration, this noble-hearted Puritan Bishop had fully grasped its principle. In one of his earliest treatises he says: 'As touching the superior powers of the earth, it is well known to all them that have readen and marked the Scripture that it appertaineth nothing unto their office to make any law to govern the conscience of their subjects in religion.'<sup>1</sup> In one of the last letters written in the prison from which he passed to his martyrdom, and addressed to the Convocation then sitting, he gave still bolder utterance to his sentiments: '*Cogitate apud vos ipsos, an hoc sit piorum ministrorum ecclesiæ officium, vi, metu et pavore corda hominum in vestras partes compellere. Profecto Christus non ignem, non gladium, non carceres, non vincula, non violentiam, non bonorum confiscationem, non reginæ majestatis terrorem media organa constituit quibus*

<sup>1</sup> *Early Writings of Bp. Hooper*, p. 280.

*veritas verbi sui mundo promulgaretur*; sed miti ac diligenti prædicatione evangelii sui mundum ab errore et idololatria converti præcepit.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he firmly asserted that in matters of faith no authority of princes or bishops was to be acknowledged 'citra verbum Dei,' and that 'ipsa universalis ecclesiæ auctoritas nulla est nisi quatenus a verbo Dei pendeat.'

In several other respects Hooper was in advance of his time. In opposing the Bishop of Winchester's book on the Sacrament of the Altar, he maintained that 'it is ill done to condemn the infants of the Christians that die without baptism of whose salvation by the Scriptures we be assured;' and said he 'would likewise judge well of the infants of the infidels who have none other sin in them but original . . . It is not against the faith of a Christian man to say that Christ's death and passion extendeth as far for the salvation of innocents, as Adam's sin made all his posterity liable to condemnation.' The following gems, selected almost at random from his earlier treatises, have all, more or less, a Puritan tinge. 'Men,' he says, 'may have the gift of God to interpret the Scripture unto other, but never *authority* to interpret it otherwise than it interpreteth itself.' 'The Scriptures solely and the Apostles' Church are to be followed, and no man's authority, be he Augustine,

<sup>1</sup> *Later Writings of Bp. Hooper*, p. 386.

Tertullian, or other, Cherubim or Seraphim.' 'Christ and his Apostles be grandfathers in age to the doctors and masters in learning. Repose thyself only upon the Church that they have taught thee by the Scripture. Fear neither of the ordinary power nor succession of Bishops, nor of the major part.' 'God hath bound his Church and all men that be of his Church unto the Word of God. It is bound unto no title or name of men, nor unto any ordinary succession of Bishops or Priests; longer than they teach the doctrine contained in Scripture no man should give hearing unto them.' 'There is no church can be governed without this discipline, for where it is not there see we no godliness at all, but carnal liberty and vicious life.'

Perhaps however the most noteworthy of his early writings is his exposition of the ten commandments, and particularly his exposition of the fourth, where he explains that the rest of the Sabbath was necessary: *first*, to secure both to man and beast that periodic repose without which they could never endure 'the travail of earth;' *second*, not that men might give themselves to idleness and pastime such as was then used among Christian peoples, but that, being free from the travail of the world, they might give themselves to meditation on the works and benefits of God, the hearing of his Holy Word, and the care of the sick and poor; and *third*, that it might be to

them a standing type and figure of the everlasting rest that remaineth for the people of God. 'This Sunday,' he continues, 'that we observe, is not the commandment of men, as many say, that would, under the pretence of this one law, bind the Church of Christ to all other laws that they have ungodly prescribed unto the Church ; but *it is by express words commanded that we should observe this day (Sunday) for our Sabbath.*'<sup>1</sup> The Puritans therefore of a later time, in contending against the Book of Sports and the pastimes by which the Lord's Day continued to be profaned in many parts of England, only resumed the contest which Hooper had begun—and revived the teaching he had learned from Bullinger, the most conservative in this respect perhaps of all the Reformers. He also favoured a more simple way of observing the Lord's Supper than was then in use,<sup>2</sup> wore only on certain occasions the episcopal habits, and associated with himself in the administration of his extensive dioceses several superintendents, to whom he gave special charge of matters of discipline, as well as of the meetings of the clergy for studying the Word of God, and the simpler elements of religious truth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Early Writings of Bp. Hooper*, p. 342.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 536, 537.

<sup>3</sup> Biographical Notice prefixed to Parker Society's edition of his works, pp. xvii, xix. 'No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard was more or better occupied than he in his diocese . . . in teaching and preaching to the people there.'

Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, who suffered martyrdom about the same time, seems to have belonged to the same school as Hooper. So also did Ponet or Poynt, Bishop of Winchester, who drew up one of the earliest English Protestant Catechisms, befriended Knox at Frankfort, and was a member of his congregation at Geneva. Even Ridley, who at one time had contended so bitterly with Hooper, seems to have relented in his last days, and not only exchanged friendly greetings with his former antagonist, but expressed a hope that they might be one in red though they had been two in white. He had been zealous in removing from the churches throughout his diocese altars and images, and providing tables for the administration of the Lord's Supper. He disputed ably at Oxford against transubstantiation, and he declared of the priestly robes thrust on him before his degradation that they were more ludicrous than an actor's in a play. Like Hooper and Latimer, he sealed his testimony with his blood rather than give place to Romish error and will-worship.

I do not venture to include among these pioneers and earliest representatives of Puritanism the name of the amiable, thoughtful, cautious but somewhat timid Cranmer. No doubt Dr. Hook and other High Churchmen of the present day are right in refusing to accept him as a representative

of Anglo-Catholicism. His standpoint was more decidedly Protestant. Like several good men in the old church, he held, at least in his earlier days, that by God's law, a bishop and a priest were one, and in later life he defended with great ability and learning the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper against Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. From first to last he was not ashamed to own the ministers of the Protestant churches on the Continent as brethren in Christ, to encourage several of them to settle in England, and to provide for them while there. Once and again he invited the co-operation of their leaders in carrying out a scheme he had much at heart, for gathering in council their best men, and engaging them in preparing a common creed, the acceptance of which might bind them more firmly together, vindicate them from the reproaches of their adversaries, and supply an antidote to the creed then being framed at Trent. He drew largely on foreign sources for the Articles he ultimately prepared for the English Church, and still more largely for the materials of the Catechisms he translated or sanctioned. But his own leanings were not towards such a sweeping reformation as had elsewhere been carried out, perhaps not decidedly in favour of all that before the death of Edward VI. he had been prevailed on to concede. He certainly laid it down in the preface to the English

ordinal that ever since the Apostles' days there had been three orders of ministers in the church, and resolutely adhered far more closely to the ancient forms of devotion than was done in the liturgies of the Reformed churches abroad. He urged with much persistence the injunction of kneeling in the act of receiving the communion as well as of wearing the old clerical habits. According to à Lasco, he seems to have suggested the enforcing of the former by civil penalties, just as he had by the same means compelled Bishop Hooper to accept consecration in the episcopal robes. He somewhat resented the deference of the Privy Council to Knox and the more thoroughgoing Reformers, and spoke of them as 'glorious and unquiet spirits which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy,' and denounced their principle (which however he somewhat misunderstands or misstates) 'that whatsoever is not commanded in Scripture is against Scripture' as 'the chief foundation of the Anabaptists and divers other sects.'<sup>1</sup> He was, however, a true-hearted Protestant, and one for whom all true-hearted Protestants in the church he adorned have abundant cause to thank God, for the noble service he was honoured to do.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps at a time when it has become a sort of fashion to disparage him, the following testimony to his worth by a grateful Scottish exile whom he had sheltered and befriended may not be

It would be unpardonable for a Scotchman, in such a sketch as this, to omit all reference to John Knox. No doubt he was in one sense a foreigner in England, as were Bucer, Martyr, à Lasco, and others from the Continent, whose counsel and aid were welcomed by the young king and his advisers. But Knox was more closely allied to them in speech, and, from the first, could be utilised as a public preacher in the National Church. By the offices they conferred on or offered to him it is evident that they looked on him as more of kin than the others. By the course he followed it is evident that he acknowledged the kinship, and was not unprepared to sink the Scot in the Briton, and, that, so far as conscience suffered him, he was ready to aid the reforming party in England in the great work they had in hand. Freed from his

deemed out of place. It is thus Alesius, then Professor of Divinity at Leipzig, in the epistle dedicatory to his Commentary on the Romans, addresses his former patron: 'Te enim tanquam parente istic usus sum, ad te in omnibus difficultatibus pro consilio et auxilio tanquam ad sacram anchoram confugi. Tua opera et opes semper mihi expositæ erant . . . Hunc [meum] amorem mirifice auget admiratio excellentis doctrinæ tuæ et acerrimi iudicii, magnæ sapientiæ, gravitatis, moderationis, clementiæ in deliberationibus et iudiciis, assiduum et indefessum studium in quærenda et eruenda veritate . . . munificentia in conquerendis et alendis hominibus doctis ex omnibus nationibus.' Finally, he testifies that in his lifelong wanderings, which had brought him into contact with men of many cities and nations, he had nowhere met a bishop more learned, more grave, prudent, pious, humane and liberal, and that he only refrains from saying more because he knows it would offend the Archbishop's modesty.

captivity in the French galleys through English influence, he was first sent as special preacher to Berwick, then to Newcastle, and the neighbouring parts, disputing while there before Tunstal, Bishop of Durham and his doctors, against transubstantiation and the other errors connected with the Romish mass. He was next appointed to be one of the King's six chaplains, to whom, as Dr. Hook in his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*<sup>1</sup> informs us, very large powers were at that time conceded. In this office he had not only occasionally to preach before the king and court, but also to itinerate in various districts of England, and by preaching, conference, and disputation, endeavour to wean the people from their old superstitions, and win them over to the new faith. He was offered the bishopric of Rochester for the express purpose of securing that a man of energy and resolution should be near the cautious and somewhat timid primate to encourage him, and also spur him on when occasion called. This proffered honour he declined; but as one of the royal chaplains he zealously discharged the duties of his office, and helped in various ways the progress of the Reformation. He was consulted in regard to the Forty-two Articles and the second Prayer Book of King Edward, and from the documents recently recovered and printed by Principal Lori-

<sup>1</sup> New Series, vol. v. p. 13.

mer,<sup>1</sup> it is evident that he took an active part in the revision of both. To the last he contended against kneeling in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper, and did this with such persistence and effect that, after the book was already printed off, an additional rubric was directed to be inserted on a fly-leaf, explaining that this posture was meant solely as a token of thankfulness for the benefits received through the ordinance, but in no sense as an act of homage to 'any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' This has come to be known among High Churchmen as the black rubric, and was unquestionably one of the most Protestant things in this second Prayer Book of Edward VI.<sup>2</sup>

John à Lasco, who, as superintendent of the foreign churches in England, occupied a position apart from the National Church, owed that position

<sup>1</sup> *John Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 109, 111, 267. He had administered the Lord's Supper in a simpler form at Berwick.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, while professing to re-establish this very book of her brother, did so with a few changes which made it less acceptable to the Puritans. In particular she took care to expunge the above rubric, as well as to prefix to the sentences addressed by the minister to the communicants certain words from Edward's first Book which might, at least, leave room for the view which the rubric was intended to exclude. The restoration of this rubric was repeatedly desired by the Puritans in the time of Elizabeth's successor, but, so far as I know, in vain. It was certainly left out in the Prayer Books of Charles I. Its insertion was urged by Archbishop Ussher and other moderate men in 1640, but it was not till 1661 that it was authoritatively restored, and then only in a somewhat weakened form.

to the high esteem in which he was held by Cranmer and the advisers of the king. He was often consulted by them on the affairs of the Church, and stood by Knox in his controversy about the mode of receiving the Lord's Supper, and with Hooper in his controversy about the vestments. In his congregations he generally followed simpler forms than were yet sanctioned for the National Church. In the epistle prefixed to his *Forma ac Ratio Tota Ecclesiastici Ministerii in Peregrinorum Ecclesia Londini instituta* he expressly affirms that, as England was not then deemed ripe for the complete reformation which the king and his advisers desired it to attain, he had been authorised by the Privy Council and encouraged by the king to draw up for the churches of these Protestant refugees a constitution in strict accordance with Scripture precept and Apostolic practice, and without slavishly adhering to rites and ceremonies of human origin, in order that when the time should come when the laws could be more unreservedly amended, and the nation, as a whole, could bear a more thorough Reformation, it might have, in the practice of these friendly churches within its own borders, a model on which it could rely and to which it might be inclined to defer. The arrangements made in à Lasco's book in regard to worship and discipline resemble generally those of the Reformed churches

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on the Continent, save that the communicants neither stood nor knelt, but sat, when receiving the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper.<sup>1</sup> To a large extent these arrangements were adopted by Knox among the English exiles at Geneva—probably just because they had virtually received the approval or toleration of Edward VI. and his Council. To the same extent and probably for the same reason they were in 1560 adopted also in Scotland. There was one material difference, however, which it is right I should mention. A Lasco, while holding with Jerome and even with Cranmer in his earlier days, that by the Divine law *idem erat Presbyter qui Episcopus*, held also that it was agreeable to Scripture that the presbyters or ministers should have a fixed president selected from among their own number and duly set over them. He did not, like Knox in the First Book of Discipline, represent such superintendency as an extraordinary and temporary function in the church, but regarded it as an ordinary and permanent one; though still the superintendent in his view was of the same order as the other ministers, and there was no duty devolved on him which in case of need an ordinary presbyter might not undertake.

The English Reformation then, we are warranted

<sup>1</sup> *Ioannis à Lasco Opéra* (Kuyper's edition), vol. ii. pp. 10, 163. This 'Forma' was used from 1550 and printed in 1551.

to conclude, had not yet advanced so far as the king and his advisers desired it should. There was much they thought still remaining to be done, and which could not well be done, to insure its completeness as well as its more general acceptance till the king should attain ripe age—be able to bring his full influence to bear both on his nobility and his people, and along with his Parliament give final legal sanction to it. But already the movement had been pushed on beyond its native strength. Favoured by the king, and many of the educated classes, and the burgesses of the larger towns, it had penetrated but partially among the nobility, and the uneducated masses in the provinces. Notwithstanding the itinerant labours of the royal chaplains and other special preachers, the country had been but partially evangelised. The people, where not positively hostile, were largely indifferent, and unprepared to stand by the new faith when the countenance of authority was withdrawn. Thus a terrible reaction set in when his sister Mary ascended the throne, and the support of the authorities was transferred to the other side. No doubt the cruelties then perpetrated under colour of law burned deep into the heart of the nation that hatred of Rome which it has ever since retained, and prepared even many of the uninstructed masses in the provinces ultimately to welcome or to tolerate changes to which originally

they were not inclined. This unfortunate queen has been known ever since as the Bloody Mary. Her brief reign might well be termed the 'killing time' in England, as the reign of Charles II. was in Scotland, and however some in our day may palliate or minimise its excesses, enough by almost universal consent remains to brand with infamy the queen and her advisers. Five bishops, a considerable number of inferior clergy, and a goodly contingent of pious laymen, about 280 altogether, are said to have been burned at the stake or otherwise to have suffered for their faith.<sup>1</sup>

The homely narrative of Foxe, the great martyrologist, has made us all familiar with the sad story of the sufferings and heroism of these martyrs, and though in recent times it has been fiercely assailed it still deservedly retains not a little of its old popularity.

While their leaders thus nobly bore witness at the stake to the truths which aforesaid they had taught, many of the reforming clergy who had occupied less prominent positions deemed it their duty to act on the counsel of our Lord (Matt. x. 23), and for a time to leave their native land and

<sup>1</sup> It is thus Alesius records the grief and horror which these cruelties aroused among Protestants at the time: 'Recens plaga recrudescere facit vetus vulnus, cui cicatrix obduci cœpit. De vivis episcopis crematis post Polycarpum vix scio extare exemplum etiam apud illos qui fuerunt Christiani nominis jurati hostes, et jam in Anglia vivi ad palum comburuntur episcopi quorum vita et doctrina vere Apostolica fuit!'

seek shelter where they would be free to worship God according to their consciences. Repelled by the stricter Lutherans of Germany, they were received with open heart and arms by the Reformed or Calvinistic churches, both in Germany and Switzerland. At Frankfort, Emden, Strasburg, Zürich, Basel, Aarau, and Geneva, hospitality was extended to them, places of worship were assigned to them, and opportunities for the prosecution of study, and the practice of various industries were afforded to them. If not without privations or occasional differences among themselves, yet generally in quietness and with profit, they were enabled to pass these sad years, and by intercourse with the chiefs of the Reformation to realise more fully their oneness with them in sympathy and convictions, or by attendance on their academic lectures to add to their stores of knowledge and to get their ideas widened, their principles confirmed, and themselves prepared for further services in happier days, of which I propose to give you an account in my next Lecture.