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Lorimer, Peter, 1812-1879.
Patrick Hamilton, the first
preacher and martyr of the

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PRECURSORS OF KNOX:

OR,

Mémoirs

OF

PATRICK HAMILTON,

THE FIRST PREACHER AND MARTYR OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION;

ALEXANDER ALANE, OR ALESIUS,

ITS FIRST ACADEMIC THEOLOGIAN;

AND

SIR DAVID LINDSAY, OF THE MOUNT,

ITS FIRST POET.

COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES.

I.

PATRICK HAMILTON.

BY

THE REV. PETER LORIMER,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND EXEGETIC THEOLOGY, ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE,
LONDON.

EDINBURGH:

THOMAS CONSTABLE AND CO.

LONDON: HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO.; WILLIAMS AND NORRAGE.

MDCCCLVII.

PATRICK HAMILTON,

THE

FIRST PREACHER AND MARTYR OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

In Historical Biography,

COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES;

INCLUDING

A VIEW OF HAMILTON'S INFLUENCE UPON THE REFORMATION DOWN TO THE
TIME OF GEORGE WISHART.

WITH

AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL LETTERS
AND OTHER PAPERS.

BY

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MDCCLVII.

TO

HIS HONOURED COLLEAGUE,

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D., LL.D.,

THE AUTHOR DEDICATES MOST HEARTILY THE FOLLOWING WORK,

AS A SLIGHT MEMORIAL OF THE IMPORTANT EVENT OF HIS RECENT ACCESSION

TO THE COLLEGE OF

The Presbyterian Church in England,

FROM WHICH THE AUTHOR ANTICIPATES THE BEST RESULTS TO THE CAUSE

OF EVANGELICAL TRUTH AND UNION, AS WELL AS A GREAT

ENHANCEMENT OF HIS OWN COMFORT AND

HAPPINESS IN THE DISCHARGE

OF ACADEMIC DUTY.

Sevit quidem Cnoxius verbi divini semen in Scotia quam latissime, sed solo jam antea
cæde nonnullorum martyrum subacto; inter quos primum locum tenet PATRICIUS HAMILTO.

Beza. Icones.

PREFACE.

NEARLY three years ago, when the author of the following work was collecting materials for a life of Alexander Alesius, the earliest and one of the most distinguished of the Scottish exiles who were driven out from their country for their attachment to the principles of the Reformation, he came unexpectedly upon the traces of a work in which Alesius had inserted some account of Patrick Hamilton. Following up these traces, he found that Rabus, a German author of the sixteenth century, had introduced a translation of that account into his History of the Martyrs; on perusing which, he discovered that Alesius had noticed several important particulars of Hamilton's character and life, and of his own connexion with him, which were perfectly new to history, as well as extremely interesting and valuable. The author then became anxious to see the original work, which was referred to as a Latin Commentary on the First Book of the Psalms; but no copy of it could be found in the library of the British Museum, the Bodleian, Sion College, or any of the other great libraries of this country to which he had access. It was not till he had travelled in quest of it as far as the old library of Wolfenbüttel in the Grand Duchy of Brunswick, that he got his first sight of a copy.

The amount of new light thrown by the statements of Alesius upon the biography of Hamilton was so very considerable, and these statements had so much value as coming from one who was the Martyr's own disciple and convert, and the eye-witness of his trial and martyrdom, that the author resolved to attempt to construct, by their help and with the aid of such additional facts as further research might bring to light, a complete Life of the First Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation.

Such a biography has remained till this day a desideratum. Scarcely anything, in fact, has been added to our knowledge of the first and most interesting of all our Scottish Protestant Martyrs, since the account of him inserted by Fox in his 'Acts and Monuments.' Even Knox, the only original historian of the Scottish Reformation, was able to add very little to that account; while Spottiswood and Calderwood could only repeat the statements of the Martyrologist and the Reformer. It is indeed singular that such facts in the life of such a man, as the universities where he studied, and the influences under which his character and convictions were formed, and the length of time during which he had opportunity to disseminate his doctrines, and even his birth-place, his marriage, and several of the circumstances of his last days and martyrdom, should have remained so long unknown. But it is more singular still that a learned work, which supplied original and authentic information upon the most of these points, and written, too, by a man who was himself an honour both to his teacher and his country, should have remained for three hundred years unnoticed and unknown by Scottish authors, and should only at this time of day be accidentally brought to light.

In executing his design, the author found it necessary, in order to exhibit the various influences under which Hamilton's character and convictions were formed, to bring into view many facts belonging to the religious history of the times in which he lived, and to the annals of the numerous universities in which he studied. He con-

ceived that much of the interest of such a life lies in tracing the manifold discipline of institutions and events by which the workman is shaped and trained for his work, as well as in the exhibition of his work itself; and requiring to draw somewhat largely for that purpose both upon academic and general history, he has thought the designation of ‘An Historical Biography’ the most appropriate to describe the mixed contents of the volume. He has been able, however, in some instances to derive that history from fresh sources; and he refers, in evidence of this, to the original documents contained in the Appendix, which have never been printed before, and which will be found to possess considerable value in relation particularly to Scottish ecclesiastical affairs.

The season of active personal service permitted to Patrick Hamilton, as a preacher and reformer, was extremely brief, but his influence was propagated by his disciples and converts through many subsequent years. It is easy, in truth, to recognise his image and superscription in the doctrinal type which continued to mark the Scottish Reformation from its commencement in his preaching down to the date of George Wishart’s return to Scotland in 1544—an interval of no less than seventeen years. That period the author has ventured to designate the Hamilton-period of the Reformation; and he has endeavoured to trace his influence throughout its whole length, and to indicate several distinct lines of radiation in which the light was diffused from the luminous centre of his brief but highly impressive ministry. His influence thus propagated was felt either directly or indirectly by a great number of individuals, whose names have been preserved to us by historians. In regard to some of these the author has not been able to add anything to the stock of our previous knowledge, but in a good many other cases—including the names of Sir James Hamilton of Kincavel, John M'Dowell, Robert Richardson, John M'Alpine, and, more than any other, Alexander Alesius—he has been more fortunate. It formed no part of his plan, however, to carry his notices of such of these early

Scottish Protestant worthies as were driven into exile much beyond the respective dates of their expatriation. He reserves the full narrative of the incidents which befel them in England, Germany, and the Netherlands, for the life of Alexander Alesius, who was personally acquainted with most of them, and whose biography touched the later lives of some of his fellow-exiles at several points. He was, in truth, the main figure of the persecuted group, both in England and in Germany.

The author has many obligations to acknowledge, some of which will be found referred to in different places throughout the work. But the assistance which he has received from Professor St. Hilaire, of the Sorbonne, who searched for him the registers of the University of Paris; from the Rev. William Graham, of Bonn, who made a similar search in those of the University of Cologne; and from W. H. Henderson, Esq., of Linlithgow, who furnished him with valuable extracts from the records of that ancient burgh—such assistance, involving much expenditure of time and trouble, calls for the expression of his warmest acknowledgments. Nor can he deny himself the gratification of mentioning how much he owes to the kindness and liberality of David Laing, Esq., the learned editor of Knox. But for the sight of several tracts of Alesius, of extreme rarity, which were promptly lent to the author by Mr. Laing, the present volume, and the series of which it is designed to be the commencement, would probably never have been undertaken.

Nor can the author leave without public acknowledgment the very liberal and handsome way in which access was allowed him to several of the great libraries of Germany, and to the original registers of more than one of its universities. To Professor Tholuck, of Halle, and Professor Hencke, of Marburg, he owes and now renders his cordial thanks for the personal assistance which they lent him in his researches in these university seats; and he can never forget the hearty sympathy and the liberal facilities accorded to him by Dr. Schönemann, the venerable librarian of Wolfenbüttel. He has

great pleasure in adding that he has had experience of a no less liberal administration of the public libraries and collections nearer home. Free access has been allowed him to the stores both of the English and Scottish universities; to the Advocates' and Signet libraries, and the Register Office, Edinburgh; to the Cottonian Manuscripts and other collections in the British Museum; to the libraries of Lambeth and Sion College; and to those great repositories of public records and papers, including the State Paper Office, which are placed under the enlightened guardianship of Her Majesty's Government.

ST. JOHN'S WOOD, LONDON,
December 20, 1856.

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PATRICK HAMILTON.

CHAPTER I.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

PARENTAGE—TIME AND PLACE OF BIRTH—BOYHOOD—CHARACTER OF HIS FATHER, SIR PATRICK HAMILTON OF KINCAVEL—DISTINGUISHED RELATIVES—EARL OF ARRAN—DUKE OF ALBANY—GAVYN DOUGLAS—HENRY LORD SINCLAIR OF NEWBURGH—BATTLE OF FLODDEN—STRUGGLE FOR VACANT SEES AND ABBACIES—APPOINTMENT TO ABBACY OF FERNE.

Nobilibus licet usque atavis et sanguine regum,
Splendeat et claris dotibus ante alios,
Nou tamen ætherium tanguit mortalia pectus.

JOHN JOHNSTON.

From noble sires he sprang and blood of kings,
And splendid shone in gifts beyond his peers,
Yet mortal glories his heaven-climbing soul
Touch not.

PATRICK HAMILTON.

CHAPTER I.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

PATRICK HAMILTON, the first preacher and martyr of the Scottish Reformation, was a younger son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel and Stanehouse, and of Catherine Stewart, daughter of Alexander, Duke of Albany, second son of King James II. Sir Patrick was an illegitimate son of James, the first Lord Hamilton, by a daughter of Witherspoon of Brighouse. He is mentioned along with two other natural sons, John and David, in a charter granted to Lord Hamilton in the year 1474—the same year that the latter was rewarded for his eminent services to James II. by receiving from James III. the hand of his sister, the Princess Mary, Countess of Arran. In 1479 Lord Hamilton died, leaving the honours and great estates of his house, now so closely connected with the royal family, to his only legitimate son, James, the second Lord Hamilton, and first Earl of Arran.

The birth of Sir Patrick and his brothers John and David, though thus far less illustrious than that of their half-brother, James, and though marred with the stain of illegitimacy, was of sufficient distinction to secure for each of them substantial possessions and high consideration in the kingdom. John Hamilton was styled of Brumehill, and became ancestor of the first Lords of Belhaven. David Hamilton was educated for the church, and became Bishop of Argyle, and Commendator of the abbeys of Glenluce and Dryburgh. Sir

Patrick had a charter in 1498 of the lands of Stanehouse, in the county of Lanark, and another in the same year of 'the king's lands of Kincavel,' in the county of Linlithgow. The latter grant he owed to the favour of his sovereign, James IV., who conferred upon him at the same time the honourable offices of Sheriff of Linlithgowshire and Captain of the castle of Blackness.* On the 20th January, 1512-13, he obtained a letter of legitimation under the Great Seal; and in a charter of the same year, settling the succession of the Hamilton estates, he was nominated by the Earl of Arran next in succession (failing lawful issue of the Earl) after Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart, the Earl's natural son.†

✓ It may seem surprising that Sir Patrick should have been able to gain the hand of Catherine Stewart, who was born a princess of the royal blood; but the match appears less unequal when it is known that the marriage of her parents had been dissolved some time after her birth. Her father, Alexander, Duke of Albany, obtained a divorce from her mother, Catherine Sinclair, daughter of William, third Earl of Orkney, in the Consistory Court of St. Giles', Edinburgh, on the 9th of March, 1477, on the ground of propinquity of blood; and the strict legal effect of that divorce, both civilly and ecclesiastically, was to render the offspring of the marriage illegitimate. But the propinquity alleged in the sentence was only in the fourth degree, 'and illegitimation caused by the dissolution of such marriages, in conformity with the complicated rules of the canon law, was not considered to entail disgrace on the children, nor did it always interrupt the succession either in regard to titles or property.'‡ In the present case, however, the titles were too illustrious and the property too great to be allowed to devolve upon the offspring of a marriage which, however valid when tried by the law of God, had been set aside for sinister ends by the corrupt tribunals of men. The Duke Alexander afterwards contracted a second marriage in France with a daughter of the Earl of Boulogne; and John,

* For notices of the Barony of Kincavel, and other possessions of Sir Patrick Hamilton, see Note A.

† Douglas's Peerage of Scotland (Wood's edition), v. i. p. 697. Anderson's Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, pp. 316, 317.

‡ The Works of John Knox, collected and edited by David Laing, v. i. Appendix iii. p. 501.

Duke of Albany, the issue of that union, was solemnly declared, by a parliament which met in Edinburgh under his own auspices as Regent of Scotland, in 1516, to be the only legitimate son and successor of his father, and as such to be heir-presumptive to the Scottish crown.*

It is singular that none of the Scottish historians of the sixteenth century record either the time or the place of the reformer's birth. It is Francis Lambert of Avignon who tells us that he was about twenty-three years of age in the summer of 1527; from which we gather that he must have been born in the year 1504;† and it is to another French authority, an ancient parchment of the University of Paris, that we owe the memory, only now recovered, of the interesting fact, that he professed himself a native of the ancient city of Glasgow. 'Patricius Hamelto *Glassguensis Nobilis*', is the designation by which he appears in a volume of 'Acta Rectoria' of the sixteenth century, one of the few records of the university which escaped the fury of the first great Revolution.‡

Nothing is known of his early life, and we are left entirely to conjecture in regard to the manner in which the education of his boyhood was conducted. There were grammar schools established, even at that early period, both in Glasgow and Linlithgow; the former under the superintendence of the clergy of the cathedral, and the latter under the management of the magistrates and council of the burgh; and at either of these establishments he would have an opportunity of acquiring the rudiments of Latin learning and other knowledge, whether he may be supposed to have resided during his boyhood in Glasgow or at Kincavel.§ But probably his high rank would forbid his being sent along with the children of humble burghers to these seminaries. It was usual for the sons of noble-

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, v. ii. p. 283.

† Exegeseos Francisci Lamberti Avenionensis in Sanctam Divi Joannis Apocalypsim libri vii. 1528.

‡ It is possible, however, that *Glassguensis* may only denote that he was born within the diocese of Glasgow. If so, he was probably born at Stanehouse, near Hamilton, where Sir Patrick had a barony. For an account of the circumstances connected with the discovery of this interesting fact, see Note B.

§ A notice of the Grammar School of Linlithgow occurs in the Burgh records as early as 5th November, 1529. See Appendix V.

men in those times to be educated under the eye of the more learned clergy in the monasteries or in the cloisters of cathedrals; and Patrick Hamilton had several relatives who were in high office in the church. It has been already stated that his paternal uncle, David Hamilton, was a Bishop and Commendator of two Abbeys. He had another uncle by the mother's side, Alexander Stewart, who was Commendator of the abbeys of Whithorn and Inchaffray; and he was also related by his mother, though distantly, to Gavyn Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, one of the best scholars, as well as the most distinguished poet of his age. With such connections he could be at no loss for as good an elementary education as the country could then afford; and we are left at liberty to imagine the young scholar imbibing his first lessons of sacred and secular learning either under the eye of the poet-bishop among the silent mountains of Dunkeld, or in the solitary cloisters of Inchaffray, in Stratherne, or in the remote valley of Glenluce—*the valley of light.*

But, though ignorant of the names of his schools and schoolmasters, we are well enough informed of many characteristics of the family circle in which he moved, and of the times in which his early life was cast, and of the principal individuals with whom he must have come frequently into contact, to be able to form a pretty distinct conception of the influences under which he spent the first thirteen years of his life, and of the effects which these were calculated to have upon the development and formation of his genius and character.

Of his mother, unfortunately, we know less than of some others of his relatives, whose influence upon him must have been as nothing compared with hers. All we know of her is her close alliance by her father's side with the Royal house—her connection by her mother's side with the Sinclairs of Orkney and Roslin, one of the most lettered and accomplished families in the kingdom—and the interesting fact that her distinguished son cherished to the latest day of his life the most tender attachment to her, and amidst the flames of the stake commended her with his last breath to the sympathy and care of his friends and kindred;—a most touching testimony to the affectionate solicitude with which she had watched over his early years, and how indelibly she had stamped her image and memory upon his heart.

Of the character and life of his father, Sir Patrick, a good many notices of much interest have been preserved. In an age and during a reign when Scottish chivalry was in its zenith, Sir Patrick enjoyed the high reputation of being the first of Scottish knights; and he had the good fortune to find no fewer than three chroniclers—of as many different nations—to record and preserve the memory of his exploits. One of the three was Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, who gives an entertaining account of the chivalrous amusements of the court of James IV., and of one occasion in particular on which Sir Patrick, while yet a young man, highly distinguished himself:—

‘ Soon after this,’ he says, ‘ there came a Dutch (German) knight into Scotland, called Sir John Clokehewis, and desired fighting and justing in Scotland with the lords and barons. But none was so apt and ready to fight with him as Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Arran, being then a young man strong of body and able of all things, but yet, for lack of exercise, he was not so well practised as need were, though he lacked no hardiment, strength, nor courage in his proceedings. But at last when the Dutchman and he were assembled together, both on great horse within the lists, under the Castle-wall of Edinburgh—after the sound of the trumpet they rushed rudely together and brake their spears on ilk side on other, and afterward got new spears and ren-countered freshly again. But Sir Patrick’s horse outered (swerved) with him, and would noways encounter his marrow (rival), that it was force to the said Sir Patrick Hamilton to light on foot and give this Dutchman battle; and therefore when he was lighted, he cried for a two-handed sword, and bade the Dutchman light from his horse and end out the matter, saying to him, “A horse is but a weak warrant (to trust in) when men have most ado.” Then when both the knights were lighted on foot they joined pearly (stoutly) together with awful countenances, and every one strake maliciously at other, and fought long together with uncertain victory, while (till) at the last Sir Patrick Hamilton rushed manfully upon the Dutchman and strake him upon his knees. In the meantime the Dutchman being at the earth, the king cast his hat out over the Castle-wall, and caused the judges and men-of-arms rid and sunder them; and the heralds and trumpets blew, and cried the victory

was Sir Patrick Hamilton's. This Sir Patrick Hamilton was brother-german to the Earl of Arran, and sister-and-brother's bairn to the king's majesty, and was a right noble and valiant man all his days.*

Not long after this exploit, upon occasion of the marriage of James IV. to the Princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry VII., the knightly prowess and accomplishments of Sir Patrick fell under the notice of another chronicler, John Young, Somerset herald. Young had come into Scotland in the train of the English princess, and recorded all the incidents and circumstances of an event so full of promise to two kingdoms, with the most laudable minuteness and accuracy. In the herald's quaint narrative Sir Patrick appears before us in a highly appropriate character—as the chivalrous champion of right, and the gallant avenger of injured youth and beauty. Describing the many curious spectacles which were arranged for the entertainment of James and his bride on their way from Newbattle Abbey to Holyrood, he tells us that—

' Half-a-mile nigh to that, within a meadow, was a pavilion, whereof came out a knight on horseback, armed at all pieces, having his lady paramour that bare his horn. And by avantur (peradventure) there came another also armed that came to him and robbed from him his said lady, and at the absenting blew the said horn, whereby the said knight understood him, and turned after him and said to him, " Wherfore hast thou thus done?" He answered him, " What will you say thereto?" " I say that I will pryve (prove) upon thee that thou hast done outrage to me." The tother demanded of him if he was armed. He said, " Yea." " Well, then," said the other, " Preve thee a man and do thy devoir." In such manner they departed and went to take their spears, and renne (ran a course), without sticking of the same. After the course they returned with their swords in their hands and made a very fair tourney, and the caller (challenger) caused the sword for to fall of the defender. Notwithstanding the caller caused to give him again his sword, and began again the tourney of more fair manner; and they did well their devoir till that the King came himself, the Queen behind him, and caused them for to be departed. After this the

* History of Scotland, by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, p. 103. Edin. 1728.

King called them before him and demanded them the cause of their difference. The caller said, “ Syre, he hath taken from me my lady paramour, whereof I was in surety of her by faith (who had plighted to me her troth).” The defender answered, “ Sire, I shall defend me against him upon this case.” Then said the King to the said defender, “ Bring your friends and ye shall be appointed a day for to agree you.” Whereof they thanked him, and so every man departed them for to draw toward the said town. The names of those were Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother of Lord Hamilton, and Patrick Sinclair, Esquire; and there was come great multitude of people for to see this.*

It further appears from the Herald’s chronicle, that the Hamiltons bore a prominent and brilliant part in all the festivities of that auspicious and important occasion. Never had so much magnificence and luxury been displayed before at the Scottish court; and so sensible was the young King of the honour which Lord Hamilton and his house had done to their Prince and country, by the splendour of their appointments and the chivalry of their exploits, that he bestowed upon the family soon after the Earldom of Arran with all its ample domains, as the reward of their generous loyalty and patriotism.†

Nor was it only at the Scottish court that Sir Patrick signalled his skill and courage as a soldier and man-at-arms. He was more than once employed by his sovereign on embassies to foreign princes, and his name became renowned at the courts of England and France. In 1508 he was detained for some months, along with his brother, the Earl of Arran, in a kind of honourable durance at the court of Henry VII., who had taken offence at his son-in-law, their sovereign, for despatching them through England to France

* Leland’s Collectanea, v. iv. p. 288. London, 1770.—‘ The Fyancells of Margaret, eldest daughter of King Henry VII., to James, King of Scotland, &c., written by John Younge, Somerset herald, who attended the said Princess on her journey.’ Mr. Tytler, in noticing the curious incident given above, says that Sir Patrick Hamilton was the knight who assaulted the other and carried off the lady. It seems more correct to understand Young to say that it was Sir Patrick who suffered the wrong and challenged the other to combat—that he was the ‘caller,’ not the ‘defender.’

† For some additional notices of Lord Hamilton and Sir Patrick occurring in Somerset Herald’s chronicle, see Note C.

without the ceremony of a passport. The brothers were treated for a time with great distinction; had a grand reception at Richmond, where a crowd of English nobles and foreign ambassadors assembled to do them honour; and were invited some weeks later, when the court had removed to Greenwich, to display their chivalry, and justify in the lists their knightly renown. Sir Patrick's rival on this occasion was a brave Irish knight, who had arrived in England in the train of Gerard, the young Lord of Kildare; and Benedict André of Toulouse, the chronicler to whom we are indebted for these curious particulars, records, in his manuscript annals of the reign of Henry VII., that Sir Patrick, 'the renowned Scottish soldier, a man skilled in all the discipline of arms,' carried off the honours of the lists from his rival, 'not only in one but in all kinds of combat.'*

Such was the character and standing of our reformer's noble father. He was 'a very perfect gentle knight,'

'Meek in chalmer like ane lamb,
Bot in the field ane champion;'

as Sir David Lindsay describes his favourite hero William Meldrum of Binns and Cleish, another distinguished Scottish knight of the same period. For many years after his marriage, and while his children were yet young, Sir Patrick was seldom unemployed in some service that concerned the interest and honour either of his own house or of his king and country. No sight would be so familiar to his children at Kincavel as their valiant father's armour hanging bright and ever ready for use, against the wall. No tales would be so often told them as his own manifold adventures by flood and field, and the deeds of chivalry which he had seen in his time in many lands. Nor would any lessons be so often inculcated by the stalwart sire upon his two sons, James and Patrick, as the virtues of true knighthood and nobility—to be brave, to be generous, to be true—to be pure in honour, high in spirit, courteous in manners—to fear God and know no other fear.

* Historia Henrici VII., a Benedicto Andrea Tholosate. Cotton. MSS. Julius A. III. For some extracts from this curious chronicle, and from Ayloffe's Calendars, in respect to the Earl of Arran and Sir Patrick, see Note D.

Heroism is often hereditary in families; high courage and honour frequently descend, like other virtues and their opposite vices, from father to son; and what was only high natural virtue in the father may become Christian excellence in the son, when directed by the grace of God to Christian objects and interests, and baptised and consecrated by the spirit of the Gospel. The firm and severe virtue of John Luther, the miner of Mansfeldt, reappeared in his son Martin in the form of a spiritual heroism which assailed and defied all the power of Rome. The milder worth of George Schwarzerd, the armourer of Bretten, was reproduced in his son Philip Melancthon in the attractive forms of Christian gentleness and moderation.* It is no irrelevance, then, in a life of Patrick Hamilton—the first of Scotland's Reformation-heroes—to have brought into view a few scenes from the life of his knightly sire. The valiant parent begat a valiant son, and formed him by his teaching and example to magnanimity and honour. It needed only the grace of God to sanctify and exalt to the service of Christ the heroism which was inborn in a hero's son—to turn the scion of Scotland's bravest and most accomplished knight into her first champion and confessor of the truth of God.

It is worth while also to glance at the influences which must have operated upon the young reformer in the wider circle of his family connexions. These connexions, as we have already seen, were numerous and distinguished, and linked the family of Kincavel with many of the most ancient nobility of the realm, and even, by no remote ties, with the royal house itself. The Earl of Arran was not only one of the most powerful and active noblemen of the kingdom, but more than most of his peers in those rude times was a man of polished mind and accomplished manners. The English envoy, Dr. Magnus, who was much at the Scottish court during the minority of James V., informed Cardinal Wolsey that 'the Earl of Arran was not only strong of men and of good substance in goods, but lived in order and policy, as was said, above all other there, most like to the

* Melancthon alludes to this peace-loving characteristic of his family in the following terms:—‘*Laudatur Cephalus, Lysiae pater, cum diu rempublicam administrasset ad annum ætatis octogesimum usque, quod nunquam in foro litigarit. Possum de meo patre et de meo fratre et de me idem prædicare.*’—*Corp. Reformat.* vi. p. 710.

English manner.* The Earl and Sir Patrick appear to have been much attached to each other, and to have been closely associated in all their enterprises and exploits; and as the houses of Kincavel and Stanehouse were only a few miles distant respectively from the Castles of Kinneil and Hamilton—the Earl's two principal seats—the intercourse of the two families was doubtless close and frequent, and must have had its influence in forming the manners of Sir Patrick's children to more of 'the English manner' than they would otherwise have acquired.†

Among his connexions by the mother's side, the most exalted in rank was her half-brother John Stewart, Duke of Albany, who was chosen to be governor of the kingdom during the minority of James V. Albany was born and brought up in France, and was distinguished for the refinement and courtesy of his manners and address. When he first arrived at Dumbarton on the 18th of May, 1815, to take possession of the regency, we are told that 'his exotic elegance of manners, his condescension, affability, and courtly demeanour won all hearts.' ‡ And he was on the best terms with the Hamiltons; for the Earl of Arran warmly espoused his cause in the troubles which ensued, and supported his regency for some years with all his interest, in opposition to the faction of the Queen Dowager and her husband the young Earl of Angus. Patrick Hamilton could also, as we have seen, claim kindred with the Sinclairs of Roslin and Newburgh, and the Douglases of the great house of Angus, in both of which families the love of literature and ancient learning had found distinguished cultivators and patrons. It was at the suggestion of Henry Lord Sinclair of Newburgh, that his cousin Gavyn Douglas undertook his celebrated translation of the *Aeneid* into Scottish verse; and it was not Lord Sinclair's fault that the poet did not follow up his version of Virgil with another of

* State Papers, Part IV. Correspondence relative to Scotland and the Borders, vol. iv. p. 289.

† Kinneil, near Borrowstoneness, was one of the most ancient possessions of the house of Hamilton—a grant from King Robert the Bruce to Sir Gilbert Hamilton 'for his trew service and greit manheid,'—'and having generally been their residence when politics demanded that they should not be far from the capital, is very frequently mentioned in Scottish history.'—*Chambers's Gazetteer of Scotland. Statistical Account of Scotland.*

‡ Tyler's History of Scotland. James V.

Homer.* Both of these accomplished scholars may well be supposed to have taken an interest in the education of their promising young kinsman of Kincavel; and it is not at all improbable that Hamilton may have imbibed some of his early love of learning from their conversation and writings.†

Brought up in the midst of, and continually surrounded by, a circle of relatives so distinguished in rank and refinement, and adorned by so many manly virtues and scholarly accomplishments, it is no wonder that we should be told by our historians that the first Reformer of Scotland was distinguished for his high breeding and courtesy, for a strong sense of honour which made him scorn, at the bidding of fear, to desert the post of danger and duty, for a noble impatience and indignation at falsehood and hypocrisy, and for an intense love to all humane and liberal studies.‡ All this is no more than might have been expected from his birth and upbringing. With the best blood of Scotland in his veins, and with the most heroic and accomplished men in the kingdom to form the mind and manners of his early age, it was only natural that he should grow up to be what he afterwards became, when the endowments of Divine grace had been added to the gifts of nature and the accomplishments of education—not only the most zealous but the most courteous of evangelists—a confessor of the truth, as mild and modest and gentle in his bearing and manners, as he was firm and impregnable in his spirit and principles—a martyr as learned and cultured as he was fervent and self-devoted—a master of all the new learning of the age, as well as instinct with all its revived religious zeal and ardour.

But a young man of genius and susceptibility receives the impress of other schools and schoolmasters than those of the seminary and the family circle. The public events and transactions of his time become a school to give form and bias to his mind; and the public men who

* Dr. Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets. The Life of Gavyn Douglas.

† For some further notices of these connexions of the family of Kincavel, see Note E.

‡ Spottiswood takes notice of 'his courteous behaviour to all sorts of people'; and Buchanan characterises him as 'juvenis ingenio summo et eruditione singulari,' and also as being *natura vehementior*; so that 'hominis ambitiosi pravam gloriæ captationem ferre non potuit.'

figure most prominently in these events and transactions become his most influential schoolmasters. In Hamilton's instance, it is well worth remarking that the years when his mind must have begun to be alive to the interest of public affairs, were years signalised by national events of the greatest importance, which could not fail to call forth his patriotic feelings, and to stamp upon his mind indelible impressions. He was in his tenth year when the battle of Flodden was fought on the 9th of September, 1513—a national calamity which must have brought a shadow of patriotic grief and anxiety even over the light heart of boyhood. The danger, too, which the Hamiltons narrowly escaped on that occasion must have agitated with strong emotions every member of their powerful house. For shortly before the Scottish King resolved upon his fatal expedition to England, he had vowed in high resentment the ruin of the Earl of Arran, who, as admiral of the fleet which James had despatched to the assistance of France against England—the most powerful naval armament which had ever sailed from the Scottish shores—had cruelly disappointed his hopes by mismanagement and delay. The Earl was still absent in France with his numerous kinsmen and retainers—including, doubtless, Sir Patrick—when the field of Flodden was lost. Thus the King's untimely death was the means of rescuing Arran and his house from disgrace and ruin. The Hamiltons were the only great family in Scotland in which patriotic grief on that tragical occasion was not embittered by personal losses and bereavements, or which could find any solace under the stroke of a great public calamity in the thought of their own fortunate escape. Alternate grief and gratulation must have prevailed in the halls of Kinneil and Kincavel.

The prominent part taken by his uncle and father in the political transactions which followed was fitted still further to quicken and keep alive the interest of young Patrick Hamilton in public affairs. Returning instantly from France on hearing the news of the catastrophe at Flodden, the Earl of Arran was present at the Parliament which was hastily assembled to concert measures for the defence of the kingdom, and to take order for the carrying on of the government. It was Arran who first suggested, just before leaving France, that John, Duke of Albany, his cousin, should be appointed to the regency. Sir Patrick Hamilton was one of the envoys deputed to

carry the tidings of his appointment to the Duke, and to accompany him to Scotland;* and the regent rewarded the Hamiltons for their support by admitting their chief to a high place in his counsels, and by appointing him governor of Edinburgh Castle, one of the keys of the kingdom.

Hamilton was early destined by his parents to the church. With an ecclesiastical life in prospect, his attention would naturally be turned with peculiar interest to church transactions and events; and it is a remarkable coincidence, and not without significance in relation to his future vocation as a religious reformer, that the corruptions of the church began to be most flagrant at the very time when he must have begun to make observations upon ecclesiastical affairs.

The disaster of Flodden had an injurious influence upon the national church in two ways. The slaughter of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and several other dignitaries, followed soon after by the death of the aged Bishop Elphinstone, created an unusually large number of vacancies in the highest dignities of the church. The sees of St. Andrews and Aberdeen; the rich abbeys of Arbroath, Dunfermline, and Dryburgh; and the opulent Preceptory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Torphichen—all thrown open at once to the struggles of competitors, called forth a more than ordinary display of ecclesiastical covetousness and ambition. The loss of many aged nobles and experienced statesmen on the same fatal field had the effect, besides, of throwing a great preponderance of influence in the government into the hands of the superior clergy. The young noblemen who stood forward to occupy the room of their fallen sires were without experience in public affairs, and unavoidably deferred to the practised abilities of the prelates. The most dangerous facilities were thus presented to the clergy for grasping at political office and power, for taking the lead in the contests of faction, and for prostituting the influence of their sacred office to the ends of mere worldly ambition. The bishops were soon deeply engaged in the struggles of political strife; their palaces often became, during the long minority of James V., the head-quarters of contending factions; archbishops and bishops rose and fell in the state with the rise and

* Drummond's History of the Lives and Reigns of the Five Jameses. Edin. 1711. p. 81.

fall of the parties to which they had sold their strength and credit; the church was profaned and secularised; it became a kingdom in the world as worldly as the world itself, and it advanced at full career to that last stage of corruption and decay which preceded and prepared its final downfall.

The competition which took place for the vacant sees and abbeys, and especially for the primacy of St. Andrews, was one which drew into its vortex all the powers of the church and the state, and in which the interests and the feelings of almost every noble family in the kingdom became more or less directly involved. Even the courts of England, of France, and of Rome, were all engaged in the struggle, and lent their influence and weight to the rival candidates.

The best account of the affair which has come down to us is that of Spottiswood :—

‘ Three strong competitors fell at strife for the place—Gawane Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld; John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews; and Andrew Forman, Bishop of Murray. Gawane Douglas was nobly born (for he was brother to the Earl of Angus), and greatly esteemed for his virtue and learning. He, upon the Queen’s presentation (who at that time governed all public affairs), possessed himself with the castle of St. Andrews. Hepburn, a factious man, and of great power, procured the canons to elect him, and under this colour expelled Douglas’s servants, fortifying the house with a garrison of soldiers. Forman was provided by the gift of Pope Leo X., and made *Legatus a latere* (for by his many employments in France and at the court of Rome he had gained to himself much credit).* But the power of Hepburn was such as for a while no man could be found to publish Forman’s bulls. Alexander Lord Home (who, some write, was Forman’s uncle) was at last moved, by the dimission of Coldingham, in favour of his brother David, to take his part, and, coming to Edinburgh, proclaimed the Pope’s gift and Forman’s legation with great solemnity. This act divided the Homes and the Hepburns, who after that time were never in sound friendship. Douglas, not willing to be seen more in that contention, did quit his interest, leaving the quarrel to the other two, who did

* We have substituted Leo X. for Julius II. in Spottiswood’s account. Julius died on the 20th or 21st of February, 1513.

pursue it both—Hepburn, posting to Rome, laboured to have his election confirmed, but prevailed not; Forman, because of his legation, was followed of the churchmen for the most part, and acknowledged by all the vassals of the see; yet the jarring still continued, till the Duke of Albany's coming into the country, who, at his acception of the regency, brought them to a submission, and pacified all these strifes—distributing the benefices in this manner: to Forman he left the Archbischoprick of St. Andrews and Abbacy of Dunfermline, which was given him by the Pope *in commendam*. The Abbacy of Aberbrothock, which Forman likewise possessed, he gave to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Chancellor for the time. The prior, John Hepburn, was contented with a pension of three thousand crowns, which Forman was ordained to pay him during life; and upon his brother, Master James Hepburn, was the Bishoprick of Murray bestowed. Alexander Gordon, cousin to the Earl of Huntly, was made Bishop of Aberdeen; James Ogilvy, a brother of the house of Ogilvy, Abbot of Dryburgh; and George Dundas, of the house of Dundas, Commendator of the Preceptory of Torphichen. This partition did satisfy them all, and so they were fully reconciled.*

But what had become of the spirituality of the Church—what had become of even her canons and constitutions—when such a shameful transaction as this could take place on the open platform of the metropolitan see? Canonical election, royal nomination, even papal designation, cannot prevail to appoint the Church's highest bishop. The filling of the vacancy must be decided by the force of arms and by the potency of gold. The highest families in the realm—the Douglases, the Homes, and the Hepburns; the Gordons, the Ogilvys, and the Dundases—rush into conflict with one another to grasp the spoils of the Church. The Church's patrimony suffers all the ignominy of a simoniacial partition in order to satisfy their covetousness and ambition; and a reconciliation of all parties is effected only when all parties are gorged with ecclesiastical booty.

But there are some considerable omissions in Spottiswood's narrative which require to be supplied, and some important errors which need to be corrected, in order to bring out the whole extent of the

* Spottiswood's History of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 61. Lond. 1677.

ecclesiastical evils revealed by the transaction. The historian does not explain how the names of Beaton and Huntly appeared in the final distribution of the spoils; he says nothing of the part taken in the strife by the courts of England and France; and he falls into error in stating that Gavyn Douglas quitted his interest when opposed by Hepburn, and withdrew from the strife. Several original letters, written by Douglas's own hand, are still extant, which enable us to supply these omissions and to rectify these mistakes.*

The truth is, that Beaton took the field as a candidate for the primacy, so that there were four 'strong competitors,' and not three only. Without support either from the Queen Dowager or the Chapter of St. Andrews, he must have relied for success upon his influence as Chancellor of the kingdom, upon the support of the powerful nobles of his extensive diocese, and especially upon the Earl of Arran's credit, which was considerable at that time, at the court of France. His candidature is distinctly referred to in a letter of Gavyn Douglas, written in January, 1515, from which it appears that Henry VIII. had written twice to the Pope, in the interest of Douglas, to counter-work the solicitations of Beaton—a zeal in his behalf which Douglas hints would have been better directed against the arts of Forman, who was a much more formidable rival, and whom the poet, evidently not a little excited by the passions of the contest, characterises as 'that deceitful'—'yon evil-minded'—'yon wicked Bishop of Murray.'

The explanation of Huntly's part in the final settlement of the affair serves to bring out to view very distinctly the sad extent to which the highest offices of the Church were at the mercy of family influence and political intrigue. The Earl had overawed the Chapter of Aberdeen into the nomination of a Gordon by his armed presence at the capitular election; and as he had shortly before espoused the side of the Queen Dowager and the Douglases, whose power was viewed with suspicion by the Regent, his adherence to their interests would have been confirmed and rivetted if Albany had thwarted him by pressing his own nomination of Ogilvy to the see. It was good policy for the Regent to give way on such an occasion, when more was to be gained than lost by the concession, in the hope of converting a political enemy into a friend.†

* For these letters see Appendix I.

† Spottiswood (Lond. 1677), p. 106. Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis (Maitland Club), Preface, p. 51.

With these two additional facts before us, that Beaton had engaged the support of the western nobles, and that Huntly and the other northern nobility had espoused the cause of the Queen and the Douglasses, while Hepburn could rely upon the great families of Fife and the adjoining counties, we can easily account for the assertion made in an extant letter of the time, that almost the whole realm was opposed to the pretensions of Forman; and for the circumstance stated in another letter, that when Forman arrived from the continent in Scotland, the Regent found it necessary to confine him for a season within the precinct of his own monastery at Pittenweem.

With respect to the course taken by Gavyn Douglas, he was so far from quitting his interest in the competition—as has generally been represented—that his own letters show that he continued to press and pursue it with no ordinary degree of vigour and address. As late as the beginning of 1515, when the contest had lasted for nearly sixteen months, he still continued to style himself, and to be styled by others, the Postulate of Arbroath, one of the vacant dignities in dispute; he was still at that date in correspondence with his agents in London and Rome in pursuit of his claims; and he was still employing all his influence with the Queen Dowager Margaret and her brother Henry VIII. to obtain from the Pope a reversal of Forman's bulls. He even hoped to induce Henry to prevail upon the King of France, with whom he was now at peace, not only to solicit the Pope to rescind all that Louis had before solicited him to grant, but also to deliver up the person of Forman, who was still in France, ‘by polity or otherways,’ to be dealt with ‘as he deserved.’ If Forman were once in Henry’s hands, Douglas was confident that ‘all these three realms would be brought to great rest, for he is and has been the instrument of mekyll harm, and I dread shall be yet of mair, if he be not *snybbit*.’ ‘Tent to him,’ adds the excited Postulate, ‘tent to him, and yon Duke (meaning the Duke of Albany), if the King there (Henry) love the welfare of his sister and most tender nephews, and also the quiet of his own realm.’*

Douglas’s allusion in this last sentence to the interests of the English monarch’s own realm, evinces his dexterity in giving a colour of public interest to the views of his own personal ambition.

* Letter of Gavyn Douglas to Adam Williamson, Appendix I.

He was well aware, no doubt, that Henry's chief motive for interfering in this great ecclesiastical contest was to secure appointments to the vacant Scottish sees that would be most conducive, or least prejudicial, to English interests. The fact is that it was Henry who made the very first move in this game of contending interests and jurisdictions. We have not seen the fact mentioned by any of our historians—that he had no sooner heard, within the walls of Tourney, which he had just taken from the French, of the success of the Earl of Surrey at Flodden, and of the death of the King of Scots and his son, the young Archbishop of St. Andrews, than he wrote to the Pope to communicate the tidings of the victory, and to beg that none of the vacant Scottish sees might be filled up till he had laid before him his views of the appointments that would best accord with the interests of England. Nor did he even stop at that amount of interference with the highest affairs of an independent kingdom. As if his foot were already on the neck of a conquered nation, he demanded that the archiepiscopal see of St. Andrews should be reduced to a simple bishopric, and restored to its former alleged dependency as a suffragan see of the Archbishopric of York. He demanded also that the Priory of Coldingham should be reduced in like manner to its former connection with the Priory of Durham. It was but lately, he urged, that the erection of the see and the priory into independent Scottish dignities had been obtained, he might say extorted from the Holy See by the solicitation of the Scottish kings; and it had been done, he affirmed, with no small prejudice—indeed, to say truth, with a manifest injustice—to the rights of the Church of England. With this authentic evidence before us of the selfish and grasping views with which Henry of England threw himself into this contest, it was no honour to Gavyn Douglas that his nomination should have found so much support from the English monarch. It is too plain that he owed his interest in Henry's favour to his devotion to English interests, and that his country lost nothing by the frustration of all his efforts to mount into the vacant chair of the Primacy.*

The true reason why the learned Postulate was excluded from all share in the final settlement of this long contention was, that he

* For correspondence between Henry VIII. and Leo X., in relation to the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland in 1514–15, see Appendix II.

was at that very time a prisoner in the hands of the Regent, having incurred his resentment by obtaining a brief from Rome in the summer of 1515, through the influence of Queen Margaret and Henry, appointing him to the vacant see of Dunkeld. This proceeding on the part of the Queen was felt with good reason by the Regent to be an encroachment on his rights as the representative of the prerogatives of the Crown, one of the most valued of which was the right of nomination to vacant sees; while Henry's interference he justly resented as an affront to the independence of the kingdom. Albany acted with a vigour becoming his office. He detained in custody for eight days an English notary, who had been sent into Scotland by Lord Dacre with the Pope's briefs, addressed to the Queen and Gavyn Douglas, and who had been seized near Moffat by Sir Alexander Jardine; and he gave orders that Douglas should be apprehended and imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh. It is no wonder that in these circumstances Douglas was debarred from all participation in the spoils of the Primacy. The disappointed Postulate had a narrow escape of banishment from the kingdom, was moved about from prison to prison for a good many months, and it was not till the following year that he was allowed, in consequence of a reconciliation of political factions, to take possession of his see of Dunkeld.*

With what feelings this protracted struggle was viewed by the house of Hamilton we are at no loss to conjecture. The Earl of Arran had become the open enemy of the Douglases. After the Queen Dowager's ill-advised marriage with the young Earl of Angus, Arran put himself at the head of a powerful opposition to all her views and proceedings; and on one occasion, at the beginning of 1515, he carried his hostility so far as to lay an ambush of 600 men, provided with artillery, at a spot near Glasgow, for the purpose of seizing Angus on his way from that city, and putting him to death. Angus narrowly escaped falling into his hands. In such circumstances, the pretensions of Gavyn Douglas to the Primacy could find little favour with the Hamiltons.† All their interest and power were no doubt employed against him. Even at Kincavel, Sir Patrick's chivalrous devotion to the party of his brother and chief would forbid his taking side with his wife's accomplished

* Letter of Lord Dacre to the Privy Council, Appendix III.

† Letter of Sir James Inglis to Adam Williamson, Appendix III.

cousin; and young Patrick would not be without his share in the excited feelings with which his family must have watched the progress of the struggle, and canvassed the terms of the compromise in which it closed.

Flagrant as were the scandals connected with the whole of this ecclesiastical strife, and the revelations which it disclosed of the utter collapse of all order and discipline in the appointment to the highest offices of the Church, the settlement of Gavyn Douglas at Dunkeld, in 1516, proved the occasion of bringing into view some additional disorders, which were scarcely less offensive to decency and religious feeling. He had to force an entrance into his see by the terror of arms. The chapter had been compelled to elect a brother of the Earl of Athol, and the Stewart Highlanders were in possession of the cathedral and episcopal palace. When Douglas presented himself and produced his twofold warrant of entry from the Pope and the Regent of the kingdom, the rude soldiers of the mountains preferred their duty to their chief to the claims of all other authority in church and state. Cannon frowned upon the unfortunate bishop from the battlements of his own palace, and the steeple of his cathedral was converted into a stronghold of his enemies. There was no alternative left but to overcome force with force. The Douglases summoned to their aid the horsemen of Fife and Angus. The Stewarts retired into the mountains before this display of superior forces. The poet-bishop was instituted at the sword's point; and the cordial reception which he experienced at the hands of his affrighted canons evinced how little liberty they had enjoyed in conducting the capitular election, and how glad they were to be rid of the bishop who had been sent them from the Castle of Blair-Athol. Such were the *forced settlements* which sometimes took place in Scotland in those scandalous times,—settlements in which the force was not all on one side, as in later times, but was employed equally on both sides, and with alternate success. At Dunkeld the question who should be bishop was a question purely between Highland broadswords and Lowland spears. It was simply brute force that was used to put both the bishops in, and to keep both the bishops out.*

* Tytler's Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 180; Lond. 1833. Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets—Life of Gavyn Douglas.

It was the same with all the vacant abbacies and priories during those years of equal confusion and disorder in church and state. Everywhere the neighbouring barons, putting might for right, took possession of them, and filled them with their armed retainers. They had not even the moderation to wait for vacancies; they *made* vacancies as well as filled them up. ‘The Scots,’ wrote Magnus to Wolsey, in March, 1515, from Kirkoswald, ‘are in continual trouble and business amongst themselves—daily fighting, killing, and robbing. As for abbots and priors, they pass (to their places) by none ordinary process, but by the might, strength, and power of their friends and kinsmen temporal, in all their elections, and they depose them in divers places after the same manner.’* Magnus was perfectly well informed of what was taking place on the other side of the border. James Inglis, chaplain and secretary to Queen Margaret, draws the same picture in still more graphic colours. ‘The Master of Kilmaurs,’ says he, in a letter to Lord Dacre, dated 20th January of the same year, ‘with help of the Earl of Lennox, has entered in Kilwynning *again*, and put out the Lord Montgomery with slaughter and hurt on baith the sides. Cambuskenneth was tane by Sir Ninian Seton, but my Lord Erskine and the secretary (Patrick Panther, Abbot of Cambuskenneth) have put him out again. Every man takes up abbacies that may please—they tarry not till benefices be vacant, they take them ere they fall, for they tine (lose) the virtue if they touch ground.’†

These ecclesiastical disorders made a great noise throughout the country. They were of such a gross and palpable kind as to call forth remark among the lowest and least intelligent of the people. They would have done so among a people far less inquisitive and active-minded than the common people of Scotland are represented to have been even in those dark times. The observations of Inglis upon this point are extremely curious and valuable: ‘Ye know the use of this country—every man speaks what he will without blame; there is nae slander punished; *the man* hath more words than the *master*, and will not be content unless he ken his master’s counsel. The servants are cheekmates with the masters. The vilest boy must know his master’s counsel. They are so full of talk and

* Original letter in State Paper Office. See Appendix III.

† Original letter in Cottonian MSS. Caligula, B. L. 24. See Appendix III.

so inquisitive of tidings that they imagine things which were never thought. There is nae order among us. Nane of God's precepts are keepit except the first, and that full ill.'*

If the humblest of the common people were so wide-awake to what was taking place on the public stage, a young man of Patrick Hamilton's rank and culture and prospects could not have been an unconcerned spectator of scenes and transactions such as we have described, and which all fell out during the three years which preceded his leaving the country to prosecute his studies in foreign universities. As a youth of noble and ingenuous mind, looking forward to the ecclesiastical vocation, such disorders in the national church could not fail to excite in his mind a strong sentiment of concern and sorrow. We have no reason, indeed, to surmise that he had paid any attention as yet to the doctrinal teaching of the Church. The word Reformation had not yet been pronounced in Scotland, nor even in Germany; for the year 1517, when Luther's thunder began to mutter in the ecclesiastical firmament, was the very year when Hamilton in all probability left the country for the continent. But the shameless trafficking which he had seen carried on in the temple of God, and the numerous instances which had just occurred, of a flagrant disregard of common order and decency in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, could not fail to make a deep impression upon a thoughtful and open mind like his. What he had just seen would at least be remembered when his mind passed under a new class of influences on a foreign soil, and would predispose him to listen with candour to the intrepid voice which was soon to ring through all Europe, demanding in God's name a reform of the Church.

It was probably about the time of his leaving Scotland that the influence of his family procured for him from the Regent the appointment of Titular Abbot of the Abbey of Ferne, in Ross-shire. That dignity was vacated in 1517 by the demise of Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness;† and the revenues of the abbacy would furnish an ample *viaticum* to the young scholar, who was now to take his way to foreign lands and universities in search of knowledge.

* See original letter, Appendix III.

† Laing's Knox, vol. i. Appendix III. Pp. 501, 502.

CHAPTER II.

PATRICK HAMILTON IN PARIS AND LOUVAINE.

PATRICK HAMILTON NOT EDUCATED AT ST. ANDREWS, BUT AT PARIS—SCOTS' COLLEGE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS—COLLEGE OF MONTACUTE—STATE OF THE UNIVERSITY, 1517-21—INFLUENCE OF ERASMUS AND BUDÆUS—LETTER OF LUDOVICUS VIVES TO ERASMUS—HAMILTON AN ERASMIAN—LUTHER'S WRITINGS IN PARIS IN 1519—AGITATION—SENTENCE OF THE SORBONNE—MELANCTHON'S DEFENCE OF LUTHER, AND ATTACK UPON JOHN MAJOR—HAMILTON'S RESIDENCE AT LOUVAINE, AND PROBABLE INTERCOURSE WITH ERASMUS.

At tu beata Gallia,
Salve! bonarum blanda nutrix artium,
Orbem receptans hospitem, atque orbi tuas
Opes vicissim non avara impertiens;
Sermone comis, patria gentium omnium
Communis.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Hail! happy France
Bland nurse of science—hostess of the world—
As bountiful as rich, to all mankind
Thy learned stores imparting; affable
In polished speech to all—their common country, thou!

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IT has always hitherto been supposed that Patrick Hamilton received his university education at St. Andrews. The documentary evidence relied upon to support this supposition consists of two entries in the registers of that university,—the one dated June 9, 1523, which bears that *Magister* Patrick Hamilton was on that day *incorporated*, *i.e.*, admitted a member of the university after taking the academic oath; the other of date, October 3, 1524, which records that *Magister* Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, in the diocese of Ross, was received on that day into the Faculty of Arts. These notices, however, are quite insufficient to prove that he took his master's degree in St. Andrews. When attentively considered they prove that he was already a graduate when he became connected for the first time with that university.

The erroneous assumption referred to necessarily gave rise to a difficulty in accounting for the bias which his mind very early received in the direction of Lutheranism. ‘As early,’ says Dr. M‘Crie, ‘as the year 1526, and previous to the breach of Henry VIII. with the Romish See, a gleam of light was, *by some unknown means*, imparted to his mind amidst the darkness which brooded around him.’* But this difficulty is at once removed and a flood of suggestive light thrown upon the history of his mental preparation for his future work, by the fact, which has only now been ascertained, that he took his master's degree in Paris in the year

* Works of the Rev. Thomas M‘Crie. Life of Knox, p. 14, new edition.

1520, and must have left Scotland to enter upon his philosophical course in that university as early as 1517, if not a year earlier.

The evidence of this interesting fact is of the amplest kind. In 1527 Hamilton entered his name in the album of the University of Marburg, as a Master of Arts of Paris; and among the *débris* of the records of the University of Paris the volume of *Acta Rectoria* before referred to, beginning with the year 1520, bears that Hamilton was admitted among the *Magistri Jurati* in that very year, under the rectorate of Nicolas Maillard, who was nominated to that office on the 8th day of August.* But even if these documentary proofs of the point had not been forthcoming, the fact that he studied at Paris is sufficiently attested by the authority of Alexander Alesius, who was personally acquainted with Hamilton, and was indeed his convert and first biographer, and who tells us distinctly that Hamilton prosecuted his studies both in Paris and Louvaine. It was the fortunate discovery of this earliest account of the reformer—which has been buried for three centuries in the heart of a neglected Latin commentary on the Psalms—which afterwards led to the further discovery of the above documentary proofs at Marburg and Paris.†

To Paris, then, we must follow the young reformer in 1517, and endeavour to bring up before us, and to estimate the effect of, the powerful influences which were there brought to bear upon his opening mind. To pass from Scotland to France in those days was like passing out of the middle ages into the *régime* of modern times. Buchanan more than once confessed and complained that it was but seldom the muses visited a soil and a clime and an age so rude and uncultured as those of his native land; but France he hailed as the genial nurse of all the liberal arts—rich in learning and culture—generously dispensing her riches to the world—throwing open her hospitable gates to all mankind, and owned by them all as their common country.

It would have been interesting and of some importance to have

* See Note B.

† The title of the Commentary is the following :—‘ Primus Liber Psalmorum juxta Hebraeorum et divi Hieronymi supputationem. Expositus ab Alexandro Alesio D. in celebri Academia Lipsensi. 1554. Impressum Lipsiae in ædibus Georgii Hantzsch, cum gratia et privilegio ad sexennium.’

known in which of the numerous colleges of the University of Paris Hamilton was matriculated, and who were the masters that directed his studies. But here all documentary records fail us; nor is their absence compensated by any other information yet discovered. On these points we are left entirely to our own conjectures. One college there was which could not fail to have a peculiar interest to him, and would probably attract his choice—the venerable foundation of David Murray, bishop of Moray, as old as the days of Robert the Bruce—founded when Randolph, Earl of Murray, was in Paris as ambassador from Bruce to renew the ancient league between Scotland and France—known to Scotsmen by the name of the Scots' College, and among Frenchmen as the College de Grisy.* Here were educated John Major, doctor of the Sorbonne, Robert Wauchope, Archbishop of Armagh, George Buchanan, and many other eminent Scotsmen of that and preceding ages. Or quite as probably the superior literary fame of the College of Montacute, where many of his countrymen had become distinguished for liberal attainments, would determine his preference. It was in that college that Hector Boyce, first Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, had studied and professed the arts, and had made the acquaintance and friendship of Erasmus. It was there also, as Boyce informs us,† that Patrick Panther, the accomplished Latin Secretary of James IV., had resided; and Walter Ogilvy, ‘a man of abounding and beautiful eloquence;’ and George Dundas, equally skilled in Latin and Greek learning, and afterwards Preceptor of the Scottish Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and John Major, after he had finished his course of study at the Scots' College, and commenced Master and Regent in Philosophy. We may feel tolerably confident that it was in one or other of these two colleges that Hamilton took up his residence, as in either he would be able to secure the advantage of the learned society of his own countrymen. In 1517 and 1518 Major was still residing as a teacher of philosophy and theology in the College of Montacute, and was engaged in drawing up his History of Scotland, and in the publication of other works; and in the

* M'Kenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. ii. preface, p. 6.

† Boethii Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ;—under the Life of William Elphinstone.

Scots' College, Robert Wauchope, of Niddrie, was preparing himself during these years for his master's degree, which he took in 1519.*

We are fortunately at no loss to form a judgment of the intellectual and theological state of the university during the period of Hamilton's residence. The events and transactions of the academic annals during those years have been distinctly recorded by Bulæus, and the inner spirit and life of what was still the greatest school of philosophy and theology in Europe can be satisfactorily gathered from the letters of Erasmus and his learned correspondents. Erasmus and many of his friends had studied or professed letters and the arts at that seat of the muses, and, long after leaving it, continued to take the liveliest interest in its welfare, and to keep up correspondence with its most learned and liberal members.

The University of Paris was still destitute of any provision for the cultivation of the three learned languages. These were indeed growingly studied by its members, but this was done privately and spontaneously, under the stimulus of that revived taste for philology and ancient literature which was one of the most prominent features of the age. Such studies formed no part of the prescribed curriculum, and were still disliked and discountenanced by many persons of great authority in the university—by none more than by Natalis Bedda, who was at the head of the College of Montacute.† In this respect the University of Louvaine had taken the lead of all the great schools of Europe. In 1517 the *Collegium Busleidianum* was founded there under the influence of Erasmus, by the liberality of Hieronymus Busleidius, which was the first example of an academic institution established for the teaching of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.‡ It was not till 1529 that Francis I. imitated this example, by founding at Paris his celebrated Collegium Trilingue. As early, indeed,

* D. Joannis Majoris Vita—prefixed to 'Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Anglie quam Scotie. Edinburgi, 1740.' For a list of books published by Major at Paris at or near that time, see Note F.

† For proof that Bedda, one of the most violent of the Obsecrants, was Head of the College of Montacute, which produced so many Erasmians, see Note F.

‡ Letter of Erasmus to John Lascaris, in which he requests him to recommend a professor for the Greek chair of the college; dated Louvaine, 1518. *Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami, libri xxxi.* Londini, 1642. Lib. iii. epist. 12. p. 180.

as 1517, the year when Hamilton went to Paris, this design had been broached; and it was still in agitation in 1518; for, in a letter from Antwerp, dated the 9th of August of that year, addressed to M. Guil. Hueus, Dean of the Cathedral of Paris, we find Erasmus writing thus: ‘I hear, not without the highest satisfaction, that the University of Paris is well inclined to add the study of the three languages to those ancient studies in which she has unquestionably long held and still holds the first place, and to go back to those most pure fountains of truth, the sacred books; and that she has no sympathy with some men who think that such learning is hostile to true theology. Such men stand in their own light, for in truth there is no kind of learning which is more serviceable to all honest studies. This proposal I attribute in part to the candour of the French genius; partly to the wisdom of that excellent prelate, Stephen Poncherius, a man raised up by God to restore good learning and true piety; but above all I ascribe it to the excellent King Francis himself.’* Still nothing was done to carry out the design for ten years; and so late as 1527 we find Erasmus writing to his learned correspondent, Budæus, in the following terms: ‘I hear that the most Christian king is very favourable to the introduction of improvements in the course of academic study, and I have no doubt the matter will have a most happy issue if you will put your spurs in the sides of the willing horse. Believe me, there is nothing which more obscures the glory of that university than the practice of hurrying on youth, when they have scarcely had a mouthful of grammatical learning, to those sophistical studies by which they are armed for the scholastic palaestra. These studies have indeed their own use in training the judgment, but the knowledge of languages is plainly indispensable. Many are able to exercise a sound judgment without any skill in dialectics; but without a knowledge of language no one can so much as understand what he hears or reads. Some will cry out against the innovation at first, but the outcry will soon cease. The whole of our youth are already ripe for the change, and even the seniors who make a noise about it in public are secretly well inclined to this addition to the course of study. This is manifest from the tracts of Hochstraten, which im-

* Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterdami, libri xxxi. Lib. xi. epist. 22.
p. 570.

prove in style every day. The writings of Sutor and Bedda attest the same thing. Clithoveus himself becomes somewhat more polished than formerly ; nor is even Latomus altogether regardless of purity of diction. Longolius has left behind him such a reputation for a polished style, that among the Italians he passes for a very Cicero-nian.*

So far, then, as the authorised curriculum of study was concerned, Patrick Hamilton went through much the same course of intellectual discipline at Paris as he would have done if he had stayed at home, and pursued his academic studies at Glasgow or St. Andrews. But the inner life and spirit of the French university were very different from what he would have found in the older schools of his native country; and it was this difference which made his residence in Paris the turning-point of his life. Though Erasmus had long ago left it, his spirit and tastes were rapidly gaining ground among its regents and students, and becoming more and more decidedly the genius of the place. The love of philological studies and of ancient literature in preference to the arid and repulsive discipline of what were called the Arts—a dislike of scholastic subtleties and disputation, and a growing contempt for proficiency in such pursuits—admiration of the new race of scholars and men of letters who had sprung up in all the countries of Western Europe—and devotion, in particular, to the twin-stars, the Castor and Pollux of literature and learning, Budæus and Erasmus ;—these new tastes and sentiments, accompanied with a growing aversion and indignation against the narrow-minded and malignant *obscurants* who persecuted in France, in Flanders, in Germany, and in England, the Erasmuses, Reuchlins, and Colets of the age, were every day gathering new force and influence in Paris, and taking possession of all young and ingenuous minds. The *obscurants* were indeed to be found there in considerable numbers, as in all the other ancient

* Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami, libri xxxi. Lib. xxi. epist. 50, p. 1120. Bedda, Sutor, and Clithoveus were all doctors of the Sorbonne. Erasmus speaks of Bedda and Sutor in one of his letters, lib. xix. epist. 27, as ‘*Theologi simpliciter furiosi*.’ Latomus was a divine of the Faculty of Louvaine. Longolius wrote against Luther ; he died prematurely, and Erasmus tells us that France, Flanders, and Holland all claimed the honour of his birth ; but he asserts that he was no Frenchman, nor Fleming, but a Hollander. Epistolarum lib. xxvii. epist. 38.

seats of learning—men too old to learn, too arrogant to condescend to new teachers, and too deeply pledged to the maintenance of old ideas and forms to concede a hair's-breadth to what they looked upon as conceited and dangerous innovations. But these were not in general the men whom the young student came in contact with on his arrival at the university. The 'fresh men' fell into the hands of the regents or tutors of colleges, who were, for the most part, warm sympathisers with the literary enthusiasm of 'Young Europe.' Under such teachers the young scholar soon learned to laugh at the venerable lovers of darkness and stagnation who were still the nominal heads. The *real* heads and rectors of the university were Budæus and Erasmus—the acknowledged masters of the intellectual world.*

We have a conclusive proof of all this, and a very graphic picture of the state of things in the university, in a letter written in 1521 by Ludovicus Vives to Erasmus.† That learned Spaniard had been a resident in the university in former years, and had still many friends in it. Having availed himself of an opportunity of revisiting Paris in the year just mentioned, he sent Erasmus an account of what he had seen, and especially of the great changes which had come over the spirit of the place. His letter is extremely lively and amusing. Shortly before his visit, Vives had published an epistle addressed to Fortis, one of the Paris dialecticians, in which he had overwhelmed with ridicule the whole order; and he expected to find the sophists in very bad humour with him. 'But matters turned out,' says he, 'much better than I expected. My fears proved to be mere fancies. No sooner had I sent my servant round to my friends to make them aware of my arrival than they flocked in

* To Budæus, who lived in liberal circumstances at Paris, Buchanan paid a high and elegant tribute in the following lines:—

Sunt universi splendor orbis Galliæ,
Et Galliarum splendor est Lutetia,
Splendor Camœnæ sunt sacrae Lutetiæ;
Budæus ornat unus, innocentia
Splendore vitæ, literis, solertia,
Orbem, Camœnas, Galliam, Lutetiam.

Epigrammatum lib. ii.

† Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami, libri xxxi. Lib. xvii. epist. 10. p. 752.

crowds to salute me and congratulate me on my coming. The next day and all the time I was in Paris they brought to me many of the dialecticians of greatest name in the university. The conversation soon turned upon their favourite studies and my own, and I did all I could to keep out of sight my "Epistle to Fortis," and to disguise the fact that I was the author. But, as bad luck would have it, Fortis himself was present, and could not long keep his tongue off the subject. When it was referred to they all laughed heartily, and assured me that they not only took it in good part, but felt really obliged to me for being at the pains to expose such ridiculous follies. The spirit of Paris is very different now from what it was when I was studying philosophy there, though some, of course, are still obliged to accommodate themselves to old notions, and have not courage to throw off the mask. One of my own countrymen there, a relation of the King of Portugal, on tasting the bitterness of the old sophistry, conceived such a disgust at it that he has entirely devoted himself—I might almost say, drowned himself, head and ears over, in the new learning. Nor is it only princes and noblemen who leave sordid studies to sordid minds, but the leading theologians of the university as well. You would scarcely believe how *candid* they have become, and what a much better interpretation they put upon everything than they used to do. They confess their ignorance, they lament it, they feel no envy at those who know more than they do, and they encourage others to learn what they have never learned themselves. I was often at their tables, and our intercourse was extremely agreeable. On such occasions we had not spoken three words before the conversation turned upon you. My dear Erasmus, I would tell you all if you would give me leave to write a letter full of your own praises. But I dare not say to yourself how highly they lauded your labours in the restoration of Jerome, and in giving back to the New Testament its own integrity—a work, they remarked, of more use to Christian piety than anything that has been cried up in the schools for a thousand years back. Nor must I say how much they admire your "Paraphrase," and what delight they have in the "Adagia," the "Copia," and your other writings on secular subjects. Even the "Moria" is a great favourite with them all, and gives offence to none. I could give you the names of more than ten theologians who promise you all

the service and assistance in their power. There is nothing which they will not do for you. Their houses are open to you. "Let him come and live among us, and our means, our families, our friends, are all at his service." They beg and implore you to go on as you are doing, and never to mind the cacklings of the ignoramuses. These men will do everything they can to rid the theological disputations of quibbles and trifling. Indeed, matters have already come so far that, in the Sorbonne itself, if any one stands forward with an argument made up of the old cobwebs, the audience instantly knit their brows, interrupt him with loud clamours, and drive him out of the schools. It is the same at the philosophical disputations. Any one who presents himself there with a cargo of the old subtleties, which used to be such wonderful favourites with our callow scholastics, is driven off now-a-days with a storm of shouts, and hisses, and clappings. You will be delighted, I know, to hear all this, for the love you bear to sound studies, as much so as I was to see it. Many things were calling me away from Paris, but for a long time my friends, old and new, would not let me go, and they overwhelmed me with so many dinners that my digestion was at last much out of order. At length a letter which arrived from Cardinal Croius, my patron, unexpectedly delivered me; and so I bade them, with all their breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, and suppers, and all their dainties and confections, great and small, a hearty farewell.'

This lively epistle found Erasmus at Louvaine, in rather low spirits and out of humour, and he tells Vives in reply that it had cheered him up amazingly. 'Your visit to Paris,' says he, 'was a truly happy one, and you have described it so graphically that I almost imagined I was there along with you. Really you must have been born under a lucky star, to be a deserter from your old comrades the sophists, and yet to have got on so well in your skirmishes with them; and at Paris, too, of all places in the world—the very kingdom and citadel of dialectics, where one would have thought you were in danger of being stoned or stung to death with hornets. I do indeed rejoice in the progress of sound studies at Paris, not only on public grounds but for personal reasons; for I am an old student of the place, and spent some years there not at all unpleasantly. But what may we not hope for hereafter when the Sorbonne, leaving off verbal subtleties, embraces a solid and true

theology? I rejoice that the muses, long exiles from our public gymnasia, are now recalled. I would have them received back, however, on the condition that they are only to put an end to barbarism and trifling, not to destroy other branches of discipline which are indispensable, not to hinder but to help the acquisition of other necessary knowledge. For polite letters are not the only thing needful to be attended to. The Italians go too far in that direction and in too much of a Pagan style. When they have crammed into some verses the names of Jove, Bacchus, Neptune, Cynthius, Cylle-nius, they imagine themselves absolute scholars. Then only do we give to polite letters their proper place and honour when we mingle them as a *condiment* with other studies of greater gravity and importance.' *

Erasmus then goes on to express his surprise that the scholastics of Louvaine should be so much behind those of Paris, Cambridge, Oxford, Complutum, and other universities, in love for the revived learning of the age; from which it would appear that though Louvaine had taken precedence of Paris in founding a college for the learned languages, the spirit of the university of that city was really less Erasmian than that of Paris. In Flanders it was the college established by the liberal views of one wealthy citizen that gradually created the spirit of liberal study. In Paris it was the enlightened spirit continually growing stronger in the educated mind of the country which at last called into existence the Collegium Trilingue of Francis the First.

With such a graphic picture before us as these learned letters exhibit of the spirit and condition of the University of Paris at the time when Patrick Hamilton became a student and graduate within its walls, we could have easily conjectured the effect which would be produced upon his intellectual views and tastes, even if we had not been distinctly informed of his characteristics in these respects. But Knox records, in his "History of the Reformation in Scotland," that Hamilton "was well learned in philosophy; he abhorred sophistry, and would that the *text* of Aristotle should have been better understood and more used in the schools than it was; for sophistry had corrupted all in divinity as in humanity."† That is to say, he pre-

* Epistolarum, &c., lib. xvii., epist. 11.

† Works of John Knox, edited by David Laing, Esq. Edin. Vol. i. p. 15.

ferred the Greek text of Aristotle himself to all his scholastic commentators, and wished the originals of his treatises to be made use of in the schools instead of barbarous and corrupt Latin translations—a wish which indicates pretty plainly that the Greek tongue was a favourite with him, and that he had attained to some proficiency in it. It was partly owing to their own ignorance of Greek that the scholastics were in general so hostile to the use of the Greek originals. The only men who advocated the use of them were those who could make use of them themselves. Alexander Alesius bears the same testimony to Hamilton's intellectual attainments and views. 'He was a man,' says he, 'of excellent learning and a most acute mind. He was for banishing all sophistry from the schools, and recalling philosophy to its sources—that is, to the original writings of Aristotle and Plato.' The addition of Plato's name in this account is significant and interesting. It is well known how much the love of Plato's 'divine philosophy' had revived in Italy and Western Europe in that and the preceding age, and how strongly the old universities had opposed this new taste, in order to maintain the old monopoly of Aristotle. The University of Paris in particular had solemnly condemned the writings of John Picus Mirandulanus, the chief reviver in Italy of long-lost Platonism. The reference, therefore, to Hamilton's opinion in favour of a return to Plato, as well as to the pure text of Aristotle, makes it evident that his intellectual views were of the most liberal and comprehensive character, and that the lofty and beautiful intuitions of the Master of the Academy had charms for him, as well as the strong and clear understanding and logic of the Stagyrite. As has recently been remarked of him, in the latest notice that has appeared of his name in the literature of the continent: 'Nature had given him a feeling of the lofty and the noble. She had made him susceptible of enjoying the refined pleasures of culture and science, and to be sensible of the charm which lies in the writings of the ancients.'* While it remained unknown that Hamilton had been a student of philosophy at Paris, it was as difficult to account for the enlarged and enlightened character of his philosophical views, as for his early adoption of the reformed theology. We have now the explanation before us. He

* Herzog's Real-Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 856. Article on Hamilton, by Dr. George Weber.

was an Erasmian as well as a Lutheran, and he imbibed his Erasmianism in the University of Paris.

But it was not only the spirit of Erasmus that Hamilton came into communion with on the banks of the Seine. During his residence there an impulse was propagated to the university from a soul immensely more potent and world-subduing than the polished and timid scholar of Rotterdam. In 1519 the strong hand of Luther knocked violently at its gates, and the sound reverberated through all its studious halls and cloisters. ‘In that year,’ writes Bulæus,* ‘a great many copies were brought to Paris of the Leipzig disputation between Luther and Eek; twenty of which Magister John Nicolas, quæstor of the Gallic nation, purchased on the 20th of January, by appointment of the nation, for the use of those who were deputed by the university to examine the book, and of any others who might wish to report their opinion thereon to the university.’

‘In 1520,’ he continues, ‘the universities of Cologne and Louvain condemned many of Luther’s books to the flames, and the same thing was done with many of them in Germany. In an instant Luther blazed with resentment, and inveighed against those universities with the severest reproaches and calumnies. “What confidence,” he exclaimed, “can be felt in the judgment of tribunals whose sentences have seldom been right, which have often, nay, almost always, been in the wrong? It is a rule of law that he who has once been convicted of wickedness shall be always presumed to be wicked. Nowhere, never, and in no case whatever ought confidence to be put in these *Magistri Nostri*, or any of them, for it is certain that their judgments hitherto have not only been inconstant and precipitate, but erroneous too, and heretical and blind. Look at the unjust condemnations which they passed upon William Occam, undoubtedly the prince of scholastic doctors, and the most ingenious of them all; and upon John Picus Mirandulanus too, and Laurentius Valla, and John Reuchlin. Nobody ought to trust them, and nobody will, save such as an angry God has judicially given over to the delusions of error.”’

That same year, 1520, Frederick Duke of Saxony, the patron of

* *Bulæi Historia Universitatis Parisiensis.* 1673. Tom. vi., *sub anno A.D. 1519.*

Luther, wrote to the Faculty of Theology to ask their opinion of Luther's doctrines. Magister Natalis Bedda laid the letter before the university on the 2nd of March, and the conclusion come to, as recorded in the acts of the Gallie nation, was—‘that no answer can be given to the Duke of Saxony nor to any other person upon this subject, until all the four faculties have deliberated respecting it.’

The doctors of the Sorbonne spent more than a year in the examination of Luther's writings. Not only all Paris but all Europe waited anxiously for their decision. For a time the issue seemed doubtful, for Lutheran votes were not wanting even in the Sorbonne. But at length the champions of the old darkness prevailed over the friends of the new light, and the university solemnly decreed, on the 15th of April, 1521, in the presence of students from every country in Christendom, that Luther was a heretic, and that his works should be publicly thrown into the flames. But it was easier to make an *auto-da-fé* of the reformer's books, and to scatter their ashes to the winds, than to suppress the agitation which these acts produced in the public mind.

The Parisian ‘Act’ of what Erasmus calls Luther's tragedy did not take end when the Sorbonne intended it should. In a few months after the publication of the sentence of the theologians, there arrived in Paris ‘A Defence of Martin Luther against the Furibund Decree of the Parisian Theologasters,’ from the pen of young Philip Melancthon of Wittemberg.* Melancthon's name was already known throughout Europe as one of the first scholars of the age. Men were eager to hear his young but already potent voice. His attack upon the Sorbonne, as pungent as it was polished, and as contemptuous as it was elegant, made an immense sensation. When one of the youngest authors of the day, and a professor in one of the youngest schools of Europe, came forward to utter his scorn for the learned fathers of the Sorbonne itself, men were either astounded at his presumption or in transports of admiration at his spirit and gallantry. The printers and booksellers of Paris poured forth edition after edition

* *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quæ Supersunt Omnia.* Edidit Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider. Halis Saxonum, 1834. Vol. i. p. 398. *Adversus Furiosum Parisiensium Theologastrorum Decretum;* Philip. Mel. pro Lutherò *Apologia.*

of the audacious pamphlet. On the 3rd of October, 1521, the agitation had spread from the university to the senate of Paris. Full of orthodox zeal, or of politic concern for the public peace, the senate communicated to the university their surprise that its rulers should be so remiss as to allow suspected and heretical books to be openly published and sold; and in particular, that a tract of Philip Melancthon, in defence of Martin Luther, should be hawked everywhere about the streets, and the university doing nothing to put a stop to it. The senate proffered their assistance to repress the insolence of the booksellers, and the university, backed by their authority, commenced proceedings against them. In the *Fasti Reectorii* it is recorded that several booksellers and printers were put in prison for printing and selling certain books against the determination of the Faculty of Theology against Martin Luther; and all the pamphlets entitled 'Against the Furibund Decree of the Theologasters of Paris,' were committed to the flames.

These notices of what occurred in Paris in connection with Luther's cause at the period of Hamilton's residence in the university, are sufficient to show how strongly his attention must have been drawn to the Reformation movement in its very earliest stage. He must have found himself surrounded during those years with a violent ferment of opinion and feeling on the subject of religion and the church. Nor are we to imagine that he would find the weight of opinion and feeling around him to be all or almost all on the conservative side. There were many men in the university who had far more sympathy with Luther than with the Beddas and the Sutors of the Sorbonne. We might conjecture as much from the words of Vives and Erasmus already quoted; but we find still stronger language than theirs made use of by one of the regents of the university, in regard to the improved spirit and tone which appeared in many of the Parisian theologians. In 1518 Nicolaus Beraldus, an eminent scholar, in a letter to Erasmus,* assured him of the theological sympathy of all the best men in the university:—'All the most learned men here, Budæus, Ruellius, Ruzæus, Delvinus, and the excellent Bishop of Paris himself—the Mæcenas of our age—are anxiously looking for the new edition of your Greek Testament.

* Epistolarum D. Erasmi, &c., liber xi. epist. 13, p. 563.

Never was the work of any author so impatiently expected. In fact, I perceive that what I have long ardently wished to see is about to come to pass,—I mean that our theologians, too long and too much devoted to thorny and sophistical trifles, will desert the factions of the Scotists, the Occamists, and the Thomists too, and turn their attention in great numbers to the ancient and true theology; that is, if you will only go on as you are doing, and assert the dignity of the learning which employs itself in the study of those heavenly mysteries.' In a second letter, dated the following July, Beraldus tells Erasmus that his new edition was now in the hands of very many of the learned, including among them divines of the greatest celebrity. 'These men now love you as much, I had almost said as extravagantly, as before they hated you without cause. Your work has made you many friends. Even the most refractory and hopeless of your enemies have been almost overcome by the arguments which you have employed in your defence.'

These are interesting notices of the state of the theological mind of Paris, a few months before Luther's Disputation at Leipzig came into the hands of the Sorbonne. The improvement which had taken place was due to Erasmus, and it prepared the way for further progress. The thinking of Erasmus on the subjects of theology and the Church was of that transitional kind which may afford an uneasy sort of standing-ground for the mind which excogitates it, but which only serves to put other minds into motion from their old positions, without finding for them new and settled convictions. The great majority of the minds which Erasmus influenced went a great deal farther than Erasmus himself. His disciples were not so timid and calculating as their master. Being in general young men, unattached and unpledged to old parties, they had far less to lose than he had by carrying out his principles to their proper logical issues. Erasmus, in innumerable instances, was only a stepping-stone to Luther. Erasmus, in fact, had helped Luther himself into Lutheranism, and was not displeased at first with the bold energy of his scholar. Many of the doctors and monks of Rome would never be convinced by all his protestations that he was not a Lutheran; and he lived to complain that he was worse handled by the Sorbonne than Luther himself had been. But he dreaded noise and tumult and personal danger far more than he loved truth and right. 'I will be no author

of confusion and tragedies,' cried the pale-faced scholar, as he kept learnedly forging the weapons which others were to wield in exciting these very tragedies. 'It is no aim of mine,' wrote he to Beraldus, in reply to the letters just referred to, 'to explode Thomas or Scotus from the public schools. Such a task is beyond my strength; and even if it were not, I am not sure that it is a thing to be wished, till we see some better sort of doctrine ready to take their place. As for what others are attempting in that line, let *them* look to it—I will never be the author of such a revolution. It is enough for me if theology be only handled with more good sense than it has been hitherto, and if men will only go to the evangelical sources for what the most of us have been accustomed to draw from pools not over pure.'* And Erasmus was as good as his word. He was mean enough to desert and abuse the Reformation, after being the first reformer. But many who called him their first master took Luther for their second, and went boldly forward with the ardent German, to the great mortification of the phlegmatic Hollander.

There were many examples of this progress among the Erasmians of Paris as well as everywhere else, and such examples could not be without their effect upon a mind so open and progressive as that of Patrick Hamilton. He was already, we have seen, an Erasmian in literature and philosophy, and as such he would naturally incline to the side of Luther, especially as Erasmus himself was generally understood at first to be favourable to Luther's cause. So long as the enemies of Erasmus were also Luther's enemies, it was inevitable that the friends of Erasmus should pronounce themselves Luther's friends.

There was one incident in the controversy at Paris which must have struck upon Hamilton's mind with peculiar force, and have filled him with a sensation of surprise and perhaps chagrin. This was the unceremonious freedom used by Melancthon with the high fame and standing of Hamilton's erudite countryman, John Major. Major was one of the greatest celebrities of the Sorbonne, and a man of whom Scotland had reason—as celebrity then went in the world—to be proud. But Melancthon singled him out from all the Sorbonists as an object of ridicule to the whole of Europe. 'I have seen,'

* Epistolarum lib. xi. epist. 15.

he exclaimed, ‘the commentaries on Peter Lombard of John Major, a man, I am told, who is now the prince of the Paris divines. Good heavens! What wagon-loads of trifling! What pages he fills with disputes whether there can be any horsemanship without a horse—whether the sea was salt when God made it—not to speak of the many impieties he has written about the freedom of the will, not only in the teeth of Scripture, but of all the scholastics besides! If *he* is a specimen of the Parisians, no wonder they are all the enemies of Luther.’ *

It was a remarkable instance of that providential ordering of events in the lives of God’s servants, by which they are trained and adapted for their after work, that Patrick Hamilton should have been brought to Paris at the very crisis of time when that great school was first roused to alarm by the advent of Luther, and when every doctor, regent, and student was compelled to give heed to the bold words of the German Hercules who had started up to do battle with the church of the popes. Paris was then, and had long been, the first theological school in Christendom. The Sorbonne was the citadel of the old doctrines; the other universities were but out-works. It was in the Sorbonne that both the inertia and the activity of resistance to the new theology existed in the highest degree. It was when posted at that point, therefore, that Hamilton could best observe the shocks of the great theological war—the attack and the defence—the assaults of Luther and the Lutherans as they rushed forward with loud shouts to demolish the old munitions; and the vigorous sallies of the beleaguered Church to repel the aggressors. It was impossible that the young reformer could have been anywhere better stationed, to learn all that was strongest and weakest both in the new and the old theology.

How long he remained in Paris after taking his master’s degree, towards the close of 1520, we have no means of knowing. But we have the authority of Alesius, as already mentioned, for the fact that he studied at Louvaine as well as Paris; and as he graduated at the latter, not the former, it is most natural to suppose that he went to Louvaine after being at Paris, not before. It is also an ascertained

* “Bone Deus! quæ plaustra nugarum! Quot paginis disputat utrum ad equitandum requiratur equus, &c. . . . Cum tales sint Parisii, non est quod mireris, lector, cur parum propitii sint Lutherio.”

fact, that it was not till the summer of 1523, nearly three years after his graduation, that he appeared at St. Andrews. It is exceedingly probable, therefore, that the bulk of these intervening years would be spent between Paris and Louvaine. He was still only a stripling of sixteen when he became a Master; he was deeply imbued with the love of those liberal studies of which Paris and Louvaine were the chief centres; he could not be otherwise than warmly interested in the further progress of Luther's movement, which could much better be observed from these great foci of intelligence than from the remote shores of Scotland; and provided with ample revenues, he was under no necessity of hastening his return. And whether he prolonged his stay in the French capital for some considerable time after his graduation, or went immediately to Louvaine, was much the same in effect for the ends of his theological progress. The two universities were in close and constant communication with each other; all the acts and writings of the one were immediately known at the other; and he might be easily cognisant of every act of the German drama that was passing at Paris, or Cologne, or Wittemberg, or Worms, while breathing the fine air of Louvaine, which Erasmus prized so much; or conversing there, as we may even be allowed to imagine, with Erasmus himself.

His object, it is pretty evident, in visiting Louvaine, must have been to avail himself of the advantages of its Trilingual College. Its theological school could have no attraction for him. It was the bitter enemy and tormentor of Erasmus, and could find little favour with a young and enthusiastic Erasmian. Perhaps, however, he went partly with the view of being introduced to Erasmus himself, and enjoying the advantage of his conversation. It is certain that Erasmus was living in Louvaine and its neighbourhood during 1521, and that he did not finally leave it for Basle till the fall of that year. It had been his literary headquarters for some years. It was there he kept his library, and produced several of his greatest and most useful works. There was an interesting link of connection, too, subsisting between the illustrious scholar and his young disciple, which must have given a zest of personal interest to their meeting at Louvaine, if they really met. Patrick Hamilton was a kinsman of Erasmus's former pupil, Alexander Stewart, son

of James IV., the young Archbishop of St. Andrews; and Erasmus still wore upon his finger a signet-ring, engraved with an image of 'Terminus,' which Stewart had given him, along with other proofs of his attachment, on leaving him at Sienna to return to Scotland.* It would have been interesting if we could have known with certainty what is now only a probability, that Erasmus, who had already contributed not a little to revive a taste for polite learning in Scotland, contributed also, by his conversation as well as his writings, to form the character and the qualifications of Scotland's first reformer.

* *Epistolarum, &c., lib. xxxi., epist. 49.* Erasmus has allusions to Stewart in several others of his letters.

The author had hoped to be able to procure from Louvaine some notices of Hamilton's residence in that University; but he is informed, on good Belgian authority, that 'les bons Jésuits sont avares des documents dont nous pouvons faire usage.'

CHAPTER III.

PATRICK HAMILTON IN ST. ANDREWS.

DEATH OF SIR PATRICK HAMILTON—INCORPORATION AT ST. ANDREWS—POSITION OF THE CITY, AND STATE OF THE UNIVERSITY—GEORGE LOCKHART—JOHN MAJOR—THE PROVOST AND MASTERS OF ST. SALVATOR'S—THE PRINCIPAL AND REGENTS OF ST. LEONARD'S—REVIVAL OF NATIVE AND CLASSICAL LITERATURE IN SCOTLAND—HAMILTON'S INTIMACY IN THE PRIORY—HIS ATTAINMENTS IN CHORAL MUSIC—STUDIES IN THEOLOGY—AN IRISH DEAN AT ST. ANDREWS—HAMILTON'S VIEWS OF MONACHISM—HIS ORDINATION AS A PRIEST.

Literis et eruditione percelebris sancti Andreæ schola universalis. . . . Prodiere hoc ex gymnasio insigni doctrina viri complures, qui eruditione et morum probitate Scotorum ecclesiæ haud parvum attulere splendorem.—*Boethii Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ.*

CHAPTER III.

PATRICK HAMILTON IN ST. ANDREWS.

WHEN Patrick Hamilton returned at length to Scotland he went back to a fatherless home, and found his noble mother a widow. The gallant Sir Patrick had fallen a victim to the factious struggles of the Hamiltons and the Douglases. He perished on the 30th April, 1520, in the conflict on the High Street of Edinburgh, which is known in Scottish history by the name of ‘Cleanse the Causeway;’ and the circumstances of his death were characteristic of the brave and high-spirited baron. Like a true knight of chivalry, he was as anxious to avoid bloodshed, when it could be avoided with honour, as he was ‘ready, aye ready,’ for inevitable battle; and when Gavyn Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, alarmed by the arrival of armed bands of his kinsmen at the gates of Edinburgh, hastened to the castle to implore the Earl of Arran, the great rival of his house, to prevent the effusion of blood, Sir Patrick nobly seconded the entreaties of the prelate. But such peaceful counsels did not suit the violent and bloodthirsty temper of Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart, the Earl’s son, who was standing by. Perceiving that his father was disposed to yield to Sir Patrick’s solicitations, he flung at the gallant knight the intolerable insult that ‘he had no will to fight in his friends’ action nor quarrel, though it were never so just.’ ‘At this,’ continues Lindsay of Pitscottie, ‘Sir Patrick was grieved, and burnt in anger as the fire, and answered the said Sir James in this manner: “Bastard Smaik, thou liest falsely. I shall fight this day where thou darest not to be seen;” and with this he rushed rudely out of their lodgings, and passed to the High Street

in a furious rage. When the Earl of Angus saw the Hamiltons coming, and Sir Patrick in such a fury, he knew well there was nothing but fighting, and he cried on his men to save Sir Patrick if they might; but he came so far before the lave that he was hastily slain, and with him the Master of Montgomery, with many other gentlemen and yeomen, to the number of threescore twelve persons.' Thus died Patrick Hamilton's valiant father.*

On the 9th of June, 1523, as before noticed, Patrick Hamilton was incorporated in the University of St. Andrews, by which he became a member of the university, without being admitted to any of its faculties; and it was a curious circumstance that the famous Scottish theologian whose name he had seen so freely handled on the continent, and found to be equally venerable and ridiculous in the eyes of the opposite factions of the old and the new learning, was incorporated at St. Andrews on the very same day. John Major had been brought over from Paris in 1518 by Archbishop James Beaton, to assume the office of Principal in the University of Glasgow, and had taught philosophy and theology there for the last five years. Beaton had a high opinion of his learning and labours, and induced him, soon after his own promotion to the Primacy, to follow him to St. Andrews. He was incorporated under the high-sounding titles of the Venerable Magister Noster Magister John Major, Doctor of Theology of Paris, and Treasurer of the Chapel Royal of Stirling.

It was not till the 3rd of October, 1524, that Hamilton was admitted, *ad eundem*, in the Faculty of Arts. We may safely infer, from his seeking this admission, that after making himself acquainted with the state of the university and the character of its members, he had adopted the resolution of continuing in residence for some time to come, and of taking some share in the business of the Faculty. To a man of his liberal tastes and pursuits St. Andrews had undoubtedly more attractions than any other city of the kingdom. It had no single resident, indeed, who had so much of the humanitarian spirit and culture of the age as Hector Boyce of Aberdeen; but with three colleges, and six churches, of which one was the metropolitan

* The History of Scotland, &c., by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie. Edinburgh, 1728. p. 121.

church of the realm, and three flourishing monasteries, one of which was the most dignified, wealthy, and learned religious house in the kingdom, St. Andrews could boast in those days, and for half a century afterwards, of possessing a larger circle of educated society than any other city of Scotland.* It had, besides, all the importance and interest of the ecclesiastical centre and capital of the kingdom. Its castle was the chief residence of the Primate. It was the resort of the dignified clergy of the whole realm. It was frequently the meeting place of the provincial councils of the church. It was the headquarters of ecclesiastical law and jurisdiction. Whether Hamilton's object, therefore, was to add to his learning, or to make himself intimately acquainted with the condition and working of the national church; to improve his qualifications for the office of preaching, or to prepare himself for the practical work of an ecclesiastical reformer, St. Andrews was undoubtedly the best position which he could have taken up; nor would any of its advantages be thrown away upon a mind so well able, by previous culture and observation, to turn them to account.

It will be interesting, then, to call up before the eye as distinct and full a picture as possible of the new scene to which our young reformer was now transplanted, and of the society in which, for the next three years of his life, he was principally to move.

The University of St. Andrews was at that period in a highly flourishing condition. Notwithstanding the erection of the two rival institutions of Glasgow and Aberdeen, the one in the middle and the other at the end of the preceding century, it still maintained decidedly the first place in point of numbers, wealth, and prosperity. In 1510 the number of incorporations or matriculations amounted to 43, and in 1525 it rose as high as 76. The annual average of resident members of all kinds would probably range between 150 and 200.† The number and wealth of its foundations were also on the

* In these six churches are included the churches of the Black and Grey Friars, and the church of St. Salvator's College.

† Registers of the University. These the author had repeated access to through the kindness of Mr. M'Bean, the university librarian. He had also the advantage of a leisurely consultation of some transcripts from them, which were liberally lent him by the Very Rev. Principal Lee, of the University of Edinburgh.

increase. Up till 1512 the university had included only two foundations—the Pædagogium, the original institution founded in 1411 by Bishop Wardlaw, and St. Salvator's College, founded by Bishop Kennedy in 1450. But in 1512 John Hepburn, Prior of the Monastery of St. Andrews, obtained the consent of the conventional chapter to the erection of St. Leonard's College within the precinct of the monastery—for the support of one principal master; four chaplains, two of whom should be regents or tutors; and twenty scholars, six of whom should be students of theology, and the remainder, of philosophy or the arts. Suitable academic buildings were speedily erected; valuable grants of land and tenements were assigned for the endowment of the college; and the institution was in active operation as early as 1515, when a number of able young men, who afterwards rose to eminence, were enrolled among its students.

In the same year, 1512, the young Archbishop Stewart, natural son of James IV., took steps to give a strictly collegiate character and more ample endowments to the Pædagogium, with the view of putting it on a footing of equality with the old and new foundations of St. Salvator and St. Leonard. But his liberal design was unhappily interrupted by the catastrophe of Flodden in 1513, where he fell in arms at the side of his too chivalrous father; and it was not resumed till the year 1537, when Archbishop James Beaton took measures which, being followed up by his successors, issued at length, in 1554, in the transmutation of the Pædagogium into St. Mary's College.*

It is extremely probable that if Archbishop Stewart had not been so prematurely cut off he would have introduced into the Pædagogium, in its remodelled form, an improved course of study, by the appointment of regents imbued with the liberal spirit and culture of the age. He had been educated in the most famous universities of France and Italy, and had for some time pursued his studies, as was formerly noticed, under the direction of Erasmus, who speaks in high terms of his talents and attainments. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that he had imbibed a strong taste for classical studies, and that it was his intention to exert himself to diffuse the same taste among the Scottish youth. The loss which

* M'Crie's Life of Melville, Note RR; Lyon's History of St. Andrews.

the cause of learning sustained by his untimely death was great; and all the greater that it soon became evident that there was no one in St. Andrews who was disposed to take up the idea of bringing the studies of the university into harmony with the new tendencies and tastes of the time. It is a remarkable fact that the statutes of St. Leonard's College, though drawn up so late as the year 1512, discover no traces whatever of the humanitarian spirit. Although erected two generations later than St. Salvator's, the educational provisions of the new college exhibit hardly any improvement upon those of the older institution.* In this respect the college founded at Aberdeen by Bishop Elphinstone had set an example of liberality to the establishments of St. Andrews. Hector Boyce, its first principal, had transplanted to the banks of the Don and the Dee the classical tastes and learning which he had cultivated in the society and under the inspiration of Erasmus, in the University of Paris.† But this honourable example was very tardily followed. St. Andrews had no professor of the Latin language and literature till the completion of St. Mary's College in 1554; and so late as 1559, when Andrew Melville entered the university, he was the only member of it who was able to read the text-books of Aristotle in the Greek original, an accomplishment which was regarded with surprise and admiration even by his teachers.‡

The intellectual advantages, then, which could be obtained by a residence in St. Andrews at that period, must have been far inferior to those which were possessed in the same age by the students of many of the continental universities. The only branches of knowledge then taught in its schools were the arts or philosophy, canon law, and divinity; and in arts the writings of Aristotle, in a Latin translation, were the only text-book; while the lectures given were no more than comments on his several treatises of logic, rhetoric, ethics, and physics.§

* See Statutes of St. Leonard's College in Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. ii., Appendix.

† Boethii Vitæ Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ — Life of Bishop Elphinstone. Buchanan speaks of Boyce as "Non solum artium liberalium cognitione supra quam illa ferebant tempora insignem, sed et humanitate et comitate singulari præditum."—Rerum Scotiæ Hist., p. 44.

‡ Autobiography of James Melville (Wodrow Society), p. 30.

§ M'Crie's Life of Melville, 1855, p. 6.

Nor was there much in the personal qualities and attainments of the academic rulers and teachers to compensate for this stagnation in the university system. After Gavyn Douglas ceased in 1516, when he became Bishop of Dunkeld, to take any part in the business of the university, and at the time when Hamilton was in residence, there were only two men in the academic body who had appeared before the world as authors, or who enjoyed anything more than local consideration and repute. These were George Lockhart, professor of theology in the Pædagogium—rector of the university in 1521, 1522, and 1523; and John Major. Lockhart had written several works in dialectics,* and Major had produced many both in dialectics and theology. But there was nothing in such authorship as theirs, replete as it was with thorny subtleties and Sorbonne barbarism, to attract and give a stimulus to young minds; especially at a period when, as must have been well known in the university, the world had become weary of such barren trifling, and had reopened with eager thirst the long-closed fountains of ancient wisdom. Major's sentiments, it is true, upon some important points of political science and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, were greatly in advance of the thinking of his age. He denied the divine and indefeasible right of kings, maintaining that 'the free people' were the fountain of authority and power; and he taught the ecclesiastical doctrine of Gerson and the Gallican Church, that the power of the Pope is inferior to that of a general council. He had an open eye, too, to some of the worse corruptions of the Church's administration, and was not always silent respecting the more heinous vices and disorders of the clergy.† But Major was no reformer either in the doctrine or discipline of the Church. He never gave any serious offence to his ecclesiastical superiors; and he never withheld the sanction of his name from their worst proceedings against 'the way which they called heresy.' He threw the whole weight of his teaching and influence into the scale of the old Church, and his name repeatedly appears on the tribunals which doomed the reformers to exile and death.

* Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1824. Anonymous, but reputed to be the work of the Very Rev. Principal Lee. See Note G for the titles of some of Lockhart's works.

† See Note H for some illustrations of Major's ecclesiastical views.

Lockhart and Major were the two lights of the Pædagogium. At St. Salvator's, Hugh Spens, the provost, and Martin Balfour, Thomas Ramsay, and Peter Chaplain, the most prominent of the regents, were all men devoted to the old *régime*, and totally inaccessible to modern ideas. Only a few years later, three out of these four put their names to Hamilton's sentence of condemnation. The masters of the college were few, and held their dignities for life; and as the whole education of the place was in their hands, St. Salvator's in those days could not easily give admission to the free thoughts which found shelter and nourishment in less iron-bound institutions.

It was only in the new College of St. Leonard's, and among the younger canons of the Priory, that Patrick Hamilton would find himself somewhat at home. In the same year that he was incorporated in the university, Gavyn Logie became Principal of St. Leonard's—a man of open mind and progressive thought, who showed in after life that he was capable both of receiving and suffering for the truth of God. The canons of the Priory were numerous; and the society of the house was continually receiving accessions of young and fresh minds from the *alumni* of the college. This opened a door for the entrance of new ideas; and among the younger canons there were already several names—John Wynram, John Duncanson, and Alexander Alane*—which afterwards became connected earlier or later with the cause of the Reformation. The description which Boyce has left us of the intellectual and religious character of the Priory at that period is extremely pleasing. He tells us that its members were devoted to the interests of religion and learning, and spent their time usefully and honourably in study, and in the discharge of the offices of education and devotion.

Whatever new ideas were stirring at the time, and whatever new books were then in people's hands in any part of Scotland, there was at least one society in St. Andrews where they would be able to find access, and would not be driven away from the door with angry frowns. St. Leonard's, at least, was to some extent in sympathy with whatever new life was to be found in the kingdom, and became a vital organ for its development and training. And such new life there was.

* Better known by his later cognomen—Alesius.

There were new ideas and new books to be found even in Scotland, the most remote kingdom of Europe, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It was a time of intellectual and literary revival there as well as everywhere else. The national mind had recently been stirred by many new productions of native genius. A galaxy of new poets had shone forth in the literary heavens, including Henryson, Douglas, Kennedy, Dunbar, and other native 'makars,' all writing in their homely but expressive mother tongue, and all rewarded with the plaudits of their delighted countrymen. The Roman muses, too, had at length begun to captivate and subdue a country which boasted that it had never bowed to the might of the Roman legions. The authors of the Augustan age were beginning to scatter the seeds of classical culture and refinement among the Scottish youth. We have before referred to the humane studies and labours of Boyce at Aberdeen. There the new intellectual life of the nation had already become powerful enough to shape for itself a new system of academic study. Boyce was honoured with the correspondence of Erasmus as a scholar of congenial pursuits; and we find Erasmus expressing, in one of his letters, the pleasure which it had given him to hear that the kingdom of Scotland, in addition to all its other honours, was every day becoming more polished and refined by the study of the liberal arts. This letter was written in 1529 in reply to a communication in which Boyce had begged Erasmus, in his own name and in the name of all his coadjutors at Aberdeen, to send him a catalogue of his writings; a proof how eagerly the elegant literature of the continent was then sought after by Scottish scholars.* One of Boyce's colleagues was John Vaus, the first regular professor of the Latin language and literature in Scotland, and the first Scotsman who composed a Latin grammar—'a man,' says the learned Italian, Ferrerius, 'eminently adorned with literature, and who has rendered great services to the Scottish youth.'† The residence of Ferrerius himself in the country,

* See Note I for letter of Erasmus to Boyce.

† The words of Ferrerius are, 'Adde his Joannem Vaus virum cum literis tum moribus ornatissimum et de juventute Scotica bene meritum.' They occur in the dedication to his patron, the Abbot of Kinloss, of his *Academica Dissertatio, Auditum Visui præstare*.—See Dr. Irving's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. p. 5.

under the patronage of Robert Reid, abbot of Kinloss, afterwards Bishop of Orkney, is an additional proof of the value in which classical learning and its cultivators were beginning to be held; and of the favour, in particular, with which such studies were regarded by some of the dignified clergy. The Church, in truth, was both the chief promoter and the chief opponent of liberal studies in that age. Several of the highest clergy patronized and were themselves proficients in such pursuits; while, in general, the monks and friars and the whole body of the inferior clergy, with a truer instinct of danger to the interests of Rome, dreaded and hated the new learning and all its abettors. Gavyn Douglas had a knowledge and appreciation of the classical authors rarely equalled in those days, and adorned the literature of his country with productions, which were equally honourable to his ability as a scholar, and his genius as a poet.* Patrick Panther, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, had been a fellow-student of Boyce, and was master of a Latin style of remarkable purity and elegance, which enabled him, in his office of Secretary of State to James IV. and the Regent Albany, to frame the communications of the Scottish crown with foreign princes in language as polished as that of the most refined courts of Europe.† John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, was another accomplished churchman. He was a graduate of Paris, and executed, by order of James V., not only a version of a portion of Livy, but a translation also of Boyce's Latin history of Scotland. Boyce's original and Bellenden's translation possess between them the peculiar interest of being the first specimens that have descended to our times of Scottish Latinity purged of mediæval barbarisms, and of Scottish prose indited in the purest vernacular.‡ Florence Wilson, or Volusenus, was another elegant Caledonian scholar of that age. He studied first at Aberdeen under Boyce, and subsequently at Paris; and his Latin dialogue, 'De Animi Tranquillitate,' earned for him,

* Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, vol. i. Life of Douglas.

† See notice of Panther—*Patricius Panitarius*—prefixed by Ruddiman to the *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*. Edin. 1722:—‘Cui cum, maxima ex parte, gratiam suam venustatemque acceptum referat hoc primum epistolarum volumen, temperare nobis nequivimus quin de ejus natalibus et vītē instituto aliiquid subjiceremus.’

‡ Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers, i. 12-22.

from his illustrious countryman Buchanan, the honourable name of ‘one most dear to the Muses.’*

These notices may suffice to show what considerable progress the revival of learning had already made in Scotland in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and with what characteristic ardour the national mind had thrown itself into the new paths of knowledge which had recently been opened up by the labours of continental scholars. And the pulsations of this new life could not fail to be felt in some degree at St. Andrews. Several of the most distinguished patrons and cultivators of the new learning had either been officially connected with, or were occasional visitors of, the university. We have already referred to the eminent instance of Archbishop Stewart. Gavyn Douglas, while Provost of St. Giles’, was repeatedly chosen one of the academic rulers;† and Boyce appears to have more than once visited the university, and to have been on intimate terms with its most distinguished members. By such conductors the electric spark of literary enthusiasm was doubtless conveyed into the very heart of the ancient academy. However little effect the new intellectual element had yet produced upon the external framework of the university system, we cannot but suppose that some of the aspiring youth of the schools had much more sympathy with the new learning than with the old. Erasmus, we need not doubt, was the idol of young graduates and under-graduates at St. Andrews, as well as at Aberdeen; and catalogues and editions of his works would be in request at St. Leonard’s at least, as well as among the professed Erasmians of King’s College. We can scarcely be mistaken in thinking that there must have been a much more vigorous life-throbbing in the veins of the university at that time, than one would have suspected who looked only on the surface. The crust of old forms

* Among the ‘Justa’ of Buchanan’s *Epigrammata* we have the following, addressed ‘Florentio Voluseno Scoto’:—

‘Hic Musis, Volusene jaces carissime, ripam
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria!
Hoc meruit virtus tua—tellus quæ foret altrix
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos.’

+ University Registers. For some curious evidence of the liberality of Douglas’s views with respect to the scholastic method of teaching theology, see Note F. He was apparently a disciple of Erasmus, not only in his classical tastes, but also in his theological views.

and methods, it is true, was still hard and tenacious; it was not easy to get old teachers, who were hackneyed in the use of worn-out forms of thought and instruction, to consent to modern innovations. But under that old crust there was a new intellectual force gathering strength every day, which was to explode by-and-bye the traditions of ages into atoms, and to clear the ground for fresh forms of academic life and order.

Such being the state of matters in St. Andrew's at the time when Hamilton took up his residence there as a graduate of the University of Paris, we can easily conjecture to which of the colleges he would most quickly attach himself, and what would be the nature of the influence which he would bring to bear upon the society which he preferred. He must have been much more at St. Leonards than at St. Salvator's or the Pædagogium; and in St. Leonard's, young as he was, he was in a position to be much more a giver of benefit than a receiver. It was an immense advantage to him that he had been in Paris and Louvaine, and had drunk so copiously at the springs of a new and better learning. He must have been regarded with much the same feeling of admiration, if not envy, as young Andrew Melville excited by his Greek learning thirty-five years later; and it was probably from the recollection of the impression made by him at that time in St. Andrews that Buchanan, who was then a student in the Pædagogium under Major, described him long afterwards as a youth of *singular* learning, as well as of the highest talent.* No doubt his learning, in the eyes of most men then at St. Andrews, was singular enough; and we may be sure that he made use of the influence which it gave him to stimulate the studies of others in the same liberal direction which he had pursued himself.

But we are not left to mere conjectures, however probable, in regard to Hamilton's partiality for the society of the canons of the Priory, and the regents of St. Leonard's. We have a very interesting notice from the pen of one of their own number, which makes it certain that the young reformer was on habits of peculiar intimacy with them. 'Hamilton composed,' says Alesius, 'what the musicians call a mass, arranged in parts for nine voices, in honour of the

* Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum Historia, p. 269. Edin., 1715.

angels, intended for that office in the missal which begins with “*Benedicant Dominum omnes angeli ejus.*” This piece he procured to be sung in the Cathedral of St. Andrew’s, and he acted himself as precentor of the choir.’ The canons of the priory were also the canons of the cathedral; and it could only have been through his intercourse with them, and after many private rehearsals in the cloisters of his new mass, that Hamilton succeeded in introducing the piece into the cathedral service. It is known from other sources that the canons of the Cathedral of St. Andrews cultivated choral music with great care, and had a high reputation for proficiency in it. But the Gregorian chant—the *planus cantus*—was what they excelled in; this *cantus figuralis*, as Alesius terms it, a more artificial and complicated music, was probably new to them.* Hamilton had become acquainted with it in the cathedrals of the continent, and his musical proficiency must have been considerable to enable him to become a choral composer. The incident is an interesting one, not only as throwing some new light upon his personal tastes and accomplishments, but still more as indicating his religious position at the time when it took place. It is clear that, whatever might be his misgivings and inward struggles with regard to the doctrines of the Church, he had not yet ceased to conform to its public ritual; and he must still have been in possession of the full confidence of the cathedral chapter when they were willing to accept from him enrichments of their choral service, and to assist him in bringing them into public use.

We may very safely assume that one of Patrick Hamilton’s principal aims during his residence in St. Andrews was to prosecute the study of theology, with particular reference to the controversies which had been raised by Luther, and of which he had heard so much, and probably read not a little at Paris and Louvaine. With

* ‘It was required of those who were admitted to St. Leonard’s College, that they should be sufficiently instructed in the Gregorian song. Singing formed one of the regular exercises of the students. Individuals who had belonged to the Priory were employed in composing the music used in churches after the Reformation.’ (*M’Crie’s Melville, Note RR.*) Major complains—*De Gestis Scotorum*, p. 20—that the Scottish bishops ordained men to be priests who were ignorant of church music, who ought at least, he says, to be acquainted with the Gregorian chant. He gives this as one of the points in which the Scottish Church administration was inferior to the Anglican.

access to the prelections of John Major at the Pædagogium, he had facilities for gaining a closer acquaintance with the scholastic theology than he could previously have acquired; and with the Greek Testament of Erasmus laid out with its ample page before him, he could diligently compare the dogmas of the Sorbonne with the original and authentic oracles of Divine truth.

The lectures of Major would seem to have been at that time an object of attraction not only to the Scottish youth, but also to students from the neighbouring kingdoms. In 1522, while yet in Glasgow, he had drawn into his lecture-room the future reformer of Scotland, John Knox; and in 1525 George Buchanan and his brother Patrick were both entered in the Pædagogium of St. Andrews, in order that they might enjoy the benefit of his instructions—a benefit, however, which the poet afterwards learned to speak of without much appreciation or gratitude. ‘It was sophistry,’ he exclaimed, ‘not dialectics.’ There was at least one instance, too, of a student of some rank being attracted from Ireland at that period to prosecute his studies in the Scottish universities; and the name of Major was more probably the magnet which drew him over, than any other. His name and style were Dean Maurice O’Connaly, ‘monk professed in the abbey of our Lady de Rupe, of the Order of Cistercians, within the diocese of Cassel.’ He is so designated in a letter of James V. to Henry VIII., written in the year 1526, in which the Scottish King informs ‘his dearest uncle and brother,’ that ‘this devout orator had made residence *at the schools* within his realm divers years bypast, and was well commended and reputed of good fame and honest conversation. How tendes to come within your realm. . . . Herefore, dearest uncle, we commend the said Dean Maurice unto you, praying you to stand his good prince, and favour him in promotion to sic benefices or dignities as ye think convenient, within the parts of his native land of Ireland, as we shall gladly do at your request to ony of your orators or servandis, in semblable case, when ony happens.* It is a circumstance of some curiosity that an Irish dean, a man of sufficient

* Papers hitherto kept in the Chapter House, Westminster. Many of these papers are now being removed to the State Paper Office; and it is impossible at present to give any distinct reference to the several collections in which they are arranged, as the old arrangements of them have been broken up.

rank and consideration to be specially commended by one king to another, should have sought to qualify himself for promotion in his native Church of Ireland, by repairing in that age to the remote schools of Glasgow and St. Andrew's.

With respect to the effect produced on Hamilton's theological views by his deliberate study of the Lutheran controversy, we are in possession of two interesting facts which prove that his mind was for a considerable time after his return to Scotland in a state of transition from the old to the new doctrines. We have already seen that he came home an Erasmian; and it took the study and reflection of several years, it would seem, to develope him into a decided and pronounced adherent of Luther. One of the facts referred to is recorded by Alesius. ‘Such was his hatred,’ says he, ‘to monkish hypocrisy, that he never assumed the monastic habit.’ That is to say, he never lived like a monk. He was abbot of Ferne, but he never went into residence with the monks of his own abbey. And yet it does not appear that he ever relinquished his titular abbacy. It was no unusual thing for men who were no monks—who were secular clergy or even laymen—to be appointed commendators of religious houses. One of Hamilton's own uncles was in that position. Alexander Stewart, commendator of Sccone and Inchaffray, was ‘within no holy orders, but ane man habyll to marry’;* and his nephew was content to remain on the same singular footing—an abbot but not a monk. This indicates that his views were then in a transition state on the question of monachism. He appears to have been of opinion at that time, as many of his contemporaries were, that though the monasteries stood much in need of reform, they might still be made serviceable to the cause of religion and learning, and need not be wholly destroyed.

Another fact still more significant of the gradual way in which he arrived at his ultimate convictions, comes to us on the authority of John Frith, the English reformed. We shall find in a subsequent chapter that there is good reason to believe that Frith was personally acquainted with Hamilton—a circumstance which adds materially to the weight of his authority in regard to a fact which

* So Gavyn Douglas said of him in his statement to Henry VIII., in 1521, against Stewart's half-brother, the Duke of Albany.

is not mentioned by any other writer, and which is not unattended with some considerable difficulties. ‘To testify the truth,’ Frith observes in his short preface to ‘Patrick’s Places,’ ‘he sought all means, and *took upon him priesthood* (even as Paul circumcised Timothy to win the weak Jews) that he might be admitted to preach the word of God.’* This statement amounts to a proof, that at the time when Hamilton took orders in the Roman Church, his mind was sufficiently enlightened in Divine truth to be sensible that the proper food of souls was the pure word of God, as distinguished from ‘the doctrines and commandments of men;’ and that he was already sufficiently under the power of the evangelical spirit to be supremely desirous of the privilege of proclaiming and dispensing that word in the office of the priesthood. But the statement implies quite as clearly, on the other hand, that when Hamilton took orders he could have had no idea of *breaking* with the Church of Rome, and no conception that the vows of canonical obedience which ordination included, were inconsistent with any convictions of scriptural truth which he had as yet attained to. His high and pure mind would have shrunk from ecclesiastical vows which he could not honourably undertake. At the moment when ‘he took priesthood,’ with a view ‘to testify the truth,’ he could not as yet have learned enough of that truth to be aware that loyalty to the ‘glorious Gospel of the blessed God’ is entirely irreconcilable with allegiance to the See of Rome. He must have been much in the same stage of evangelical development in which the numerous students of Wittemberg found themselves in the earlier years of Luther’s theological progress—enlightened enough to know and feel that a reformation of the Church’s teaching and practice was in many points indispensable, but quite unconscious that such convictions were inconsistent with the act of entering into the ministry of the Roman Church. It was not, in fact, till the Church of Rome had distinctly and authoritatively told the reformers this truth, that they found themselves compelled to see the matter in the same light. It was not till the Council of Trent definitively repudiated the reformed churches, and pronounced its anathema upon Protestant and Evangelical truth, that the priesthood of Rome and the ministry of

* Knox’s History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 19.

the Gospel were formally divorced from each other, and became finally irreconcilable.

It may seem a serious objection to the accuracy of Frith's statement, that even so late as the beginning of the year 1527, which is the latest date that can possibly be assigned to Hamilton's ordination as a priest, he was only in his twenty-third year, whereas the canonical age for priest's orders was twenty-five. But this difficulty is only apparent. Even in the Tridentine 'Decretum de Reformatione,'* which was intended to reform a great many laxities and abuses which had crept into the administration of the Church in ordination and other matters, a good deal was left to the discretion of the bishops. Their judgment of what was 'necessary or advantageous to the Church's interests,' was allowed to dispense with many points of the strict letter of canonical law. If such a discretion was allowed by the Council of Trent, we may be sure it was often exercised at an earlier period. It may be added, that though Patrick Hamilton was only a youth of twenty-four when he died, he must have had an aspect and a bearing which suggested to those who saw him an age considerably more advanced; inasmuch as even Alexander Alesius, who knew him well, received the impression that he was verging towards his thirtieth year when he suffered martyrdom. The Archbishop of St. Andrews could have had no difficulty in convincing himself that it would be of advantage to the Church, that a young man of so much gravity and learning, so able, and of such noble rank, should be ordained to the priesthood without delay.

* See Appendix I. ad Concilium Tridentinum, Decretum de Reformatione, Sessio xxiii. The limiting clauses often occur—' nisi aliud episcopo videatur,' —' nisi necessitas aut ecclesiæ utilitas, judicio episcopi, aliud exposcat.'

CHAPTER IV.

PATRICK HAMILTON A PROFESSED LUTHERAN.

ACT OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT AGAINST LUTHERAN BOOKS—LUTHERANS IN ABERDEEN—URGENT NEED OF A REFORMATION IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCH¹—EXAMPLES AT ST. ANDREWS—FORMAN—BEATON—DOUGLAS—PATRICK HEPBURN—GENERAL CORRUPTION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL BODY—TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT IMPORTED—HAMILTON DECLARES FOR THE REFORMATION—SUMMONED BY BEATON—FLIGHT TO GERMANY.

*Dira superstitione grassata tyrannide in omnes,
Omniaque involvens Cimmeriis tenebris.*

JOHN JOHNSTON.

A tyrant superstition, dire, all hearts subdued,
And shrouded all the land in thick Cimmerian gloom.

CHAPTER IV.

PATRICK HAMILTON A PROFESSED LUTHERAN.

It was in the month of July, 1525, while Patrick Hamilton was quietly pursuing his theological studies at St. Andrews, and gradually advancing to the clearness and strength of conviction indispensable to a religious reformer, that the first public alarm of the arrival of Lutheranism in Scotland was sounded through the kingdom, and roused every thoughtful man to attention and reflection. Singularly enough, too, the alarm was rung out to the realm by the very class of men who were most interested in keeping the mind of the country inert and undisturbed—the bishops. In a parliament held in Edinburgh in that year and month—it was the year after James V., while still a boy of thirteen years of age, nominally assumed the management of affairs—the clergy procured the passing of the following significant act:—‘ It is statute and ordained, that forasmuch as the damnable opinions of heresy are spread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, and this realm and lieges have firmly persisted in the holy faith since the same was first received by them, and never as yet admitted any opinions contrary to the Christian faith, but ever have been clean of all such filth and vice. Therefore, that no manner of person, stranger, that happens to arrive with the ships within any part of this realm, bring with them any books or works of the said Luther’s, his disciples or servants—dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions, unless it be to the confusion thereof, under the pain of escheating of their ships and goods, and putting of their persons in prison.

And that this act be published and proclaimed throughout this realm at all ports and burghs of the same, so that they may allege no ignorance thereof.*

Probably up till this time the name of Luther had been known only to the learned men of the country, to the students at the universities, and to a few traders in the eastern ports who made a voyage once a year to the coasts of the Netherlands and France. But by the passing of this act, and by causing it to be proclaimed in all the ports and burghs of the realm, the clergy sent the fame of the German Reformer and his cause throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The act, however, seemed stringent enough to guard against the evil whose threatened approach it proclaimed, and the clergy did not suffer it to remain a dead letter. The stripling king was entirely in their hands. Foremost in zeal and vigilance was Gavyn Dunbar, the old Bishop of Aberdeen. As early as the 7th of August of this same year, 1525, Dunbar obtained from the king and council at Edinburgh the following order and warrant to the sheriffs of the city and county of Aberdeen :—

‘ James, by the grace of God, king of Scots, to our sheriffs, &c., greeting,—Forasmuch as it is humbly made known and shown to us by a reverend father in God, and our trusty councillor, Gavyn, Bishop of Aberdeen, that whereas sundry strangers and others within his diocese of Aberdeen have books of that heretic Luther, and favour his errors and false opinions, in contravention to our Act of Parliament lately made in our last parliament. Our will is, therefore, and we charge you straitly, and command you, immediately after seeing these our letters, you make public the said act at all places needful, and take inquisition if any persons be found within the said diocese of Aberdeen that have such books or favour such errors of the said Luther; and that you confiscate their goods and bring in the same to our use and profit, after the form of the said act, as ye shall answer thereupon; the which to do we commit to you conjunctly and severally our full power by these our letters,’ &c.

Let it be observed, that whereas in the act of parliament only strangers, *i.e.* foreigners, are mentioned as possessing Lutheran

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, *sub anno* 1525.

ooks andavouring the new opinions, the king's mandate to the sheriffs of Aberdeen refers to 'others' as well as foreigners who were contravening that act. The evil, then, which the authorities dreaded was already spreading; it was beginning to get a footing among the king's own lieges. It is significant, too, that the progress of Lutheranism should have been most marked and dangerous at Aberdeen—the principal seat of the new Erasmian learning. In a short time, indeed, the number of native Lutherans became so conspicuous and alarming, that in 1527 the Lords of the Council introduced into the act the following additional clause:—' And that all others the king's lieges, assisters to such opinions, be punished in a similar way, and the effect of the said act to strike upon them.' The Council had also by that time begun to fear that the liberty previously allowed, of ' disputing and rehearsing the new opinions for the confusion thereof,' might be too freely interpreted, as no doubt it had already been; and they added a restriction to the clause, jealously limiting this freedom of disputation to clerks in the schools allenarlie, *i.e.* alone.*

The Reformation had at length reached the shores of Scotland; and truly it had not come a single day too soon. It was urgently needed; and in order to see clearly and feel deeply its urgent necessity, a young churchman resident at St. Andrews—as Patrick Hamilton then was—had no need to look farther than the most recent history, and the present ecclesiastical condition of St. Andrews itself. We waive, as unsuitable to this place, any general and exhaustive view of the state of the National Church; but a few facts and examples of a local kind may appropriately be mentioned, which lay close under the eye of our young reformer, and could not fail to make upon his mind a strong and painful impression.

St. Andrews was at that time and had long been the Vatican of Scotland. It was 'a city set on an hill which could not be hid.' All eyes throughout the realm were turned to it as in some sort a holy city—the spot where Christianity first planted her foot upon the Scottish soil—the favoured see where stood the mother Church of the whole kingdom. What then had been and still were the examples of church-administration, church-discipline, and church-

* These additions to the Act are seen interpolated on the margin in the fac-simile of the original record, engraved in the 'Acta Parliamenti,' &c.

morality which it had recently exhibited, and was still exhibiting to the kingdom? Need we remind the reader of the scandalous contest formerly described which took place on occasion of the see becoming vacant in 1513?—a contest which revealed the fatal extent to which the Church, while professing to be a spiritual and unworldly kingdom, had become the seat of the most earthly passions and practices of the kingdoms of the world. When the temple of God was polluted with such a crowd of traffickers and money-changers as was disclosed on that occasion, who could doubt that it was time that the Lord should come to his temple, and with a scourge of small cords drive them all out, with the rebuke—‘ Make not my Father’s house a house of merchandise’?

‘A bishop,’ said the devoted and self-denying apostle of the Gentiles, ‘must not be covetous, must not be greedy of filthy lucre.’ But the last Archbishop of St. Andrews had been one of the greediest pluralists of the age. Forman’s revenues from bishoprics and abbacies, from patronages and embassies, had been enormous. He was rich enough to be able to bribe with effect even the voracious court of Rome. It was Forman’s gold, as was suspected, which had prevailed upon Pope Leo to nominate him to the Primacy, and which kept the Pontiff faithful to his nominee, in spite of all the solicitations of Henry to cancel the nomination. But probably that bribe would not have been paid had it not promised to turn out a profitable investment. Forman was even loudly accused by his contemporaries of having basely sold the interests of his king and country, in his frequent negotiations with foreign courts. This was what his rival, Gavyn Douglas, hinted at, when he declared that he had been ‘the instrument of mekyll harm, and would be yet of mair.’ But he was as profuse in spending his riches as he was eager and unscrupulous in acquiring them; and nothing but the popularity which he courted during his Primacy, by the munificence of his gifts to men of all parties, could have enabled him to bear up against the odium which was excited by his immense and ill-gotten wealth.*

‘A bishop,’ continued the apostle, ‘must be patient, no brawler—no striker.’ But there was hardly one political brawl during the long minority of James V., scarcely even a faction fight in the field

* Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum Historia, p. 258.

or in the streets, in which the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and other bishops, had not borne a prominent part. In the Edinburgh tragedy of ‘Cleanse the Causeway,’ before referred to, James Beaton, then Archbishop of Glasgow, assembled the angry Hamiltons in his own palace, at the foot of Blackfriars’ Wynd, to concert hostile measures, and declined the office of peacemaker between Arran and Angus, when his brother of Dunkeld entreated him to undertake it. He wore a corslet of mail under his episcopal rochet, and the steel rang again to the blow when he incautiously smote upon his breast to give emphasis to his assurance that on his conscience he could do nothing to stay the strife, or prevent the effusion of blood. A gallant knight spoke on that day words of peace which an archbishop refused to speak. When promoted to the see of St. Andrews, Beaton was as factious and violent as he had been in the chair of St. Mungo. He was foremost amongst the enemies of the house of Douglas, and made greater efforts than any man in Scotland to break down the formidable ascendency of the Earl of Angus. Throwing away the crosier for the sword, in forgetfulness of the Lord’s rebuke to St. Peter, he experienced more than once the prophetic truth of the Lord’s warning: ‘They that use the sword shall fall by the sword.’ On one occasion he was thrown into prison in the castle of Edinburgh by his successful rivals; and on another was obliged to skulk for his life in the disguise of a common herdsman among the ‘knowes’ of Fife. On the occasion of his imprisonment, Margaret, the Queen Dowager, wrote to her brother Henry of him, complaining that ‘she could never have his good will, although she had done more for him than any other; but ever he did her what displeasure he might, and she was sure ever would do, if ever it were in his power.’* The causes of his imprisonment in 1524, by the young king and the estates of the realm, are set forth in a remarkable memorandum still extant,† bearing that ‘A supplication should be made to the Pope’s Holiness, making mention how James, Archbishop of St. Andrews, has committed crimes of treason and lese-majesty against the king of Scots and his realm; and, as is surely informed and understood, the said archbishop, for accomplishing and fulfilling of his perverse treasonable mind and device, intended and solicited

* Printed State Papers, vol. iv. p. 115.

† Ibid. iv. p. 115.

insurrection and “break” within the whole realm of Scotland, and to have made and given occasion of battle against the king and his authority—so that he, with others his accomplices, conspirators against the king and the commonwealth of his realm, might have domination and authority above and against the king and his true barons and lieges. And if the said archbishop had failed in completing his said perverse, cruel, and damnable opinion, he purposed to depart forth of the realm with certain other conspirators, to the effect that he might, by his policy and means, solicit some great party in opposition to the king, his realm and the commonwealth thereof, to the apparent destruction of the same. For the which causes the king and estates of the realm have caused action to be taken, and to hold the said archbishop in a castle securely, unto such time as the Pope’s Holiness may be advertised thereof. Herefor a legate was to be desired from the Pope’s Holiness, to be sent into Scotland with a special commission, to proceed against the archbishop for the said crimes and others of lese-majesty committed by him; and, in so far as he shall be accused and convicted, to punish him, conform to his demerits, after the tenor of the common law; and with power in the said commission to proceed against all other kirkmen, as well religious and secular, within the said realm, insofar as they may be accused of crimes of lese-majesty, or others committed by any of them against the king and his realm, and contrary to the statutes of haly kirk and common law, and approved consuetude; and *reformation* to be made thereof as is meet. *Item* —to desire a declarator of the Pope’s Holiness, that through taking and holding of the said bishop, the king, his council, and part-takers in this case, incurred no manner of censures of haly kirk, and that it should be no cause of cursing nor interdict; and likewise, that in all time coming it shall be lawful to the king to take and hold bishops and other churchmen, delated of crimes of lese-majesty, until such time as the Pope’s Holiness may be advertised thereof, or they be presented to the judge spiritual, competent as is meet, without any danger of cursing, interdict, or other censures of haly kirk in any manner of way.’ A document of singular interest—as showing the strong impression which had been made upon the minds of the Scottish nobles who drew it up, of the need of clerical reformation, by the proceedings of the archbishop and his other ecclesi-

astical accomplices. It was perhaps the first public document in which the word ‘Reformation’ was made use of, in relation to the doings of Scottish churchmen, by the laity of the kingdom. Beaton’s ‘treasons and crimes of lese-majesty’ are no doubt highly coloured in the Memorandum, as it was the production of the enemies whom he had provoked by his political antagonism. Still, after making every allowance for the spite of faction, it remains an authentic evidence how totally he had sunk the archbishop in the chancellor, and sacrificed the reverence due to his sacred office, in order to compass the ends of political ambition.*

But Beaton by no means stood alone among the bishops in these unbishop-like practices. Gavyn Dunbar of Aberdeen had a large share both in his counsels and his disgraces;† and Gavyn Douglas of Dunkeld was as thorough a partisan in support of the Earl of Angus as Beaton was on the other side. The Earl was his nephew; the Earl’s wife, Queen Margaret, was his patroness; Queen Margaret’s brother, Henry VIII., was his patron too; and it is painful to be obliged to relate of one of the greatest geniuses that Scotland ever produced, that the Bishop of Dunkeld became so factious a politician that he proved false to his country. He was not ashamed to write letters into England in 1515 to invite Henry across the borders with an invading army. He would rather have seen Scotland grasped by an English usurper than the house of Douglas overshadowed by an opposite Scottish faction. On one occasion he was even more zealous in his treason than Angus himself. The latter, in a temporary fit of patriotism or of despair, had made terms with Albany rather than open a door to the invasion of an English army; but the bishop had no sooner heard of his nephew’s submission than he wrote to Cardinal Wolsey, from his ‘Inn at Carlisle,’ calling Angus ‘yon young witless fool;’ praying God to punish him for his demerits; and promising to God and the cardinal’s ‘noble grace,’ *as a true Christian priest*, ‘never to take part again with the Duke of Albany,’ nor ‘the

* The notarial protest which Beaton took on occasion of his imprisonment is still extant among the papers preserved in the Rolls House, Chancery Lane; and it appears from it that Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart was the agent of the Queen’s party in seizing and imprisoning him.

† Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis (Maitland Club). Preface by Mr. Cosmo Innes, p. liii.

unworthy Earl,' and 'never to pass into Scotland save at his grace's pleasure, so long as the Duke of Albany is therein, or has the rule thereof.'* Douglas never returned again to his country and his flock. He died soon afterwards in London of the plague. He had no opportunity, as we could have wished him to have, of wiping out these sad blots by a subsequent course of conduct more befitting a patriot and a Christian bishop.

A curious instance is related of one of the bishops being only cured of his political and court-haunting ways by an accident which brought his house in Edinburgh about his ears. 'There was sa great a wind ane day,' says Leslie, 'that the same blew down many houses within the town of Edinburgh, and cast down the Bishop of Galloway's house upon him, when he was saying his divine service; yet his life was safe by the special grace of God; for the which he thanked God, and made a solemn vow he should never be longer a courtier; and so left the same and past home to his own see in Galloway, where he remained the rest of his days awaiting upon his own cure and office, according to his vocation.'[†]

When the bishops were in the habit of forsaking their flocks and the proper duties of their episcopal office, to engage so deeply in the contests of faction and the schemes of political ambition, it was of course impossible that they could be examples of that other feature of the Christian bishop depicted by the apostle—'A bishop must be apt to teach'—able to teach the truth of God, and devoted to the work of teaching it. The bishops of Scotland taught little or none. They were in general neither able nor willing to discharge that part of their duty. They seldom or never appeared in the pulpits even of their cathedrals, and much less in those of the parish churches of their dioceses. They did all their preaching by proxy, by the help of the *predicant orders*. It was a great novelty in Scotland in that age to hear any one preach who was not either a Black or a Grey Friar. The prelates were often told by the Reformers in after years that they were the 'dumb dogs' spoken of by Isaiah, 'who could not bark.' Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, went once into the pulpit of the church of Ayr to preach against the doctrines of

* See Letters of Gavyn Douglas to Wolsey, preserved in the Cottonian Library and State Paper Office. Appendix IV.

† Bishop Leslie's History of Scotland (Bannatyne Club), p. 130.

George Wishart to a congregation consisting of ‘his own jackmen and “some old bosses of the town.”’ But the sum of all his sermon was, “They say that we should preach—why not? Better late thrive than never thrive. Hold us still for your bishop and we shall provide better for the next time.” This was the beginning and the end of the bishop’s sermon, who with haste departed the town, but returned not again to fulfil his promise.’ So says John Knox, with a dash of his characteristic humour.* ‘I affirm,’ said old Walter Mill, the martyr, ‘that those whom ye call bishops do no bishop’s works, nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy; but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock, nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured and called “my lords.”’†

The ignorance and incapacity of some of the prelates were in truth almost incredible. George Crichton, who was Bishop of Dunkeld after Gavyn Douglas, thanked God on one occasion that he knew neither the Old Testament nor the New. He boasted that he knew nothing but his breviary and his pontifical. Hence it became a common saying in Scotland, ‘Ye are like the bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither the new law nor the old.’

‘A bishop,’ adds St. Paul, ‘must be blameless, the husband of one wife, of good behaviour, and having his children in subjection with all gravity.’ The apostle never imagined that a time would come when prelates calling themselves his successors would have children to rule over without having even one wife, and who were so far from ruling well their own houses that their palaces were often converted into stews of vice, instead of being the homes and retreats of religion and virtue. At the very time when Patrick Hamilton was a resident in St. Andrews there was a flagrant example of this kind exhibited there. The archiepiscopal see laboured under yet worse evils than the unprincipled covetousness of a Forman and the restless factiousness of a Beaton. The young prior of the monastery, Patrick Hepburn, nephew of John Hepburn, whom he succeeded in 1522, and secretary of state from 1524 to 1527, was notorious for his profligacy. His criminal intrigues, even with married women, were

* History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 127.

† Ibid. vol. i., Appendix, p. 553.

numerous and well known. They were carried on in some cases within the priory itself, in contempt of all decency and discipline. To abate the scandal, the archbishop required him on one occasion to remove one of his mistresses whom he had lodged within the walls. But the haughty and powerful offender defied Beaton's authority, and even assembled a body of armed men to compel him to desist from his interference. But for the interposition of the Earl of Rothes and David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, the two parties would have come to a bloody encounter. Extreme and incredible as this last incident may appear, we have it on the authority of Alexander Alesius, who was a canon of the priory at the time it took place,* and the audacious profligacy which it implies is only too amply attested by the public records of the kingdom. These contain numerous letters of legitimations in behalf of Hepburn's children.† The prior was even accused in the pulpit by Friar John Arth of having boasted to 'his gentlemen' that he had gone beyond them all in the number of his intrigues and adulteries.‡ How utterly had the discipline of the Church been prostrated, and how pernicious was the example which she held up to the nation, when a monster of vice like this could be suffered to stand at the very head of her monastic institutions, and could obtain promotion to one of her bishoprics—as he did only a few years later to the see of Moray—with such a stigma of infamy on his brow.

Nor was Hepburn the only transgressor in this form among the dignified clergy. Several of the bishops of that age, including the names of Dunbar of Aberdeen and Douglas of Dunkeld, failed to keep their sacred vestments pure from the prevailing licentiousness.§ And even when the falling church was in its last stage of weakness, and on the very verge of its catastrophe—in the year 1559—Bishop Gordon of Aberdeen still clung to his immoral habits, to the scandal of his whole diocese, and was compelled to hear the remonstrances of his own chapter on the subject, who ventured to whisper in his ear their 'humble and hearty prayer that, for the honour of God,

* Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlaei Calumnias. 1534.

† See entries in the Register of the Great Seal, in Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 41; note by the Editor.

‡ Knox's History, i. p. 40.

§ Knox's History, vol. i. p. 43. Tytler's Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 187.

relief of his own conscience, weill of his lordship's diocese, and avoiding of great slander, his lordship would be so good as to show good and edificative example, specially in removing and discharging himself of the company of the gentlewoman by whom he is greatly slandered. Without the whilk be done,' they added with great naïveté, 'divers sayis they cannot accept counsel and correction of him whilk will nocht correct himself.' This memorial to the bishop was one of a series of steps taken by the chapter to introduce a salutary reform into the diocese, the first of which was 'that my lord of Aberdeen should cause the kirkmen within his diocese reform themselves in all their scandalous manner of living, and to remove their open concubines, as well great as small, under such pains as is contained in the law and acts provincial. And the chapter of Aberdeen shall do such like among themselves in all sharpest manner, conform to the law, as well in themselves as their servants, or any other persons dwelling under their jurisdiction.*

If such was the state of matters at St. Andrews and in the other high places of the Church, it is not difficult to conjecture what must have been the moral disorders and the dissolution of discipline which prevailed among the dignified clergy in general and in the ecclesiastical body at large. In truth, there was no other country in Europe where the abuses of the Church had reached such a height as in the Scottish kingdom. For this bad pre-eminence many causes might be alleged, including, no doubt, the remoteness of the country from the great centres of European opinion and influence; the general rudeness and lawlessness of the population, aggravated by constant wars with England and ceaseless broils among their own civil factions; the injudicious zeal of several of the Scottish monarchs who had lavished immense wealth upon the Church; and the weakness of the royal prerogative, which, by making it an object of the greatest importance to the crown to secure the support of the clergy against the nobles, had often the effect of restraining the sovereign from putting a due check upon the luxury and ambition of his ecclesiastics, and from interfering in questions of church administration and discipline where his interference would have been salutary. Nor was it the crown only that was tempted to connive at the corruptions

* Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis (Maitland Club), Preface, p. lxiv. The Memorial of the Chapter was signed by ten members.

of the Church : the nobility of the kingdom had still more direct and powerful inducements not only to connive at but to increase them. The wealth and power of the Church had become virtually a part of the heritage of the nobles. There had been a time in the ancient annals of the Church of Scotland when the bishops chosen from the monasteries vied with each other in holiness and learning, not for honour and place, and exercised their functions without envy and emulation, wherever they had an opportunity to be useful, and without the restriction, even, of limited dioceses. But that was in the old days of Kenneth M'Alpine, when ecclesiastical offices had not yet become a source of worldly gain.* Everything was changed since then. The chief offices of the Church had become places of enormous profit and power, and the great families of the kingdom coveted and seized upon them as eagerly as they divided among themselves the principal offices of the state. In this way the Church, as much as the state, became only another name, in the estimation of the nobility and higher classes, for worldly wealth and greatness. The barriers of ancient discipline were thrown down. The distinction drawn by primitive piety between the Church and the world was obliterated. The nobles and chiefs of the world had only to put on a different costume to become the consecrated princes and aristocracy of the Church. The Church's wealth became their inheritance from generation to generation, on a few easy conditions—that they should wear the Church's canonical garb, should pay some decent respect to her public rites and ordinances, and should manifest some very natural zeal to preserve and defend the ecclesiastical system which yielded them so rich a harvest of honours and emoluments. The spirit which animated the prelates of the Church, and the objects for which they lived, differed in little or nothing, in many cases, from those of the secular nobility. Their moral qualities and many of their pleasures and pursuits were the same. No one can read the history of the kingdom in those times without perceiving that the churchmen were as eager intriguers for place, and power, and riches, as the titled laity. The chief churchmen, in truth, were only a portion of the nobility and gentry acting under another name, and pushing their individual and family interests by means of the

* Buchanani *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, p. 93.

weapons of vantage derived from the sacred character of the Church.

Severe as these strictures are, they seem to be fully justified by the facts which have been produced in the preceding pages; and they are amply borne out, we may add, by contemporary writers, and in particular by the pictures which Sir David Lindsay drew with photographic minuteness and accuracy of the state of the Church in his time. One of these sun-pictures may be appropriately presented here. It occurs in his ‘Complaint directit to the King’s Grace,’ a poem which turns chiefly on the troubles of James the Fifth’s minority, alluding to the conspicuous part taken in which by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Sir David says:—

‘ The proudest prelates of the kirk
 Were fane to hide them in the mirk ;
 That time sae failyeit was their sight,
 Sensyne they may not thole the light
 Of Christ’s true Gospel to be seen,
 Sa blindit is their corporal ene
 With warldly lustis sensuall,
 Taking in realmis the governall,
 Baith gyding court and sessioune,
 Contrair to their professioun.
 Whereof I think they suld have schame
 Of spiritual priests to tak the name,
 For Esaias into his wark
 Calls thame like dogs that cannot bark,
 That callit are priests and cannot preach,
 Nor Christ’s law to the people teach.
 Gif for to preach bene their professioun,
 Why suld they mell with court and sessioune ?
 Except it war in spiritual things ;
 Referring unto lordes and kinges
 Temporal causes to be deeydit.
 Gif they their spiritual office gydit,
 Ilk man mycht say they did their parts ;
 Bot gif they can play at the cartes,
 And mollit moylie* on ane mule,
 Thocht they had never seen the scule,
 Yet at this day, as weill as than,
 Bene made of sic, ane spiritual man.’

* Amble softly.

When such were the bishops and archbishops who ruled the Church, what could the humbler clergy be expected in general to be? When the inferior Churchmen saw nothing, or almost nothing, above them but superior wealth and dignity, without the accompaniments of higher wisdom and goodness, they could only envy their superiors—they could not respect them; they could only be drawn into the support of their worldly-minded intrigues and the imitation of their vices; they could not be stimulated by such examples to the pursuit of the proper ends of their ministry. A prelacy so degenerate as that of the Scottish Church could have no other effect than to spread the contagion of worldly-mindedness and vice through the whole body both of the clergy and the people.

But the Reformation had come at last. Luther was at length at the gates of the National Church. ‘King Correction,’ as Lindsay expressed it—

. ‘who maks reformatiōns,
Out-throw all Christian nations,
Where he finds great debates,’

had now arrived in Scotland after passing through many other lands. Luther’s books and opinions—those arrows of the mighty—had already found their way into not a few Scottish hearts and homes; and so many sparks had already fallen upon the combustible floor of the Church, that its rulers had not concealed their apprehensions of a wide-spreading conflagration.

Nor was it only Luther’s writings which had found entrance into this distant stronghold of Roman power and superstition. It has lately come to light that Tyndale’s New Testament was in course of being rapidly conveyed at that time into the Scottish ports. As early as 1525 and 1526, traders from Leith, Dundee, and Montrose purchased supplies of the English version in the marts of Flanders and the Netherlands—carefully concealed the treasure in bales of unsuspicuous goods—and succeeded in introducing it into several of the Scottish ports. It is curious that our first knowledge of this important fact should have been derived from a letter of an agent of Cardinal Wolsey, who had been instructed to prevent or put a stop to the importation of the dangerous book. The same letter tells us, that while some of the copies were imported into Leith and Edinburgh, the most part of them were conveyed into the town of

St. Andrews.* The traders must have had reason to expect a good market for the book in that city ; and if so, the Reformation must already have made some considerable way under the very walls of the Primate's castle and church. How remarkable that those walls should be the very first to be threatened by an artillery more formidable still than that of Luther—by the Word of God, which is as ‘a fire, and as a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces.’ Buchanan tells us that when he left St. Andrews in 1527 and returned to Paris, ‘he fell into the flame of Lutheranism then spreading far and wide.’ It is plain that, if he had remained only a little longer in his native country, the flame would have reached him in St. Andrews itself.

All that was wanting now was the voice of the living preacher. The Reformation of the Church of Scotland could only be worked out by the agency of living Scotsmen. The printed books of German and English reformers might be helpful to the work, but they could not be adequate for it, alone. The country could only be roused and gained to the cause of evangelical truth and purity by the preaching and the sufferings of her own sons. And such men were not long of appearing. God was even then preparing them. He was soon to produce them one after another upon the public stage. The first to be thus prepared and produced was Patrick Hamilton.

The repeated proclamations which had just gone forth from the government to warn the country against Lutheranism must have acted like a challenge to every man in the kingdom, to take his side either for Luther’s doctrine or against it. Hamilton had hitherto hesitated to pronounce decidedly, but the events of 1525 would naturally tend to bring his hesitation to a point. The crisis which had now come would work powerfully upon him both to ripen his thoughts and to reveal them. The agitation and discussion which could not fail to be excited at St. Andrews by the proceedings of the bishops and council, would bring out to the light the convictions which had long been secretly gathering strength in his mind.

* The letters of Hacket, Wolsey’s agent, have appeared in the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., lately published at the expense of Government. They were first brought into view in the present connection by the late Rev. C. Anderson, in his ‘Annals of the English Bible.’

In view of the flagrant disorders of the National Church, he could never have had a doubt that a reformation of some kind was necessary, and that the demand for it was a just and godly demand. On this point Erasmus tells us that all sober men living were of one mind. But Erasmus differed from Luther on the nature of the reformation which was required, and Hamilton, as a student of Louvaine, had probably been for some time disposed to agree with Erasmus. Luther began with the doctrine of the Church on the subject of indulgences, and went on overthrowing one false doctrine after another, and substituting for Roman errors evangelical truths; and he looked to this new theology as the only true and radical remedy of the evils of the Church. Erasmus, on the other hand, was no advocate for change in the Church's doctrine. He thought a disciplinary reformation was all that was needed; and he was so far from accepting the theology of Luther and Melancthon, that he at last summoned up courage to write in strong terms against it. He hoped to make the tree good without any change of the root. But Luther and Melancthon were radical reformers. Make the root good, was their maxim, and you shall have good fruit, not otherwise. Reform the doctrines and you shall have a reform in the morals of the Church. Thoughtful men had to make their choice between the branch reformation of Erasmus and the root reformation of Luther. And the choice to which Hamilton was now conclusively brought was to accept the theological and spiritual reform of Luther, in preference to the moral and disciplinary reform of his former master, Erasmus. There were no principles of Luther's teaching, as we shall find in a subsequent chapter, which Hamilton grasped more firmly, and set in a clearer light, than those on which the distinction between Luther and Erasmus mainly turned.

It was probably in the course of the year 1526 that Hamilton first began to declare openly his new convictions; and it was not long before the report of his heretical opinions was carried to the ears of the Archbishop. Early in 1527, Beaton 'made faithful inquisition during Lent' into the grounds of the rumour, and found that he was already 'infamed with heresy, disputing, holding and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to the faith;' whereupon he proceeded to 'decern him' to be formally summoned and accused. Such was Beaton's own language in the fol-

lowing year, when, relying upon the ‘inquisition’ which he had made in 1527 as well as in 1528, he pronounced him to be clearly convicted of heresy, and worthy of death.*

These prompt proceedings of the Archbishop revealed the strong alarm produced among the clergy by the preaching and disputations of Hamilton, and the imminent peril in which the young Reformer’s liberty and life were already placed. He had scarcely begun to speak the truth of God when his mouth was to be stopped, and his testimony stifled in the flames of martyrdom. Without a moment’s delay all the power of the Church is summoned into action to crush the young preacher. In an instant he is confronted with the appalling alternative of dying for his doctrine or publicly recanting it. He had prepared himself to preach the Gospel; he had just begun to preach it; and already he is told that he must stand prepared for an immense deal more—that he must either cease to preach it, or die. It is anything but surprising that he did not yet feel himself strong enough in his new faith to abide such a trial. He determined to leave Scotland for a time, and to repair to the evangelical schools of Germany. Beaton afterwards accused him of having fled from the kingdom in order to avoid apprehension and trial; and it need not be denied that such was the fact. No man can be blamed for declining the pains of martyrdom till he is ready to bear them with a martyr’s fortitude, provided that in the mean time he does nothing to betray or to compromise the cause of truth. The Master’s own counsel to His disciples, in anticipation of persecution, was, that when men persecuted them in one city they should flee unto another. Patrick Hamilton was as yet only a novice in the true faith; and there was danger of his making shipwreck if he ventured out too rashly upon the open sea, in the face of the gathering storm. It was wiser and better to fly from so severe a trial of his constancy, than to meet it only half-prepared. It was wiser and better to seek first the invigoration of his faith and the improvement of his evangelical knowledge, and to hold himself thereafter prepared for all the will of God. Early in the spring of 1527 he took his departure for Germany—a temporary flight, that was speedily to be succeeded by an heroic return. For a moment the inflowing wave of life ebbed down from the beach, but only to gather strength

* See Sentence pronounced by Beaton, in Chapter VIII.

and volume for a more abounding reflux. The tide had begun to rise; it was steadily making; but for a time apparent ebb must alternate with the tidal flow, before the waves could rise to high-water mark, and cover all the strand with a flood of living waters.

CHAPTER V.

PATRICK HAMILTON AT WITTEMBERG AND MARBURG.

HAMILTON'S COMPANIONS IN TRAVEL—HE REPAIRS TO WITTEMBERG AND MARBURG—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY—DIET OF SPIRES IN 1526—WHAT HE SAW IN WITTEMBERG—OPENING OF THE FIRST EVANGELICAL UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG—ERHARD SCHNEFF—HERMANN VON DEM BUSCHE—FRANCIS LAMBERT—WILLIAM TYNDALE AND JOHN FRITH—HAMILTON'S THESES—GERMANY, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND ALL CONTRIBUTE TO PREPARE HIM FOR HIS MISSION—HIS RETURN TO SCOTLAND.

E cœlo alluxit primam Germania lucem
Qua Lanus, et vitreis qua fluit Albis aquis—
Intulit hinc lucem nostra Dux prævius oræ.
O felix terra! hoc si foret usa duce.

JOHN JOHNSTON

First shone on him the light from heaven, where Lahn
And glassy Elbe their German waters roll;
From thence, first in the march of truth, the light
He inbrought to our shores. Oh happy land!
If she had followed, where he led the way.

CHAPTER V.

PATRICK HAMILTON AT WITTEMBERG AND MARBURG.

IT was natural for a young and zealous Lutheran to wish to see and hear his great master Luther. It was natural that, having drunk a few first draughts of truth from the stream, he should long to drink more abundantly at the fountain, on the very spot, now become memorable for all time, where God had first restored to mankind the living springs.

Hamilton was accompanied to Germany by three of his countrymen—one in the capacity of an attendant, and the other two, John Hamilton of Linlithgow, and Gilbert Wynram of Edinburgh, as personal friends and companions in travel.* Very few of the incidents of his journey have been recorded; but all our historians agree in the account of Knox, that ‘he passed to *the schools* in Germany, for then the fame of Wittemberg was greatly divulged in all countries; where, by God’s providence, he became familiar with those lights and notable servants of Christ Jesus at that time, Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, and Francis Lambert.’ He does not appear, however, to have resided at Wittemberg in the capacity of

* These names have been ascertained from the Album of the University of Marburg, which the author inspected in 1854. See Note L. The name of ‘Gilbertus Wynram, Nat. Laudonieæ,’ occurs among the *Incorporati* at St. Andrews in 1516—no doubt the same individual. He was probably a relative of John Wynram (already mentioned as a canon of the Priory of St. Andrews), who is also entered in the university registers as belonging to ‘the Laudonian nation.’ See Notes to Wodrow’s Lite of John Wynram (contributed by Principal Lee) in Wodrow’s Lives. (Maitland Club.)

a matriculated member of the university, as his name does not occur in the academic registers;* and the short stay which this indicates may be the reason why no allusion to him is to be found in any of the letters of Luther and Melanthon. His departure was in all probability hastened by a pest which broke out in Wittemberg in that year, and which rendered it necessary to remove the professors and students for a time to Jena. This removal, however, did not take place till late in the autumn, and Luther, Melanthon, and Bugenhagen remained at their posts at Wittemberg throughout the summer. It was no doubt from them he learned the interesting news that Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, was to open in a few weeks a new evangelical university in Marburg, and that he had placed Francis Lambert of Avignon at the head of the theological faculty. He resolved to be a spectator of so interesting an event; and, furnished with letters of introduction from Lambert's eminent friends and former teachers at Wittemberg, he set off with his companions for the banks of the Lahn, with the design of making the new university his residence for several months.

The time when Hamilton visited evangelical Germany was one peculiarly favourable to the rapid development of his new religious and ecclesiastical views. The Reformation had now reached a stage sufficiently advanced to be seen in the changes which it had wrought in the condition of whole churches and states. It had now penetrated the masses of society in several of the principalities of the empire, and had assumed the conspicuous and impressive form of a new popular religion. This was thoroughly understood and felt in the Diet of Spires, which assembled in 1526, the year before Hamilton's arrival in Germany. At that diet the Reformation was already strong enough to demand and to obtain for its adherents liberty of worship, free scope to manifest their convictions in an evangelical ritual and in new ecclesiastical constitutions. The result obtained at the diet took the following form: ‘That a universal, or at least a national free council should be convoked within a year, and that till then each state should behave in its own territory in such a manner as to be able to render an account to God and the emperor.’ ‘Re-

* Several Scottish names occur in these interesting and important registers, to which the author had access at Halle, where they have been deposited since the removal thither of the University of Wittemberg. See Note K.

ligious liberty boldly takes its stand in front of Romish despotism. A lay spirit prevails over the sacerdotal spirit. In this single step there is a complete victory. The cause of the reform is won.* At the very moment when Hamilton entered the territories of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, to learn more perfectly what the Reformation was, he found a new creation of evangelical worship, discipline, and order, emerging into life. What had been only a new spirit before had begun to clothe itself with a new body; and an inquirer could now study the Reformation rapidly with the eye, as well as hear of it with the ear.

At Wittemberg the young abbot found the monasteries deserted, and Luther, once a monk, living happily in a few rooms of the empty Augustinian cloister, with his new-married wife, a converted and fugitive nun, Catherina von Bora.† He saw the churches of the city purged of the old superstitions. He heard the Gospel hymns of Luther sung in loud and fervent chorus by crowded congregations. He saw the excellent pastor, John Bugenhagen, or Pomeranus, standing in the pulpit of the ancient parish church, and preaching the word of life to the zealous burghers. He listened with admiration to the eloquence of Luther, poured forth upon a select congregation of courtiers, state functionaries, and academics, from the pulpit of the church of the Elector's castle, the Church of All Saints. In both churches he saw the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood administered to communicants, in both kinds.‡ Luther's New Testament was in every house and in every hand in Wittemberg.§ The little city was crowded to inconvenience with the multitude of students who flocked from all parts of Europe to sit at the feet of Luther and Melanthon. Hamilton must have felt no little surprise to find that a city so celebrated and so eagerly resorted to was so mean and insignificant; for its houses at that time were not only not numerous,

* D'Aubigné's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iv. p. 12. Edinburgh, 1846.

† Luther's marriage took place June 27, 1525.

‡ The Lord's Supper was first substituted for the Mass in the parish church of Wittemberg by Carlstadt while Luther was in the Wartburg. Luther did not approve of the irregular way in which the Mass was abolished; 'but since it is down,' said he, 'in God's name there let it lie.'—D'Aubigné's Hist. of Refor. vol. iii. p. 68.

§ The New Testament was translated by Luther in the Wartburg in 1521, and published at Wittemberg on the 21st of September, 1522.

but built of mud and thatched with straw. One of the poorest cities of Europe was richer in pure religion and useful learning than its greatest capitals; for Luther was the soul of its pulpit, and Melancthon was the presiding genius of its university.

The event which Patrick Hamilton set off from Wittemberg to witness at Marburg was no less significant of the Reformation's triumphant progress. The Reformation was on the point of giving birth to the first evangelical university. For hundreds of years no great school had been founded in Europe without the sanction and benediction of the Popes of Rome; but the bold Landgrave of Hesse had resolved to plant a university on the banks of the Lahn, close under the walls of his ancient castle, without consulting any other authority than his own conscience, and without asking any other blessing than that of the Father of lights. Already in the spring of 1527 his plans were ripe. Distinguished professors in all the faculties had been engaged. Joannes Ferrarius Montanus, professor of civil law, had been nominated rector, and Joannes Feige, chief judge of the principality, had been appointed chancellor. On the 30th of May the inauguration of the university was solemnised. The chancellor presided and spoke the inaugural oration; and the rector, laying open the new album, proceeded to enrol the 'cives' of the academic body. 'They were an hundred and four in number,' says one of the biographers of the Landgrave, 'among whom, besides the professors, there were several pastors and public functionaries, several nobles, and a few foreigners; among the rest, Patrick Hamilton, the Scottish evangelical martyr.' The three names of Hamilton and his two friends are still to be seen side by side in the original album.*

The excitement natural to so great an occasion, and the impressive new proof which it afforded of the growing strength of the Reformation, must have given a fresh impulse to the mind of our young Reformer. He must have felt the Reform at that moment to be a great power. In less than ten years it had not only put a new spirit and life into universities before existing, but had waxed strong

* Rommel's 'Philipp der Grossmuthige.' The Dominicans of Marburg surrendered their convent, called 'The College of the Lahn,' for the use of the university, and classes are still taught in the venerable edifice. See Note L for some extracts from the university registers.

enough to bring into existence a university entirely new. What might not be expected from its long future, when its brief past had already wrought so much amazing change?

Marburg could now boast of an assemblage of distinguished scholars and divines, such as had never before been seen in its sloping old-fashioned streets. Among these Hamilton could not fail to regard with peculiar interest the theologian Erhard Schnepf, and the humanitarian Hermann Von dem Busche. Schnepf was now pastor of Marburg, and one of the professors of the theological faculty. He had been won to the Gospel by the teaching of Luther himself. He was a student at Heidelberg when Luther publicly disputed there in the year 1518, and went over immediately to the Reformer's side along with his two friends and fellow-students, Martin Bucer and John Brentz. Von dem Busche, or Buschius, was professor of poetry and oratory; that is to say, he prelected on the works of the ancient poets and orators. He was one of the most renowned of the Reuchlinists or Humanitarians of Germany. He was a nobleman of Westphalia, and had long devoted himself, in spite of the ridicule of his order, to the classical education of the German youth. He had taught with applause in several of the universities; had been pursued everywhere with the hatred of the Obscurants; and had pursued the Obscurants in return with the keenest shafts of satire and raillery. He had been one of the principal contributors to the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,' the great national satire of Germany.* He was now a disciple and supporter of the school of Luther. The admired and dreaded poet had become a serious and chastened student of the Word of God, without having ceased to be one of the most brilliant living professors of ancient literature. No doubt he drew upon himself all eyes at Marburg, and was regarded as the brightest star in the constellation of the new university.†

* See this proved with ample argument and abounding learning in Sir William Hamilton's 'Discussions on Philosophy and Literature,' pp. 226-232.

† He prelected at Marburg on Livy, Cæsar, and other ancient classical historians, and on several of the Roman poets. To these he added also prelections on several books of Augustin. In 1529 he published at Marburg a theological treatise—'De Singulare Auctoritate Veteris et Novi Instrumenti Sacrorum Ecclesiasticorumque Testimoniorum libri. See Meiners Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer aus den Zeiten der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften. Zurich, 1796, vol. ii. p. 387.

But of all the Marburg professors Hamilton drew with most sympathy and attachment to Francis Lambert. This distinguished divine was a Frenchman, and had for some time lived in a monastery at Avignon; but he early embraced the Reformation, and being obliged to fly from his country had studied for some time in the schools of Wittemberg. He was afterwards a preacher in Strasburg, from whence he was called in 1526 by the Landgrave of Hesse to take the lead in introducing the Reformation into his hereditary states. The energetic Philip admired the energetic Francis. Lambert was no friend of half-measures. The first of the 'Paradoxes'—so called—in which he drew out his programme of the Hessian Reformation, is sufficient to reveal the vigour of his spirit and principles. 'All that is *deformed* ought to be *reformed*. The Word of God *alone* teaches us what ought to be so, and all reform effected otherwise is vain.' In the synod of Homburg, which met on the 21st of October, 1526, Lambert's programme was adopted with acclamation, and in a few months the new order of things was set up throughout the whole principality.

A recent biographer of Lambert remarks that 'as a teacher of theology he occupied himself much more with the kernel of Christianity than with its shell. He did not deprecate the importance of theological learning; there was only one thing which he considered more important in the teaching of divinity, and that was, that a clear insight should be given into the chief things of Christianity—its spirit and life.* This earnest practical spirit—the spirit of the reformer brought into the chair of the theologian—must have had a powerful charm for the ardent youth who sat at Lambert's feet, and whom nothing but a like earnestness of practical piety could have induced to devote themselves to the service of a persecuted and menaced cause. Hamilton felt the attraction of a teacher at once so clear in his perceptions, so fervent in his spirit, and so decided in his tone. He not only attended his prelections for several months, but sought also the advantage of his private conversation. The feeling of attachment speedily became mutual. Lambert conceived for his young disciple the warmest esteem and affection. 'His learning,' he tells us, 'was of no common kind for his years, and

* Franz Lambert von Avignon, von Johann Wilhelm Baum. 1840.

his judgment in divine truth was eminently clear and solid. His object in visiting the university was to confirm himself more abundantly in the truth; and I can truly say that I have seldom met with any one who conversed on the Word of God with greater spirituality and earnestness of feeling. He was often in conversation with me upon these subjects.*

But the instructions and society of Lambert and his colleagues were not the only advantages which Hamilton enjoyed during his residence in Marburg. William Tyndale, the admirable translator of the English Bible, and John Frith, his young friend and coadjutor, had come to reside on the same spot that very year. They had last been at Worms, where, in 1525, Tyndale had printed the first two editions of his New Testament—the same which were imported into Scotland, as we have stated above, in that and the following years. To elude the pursuit of Wolsey's agents, the translator was under the necessity of frequently changing his place of sojourn; and he had recently sought an asylum in the Hessian territory, with a view to the protection of the zealous Landgrave. Frith had lately joined him from England, and the two friends were now busily employed in the translation of the Old Testament, and the composition of several original works. Tyndale's excellent treatise, 'The Parable of the Wicked Mammon,' which afterwards did much for the Reformation in England, was finished in May, 1527, the month of the opening of the new university; and 'The Obedience of a Christian Man' must have been growing under Tyndale's hand during Hamilton's residence on the spot, as it appeared in December of the same year from the press of Hans Luft, of Marburg.

Tyndale had made the acquaintance of Hermann Von dem Busche at Worms in the preceding year. Busche wrote to Spalatin soon after, telling him that Tyndale 'knew Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, and French, and spoke them all as well as if they were his mother tongue.' These high accomplishments, as well as his labours and sufferings in the cause of the Reformation, with such a friend as Von dem Busche to herald them, must have made Tyndale an honoured guest in Marburg. Hamilton, in particular, must have

* Lambert's Exegesis in Joannis Apocalypsim—Dedication to the Landgrave. See Note S.

eagerly sought his society, and could not fail to feel the liveliest interest in his translational labours, which promised to be as great a blessing to Scotland as to Tyndale's own country. He must speedily also have discovered that the translator was as ripe a theologian as he was an accomplished linguist. With 'The Parable of the Wicked Mammon,' fresh from the press, before him, he would at once perceive that Tyndale was inferior to none of the German theologians in the distinctness and depth of his evangelical views, and in the power of opening up and illuminating the meaning of the word of God.*

Tyndale's 'son in the Gospel,' John Frith, speaks of Hamilton, in his preface to 'Patrick's Places,' in the manner of one who had known and admired him personally. Meeting so singularly from opposite ends of Britain in the very heart of Germany, and being much of the same age and standing, they would naturally draw to each other with a strong mutual sympathy. Both Lambert and Tyndale were considerably Hamilton's seniors; he must have venerated them as fathers; but to Frith he would be attracted with the feeling of an equal and a brother. The two young reformers were men of kindred spirit and pursuits, both of them sufferers and exiles for the truth, both distinguished scholars and lovers of the new learning, and both devoted to the noble but perilous mission of enlightening the darkness of their native kingdoms. Fox's beautiful description of John Frith would be equally appropriate to the Scottish reformer: 'So learned and excellent a young man, who had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge that there was scarcely his equal among all his companions, and who, besides, withal had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in which of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiseworthy in them both.'†

It was very singular—it could not be an accident, but a providence—that three natives of Britain, all destined to be martyrs to the truth of God, William Tyndale, John Frith, and Patrick Hamil-

* For these interesting notices of Tyndale and Frith's residence in Marburg n 1527, and of Von dem Busche's acquaintance with Tyndale, I am indebted to the late Rev. C. Anderson's 'Annals of the English Bible,' vol. i. pp. 139, 167. For date of John Frith's flight from England to Germany, see Note M.

† *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v. p. 3. (Townsend's edition, 1846.)

ton, should all have met and lived for a season together on that distant spot in a foreign land. But it is thus that God sometimes prepares the martyrs of his truth for the warfare of their mission. He brings them face to face with each other, and heart to heart. As iron sharpeneth iron, so doth one fervent spirit kindle up another. They receive and give inspiration ; they join, and by joining intensify their holy ardours ; till at last their heroic devotion to God and truth becomes too strong to shrink at the sight of torture and death, and even seizes with avidity the fiery crown. Tyndale was already speaking the language of a martyr, though it was not till several years later that he suffered martyrdom. ‘Some man will ask, peradventure,’ says he, in the preface to the “Wicked Mammon,” ‘why I take the labour to make this work, inasmuch as they will burn it, seeing they burned the Gospel?’—(meaning his translation of the New Testament)—‘I answer : In burning the New Testament they did none other thing than that I looked for ; no more shall they do if they burn *me also*, if it be God’s will it shall be so. Nevertheless, in translating the New Testament, I did my duty ; and so do I now, and will do as much more as God hath ordained me to do.’—‘Tribulation for righteousness is not a blessing only, but also a gift that God giveth to none save his special friends. The Apostles rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ’s sake.’—‘Forasmuch, then, as we must needs be baptised in tribulations, and through the Red Sea and a great and a fearful wilderness and a land of cruel giants, into our natural country ; yea, and inasmuch as it is a plain earnest that there is no other way into the kingdom of life than through persecution and suffering of pain and of very death, after the example of Christ, therefore, let us arm our souls with the comfort of the Scriptures : how that God is ever ready at hand in time of need to help us ; and how that such tyrants and persecutors are but God’s scourge and his rod to chastise us.’—‘There is no power against God, neither any wisdom against God’s wisdom. He is stronger and wiser than all his enemies. What help it Pharaoh to drown the men-children ? So little (I fear not) shall it at the last help the Pope and his bishops to burn our men-children, which manfully confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, and that there is no other name given unto men to be saved by, as Peter testifieth.’—‘Let the little flock be bold, therefore ; for if God be on our side

what matter maketh it who be against us, be they bishops, cardinals, popes, or whatsoever names they will?'*

It was while living in the midst of all these influences, so well fitted to vivify and invigorate his new religious life, that Patrick Hamilton drew up the only composition that has reached us from his pen. It originated in a suggestion of Lambert. 'He was the first man,' says Lambert, 'after the erection of the university, who put forth a series of theses to be publicly defended. These theses were conceived in the most evangelical spirit, and were maintained with the greatest learning. It was by my advice that he published them.' The suggestion was a proof of Lambert's confidence in Hamilton's ability and judgment; and this confidence was amply justified by his disciple's performance. The theses, which were originally written in Latin, were soon after translated and published by John Frith, 'for the profit of his own nation,' and were preserved to posterity by the insertion of this translation in Fox's 'Acts and Monuments.' 'The little treatise,' says the translator, 'which if ye list ye may call "Patrick's Places," teacheth exactly of certain common-places, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity.' The work is an interesting monument of the gifts and attainments of 'that excellent and well-learned young man,' as Frith characterises its author. The ripeness of theological judgment which it displays was extraordinary in an author so young, and who had only recently emerged from the darkness of Roman error. The subjects which it handles, viz., the distinction of law and gospel, faith and works, justification and holiness, are among the most fundamental of the evangelical system, and the topics upon which the controversies of the Reformation mainly turned. The treatise is a proof that Patrick Hamilton's natural talents were of no common order, that his application to the study of the Scriptures had been intense, and that he was in an eminent degree enlightened and quickened by the Spirit of God. He had also no doubt perused with attention several recent works of the German and English reformers, which had handled the same topics with a high degree of perspicuity and force. These were, among others, Luther's remarkable sermon on 'The Freedom of a Christian Man,' published in 1520; Melancthon's 'Common-

* Preface to 'The Obedience of a Christian Man,' published in 1527.

'Places,' the first systematic exhibition of the reformed theology, which appeared in 1521, and of which it has been said that, next to the Bible, it has possibly contributed most to the establishment of the evangelical doctrine;* Melanethon's 'Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans,' with an introduction containing an eminently lucid statement of the true doctrine of law and gospel, sin and justification, grace and faith, a work which was first given to the world in 1522. Tyndale's 'Parable of the Wicked Mammon' was also, in all probability, as already hinted, in Hamilton's hands; and no one who has read that admirable work can be ignorant how well fitted it was to bring evangelical truth upon all these great subjects close home to the convictions both of the understanding and the conscience. Indeed, there are some points of resemblance between 'Patrick's Places' and Tyndale's 'Parable' so striking as almost to amount to a probable proof that Hamilton had made use of that work in drawing up his own; unless, indeed, the close similarity is to be accounted for by supposing that both the English and the Scottish reformer drew from Luther, in the sermon just mentioned, in which the Saxon divine is found using much the same language in some places as both the British reformers.†

'Patrick's Places,' brief as they are, have an historical importance as well as a biographic interest. They were the earliest doctrinal production of the Scottish Reformation; and they determine with primary authority the theological type and the religious spirit which marked that Reformation in its earliest stage. We have no adequate account of the preaching and disputations by which Hamilton subsequently disseminated his doctrine among his countrymen. But the 'Places' served the use of a doctrinal manifesto, given forth by him to the world immediately before he entered on his martyrmission, and enable us to understand both what he preached and how he preached it. Knox fully appreciated the value of the manifesto, in its relation both to the biography of his precursor, and to the history of the great religious revolution of which he was himself both chief hero and historian, for he has inserted it at full length in his own pages. The English Martyrologist paid a

* D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 83. Edinburgh, 1846.

† See Note N for a comparison of passages from Luther, Tyndale, and Hamilton.

similar tribute to its historical importance and theological worth, not only preserving it entire among his other 'Monuments,' as 'a godly and profitable treatise, not unprofitable,' in his mind, 'to be seen and read of all men, for the pure and comfortable doctrine contained in the same,' but also appending to it 'certain notes or declarations' of his own, intended to bring out some portion of its pregnant and deep meaning; alleging as his reason for so doing, that 'the little treatise, albeit in quantity it be short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaring to us the true doctrine of the law, of the Gospel, of faith, and of works, with the nature and properties and also the difference of the same'—a difference and distinction, as he beautifully remarks, 'which ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians, especially in conflict of conscience between the law and the Gospel, faith and works, grace and merits, promise and condition, God's free election and man's free will; so that the light of the free grace of God in our salvation may appear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's holy name. Amen.'*

It is interesting to remark how many eminent men of different nations contributed to the theological instruction and the religious development of the first preacher and martyr of the Scottish Reformation. To prepare this great boon for Scotland, the foremost divines of Germany, France, and England, all lent a helping hand. It was, indeed, the Divine Teacher himself, whose 'goodness and gentleness' the young theologian lauds in his theses, 'and who giveth all we need for nought,' who was supremely leading him into all truth. The student had evidently a large unction from that Holy One. But the heavenly Teacher still employed the same instrumental economy as when, in apostolic times, Aquila expounded the way of God more perfectly to Apollos, and the Apostle Paul was used to inspire a firmer and more heroic spirit into Barnabas and the Apostle Peter. It was the gifts and graces of Luther and Melanthon, of Lambert and Tyndale, that the Lord of prophets and apostles, evangelists and teachers, made use of to bring to ripeness the evangelical faith and the martyr devotion of Patrick Hamilton. Many centuries before, the Scottish monasteries had sent

* *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iv. pp. 572-74.

missionaries of the cross to sow the seeds of Christian truth among the forests of Germany and Switzerland, and in several of the less favoured provinces of France and England. The day had now come when these countries were to repay the debt, by sending back to Scotland a series of great preachers and confessors, whom they had all assisted to train and to mature. Of these Patrick Hamilton was the first, and John Erskine of Dun, George Wishart, and John Knox all followed in his train.

At the close of the first semester of the university-course, Hamilton felt that the moment had arrived when the duty he owed to God and his country obliged him to return home. His two friends, John Hamilton and Gilbert Wynram, saw the danger of such a course, and probably did their utmost to dissuade him from it. They preferred to remain some time longer in the safe asylum of Germany. But their devoted companion had now reached such a pitch of strength in the faith and of self-sacrificing zeal, that no prospect of danger could turn him aside from his high purpose of becoming an evangelist to his country. He longed to expound to his countrymen all the riches of that faith and hope and love which had now taken full possession of his own soul. He had called aloud to his fellow-students at Marburg, at the close of his theses, ‘We have a good and gentle Lord. He doeth all for nought. Let us follow His footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and magnify.’ The words were the utterance of his whole heart; and he was now to act them as well as utter them. He was now to follow the prints of his Master’s feet along the path which few in any age are willing to tread—the path of self-forgetting, self-renouncing, self-immolating love.

How remarkable that, in the space of little more than six months, his knowledge of Christ, his faith, and his missionary ardour, should all have received so immense an enhancement! Six months ago he was a fugitive, escaping from his country, because he felt himself unequal to the work and the endurance of a Gospel martyr. But now he is in haste to face the dangers which he was then in haste to shun. So rapid and so signal a change is surprising; but it admits of easy explanation. The six months he spent in Germany were spent among the most illustrious teachers and heroes of the reformed faith. His teachers were all evangelical doctors of the

highest eminence, and they were all evangelical heroes as well as doctors. They were all men who had suffered and sacrificed much for the cause of Christ. It was impossible for a soul like his to be so long in communion with souls like theirs without catching their spirit, and being overmastered by their inspiration. So long as he was able to study the Reformation only in the books of its authors, he was more enlightened than quickened by that reflected light. But when he saw and heard and communed face to face with the great authors themselves, he felt them to be *burning* as well as shining lights ; and his own spirit, a spirit of quick and large receptivity, was speedily kindled into an heroic flame. Men who only read Luther might become Lutherans in doctrine and conviction ; but men of the right temperament who saw and conversed with Luther, and lived for a time in the element which he diffused around him, became Lutherans in spirit as well as opinion. The sight of his impregnable courage and constancy gave new strength to their hearts ; and they could not long behold and admire such a shining example of the heroism of faith, without becoming ashamed of their own weakheartedness, and being converted into evangelical heroes themselves.

Late in the autumn of 1527 Patrick Hamilton returned with a single attendant to his native country.

CHAPTER VI.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S PREACHING.

SPECIAL ADAPTATION OF HAMILTON TO HIS WORK AS A SCOTTISH REFORMER—HAMILTON'S FIRST CONGREGATION AT KINCABEL—ANCIENT PARISH CHURCH OF BINNY—STATE OF RELIGION IN LINLITHGOW—HAMILTON'S DOCTRINE—ANTITHESIS OF THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL—ANTITHESIS OF FAITH AND INCREDOULITY—DISTINCTION OF FAITH, HOPE, AND CHARITY—SALVATION BY WORKS AND BY GRACE—FAITH THE ROOT OF THE GOOD TREE—HAMILTON A RADICAL REFORMER—FAILURE OF OTHER ATTEMPTS TO REVIVE THE PIETY OF THE CHURCH.

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This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's evangel as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be builded in it; yea it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemy imagine to the contrary) the very cope-stone.

GEORGE WISHART.

CHAPTER VI.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S PREACHING.

IT was a remarkable instance of that perfect adaptation which is always observed in the instruments which God employs to carry out the great designs of His providence and grace, that the first evangelical preacher sent to a kingdom so intensely feudal as Scotland still was in the sixteenth century, should have been a scion of her ancient nobility and even a kinsman of her royal house. The whole tone and spirit of the national life was still strongly aristocratic. In all public affairs high rank and title continued to have more exclusive power and privilege in Scotland than in any other of the European kingdoms. The mass of the people, accustomed for centuries to almost servile submission to their feudal superiors, were still content to think very much as their masters thought, and to follow wherever their liege lords led the way. In such a state of society it was a great advantage to the cause of Divine truth that its first preachers and confessors should be men of high social standing and consideration. The feeling of the country would be, that such men had a right to put themselves forward, and were entitled to be heard. The people would probably have treated with neglect and contumely a man of no birth or social standing who had come forward to demand a reform of the Church. They would have said that the reform he called for might indeed be wanted, but it was no business of his to meddle in such high affairs. But God had now sent them a Reformer whose claim to speak and to have a hearing must be acknowledged by all—a man of noble blood—a scion of the illustrious house which was heir presumptive to the throne. ‘Not many

mighty, not many noble are called' to such service. But in all ages there have been some—a few—and Patrick Hamilton was one of the number.

Nor did he stand alone in the history of the Scottish Reformation in this respect. It is quite remarkable how many of the Reformers of Scotland were men of good family and standing. Alexander Seyton was a son of Sir Alexander Seyton of Touch and Tullybody; George Wishart was 'a gentleman of the house of Pitarrow;' John Erskine was of the ancient and honourable family of Dun; Sir John Borthwick was a son of the third Lord Borthwick; John M'Alpine, or Machabæus, belonged to 'a very ancient and noble family' of the royal clan of M'Alpine; and John M'Briar was 'a gentleman of Galloway.' John Knox himself was born of 'an ancient and respectable family;' and he numbered among his early protectors and abettors many laymen who were members of the best and most powerful houses in the kingdom. The finger of Providence was manifest in the selection of such men to carry forward the Reformation-movement, in a country in which superior wisdom and worth stood particularly in need of the adventitious support of birth and station.

On his arrival from Germany Patrick Hamilton repaired to the family mansion at Kincavel; and it was there that he found his first congregation. His elder brother Sir James was now in possession of the family estates and honours; was married to Isobel Sempill, a daughter no doubt of the noble house of that ancient name; and had a young family rising around him. His mother still survived, as we learn from an affectionate allusion which he made to her a few months later; and he had a sister named Katherine, a lady of spirit and talent. These near relatives and the servants of the family made up the preacher's first audience; and he did not expound to them in vain the Gospel which he loved. His labours among his relations were blessed with signal success. Both his brother and sister welcomed the truth, and were honoured several years later to suffer much for its sake.*

* None of our historians have mentioned Hamilton's sojourn at Kincavel at this time. But Alesius informs us that he was living with his relatives before he went to St. Andrews, as related in next chapter; and if his brother's family had then been living at Stanehouse, in Lanarkshire, and not at Kin-

But he did not confine himself to the circle at Kincavel. He began to preach the long-lost Gospel in all the country round. ‘The bright beams of the true light,’ says Knox, ‘which, by God’s grace, was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth as well in public as in secret.’ ‘Wheresoever he came,’ says Spottiswood, ‘he spared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman Church, and to show the errors crept into the Christian religion; whereunto many gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all sorts of people.’*

It is exceedingly probable that the ancient parish church of Binny was the first church in Scotland in which the Reformer lifted up his voice. The parish of Binny was not then united as now to the adjoining parish of Linlithgow; and the Baron of Kincavel was one of its principal proprietors. The beautiful ‘Craig,’ which so finely diversifies the surface of the parish, would seem to have been a part of the Kincavel estate; and its lofty cliff and bosky slopes—a monument of nature’s own rearing—probably mark the spot where Patrick Hamilton commenced his evangelic mission.†

Among other places in the neighbourhood of Kincavel, it may be very safely inferred, from the statements of Knox and Spottiswood, that Hamilton preached in the adjoining burgh of Linlithgow. The town was less than two miles from his home, and it had claims upon him of peculiar interest. It had possibly been the place of his own early education; it was the seat of the hereditary jurisdiction of his family; and its burghers were kindly affectioned to his house. Its population was the largest and most influential to which he could have access as a preacher, in that part of the kingdom; it numbered among its occasional residents the members of the royal family, and

- many of the highest nobility of the realm; the inmates of the palace were worshippers in the parish church of St. Michael; and all ranks

cavel, he would have been under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Glasgow, not of St. Andrews, and we should have heard of his being proceeded against in the former city, not in the latter.

* Knox’s History, vol. i. p. 15. Spottiswood’s History, London, 1677, p. 62.

† In a charter, of date 3rd September, 1507, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel conveyed to William Hamilton, his kinsman, ‘five ox-gangs of land, of which four lie to the south of the house of Kincavel, *in the Craig quarter*, along with the ‘west field’ and the ‘bog head,’ lying to the south of the ‘rock of Kincavel.’

of the community, from the highest to the lowest, stood urgently in need of a purer dispensation of religious truth. Indeed, Linlithgow would appear to have been addicted with a more than ordinary degree of zeal, to the superstitious worship of the Church of Rome. The beautiful church of St. Michael, though of no great size, had as many as sixteen altars erected in its aisles and side-chapels ; and to these the burghers came not only with their rosaries and prayers, but with the substantial oblations of numerous annual rents. These altars were endowed with no fewer than 228 such rents, all chargeable upon tenements in the town, except a few which were derived from houses in Edinburgh. All the houses of the burgh could not have much, if at all, exceeded that number of rent-charges. Two of the altars were dedicated to the Virgin, and received between them as many as fifty-nine of these endowments. The altars of St. John the Baptist and St. Ninian had each twenty. St. Andrew, St. Katherine the Virgin, St. Bridget, and St. Anne were also regarded with considerable favour ; and St. Peter, St. Elisius, and St. Michael were not forgotten. One altar was styled the altar of Corpus Christi—another was the altar of the Lamp and Light of the Sacrament—another was styled of the Holy Cross—and a fourth was the altar of All Saints. This large number of foundations was no doubt owing to two causes. Linlithgow was a favourite royal residence, and as such was the frequent resort of the nobility and prelates ; and a large portion of the property of the burgh and county was in the hands of churchmen.*

It appears from authentic records still extant that the burghers of Linlithgow had not only to sustain the numerous priests who ministered at these superstitious altars, but were obliged also to bind them down, by solemn instruments and by many sureties, to observe the plainest rules of honesty and decorum. A curious document of this kind has been preserved in the charter chest of Linlithgow, and is now for the first time brought forward as a witness to the

* For these curious particulars I am indebted to the researches of a local antiquary, W. H. Henderson, Esq., writer, Linlithgow, who communicated them to me in the most liberal manner, along with a copy of the singular original document mentioned in the next paragraph, and several extracts from the burgh records. The reader will find these communications in their complete form in Appendix V.

melancholy corruption of the Scottish Church. It is a deed of obligation of the year 1455, on the part of Patrick Brone, or Brown, chaplain of the altar of Corpus Christi in the church of St. Michael, and bears the seals of six ‘borrowis’ or sureties, his relatives and friends. In this deed Brown binds and obliges himself to the bailies and community of Linlithgow, not merely to do divine service at the altar of Corpus Christi, and in the choir of the church, and to learn diligently to read and sing in ‘augmentation of God’s service, and for pleasance of the said bailies and community;’ but also ‘not to sell, wadset (pledge), nor analie (alienate) any part of the graith’ (furniture) of the said altar, such as books, chalice, chasuble, albs, towels, &c., ‘for no pinch or necessity that may happen at any time to arise;’ and also ‘to govern his person in honesty, and to be of honest conversation in meat and drink, lying and rising, and to use no unreasonable excess,’ and to have no ‘*continual* concubine.’ And ‘*gif he should happen to do the contrair he shall, at the ordinance of the said bailies and community, desist and amend under pain of deprivation.*

Such was the very moderate amount of virtue expected or required from the altar-chaplains of Linlithgow; and such was the singular method adopted by its honest burgesses to enforce it. In the absence of all efficient ecclesiastical discipline, the only way they could think of to secure the decency of their priests was to take half-a-dozen sureties for the good behaviour of each of them, and to bind them by a legal instrument to submit, in case of transgression, to the deprivation of their offerings and rents.

To a community so steeped in superstition, and accustomed to such a low standard of character in the ministers of religion, the appearance of a preacher like Patrick Hamilton must have been a phenomenon of the most striking kind. We can easily imagine the lively surprise and curiosity which would be felt by every man and woman in Linlithgow when the rumour first spread that the sheriff’s brother had come home a Lutheran, had turned preacher, and was setting forth a doctrine which had never been heard in ‘the country-side’ before. If there were ‘many who gave ear to him’ at that time, and if he had ‘a great following,’ no spot in the kingdom is so likely to have found him such crowded audiences and such a host of followers as the ancient burgh of Linlithgow. And probable traces of

his influence are not altogether wanting in the contemporary records of the town. As early as the year 1529—the year after his death—there appears to have been a spirit of ecclesiastical reform called forth among the members of the burgh council and assize. On the 5th November of that year ‘the siss’ or assize ordained ‘that the bailies should call their altar-chaplains before them, and charge them to do their service at mess, matins, and evensong, after the form of their foundations and bonds; and if they will not obey, to call them before their overman with a sharp summons.’ And it is curious to find acting on this assize, in addition to a Sandilands, so many Hamiltons—‘William Hamilton in Kyncavel, Alexander Hamilton in the Grange, George Hamilton in the Medhope, and Allan Hamilton.’ Again, on the 22nd day of the same month, ‘it was statute and ordained by the bailies, council, and community of Linlithgow, in presence of our comburgess, James Hamilton of Fynnart, knight, and James Hamilton of Kincavel, sheriff of Linlithgow, that in time to come there be no altarage, nor parish clerkship, nor common clerkship, which is in the gift of the bailies, council, and community of Linlithgow, given until such time as they become vacant in the town’s hands, by the decease of the chaplains or clerks of the said service; and that the bailies should dispose of them by advice of the council and community in plane court, and that the burgesses be warned thereto.’*

These curious notices furnish evidence of a desire of ecclesiastical reform having been awakened among the Linlithgow burghers at that period; and the prominence of the Hamiltons, as the advisers and promoters of such measures, points, we think, to the preaching of the young Reformer as the influence from which this spirit of religious improvement derived its rise. Nor was this new spirit of reforming earnestness a mere transient fit. It continued to distinguish the municipal rulers of the burgh for many years; and many subsequent records are extant, which bear testimony to their laudable zeal to promote at least an external reformation of the worship and discipline of that limited portion of the national church, over which as magistrates they had any control. We miss, it is true, the evangelical element in their measures. They had caught somewhat of

* Burgh records of Linlithgow, to which the author was kindly allowed access by Rob. R. Glen, Esq., Town-clerk; besides being supplied, with his concurrence, with other extracts referred to in a previous note.

the Reformer's earnest spirit, without having had time to become imbued with his evangelical principles. To introduce doctrinal or ritual changes was indeed beyond their sphere of action, even if they were convinced of their necessity; but they could at least provide that all things within their ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be done decently and in order; and in this department they were an example to all the bishops and synods of the realm. They subjected the numerous chaplains of St. Michael's to a vigilant oversight; and they introduced stringent regulations to enforce punctuality and decency in all the offices of public devotion.

With regard to the doctrines which Patrick Hamilton preached, we are fortunately in possession of the most authentic and reliable information. We have them recorded by his own pen. 'Patrick's Places' embrace the substance of his theological views, and reveal, besides, not a little of the religious spirit and feeling with which he held and proclaimed them. It is a very safe assumption that in his sermons to the people he would in substance promulgate the same doctrines, which he had only a few weeks before maintained in academic disputation at Marburg. His 'Places,' we cannot doubt, supply us with the heads of his pulpit discourses, and have preserved for the perusal of posterity the main principles and views which gave substance to his preaching and inspiration to his zeal. In that little tract we come into communion with the very soul and spirit of his brief but fruitful ministry.

He began his exposition of Christian truth with setting forth the doctrine of the law, from which he advanced to the statement of the Gospel, and then drew with a vigorous hand the antithesis between the one and the other. This was the order of statement which was characteristic of the Reformation divines, as it had been, fifteen centuries before, the theological and homiletic order of St. Paul himself.

There was no subject on which the doctrine and preaching of the Church of Rome had more misled and blinded the people than the respective places and uses of the Law and the Gospel. As good John Fox, the martyrologist, remarks in the comments which he appended to his reprint of the 'Places,' under the head of 'Errors and absurdities of the Papists touching the doctrine of the law and the Gospel'—'They erroneously conceive opinion of salvation in the law, which only is to be sought in the faith of Christ, and in no other.'

They erroneously do seek God's favour by works of the law, not knowing that the law, in this our corrupt nature, worketh only the anger of God. They err also in this, that whereas the office of the law is diverse from and contrary to the Gospel, they, without any difference, confound the one with the other, making the Gospel to be a law and Christ to be a Moses. In the doctrines of salvation, remission, and justification, either they admix the law equally with the Gospel, or else, clean secluding the Gospel, they teach and preach the law so that little mention is made of the faith of Christ, or none at all.' Such was the teaching which Hamilton's hearers had been accustomed to listen to, on those rare occasions when they were treated with any preaching at all. But, returning to the theology of the apostles, the new Preacher expounded the antithesis of law and Gospel in the following manner :—

'The law sheweth us our sin, the Gospel sheweth us remedy for it.
The law sheweth us our condemnation, the Gospel sheweth us
our redemption.

The law is the word of ire, the Gospel is the word of grace.
The law is the word of despair, the Gospel is the word of
comfort.

The law is the word of unrest, the Gospel is the word of peace.'

All these clear statements he proved one by one from the Scriptures, and then reiterated in substance, in the lively form of a disputation between the law and the Gospel, each addressing itself to the sinner in a manner appropriate to each, and thus revealing 'the difference or contrariety between them both.'

'The law saith to the sinner, Pay thy debt; the Gospel saith,
Christ hath paid it.

The law saith, Thou art a sinner, despair, thou shalt be damned;
the Gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good com-
fort, thou shalt be saved.

The law saith, Make amends for thy sins; the Gospel saith, Christ
hath made it for thee.

The law saith, The Father of heaven is angry with thee; the
Gospel saith, Christ hath pacified Him with His blood.

The law saith, Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction ? the Gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction.

The law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell ; the Gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.'

No less scriptural and clear were the Reformer's expositions of the nature and functions of Faith, as going forth upon its several great objects—God and his word, Christ and His redemption :—

' Faith is a certainty or assuredness, a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen. He that hath faith wotteth well that God will fulfil His word. Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness. To believe God is to believe His word, and to account it true that he saith. He that believeth not God's word believeth not God Himself. He that believeth not God's word counteth Him false and a liar, and believeth not that He may and will fulfil His word ; and so he denieth both the might of God and God Himself. The faith of Christ is to believe in Him, that is, to believe His word, and believe that He will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil. Thou wilt ask me, What word ? I answer, The Gospel. He that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God ; he that believeth the Gospel shall be safe. He that hath faith is just and good. All that is done in faith pleaseth God. He that lacketh faith cannot please God ; he that hath faith and believeth in God cannot displease Him. Faith is the gift of God, it is not in our own power.'

Hamilton spoke to a people to whom the faith which he thus highly commended was strange and unknown. Faith, as they had hitherto understood it, was only the belief of the dogmas which rested on the authority of the Church. They had been taught to look upon faith, in the sense of confiding trust in the love of their heavenly Father, and in the all-sufficing grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a dangerous presumption ; and to be altogether faithless in this sense must have appeared to them a much more Christian state than to be believing. We may imagine, then, the sensation of surprise which must have been produced in their minds by

such a powerful comparison between ‘Faith and Incredulity’ as the following :—

‘ Faith is the root of all good, incredulity (or unbelief) is the root of all evil.

Faith maketh God and man good friends, incredulity maketh them foes.

Faith bringeth God and man together, incredulity sundereth them.

All that faith doth pleaseth God, all that incredulity doth displeaseeth God.

Faith only maketh a man good and righteous, incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil.

Faith maketh a man a member of Christ, incredulity maketh him a member of the devil.

Faith maketh a man the inheritor of heaven, incredulity maketh him inheritor of hell.

Faith maketh a man the servant of God, incredulity maketh him the servant of the devil.

Faith showeth us God to be a sweet Father, incredulity showeth him a terrible Judge.

Faith holdeth stiff by the word of God, incredulity wavereth here and there.

Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true, incredulity holdeth Him false and a liar.

Faith knoweth God, incredulity knoweth Him not.

Faith loveth both God and his neighbour, incredulity loveth neither of them.

Faith only saveth us, incredulity only condemneth us.

Faith extolleth God and His deeds, incredulity extolleth herself and her own deeds.’

With equal truth and ability did the young preacher discriminate and set forth the differences of the three cardinal Christian graces of faith, hope, and charity :—

‘ Faith cometh of the word of God; hope cometh by faith; and charity springeth of them both.

Faith believeth the word ; hope trusteth after that which is promised by the word ; charity doeth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladness that is within herself.

Faith looketh to God and His word ; hope looketh unto his gift and reward ; charity looketh on her neighbour's profit.

Faith receiveth God ; hope receiveth his reward ; charity loveth her neighbours with a glad heart, without any respect of reward.'

None of these statements of Christian truth, of course, can have any novelty or freshness to evangelical Christians in the present day. They are all trite and familiar as household words. But this very triteness is the highest commendation imaginable of their author's maturity of knowledge and discernment in the things of God. His aphorisms are trite simply because the truths he put forth in the first evangelical sermons ever preached in Scotland are the very same truths, and almost in the very same words, which we accept and use at the present day, as the essential verities of evangelical religion. Was it not a signal proof of Hamilton's theological and religious ripeness, that, at so early a stage both of his own age and of the history of the Reformation, he should have been able to put forth views of Gospel doctrine so just, and exact, and adequate, that at an interval of more than three hundred years, the evangelical Christians of his country can find little or nothing to add to them, and might well be content to accept his expositions as a statement and definition of their religious faith, on the points to which they refer ?

But it was not only in the department of clear theological exposition that Patrick Hamilton evinced such uncommon ability ; he was equally powerful in close appeals to the hearts and understandings of men, and evinced no ordinary capacity of that rhetorical kind which makes a man a popular and effective preacher. It was in the following strain of appeal that he dealt with the Roman dogma, which is also the dogma of every unrenewed heart, of salvation by works :—

' Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and

that all things pertain to Christ. For how is He thy Saviour if thou mightest save thyself by thy works, or whereto should He die for thee if any works might have saved thee? What is this, to say Christ died for thee? Verily, that thou shouldest have died eternally, and Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy eternal death into His own death; for thou madest the fault and He suffered the punishment; and that for the love He had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil. Now, seeing He hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou, pay it, but shouldest be damned if His blood were not. But since He was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished. Finally, He hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and from all evil, and desireth naught of thee but that thou wilt acknowledge what He hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldest help others for His sake both in word and deed, even as He hath holpen thee for naught and without reward. Oh how ready would we be to help others if we knew His goodness and gentleness toward us. He is a good and a gentle Lord, for He doth all for naught. Let us, I beseech you, therefore, follow His footsteps whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen.

‘He that thinketh to be saved by his works calleth himself Christ; for he calleth himself the Saviour, which pertaineth to Christ only. What is a Saviour but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved myself; which is as much as to say, “I am Christ,” for Christ only is the Saviour of the world.

‘We should do no good works for the intent to get the inheritance of heaven or remission of sin. For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven or remission of sin through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ’s sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved, for Christ’s sake, they believe not the Gospel; for the Gospel saith, You shall be saved for Christ’s sake, your sins are forgiven for Christ’s sake.

‘He that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God; so it followeth that those who believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him a liar, and so utterly deny Him to be God.

‘Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds? I say not so; but I say we should do no good works to the intent to get the in-

inheritance of heaven or remission of sin. For if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God ; or if we believe to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God a liar ; for God saith, “ Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for My Son’s sake ; thy sins are forgiven thee for My Son’s sake ;” and you say it is not so, but I will win it through my works. Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works ; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence are therewith poisoned and become evil. Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not, to deserve any good through them ; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth He anything of thee, who giveth all things and is nought the poorer ? Therefore do nothing to Him, but take of Him, for He is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need than we can take it of Him. If, then, we want aught, let us blame ourselves. Press not, therefore, to the inheritance of heaven through presumption of thy good works ; for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of Him for nought, and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride.’

The preaching of the Reformers was a resuscitation of the preaching of St. Paul. Christ and faith in Christ were the constant themes of their awakening and world-renewing ministry. They were deeply convinced that nothing but Christ is the power of God unto salvation, and that nothing but faith brings Christ close home to the souls of men. They went to the root of the matter. They saw clearly that in all moral and religious life, in all life of the heart, it is faith or trust that lies at the very bottom. ‘ Faith,’ exclaimed Hamilton, ‘ faith maketh the good tree, and incredulity the evil tree. Such a tree, such fruit ; such a man, such works. Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man ; but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works. Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil ; but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works ; for a

good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit. A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works; for the tree is good ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit. If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou *art* evil and wantest faith ; if thou do good, it is an argument that thou *art* good and hast faith ; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil ; so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds. All things that are done in faith please God and are good works ; and all that are done without faith displease God and are evil works.'

These were all profound truths, and they were all as new to the people of Scotland when Patrick Hamilton uttered them as they were profound. They are new no longer, but they are none the less vital because they are old and hackneyed. They are old in the sense of being ancient, not modern—as ancient not only as the Reformation, but as Christianity itself; but not old in the sense of being antiquated or worn out. They are as necessary to the souls of men now as ever they were, and they are as well able as ever to ‘nourish them’ unto spiritual and eternal life. They are old, but in no sense which excludes their being ever young and ever new. They are the word of the Lord ; and ‘the word of the Lord endureth for ever.’ The Word of the Eternal, like the Eternal himself, can properly indeed have neither age nor youth. Its light and life and power are inexhaustible, and everlasting. The first evangelical preacher of the Church of Scotland spoke truths which all her evangelical preachers since have been unable either to transcend, or to dispense with. The evangelism of Scotland at the present day is still marked by the same type of doctrine as the preaching of her first evangelist. Thousands of sermons preached every week in her cities and rural parishes are, in substance, little more than repetitions and expansions of his pregnant and pithy aphorisms. And long may the martyr’s voice multiply its echoes in her pulpits and halls of theology ! Scotland will never cease to be the temple of true Christianity and spiritual religion, as long as she remains faithful to the testimony bequeathed to her by her first evangelical preacher.

Patrick Hamilton was the first Scottish divine of his age who went to the root of the evils under which his native Church and

country were suffering. The age was not destitute of men thoughtful enough to be convinced that some new measures were needed to revive the piety and restore the discipline of the Church, and devoted enough to consecrate to that object their efforts and their possessions. But their views both of the causes of the evils which they lamented, and of the requisites of the needed remedy, were superficial and inadequate, and their well-meant endeavours and generous sacrifices all came to nothing. The favourite scheme of the age for rekindling the flame of devotion, and bringing back the discipline and purity of better times, was the foundation of collegiate churches, in which the service of God should be celebrated daily by colleges of priests, in matins, mass, and even-song, and all the holy days and festivals of the Church should be observed with due solemnity. The numerous and well-endowed clergy of these establishments, including provosts, canons, prebendaries, vicars pensionary, &c., were appointed by the founders to live together under collegiate rules and restrictions; and stringent securities were provided to ensure the preservation of discipline. One of these collegiate churches was founded at Crail in 1517 by William Myretoun, perpetual vicar of Lathrisk, and was enriched by him with additional endowments in 1526.* Another was founded in Glasgow in 1528 by James Houston, sub-dean of the cathedral, and rector of the university, and was named the College of Our Lady the Blessed Virgin and St. Ann;† and in 1545 a third was endowed by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, at Biggar.‡ In all these cases much interest and sympathy were awakened among the friends of the old church. Myretoun was joined in the work of endowment by the Lady Janet Hepburn, Prioress of Haddington. Houston was aided by the co-operation of the monastery of Kilwinning, which gave up for the use of the College of Our Lady the fruits of the church of Dalry, and of the nunnery of North Berwick, which resigned to it the patronage and fruits of the church of Maybole. Lord Fleming received important assistance from the Abbeys of Kelso and Holyrood,

* Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. Appendix to the Reign of James V., p. 398. Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. ix.—Parish of Crail.

† Liber Collegii Nostræ Dominæ B. V. Mariæ et S. Annæ (Maitland Club). Edited, with a valuable preface and notes, by Joseph Robertson, Esq.

‡ Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis de Edwinesburg (Bannatyne Club), pp. 295, 296, Appendix II. Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vi.—Parish of Biggar.

which surrendered to his collegiate church the patronage and fruits of the parish churches of Thankerton and Dunrod. The monks of Kelso considered that ‘all of them in these evil times, in the increase of Lutheranism, were obliged to contribute to so good a work;’ and the canons of Holyrood were moved to contribute their aid by the same consideration of ‘these wretched Lutheran times,’ as well as by the general duty incumbent upon all the faithful, of extolling, approving, and to the best of their power assisting all honest endeavours to promote the worship and honour of Almighty God. But all these laudable efforts to bring about a better state of things in the Church proved fruitless and unavailing. The fires kindled on these new altars were soon extinguished, and their ashes scattered. The root of true religion had died in the ground, and it was impossible, by dint of any such superficial husbandry, by any mere top-dressing of the soil, to obtain a new outgrowth of spiritual life. In a few years all these new colleges of ‘devout orators’ fell to pieces, and the edifices where they served became the temples of a simpler and purer worship. It was in the collegiate church of Crail that Knox first thundered against the idolatry of the mass, on his final return to Scotland in May 1559; and where the work of demolishing the altars, crucifixes, and images of superstition was begun by the people. And the College of Our Lady and St. Ann, in Glasgow, after falling into ruins in the same century which saw it reared, gave place in the next age to the parish church of the Tron, which was erected upon the same site—a church which has become endeared to the evangelism of Scotland as the scene of some of its brightest examples of living piety and consecrated genius.

It is instructive as well as interesting to read the accounts which men like William Myretoun and James Houston gave of the motives which induced them to found and endow their college churches, as these motives reveal the spirit and genius of the religion which their foundations sprang from, and were designed to strengthen. The founder of the College of Crail states as his reasons for undertaking that work, his long-cherished design of doing something for the augmentation of divine worship; the experience which he had had of heavenly aid obtained for him in this life by the prayers of the devout; and his trust to be brought in the next world to the society of the angels of heaven, and, by their benevolent intercessions, to

obtain from the merciful Redeemer not only the forgiveness of his sins, but also a mitigation and termination of the pains of purgatory.*

We find a similar mixture of pure and impure elements in the piety of the Subdean of Glasgow. He was firmly persuaded, he tells his archbishop, Gavyn Dunbar, that in the solemnities of the mass the Son of God was offered to the Almighty Father as a holocaust of sweet savour, than which nothing more acceptable or more honourable could possibly be offered. The sincerity of the Catholic faith likewise assured him of the power of the mass to succour the weakness of human nature, ever ready to fall into sin; to deliver the souls of defunct believers from the pains of purgatory, and to advance the souls of the blessed to the plenitude of glory. He was also moved by the warning in the book of Exodus: ‘O that they were wise and understanding, and would consider their latter end!’ and he often revolved in his mind the words of the Apocalypse: ‘I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.’ ‘Hence,’ he continues, ‘was my charity inflamed; and hence sprang up within me a pious desire to set forward the worship and honour of God, which desire I have carried out to the extent of my ability in this foundation.’†

Such was the strange mixture of good and bad, of pure and impure, in the confessions of the best churchmen of Hamilton’s age!—of the men who were most earnest to improve the state of the Church, and who gave the largest contributions of their substance to accomplish that end. ‘But who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one.’ The religious life of the Church was poisoned at its very source. The Christianity of her best men was corrupted with the grossest errors and superstitions; and it was impossible that such men, with all their earnestness, and by the most liberal foundations, could accomplish any real revival of Christian life. The only seed of such life in individuals or societies, is the incorruptible seed of the Word of God; and that the Myretouns and Houstons of the Scottish Church could not plant in the hearts of others, for it was not planted in their own.

* See Houston’s Charter of Endowment in 1526, inserted in Royal Charter, confirming the same. Acts of the Scottish Parliaments, *ut supra*.

† Liber Collegii Nostræ Dominæ, &c., *ut supra*.

But it was otherwise with Patrick Hamilton. He had the true seed in himself, and he had it to scatter abundantly in the hearts of his countrymen. He aimed at a reformation of the Church which began at the root, not at the branches. He preached faith to his fellow-countrymen as the living root of hope and charity. He was the apostle of a religion going down to all that is deepest in the soul of man, and rooting its disciples in all that is deepest, too, in the mystery of Christ and of God. It was by making the root of his country's religion and life good that he expected to make the tree good and its fruit good. And his hope did not deceive him. The preacher himself, indeed, was soon silenced and cut off ; but his doctrine lived after him, and wrought with a leaven-like virtue in the nation's heart, till it leavened the whole lump. 'Instead of the thorn came up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier came up the myrtle-tree.' The National Church was thoroughly reformed, more thoroughly than any other church in Christendom ; and the Scottish nation was born again to a new national life. Foreign churches and nations cried out, 'The Lord hath done great things for them ;' and Scotland's own grateful children for many generations have re-echoed the cry, 'The Lord *hath* done great things for us, whereof we are glad.' It was 'to the Lord for a name :' let us hope that it was also 'for a sign that shall not be cut off.'

CHAPTER VII.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S MARRIAGE, AND TEACHING AT ST. ANDREWS.

HIS MARRIAGE—HIS POSTHUMOUS DAUGHTER—VINDICATION OF HIS MEMORY FROM AN APPARENT STAIN—ALARM OF ARCHBISHOP BEATON, AND HIS DISSEMBLING POLICY—HAMILTON INVITED TO A CONFERENCE AT ST. ANDREWS—TEACHES AND DISPUTES IN THE UNIVERSITY—SPECIMENS OF HIS DISPUTATIONS—PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS—FRIAR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL—CANON ALEXANDER ALANE—IMPORTANCE OF THESE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LABOURS.

"*Quod facis facito.*" Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth; for I am *corn*—I am not chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide both.'

WALTER MILL.

CHAPTER VII.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S MARRIAGE, AND TEACHING AT ST. ANDREWS.

PATRICK HAMILTON remained at Kincavel till about the middle of January, 1527-28, and it was during the few months that elapsed between his return from Germany and that date, that an event took place, for the knowledge of which we are indebted exclusively to the information of Alexander Alesius. None of our historians have recorded the significant and interesting fact, that the young Abbot of Ferne became a married man. But Alesius tells us that 'shortly before his death he married a young lady of noble rank;' and he assigns the same reason for this step as for the Reformer's never assuming, though an abbot, the monastic habit, viz., his hatred of the *hypocrisy* of the Roman Church. He seems to have felt on the occasion very much as Luther did in similar circumstances. He wished to show, by deed as well as by word, how entirely he had cast off the usurped and oppressive authority of Rome. He wished to proclaim in the boldest manner his resolution to be no longer subject to the tyranny of ecclesiastical laws which made void the supreme legislation of God himself. It is much to be regretted that the name of the lady whom he made his wife has not been recorded; for she must have been a lady as noble in spirit and character as she was in rank. Doubtless she had become the preacher's convert before she became his partner. Nothing but the warmest sympathy with his religious views could have induced her to wed

one, whose life was every moment in danger from the most powerful adversaries.

The Reformer's marriage is a fact not only interesting in itself, but important as vindicating his memory from a stain which has been recently thrown upon it, by the discovery of the additional fact that he was the parent of a daughter. The name of Isobel Hamilton, described as ‘daughter of umquhill Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne,’ has been found, under the year 1543, in the accounts of the Lord Treasurer; from which record it appears that she was at that time one of the ladies in attendance on the court of the Regent Arran.* This discovery naturally led to the inference, as nothing had been said by historians of her father's marriage, that he had left behind him an illegitimate child—a blot ‘on his hitherto pure and immaculate character,’ which the learned editor of Knox's History could not refer to without reluctance, though constrained, by historical justice, to reveal to the world what his own accurate researches had disclosed. But God has promised to bring forth the good man's ‘judgment as the light, and his righteousness as the noon-day;’ and the present is a striking instance of the truth of His word. The regretted stain had scarcely been thrown upon the martyr's memory, when a witness of unchallengeable credit is unexpectedly brought forward to wipe it off again.

Meanwhile the Reformer's adversaries were already on the alert. The fame of his preaching travelled fast; and it had not far to travel to reach the ear of Archbishop Beaton. In the month of November, 1527, the Primate was residing in the monastery of Dunfermline,† and the movements of Hamilton on the opposite side of the Firth would instantly be reported to him. Beaton was alarmed to hear of his return to the kingdom, and of the boldness with which he had resumed his interrupted preaching. And indeed he had good reason to feel alarm. This young and noble Hamilton was the most dangerous preacher of heresy that could have appeared in the country;

* For entries in the Treasurer's accounts see Note O. Mr. Laing was the first to call attention to these entries, in Appendix III. to vol. i. of Knox's History.

† This appears from a deed preserved in the chartulary of Cambuskenneth, which was granted by Beaton ‘in loco nostræ residencie infra monasterium de Dunfermling, die x mens. Novembris, A.D. MDXXVII.’

and he was more dangerous now than ever, after six months' intercourse with the German heresiarchs themselves. He could not fail to produce an impression upon the people, most perilous to the Church. A Lutheran missionary, with royal blood in his veins, and all the power of the Hamiltons at his back, was a more formidable heretic in Scotland than Luther himself would have been. The moment was critical ; no time must be lost.

Still the Primate and his councillors must proceed with caution. The preacher's family was too powerful to be attacked in his person, in a bold, unwary, and defiant manner. The Douglases and the Hamiltons had recently seemed to lay aside their feuds, and the Hamiltons were now, it appeared, content to allow the blood of the slaughtered Sir Patrick to remain unavenged.* But would they leave also unavenged the blood of Sir Patrick's learned and eloquent son ? The bishops must find means to rest their quarrel with him on evidence of heresy so plain and palpable, that even his own kinsmen will not be able to challenge their proceedings. They must take care to make it clear, that it is not merely some external abuses and corruptions of the Church that he takes upon him to censure, but that he attacks the Church's most fundamental doctrines, and her most essential rites. They must take time, moreover, to make sure of the disposition of the young king and of his keepers—the Douglases. Beaton had been lately reconciled to the Earl of Angus,† but the reconciliation was still too recent and precarious to allow of his proceeding to extremities, against a member of one of the best families in the realm—a family too now in league with the Douglases—without first making sure, that the virtual ruler of the kingdom, if he will not openly sanction the deed, will at least not openly oppose or avenge it.

In these difficult and delicate circumstances, the Primate and his councillors did not dare to be too direct and vigorous in their measures. They were obliged to affect great moderation of tone and procedure. They did not attempt to seize the Reformer by main force at Kincavel, where he had the sheriff of a county and the captain of one of the king's castles to stand stoutly for his defence ; but they so 'travailed with the said Mr. Patrick,' as Knox expresses it, 'as to

* Tytler's History of Scotland—James V.

† Ibid.—James V.

get him to St. Andrews.' Beaton sent him a message desiring to have a conference with him at St. Andrews, on such points of the Church's condition and administration as might appear to stand in need of some reformation.

The young preacher was not deceived by the dissimulation of his enemies, nor betrayed into confidence by their professions of candour and good intention. He perceived clearly their drift, and not only foresaw but foretold the speedy issue of their proceedings. 'While he was yet with his relations,' says Alesius, 'he predicted that he had not long to live.* Still he had no hesitation in resolving to go to St. Andrews. To decline the proposed conference, he well knew, would only provoke an injunction of a more peremptory kind. He would probably gain more time and opportunity for declaring the truth in the most influential quarters, by accepting the treacherous invitation than by rejecting it. It would be a great advantage to the cause of the Gospel that it should have a hearing at St. Andrews; or if he should go to that city only to die for the truth, and not to preach it, he would at least confirm the faith of its disciples by the testimony of his blood. Like the great evangelist of the Gentiles, he knew well that bonds and imprisonment awaited him in the city of the chief priests and pharisees; but he felt bound in the spirit to go to it notwithstanding—not counting his life dear unto him, that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God. Like the great Master himself, whose footsteps he had resolved in His strength to follow, and with whose spirit of calm and gentle yet resolute self-devotion, the last scenes of his life evince him to have been deeply imbued, he steadfastly set his face to go up to Jerusalem, although he saw plainly before him the judgment-hall and the cross.†

We are left to imagine the effect produced by the primate's sinister message upon the family at Kincavel. No doubt they used every persuasion they could think of, to prevail upon the Reformer to decline the hollow invitation. No doubt a wife's, a mother's, and

* 'Prædictit etiam se brevi moriturum, cum adhuc apud suos esset.'—ALESIUS.

† 'Dicebat se ad hoc ingressum esse urbem ut pios in vera doctrina confirmaret sua morte.'—ALESIUS.

a sister's tears would all plead with him to change his resolution ; but still he remained firm. Nothing could induce him to swerve from his strong purpose. His family were obliged to content themselves with the arrangement, that at least he should not proceed to St. Andrews alone, but that a party of his kinsmen and friends, including, we have reason to believe, Sir James Hamilton himself, should accompany him, as a protection from the malice of his enemies.

He arrived in St. Andrews about the middle of January, and took up his abode in a lodging provided for him by the Archbishop. The conference with Beaton and his councillors took place, and was continued for several days. The details of these long interviews have not been preserved, but their general drift and effect have been recorded. The Primate and his coadjutors still continued to affect much conciliation and candour. They seemed in many points to approve Hamilton's views, and to admit the existence of evils in the Church which called for reform;* and when the conferences were ended, he was allowed to move freely through the city and university, and to declare his sentiments without hindrance, both in public and private. By this subtle and dissembling policy his enemies compassed several important ends. They gained time for their intrigues with the political chiefs of the country, to secure their tacit acquiescence in the tragical issue which they were all the while preparing ; and they gave Hamilton opportunity and inducement, to declare his opinions without reserve in a city crowded with their own abettors, where every word he uttered could be noted down, and every new expression of his enmity to the Church could be instantly converted into a weapon to destroy him. They appear to have calculated, that so zealous a Reformer would not be slow to avail himself of the liberty of speech which they had allowed him ; and they knew that it would be more honourable in the eyes of men, to condemn him in the end for what he had taught openly before all, than for what he had said privately in a conference to which they had themselves invited him, and the incidents of which were unknown to all save themselves.

The bishops and doctors did not miscalculate the use which

* Knox's History, vol. i. p. 15.

Hamilton would make of the liberty which their crafty policy still allowed him. He turned this unexpected opportunity of usefulness to the best account. Alesius tells us that 'he taught and disputed openly in the university on all the points on which he conceived a reformation to be necessary in the Church's doctrines, and in her administration of the sacraments and other rites.' We are not told that he was admitted to the pulpits of the churches; but at least it is certain that he had access to the schools; and happily he was as well able to teach the truth in the method of academic disputation, as in the forms of popular preaching. He had been thoroughly trained in Paris to the use of dialectic weapons; and we are fortunately in possession of some authentic specimens of his skill in such encounters. These occur in the Theses which he published at Marburg; and they may be brought into view quite appropriately here, as it cannot be doubted that they are the same, both in substance and form, as the evangelical arguments which he urged from day to day in the schools of St. Andrews.

His method of communicating Divine truth in the university is described by Alesius as consisting both of teaching and disputation; and this account corresponds exactly with the specimens of his academic manner which we are now to produce, in which he first lays down a general proposition affirming some evangelical truth, then proves it by quotations from the Word of God, and finally corroborates this proof by throwing the argument into a syllogistic shape.

PROPOSITION.

He that loveth his neighbour as himself keepeth all the commandments of God.

Probation. This proposition is proved thus: Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them, for this is the law and the prophets. 'He that loveth his neighbour fulfilleth the law.' Thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not desire, &c. And if there be any other commandment all are comprehended in this saying: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' All the law is fulfilled in one word: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.'

ARGUMENT.

Major : Bar- He that loveth God keepeth all the commandments of God.

Minor : ba- He that loveth God loveth his neighbour.

Conclusion : ra. *Ergo.* He that loveth his neighbour keepeth all the commandments of God.

PROPOSITION.

He that hath faith loveth God.

Probation. ‘My Father loveth you because you love me, and believe that I come of God.’—John xvi.

ARGUMENT.

Major : Bar- He that keepeth the commandments of God hath the love of God.

Minor : ba- He that hath faith keepeth the commandments of God.

Conclusion : ra. *Ergo.* He that hath faith loveth God.

PROPOSITION.

Enthymema. It is not in our power to keep any one of the commandments of God.

ARGUMENT.

Major : Bar- It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God without grace.

Minor : ro- It is not in our power to have grace.

Conclusion : co. *Ergo.* It is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God.

‘And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith; forasmuch as neither without them we are able to keep any of the commandments of God, nor yet be they in our power to have. Non est volentis neque currentis, &c.—Rom. ix. It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth,’ &c.’

Sometimes he adds to the Scripture probation and the syllogistic argument a reply to objections raised against the conclusion thus reached.

Objection. But thou wilt say, ‘Wherefore doth God bid us do what is impossible for us?’

Answer. I answer, to make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand, and thou mayest seek remedy at some other, for the law doth nothing else but command thee.

Sometimes he varies the form of argumentation from the syllogism to the induction. We have two interesting examples of this in the way he establishes the two counterpart propositions, that he that lacketh faith cannot please God; and that he that hath faith and believeth God cannot displease Him.

PROPOSITION.

He that lacketh faith cannot please God.

Probation. ‘Without faith it is impossible to please God.’—Heb. xi. ‘All that cometh not of faith is sin.’—Rom. xiv. For without faith can no man please God.

INDUCTION.

He that lacketh faith trusteth not God; he that trusteth not God trusteth not His word; he that trusteth not His word holdeth Him false and a liar; he that holdeth Him false and a liar believeth not that He may do that He promiseth, and so denieth he that He is God.

Ergo—‘*a primo ad ultimum*’—He that lacketh faith cannot please God. If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done by men or angels, yet, being in this case, it is impossible for him to please God.

PROPOSITION.

He that hath faith and believeth God cannot displease Him.

INDUCTION.

He that hath faith believeth God; he that believeth God believeth His word; he that believeth His word wotteth well that He is true and faithful, and may not lie, knowing that he both may and will fulfil His word.

Ergo—*a primo ad ultimum*—He that hath faith cannot displease

God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God than to count Him true.

OBJECTION.

Thou wilt then say that theft, murder, adultery, and all vices, please God.

ANSWER.

Nay, verily, for they cannot be done in faith, for ‘a good tree beareth good fruit.’

To our minds and habits of thought such formal argumentations seem artificial and tedious; but it should be remembered that they were far from appearing in that light to the academics and theologians to whom Hamilton addressed them. His arguments, in point of form, were conceived and expressed perfectly in the taste of his age—a taste which continued in the ascendant till much later times; while, in point of substance and matter, his evangelical syllogisms were certainly a vast improvement upon anything that had ever been heard before in the University of St. Andrews. The propositions which he laid down and proved in due form were all assertions not of man’s wisdom and philosophy, but of the truth of God; and the proofs which he produced to confirm them were all either direct testimonies of Scripture, or reasonings upon these testimonies characterised by the simple logic of common sense, without subtlety, and without sophistry. For the first time in their lives, the students of theology in that university heard questions in divinity reasoned upon and solved, without a single reference to the scholastic doctors, or even to the fathers of the first centuries of the Church. Thomas Aquinas, and Peter Lombard, St. Athanasius, and St. Augustine, went for nothing, and the Word of God and common sense were all in all. ‘*Reasoning with them out of the Scriptures*’—the description given of the disputations of St. Paul in the Synagogue of Thessalonica, and in the school of Tyrannus—was equally descriptive of Hamilton’s disputations in the schools of St. Andrews. How different from the style of theological disputation which was wont to be exhibited on the same spot at other times! As an example, we may quote the amusing account which Calderwood has given us of a dispute which took place in the university so late as the year 1551, on the

strange question, Whether the Paternoster ought to be said to the saints or to God alone :—

Richard Marshall, Doctor of Divinity, and Prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle, had declared in one of the pulpits, that the Lord's Prayer ‘should be done only to God, and not to the saints, neither to any other creature.’ But the doctors of the university, together with the Grey Friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Paternoster to the saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be impugned, and stirred up a Grey Friar, called Friar Toittis, to preach again to the people that they should and might pray the Paternoster to saints; at which the Christians were so hotly offended, and the papists, on the other side, so proud and wilful, that necessary it was, in order to eschew greater inconveniences, that the clergy at least should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the university agreed, whosoever had been present might have heard much subtle sophistry; for some of the Popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God *formaliter*, and to saints *materialiter*; others, *ultimate et non ultimate*; others said it should be said to God *principaliter*, and to saints *minus principaliter*; others that it should be said to God *primarie*, and to saints *secundarie*; others that it should be said to God *capiendo stricte*, and to saints *capiendo large*. Which vain distinctions being considered and heard by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulness than they were before—so that a well-aged man, and a servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, called the sub-prior's Tome, being demanded to whom he said his Paternoster, he answered, ‘To God only.’ Then they asked what should be said to the saints. He answered, ‘Give them *ares* and *creeds* now, in the devil's name, for that may suffice them well enough, albeit they do spoil God of his right.’ Others, making their vaunts of the doctors, said, ‘that because Christ never came to the isle of Britain, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latin.’* Compared with such ‘sophistical cavillations’ as these, the syllogisms of Hamilton had a true intellectual and theological value; and though, to our tastes and habits of

* Calderwood's History (Wodrow Society), vol. i. p. 275.

speech, they have lost their savour, they have none the less an important historic interest, as the first academic argumentations that were ever used by a Scottish theologian in the service of Gospel truth, and as the first that made converts in the Scottish universities to the cause of the Reformation.

But it was not only in the schools that Patrick Hamilton employed himself in the useful expositions and disputations which we have described; he was equally diligent in communicating the truths of the Gospel in private, in his own apartments, where he received and conversed freely with all who visited him. Among his visitors were many monks, who came professing their desire to enjoy the benefit of his conversation, but in reality with the base design of reporting his words to the Primate. Hamilton was warned of their treachery, but he neither declined their visits nor put a guard on his language, on that account. He was convinced that his time was short, and he felt that it was his duty to make the most of it to proclaim the truth of God to all comers. The chief of these dissemblers and informers was Alexander Campbell, prior of the Dominican monastery of St. Andrews, ‘a young man of good wit and learning,’ on whom Beaton appears to have mainly relied for the success of the inquisition which he was now privily making into the Reformer’s doctrines. The prior was all the better qualified to play this base part, that he was himself not unfavourable to some measure of reform. Such an amount of sympathy with the views of the Reformer would serve as a passport to his confidence, and a key to unlock the secrets of his whole heart.*

Hamilton, however, received at his lodgings other visitors of a more honourable character. Among these was Alexander Alane, whom he had previously known among the canons of the Priory, and who now renewed his acquaintance with him, with the honest convictions and intentions of a sincere disciple of the scholastic theology. Alane did not doubt that he would be able to convince Hamilton of his religious errors, and to win him back to the faith of the true Church. He had given much attention to the study

* ‘Campbell acknowledged,’ says Spottiswood, p. 62, ‘that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauded his judgment in most of the points.’

of divinity, and it was but recently that he had publicly refuted the arch-heretic Luther himself, not only to his own satisfaction, but to the satisfaction of all the theologians of St. Andrews. The issue, however, of his interviews with Hamilton, proved very different from what he had expected. The young Lutheran divine proved more than a match for the learned canon.* Hamilton not only silenced Alane in the argument, but sent him home to the Priory confessing himself defeated. The simple Word of God proved more powerful than all the artillery of the schools. Alane found it less easy to conquer this accomplished Lutheran in a face-to-face argument, than it had been to defeat the absent Luther. He returned to his study in the Priory not only disconcerted by his failure, but shaken in his old faith, and much more disposed to go over to the side of his courteous opponent, than to renew the dispute. From that moment a feeling of warm interest in the Reformer sprang up in Alane's heart, and he was soon afterwards a deeply affected spectator of his trial and martyrdom. There must have been something eminently conciliatory and attractive in Hamilton's disposition and manners, to enable him to convert a defeated opponent into his friend and well-wisher. The advantage gained in this instance by his intellect and learning was great; for Alane was no contemptible antagonist; but it was as nothing, compared with the conquest which he won by his Christian gentleness and courtesy. The man whom he sent away an overmatched antagonist, lived to become his fervent admirer and his attached disciple, the bearer of his name and influence to foreign kingdoms and churches, and the first historian of his teaching, trial, and martyrdom.

. It is from Alane himself, writing under the more learned name of Alesius, that we learn the important fact, that the Reformer was left at liberty to diffuse the truth in St. Andrews, by means of these public disputations and private interviews, for nearly a whole month.† Knox gives no indication of the length of time which

* 'Cum eo collocutus sum, sperans me effecturum ut errorem cognosceret. Eram tum doctrinæ Sententiariorum addictus. Verum præter expectationem meam evenit, ut ex ipsis colloquio meum errorem cognoscerem.'—ALESIUS.

† 'Docuit et disputavit palam in academia plus minus mensem priusquam caperetur.'—ALESIUS.

elapsed after his coming to the city before his imprisonment; and Spottiswood states that the interval was only ‘some few days.’ But Alane, who was in personal communication, as we have just seen, with the Reformer, could not be mistaken upon such a point. And the fact is as important as it is new. It was of great consequence to the interest of the Reformation in this its earliest stage, that Hamilton should have enjoyed so considerable an opportunity of scattering the seeds of Divine truth, in a soil which was the likeliest of all to yield an ample harvest. At St. Andrews he was at head-quarters, and was brought into communication with a larger variety of influential individuals and classes of men, than he could have met with in any other city of the kingdom. Holding disputations there in defence of the truth, he became the teacher of many of the present and future teachers of the country, and diffused an influence that was felt not only among the regents and students of the university, but among the clergy of the churches, the lawyers of the ecclesiastical courts, and the numerous fraternities of three of the chief monasteries of the kingdom. Graduates and under-graduates, doctors and proctors, deans and canons, seculars and regulars, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans—all alike were reached by his voice, and became for several weeks the hearers of his teaching. That busy month of unfettered labour was a precious sowing-time; and we shall see in the sequel that it was followed by an abundant harvest.

CHAPTER VIII.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S TRIAL AND MARTYRDOM.

SUMMONED TO APPEAR BEFORE BEATON—ADVISED BY HIS FRIENDS TO FLEE FROM ST. ANDREWS, BUT DECLINES TO DO SO—SIR JAMES HAMILTON COLLECTS AN ARMED FORCE TO RESCUE THE REFORMER—INTRIGUES OF THE CLERGY WITH THE KING AND ANGUS—HAMILTON APPEARS BEFORE THE PRIMATE—HIS ARTICLES—JUDGMENT OF THE THEOLOGIANS—ATTEMPT AT RESCUE BY THE LAIRD OF AIRDRIE—APPREHENSION—TRIAL IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. ANDREWS—FRIAR CAMPBELL, HIS ACCUSER, SILENCED—SENTENCE—REASON FOR HASTE IN ITS EXECUTION—MARTYRDOM—SENSATION PRODUCED BY THE EVENT AT LOUVAINE, MARBURG, AND MALMOE—CHARACTER OF PATRICK HAMILTON—AFFECTION CHERISHED FOR HIS MEMORY.

Non nostra impietas, aut acta crimina vitæ,
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Christi, sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.

EPITAPH ON WALTER MILL.

No impious deeds of mine, nor crimes denounced,
Have armed my cruel foes with deadly rage ;
The faith of Christ—sealed by the Word Divine—
Sole cause of death is, as of life, to me.

CHAPTER VIII.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S TRIAL AND MARTYRDOM.

At length the moment arrived when Beaton and his advisers felt that they might safely take a step in advance. A summons issued to Hamilton requiring him to appear before the Primate on a certain day, to answer to the charge of holding and teaching divers heresies. At last, then, the mask is thrown off, and the men who disingenuously invited him to a conference are now to sit upon the judgment-seat and doom him to death.*

Hamilton's friends saw what was imminent, and entreated him, while yet at liberty, to save his life by flight from St. Andrews. It was even given out as the Archbishop's private, personal wish, that the Reformer should adopt that course. Strange as this fact may appear, it rests upon the unexceptionable authority of Alexander Alane;† and it agrees perfectly with the character given of Beaton by Spottiswood, 'that he was neither violently set, nor much solicitous, as it was thought, how matters went in the Church.'‡ He had probably been urged on in this case much beyond his natural speed by his more energetic and violent nephew, David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath; and personally he might not be disinclined to spare the life of a youth with whose family he was connected by the bonds of affinity. The Earl of Arran was married to the Primate's niece, Janet Beaton of Creich; and if Arran, as is extremely probable, at the solicitation of the family of Kincavel,

* For notes on the order of events connected with the subject of this chapter, see Note P.

† Note Q.

‡ History of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 62.

employed his influence with Beaton on behalf of his young kinsman, it would be quite in keeping with the subtle policy of the Archbishop's character to suppose, that he adopted the expedient of causing such an intimation of his personal wishes to be indirectly conveyed to the Reformer, as the best way of seeming to comply with the Earl's intercession, without giving any serious offence to his more zealous and resolute coadjutors. But Hamilton was as little moved by the report of the Archbishop's private wishes as he was by the more sincere and earnest entreaties of his relatives and friends. He calmly but firmly declined to escape from St. Andrews. 'He had come thither,' he said, 'to confirm the minds of the godly by his death as a martyr to the truth; and to turn his back now would be to lay a stumbling-block in their path, and to cause some of them to fall.'

There is some ground for believing, as we shall see in the sequel, that the Reformer's brother, Sir James, had remained with him in St. Andrews up till this time; and that, on finding him resolved not to desert by his own act the post of duty and danger, and foreseeing the violent issue of the proceedings which had now commenced, he returned to Kincavel for the purpose of collecting a body of armed men, and delivering him by main force out of the hands of his persecutors. On one point at least, our information is certain.* Whether Sir James at the time was in St. Andrews or not, he was no sooner made aware of the determination of the clergy to proceed to extremities against his brother, than he availed himself of his resources as a baron, a sheriff, and captain of one of the king's castles, to assemble a strong force; and nothing but a continued storm in the Firth prevented him from reaching St. Andrews in time to make an attempt at rescue. He was no doubt well aware, when he took such a strong step, that the clergy were not likely to be thwarted in their violent designs, either by the king or his keepers, the Douglases. He was aware that both the young king and the Earl of Angus were at that very moment intent, from opposite motives, upon securing the support of the powerful Archbishop; for Beaton was equally able to assist the king in effecting his escape from the trammels of Angus, and to aid Angus in retaining his

* Alesius, Note Q.

ascendancy in the government of the kingdom, by prolonging his watchful keepership of the king. When both were eagerly anxious to gain his support, neither party could afford to interfere with his measures; and the sheriff of Linlithgow would appear to have thought himself justified, in these circumstances, in resolving to prevent, by force of arms, and without any warrant from the government, a flagrant deed of cruelty and wrong.

Nor were these mere surmises of Sir James. He had evidence of the best kind before him to satisfy him, that no redress was to be expected from Angus and the king. Solicitation had, in fact, been made to both, and the king, prompted no doubt by the all-powerful Earl, had coldly advised the Reformer to make his peace with the Church.* At the moment, besides, when Sir James took his resolution to arm his retainers, the young king had set off on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Duthac, in Ross-shire—a singular journey to make in the very depth of winter, but which the clergy had ‘travailled with him to undertake (for he was ‘altogether addict,’ as Knox tells us, ‘to their commandment,’) to the end that no intercession should be made for the life of the innocent servant of God.’ It was, no doubt, when the bishops had succeeded, with the aid of Angus, in arranging this dexterous contrivance, that they took the first step in the judicial process which was to issue in the death of the Reformer.†

This guilty complicity between the government and the bishops is still further confirmed by a fact which Lindsay of Pitscottie records, that at the following ‘Pasch,’ only a few weeks after, ‘Bishop

* Leslie ‘De Rebus Gestis,’ &c., p. 427.

† Doubt has recently been thrown upon the correctness of the statement made both by Knox and Spottiswood, that the king was induced by the clergy to undertake this pilgrimage to St. Duthac. But the reader is referred to Appendix VI. for two letters; one from James V. to Henry VIII., and the other from Angus to Wolsey, dated the 27th and 30th March, 1528, that is, only four weeks after the death of Hamilton; from which it is certain that the king had then just returned from ‘the north country, in the extreme parts of his realm.’ The English king and the Cardinal had despatched a messenger with letters to the Scottish court from Greenwich, on the 13th day of February; but on the arrival of the messenger in Edinburgh, James had set out on his journey to the north; thus making it certain that he must have been in that remote part of the kingdom at the time of Hamilton’s death, on the last day of that same month.

Beaton called the Douglasses and the king to St. Andrews, and there made them great cheer and merriness, and gave them great gifts of gold and silver, with fair hackneys, and other gifts of tacks and steedings that they would desire of him.* Pitscottie adds, that the motive of all these splendid gifts was ‘to pacify their wrath therewith and obtain their favour;’ but he would probably have been nearer the truth if he had said, that the Primate’s policy was to make the monarch and his chief minister sensible how well the Church was able to reward them for their connivance and support in ecclesiastical affairs. Let them only allow her to have her own way with heretics and reformers, and she will amply repay them with gold and broad acres.

From the moment the Reformer received the summons to appear before the Primate and his council, he appears to have redoubled his exertions as an evangelist, and to have concentrated his discourses and disputations upon the most important points in which the Church had departed from the Divine standard of Christian truth. He had hitherto allowed himself a wider range, discussing many topics of a minor degree of importance, and some points of the Church’s teaching on which he was not prepared to pronounce with entire decision. But during the short interval that elapsed between his summons and apprehension, he confined himself to the assertion of fundamental truths, and to the refutation of undoubted and important errors.†

The Reformer was so far from being daunted by the prospect of the judicial examination which awaited him, that he anticipated the time which the Primate had fixed in the summons. ‘Being not only forward in knowledge,’ says Fox, ‘but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, he prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for.’‡ Having thus

* Pitscottie’s History, p. 140.

† See statement contained in the sentence pronounced by Beaton. See also Note P.

‡ Lambert says that Hamilton was summoned to appear on the 1st of March, but presented himself on the last day of February. He confounds, however, two incidents which were quite distinct—his appearing before the Bishop and his council for examination, and his appearing before the tribunal of heresy. It could only have been at the preliminary examination that Hamilton was free to ‘prevent the time.’

unexpectedly presented himself, he was interrogated by Beaton and his council respecting the following articles :—

1. That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism.
2. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good.
3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth.
4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in the state of grace.
5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only.
6. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works; yet the same ill works truly repented make not an ill man.
7. That faith, hope, and charity are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.
8. That God is the cause of sin in this sense, that He withdraweth his grace from man, and grace withdrawn, he cannot but sin.
9. That it is a devilish doctrine to teach, that by any actual penance remission of sin is purchased.
10. That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.
11. That there is no purgatory.
12. That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.
13. That the Pope is antichrist, and that every priest hath as much power as the Pope.

'Being desired,' says Spottiswood, 'to express his mind touching these articles, he said, "That he held the first seven to be undoubtedly true," whereunto he offered to set his hand. "The rest," he said, "were disputable points, but such as he could not condemn, unless he saw better reasons than yet he had heard." After some conference kept with him on each article, the whole were remitted to the judgment of the theologues;' and with a show of moderation, which contrasted strangely with the violence of their real designs, the Primate and his advisers allowed him in the mean time to continue at liberty; as if it had been possible for them to doubt what the decision of the theologians would be in regard to such articles,

and what the issue must be of a judicial process which they had themselves commenced, and in which they were themselves to be the judges.

The Council of Theologians to whom Hamilton's articles were referred included a large proportion of the most learned divines and canonists of St. Andrews. 'There met to this effect,' says Spottiswood, who had before him, as he wrote, the manuscript process as drawn up under the hands of the theologians themselves, 'Master Hugh Spence, provost of St. Salvator's College; Master James Waddall, parson of Flisk and rector of the University; Master James Simson, official of St. Andrews; Master Thomas Ramsay, professor of the Holy Scriptures; Master John Grison, theologue, and provincial of the Black Friars; John Tillidaff, warden of the Grey Friars; Master Martin Balfour and Master John Spence, lawyers; Sir Alexander Young, Bachelor of Divinity; Sir John Annand, canon of St. Andrews; Friar Alexander Campbell, prior of the Black Friars; and Master Robert Bannerman, regent of the Pædagogium. These men, within a day or two, presented their censure of the articles, judging them all heretical, and contrary to the faith of the Church.' Whereupon the Primate appointed this judgment to be presented at a solemn meeting of the clergy, to be held in the Cathedral, on the last day of February, 1527-28, and immediately took steps to assemble on that day an imposing array of the highest dignitaries of the Church.

During this brief interval, however, tidings came to Beaton's ears which obliged him to have recourse to other than ecclesiastical and judicial weapons, in defence of the assailed authority of the Church. Word was brought to St. Andrews that Sir James Hamilton was arming his retainers at Kincavel, and was on the point of marching through Fife to rescue his brother out of the hands of his enemies. Nor was it only Sir James who was about to come to the rescue. Intelligence was brought of armed preparations being in progress much nearer hand. John Andrew Duncan, laird of Airdrie, had long been an enemy to the corruptions of the Church, and for some time had enjoyed the personal acquaintance and esteem of the young Reformer. His indignation had been roused by the proceedings of the bishops, and he was arming his tenants and servants to attempt the forcible deliverance of his friend. Beaton saw the neces-

sity of repelling force by force.* He was the most powerful man in the whole country between the Forth and the Tay, and at his summons several thousand horsemen galloped from all the neighbouring lands to the aid of the Church. It soon became evident that the laird of Airdrie's troop of horse was too slender for the daring enterprise which he meditated. His men were easily surrounded and disarmed by the more numerous squadrons of the Primate's defenders; and his generous but imprudent attempt would have proved fatal to him, if his own brother-in-law had not managed to be at the head of the troop which took him prisoner.†

The Reformer himself had no liking and no wish for these well-meant appeals to physical force in his defence. He called to mind the words and example of his Lord on a similar occasion: ‘Put up thy sword into its sheath.’ He had more confidence in the power of a single martyrdom to vanquish the enemies of the truth of God, than in all that could be done for it by armed bands and sharp swords. The only effect which resulted from these attempts of his friends, was to abridge in some degree the precious season allowed him for active exertion in the cause he loved. The Primate concluded that it was no longer safe to allow him to remain at large, and issued an order for his immediate apprehension.

After nightfall the captain of the castle of St. Andrews drew a band of armed men around the house where Hamilton was lodged, and, presenting himself at the entrance, demanded admission. The Reformer, accompanied to the door by the group of faithful friends who were still in attendance upon him, calmly inquired of the officer what was his errand, and on receiving his reply, declared his readiness at once to surrender himself to his custody. Only he begged that his friends standing by might not be molested; and addressing them, he commanded them to offer no resistance on his account. They neither altogether obeyed nor altogether disregarded his wishes. They did not use their swords in his defence, but they refused to deliver him up till they had exacted an assurance from the captain that he should be restored again without injury into their hands.‡

* Alesius, Note Q.

† M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, Note D.

‡ These incidents of Hamilton's apprehension are derived from the account of Alesius, Note Q.

Everything was now ready for the last acts of the tragedy. The last day of February arrived, and an immense concourse of people flocked to the cathedral at an early hour. The Primate passed from the castle with a numerous train of bishops, abbots, priors, and doctors, and took his seat on the chief bench of the tribunal of heresy. The Abbot of Arbroath was there to take care that his victim should not escape at the last moment, and that no force of argument employed in his defence should be able to turn aside the vengeance of the Church. And Patrick Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews, took his seat on the bench, as if to show how much zeal against heresy may be manifested by a man who has none for the commonest maxims of religion and virtue. Patrick Hamilton was conducted from his prison in the castle to the church, under a strong guard of horsemen, and was placed in a pulpit where he could be seen and heard by the whole assembly. Then the process began. First, the doctors of theology handed up to the bench their Judgment on the articles, subscribed with all their hands. Then Friar Campbell stood forward to read over the articles with a loud voice, and to charge them one by one upon the prisoner. Alexander Alane was in the crowd of spectators, and has graphically described several features of the scene. ‘I was myself,’ says he, ‘an eye-witness of the tragedy, and heard him answering for his life to the charges of heresy which were laid against him. These were read aloud by a Dominican friar; and he was so far from disowning the doctrines which were alleged against him as heresies, that he defended and established them by clear testimonies of Scripture, and refuted the reasonings of his accuser. He took care also to guard his doctrine against the calumny that the faith of which he spoke might be no better than the faith of devils and hypocrites, and not that reliance of the heart which draws along with it repentance, hope, and charity. He was careful to explain that faith, hope, and charity are so knit together that he who has any one of them has all, and he who is destitute of one is destitute of all.’ The Dominican used arguments to prove that the articles were heretical, but Hamilton detected his sophistries, and exposed the nullity of his proofs.

At length Campbell was silenced, and was obliged to turn to the tribunal for fresh instructions. The Bishops enjoined him to desist from reasoning—to call the Reformer heretic to his face—

and to justify the opprobrium by overwhelming him with new accusations.* Campbell disliked the task; his conscience misgave him; he remembered the admissions which he had made to Hamilton in private. But he had consented to be an actor, and he must go on with his part. ‘Heretick!’ he exclaimed, turning again to the Reformer. ‘Nay, brother,’ replied Hamilton mildly, interrupting him before he could proceed further; ‘you do not think me heretick in your heart; in your conscience you know that I am no heretick.’ ‘Heretick!’ reiterated Campbell, stifling the emotion which such an appeal must have called up in his heart; ‘heretick! thou saidst it was lawful to all men to read the Word of God, and specially the New Testament.’ ‘I wot not,’ replied Hamilton, ‘if I said so; but I say now, it *is* reason and lawful to all men that have souls to read the Word of God, and that they are able to understand the same, and in particular, the latter will and testament of Christ Jesus, whereby they may acknowledge their sins and repent of the same, and amend their lives by faith and repentance, and come to the mercy of God by Christ Jesus.’ ‘Now, heretick, I see that thou affirmest the words of thy accusation.’ ‘I affirm nothing but the word which I have spoken in the presence of this auditory.’ ‘Now, farther,’ continued Campbell; ‘thou sayest it is not lawful to worship imagery.’ ‘I say no more,’ replied the Reformer, ‘than what God spake to Moses in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, in the second commandment, “Thou shalt not make any graven image; thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them.” And also David, in his Psalms, curseth them that are the makers of images, and the maintainers and worshippers of the same.’ Then answered the accuser, ‘Heretick, knowest thou not that imagery is the books of the laic and common people, to put them in remembrance of the holy saints that wrought for their salvation?’ ‘Brother!’ rejoined Hamilton, ‘it ought to be preaching of the true Word of God that should put the people in remembrance of the blood of Christ and their salvation.’ ‘Heretick! thou sayest it is but lost labour to pray to or call upon saints, and in particular on the blessed Virgin Mary, or John, James, Peter, or Paul, as mediators to God for us.’ Mr. Patrick answered, ‘I say with Paul, “There is no mediator

* See Note P.

betwixt God and man, but Christ Jesus his Son ;” and whatsoever they be who call or pray to any saint departed, they spoil Christ Jesus of his office.’ ‘ Heretick ! thou sayest it is all in vain our labours made for them that are departed, when we sing soul-masses, psalms, and dirigies, which are the relaxation of the souls that are departed, who are continued in the pains of purgatory.’ ‘ Brother ! I have never read in the Scripture of God of such a place as purgatory ; nor yet believe I that there is anything that may purge the souls of men but the blood of Christ Jesus, which ransom standeth in no earthly thing, nor in soul-mass nor dirigie, nor in gold nor silver, but only by repentance of sins, and faith in the blood of Christ Jesus.’*

Such was Patrick Hamilton’s noble confession in the face of that solemn tribunal and immense assembly. He disguised nothing that was in his heart. He spoke out the whole truth of God as he knew it, though well aware what his great ‘ plainness of speech’ would cost him ; and he spoke the truth in love, calling even his opprobrious and perfidious accuser, Brother.

The object of his unrighteous judges was now completely gained. They had succeeded in making out what would be considered by the vast majority of the assembly, a strong case against the accused ; and they had done so by means of his own frank avowals. These last points of heresy, indeed—those which had been elicited by Campbell’s oral charges—were not the same as the written articles which had been condemned by the doctors and were inserted in the sentence about to be pronounced ; but they were heresies of a kind to be palpable and odious to every zealot of the Roman Church. Every devotee in that assembly of devotees was now satisfied, that he saw before him at the Church’s bar a decided antagonist to his own religious faith and practice. The accused had spoken against prayers to the saints, and they were all saint-worshippers. He had even spoken against prayers to the blessed Virgin, and they were all adorers of Mary. He had condemned the use of images, which they were all daily kneeling to ; and he had denied the existence of purgatory, which they all believed in as firmly as in heaven and hell. The Prior of the Dominicans did not need to add another word of

* Pitscottie’s History of Scotland, pp. 133, 134.

accusation ; and he knew it. Turning round to the tribunal he said, ‘ My Lord Archbishop, you hear he denies the institutions of holy Kirk, and the authority of our holy father the Pope. I need not to accuse him any more.’

The Primate, with the unanimous consent of his assessors, then solemnly pronounced the following sentence :—

Christi Nomine invocato—‘ We, James, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree, and authority of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the Holy Scriptures, and masters of the university assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment within our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, in the cause of heretical pravity against Magister Patrick Hamilton, abbot or pensionary of Ferne, being summoned to appear before us to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him ; and so appearing before us and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past ;* we have found the same Magister Patrick many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which are already condemned by general councils and most famous universities. And he being under the same infamy, we decerning him before to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he of evil mind (as may be presumed) passed to other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy ; and being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy. We have found also that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther and wicked heresies after that he was summoned to appear before us and our council,—That man hath no free will ; that man is in sin as long as he liveth ; that children incontinent after their baptism are sinners ; all Christians that be worthy to be called Christians do know that they are in grace ; no man is justified by works, but by faith only ; good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works ; that faith, hope, and

* The Lent here mentioned must have been that of the preceding year, 1527, as Lent of 1528 did not begin till near the end of February.

charity are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest, &c., with divers other heresies and detestable opinions ; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel or persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.

' All these premises being considered, we, having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the Holy Scriptures, men of law, and others assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Magister Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining the foresaid heresies, and his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the Church, general councils, and most famous universities) to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished ; like as we condemn and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving him, and sentencing him to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church ; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power to be punished, and his goods to be confiscate.

' This our sentence definitive was given and read at our Metropolitan Church of St. Andrews, the last day of the month of February, anno 1527;* being present the Most Reverend Fathers in Christ and Lords, Gawand, bishop of Glasgow ; George, bishop of Dunkel-den ; John, bishop of Brechin ; William, bishop of Dunblane ; Patrick, prior of St. Andrews ; David, abbot of Aberbrothock ; George, abbot of Dunfermline ; Alexander, abbot of Cambuskenneth ; Henry, abbot of Lindores ; John, prior of Pittenweem ; the dean and sub-dean of Glasgow ; Mathew Spens ; Thomas Ramsay ; Allane Meldrum, &c. In the presence of the clergy and people.'

Such was the sentence ; ' and to give it the greater authority, whosoever were of any estimation in the university were made to subscribe the same ; amongst whom was the Earl of Cassillis, a child of thirteen years old !'

The tribunal instantly rose, and Hamilton was conducted back to his prison under a strong guard. As the captain of the castle left the cathedral with his prisoner, he called aloud for Sir James Hamil-

* Anno 1528, according to our present reckoning.

ton to come and receive his brother out of his hands. He knew perfectly well that Sir James was not then in St. Andrews. But he remembered the pledge he had given to the prisoner's friends; and it was in this evasive manner that the bishops had instructed him to redeem it.*

It was appointed that the execution of the sentence should take place that very day. The Archbishop had made sure that the warrant of the secular power would not be withheld. It was immediately obtained; but from what minister of the law is not known. The usual formalities of degradation from the orders of the priesthood were dispensed with; and in a few hours after Hamilton had heard his doom in the cathedral, executioners were preparing the stake at which he was to die, in front of the gate of St. Salvator's College.

To account for this cruel and indecent haste, it has been surmised by our historians that the clergy were apprehensive of the execution being stayed by the interposition of the king. But the king at that moment was at the shrine of St. Duthac; and Angus, his prime minister, was not the man to employ his power to his own disadvantage. If he had all the strength he had none of the feelings or natural affections of a king. It is more probable that the bishops were in dread of Sir James Hamilton's attempt to effect a rescue. Alane informs us that the guard which conducted the Reformer between the cathedral and castle was several thousand strong. Such an imposing display of force could only be owing to an apprehension of attack; and the same apprehension is sufficient to account for the hastening of the execution.

At noon Patrick Hamilton was seated at table in an apartment of the castle, awaiting calmly the signal for setting out to the closing scene. The martyr was ready for the stake, as well as the stake for the martyr. The spirit of power and of love had fallen abundantly

* We see here the reason which exists for thinking that Sir James Hamilton had accompanied the Reformer to St. Andrews. If he had not been there with his brother at any time during the last month, the clergy would scarcely have ventured to pretend that they were under the impression that he was there now. But if he had been in the city recently, they had some colour for affecting to have the impression that he was there still.

upon him, and the most perfect composure, resolution, and self-devotion filled his soul. When the hour of noon struck he sent for the captain and inquired whether all was ready. The captain, more humane than his masters, was unable to tell him plainly the fatal truth ; he could only hint that the last hour had even come. Hamilton immediately rose from his seat, and, putting his hand into the captain's, walked forth with a quick step towards the place of execution.* He carried in his right hand a copy of the evangelists, and was accompanied by his servant and a few intimate friends. When he came in sight of the spot, he uncovered his head, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, addressed himself in silent prayer to Him who alone could give him a martyr's strength and victory. On reaching the stake, he handed to one of his friends the precious volume which had long been his companion, and the rod of his strength ; and taking off his cap and gown and other upper garments, he gave them to his attendant, with the words, 'These will not profit in the fire ; they will profit thee. After this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in mind. For albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before man, yet is it the entrance to eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation.'

The officials of the Archbishop had stationed themselves near the stake, and made a last attempt to overcome his constancy. They offered him his life if he would recant the confession which he had made in the cathedral. 'As to my confession,' he replied, 'I will not deny it for the awe of your fire, for my confession and belief is in Christ Jesus. Therefore I will not deny it ; and I will rather be content that my body burn in this fire for confession of my faith in Christ, than my soul should burn in the fire of hell for denying the same. But as to the sentence pronounced against me this day by the bishops and doctors, I here, in presence of you all, appeal contrary the said sentence and judgment given against me, and take me to the mercy of God.'†

The executioners then stepped forward to do their office. They bound the martyr to the stake by an iron chain, which was passed

* Alesius, Note Q.

† This and several other interesting incidents of the martyrdom are recorded by Pitscottie.

round his middle, and they prepared to set fire to the pile of wood and coals. ‘The servant of God,’ says Pitscottie, ‘entered in contemplation and prayer to Almighty God to be merciful to the people who persecuted him, for there were many of them blinded in ignorance, that they knew not what they did. He also besought Christ Jesus to be Mediator for him to the Father, and that He would strengthen him with His Holy Spirit, that he might steadfastly abide the cruel pains and flames of fire prepared for him by that cruel people. Addressing himself likewise to the Father, he prayed that the pains of that torment might not be the occasion to make him swerve from any point of his faith in Christ Jesus, but to strengthen and augment him in his spirit and knowledge of the promise of God, and to receive his soul in His hands for Christ Jesus’ sake, “in whose name I make this oblation and offering—that is to say, my body in the fire, and my soul in the hands of Almighty God.”

Fire was now laid to the pile, and exploded some powder which was placed among the faggots. The martyr’s left hand and left cheek were scorched by the explosion; but though thrice kindled the flames took no steady hold of the pile. ‘Have you no dry wood?’ demanded the sufferer. ‘Have you no more gunpowder?’* It was some time before fresh billets and powder could be fetched from the castle, and his sufferings during the interval were extremely acute. Notwithstanding, ‘he uttered divers comfortable speeches to the bystanders,’ and addressed himself calmly to more than one of the friars, who molested him with their cries, bidding him convert, pray to our Lady, and say, ‘*Salve Regina.*’ To one of them he said with a smile, ‘You are late with your advice, when you see me on the point of being consumed in the flames. If I had chosen to recant I need not have been here. But I pray you come forward and testify the truth of *your* religion by putting your little finger into this fire, in which I am burning with my whole body.’† To another of the friars he was constrained to speak in a severer and more indignant tone. It was Friar Campbell, his betrayer and accuser. That bad man was foremost among the tormentors of his last moments. Once

* This and several other highly interesting circumstances of the affecting scene, not hitherto mentioned by any of the historians, are derived from Alesius. Note Q.

† Alesius, Note Q.

and again the sufferer besought him to depart and no more to trouble him, but in vain. At last he struck upon his conscience with these words of righteous severity: ‘Wicked man! thou knowest it is the truth of God for which I now suffer. So much thou didst confess unto me in private, and therenpon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ.’

Patrick Hamilton bore in many points a resemblance to the beloved disciple John. But John was a son of thunder as well as the apostle of love. Sometimes, when truth required it, the words which fell from him were liker bolts from the clouds than honey from the comb. The Reformer had much of his ‘spirit of love,’ but he had much also of his ‘spirit of power.’

Meanwhile the executioners had returned from the castle, and the flames were rekindled. ‘A baker, also, called Myrton, ran and brought his arms full of straw and cast it into the fire; whereupon there came a blast of wind from the east, forth of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehemently that it blew upon the friar who had accused him, and threw him upon the ground, burning all the fore-part of his cowl.’ The terror and confusion of the conscience-stricken Dominican contrasted strangely with the calmness of the martyr. Surrounded and devoured by fierce flames, he had still recollectiveness enough to remember, in his torment, his widowed mother, and to commend her with his dying breath to the care and sympathy of his friends. When nearly burnt through his middle by the fiery chain, a voice in the crowd of spectators called aloud to him, that if he still had faith in the doctrine for which he died he should give a last sign of his constancy. Whereupon he raised three fingers of his half-consumed hand, and held them steadily in that position till he ceased to live.* His last audible words were, ‘How long, Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!’

It was six o’clock in the evening before his body was quite reduced to ashes. The execution had lasted for nearly six hours; ‘but during all that time,’ says Alexander Alane, who had witnessed with profound emotion the whole scene, ‘the martyr never gave one sign of impatience or anger, nor ever called to Heaven for vengeance

* Alesius, Note Q.

upon his persecutors : so great was his faith, so strong his confidence in God.'

Thus tragically but gloriously died, on the 29th day of February, 1528, Patrick Hamilton—a noble martyr in a noble cause. At a time when the power of the Roman Church in Scotland was yet entire and overwhelming, he found it impossible to serve the cause of the recovered Gospel by the labours of a long life; but he joyfully embraced the honour of serving it by the heroic constancy and devotion of his death ; and probably, by dying for it in the very flower of his age, he served its interests more effectually, as his country was then circumstanced, than if he had been permitted to go on with his ministry for many years. Such a martyrdom was precisely what Scotland needed to stir it to its depths, and rouse it to attention and reflection. Such a death had more awaking power in it than the labours of a long life. If his spoken words had been brief and few, they had at least been pithy and pregnant words ; they had been ‘the words of the wise, which are as goads, and as nails fastened in a sure place,’ and his fiery martyrdom clenched and riveted them in the nation’s heart for ever. He conquered by dying. He spoiled principalities and powers by giving his body into their power. He lighted a candle that day in Scotland which could never afterwards be put out. ‘While he lived,’ said the elegant poet who sang of the crowns of the Scottish martyrs, ‘his light was a fire,’ so fervent was his zeal for God and his country. ‘When he died, the fire of his pile was a light to lighten a benighted land.’*

The violent death of the son naturally reminds us of the violent death of the father eight years before. The death of Sir Patrick on the streets of Edinburgh was the death of a hero of chivalry. The death of his son at St. Andrews was the death of a hero of religion—in the noble battle of God’s truth—in the high service of the religious emancipation of his country. In both sire and son we discover the same high and noble sense of honour and duty, as they severally understood what honour and duty required at their hands

* —— ‘vivus lucis qui fulserat igne

Par erat, ut moriens lumina ab igne daret.’

See ‘Excerpta e Poematis Johannis Jonstoni, quibus tituli Περὶ Στεφανῶν, sive de Coronis Martyrum in Scotia, neenon Peculium Ecclesiæ Scoticæ’—contained in Supplement to M’Crie’s Life of Knox.

—in both, the same intrepid virtue in the presence of danger—the same forwardness ‘before the lave’ in the path of noble daring and self-devotion. But along with these grand resemblances there were also exhibited some striking contrasts. The father died a victim to the faction and ambition of his powerful house; the son gave himself a sacrifice to his country and the church of God. The father poured forth his blood in the noble but tragic rage of insulted honour, and to vindicate his good name as a soldier and a Hamilton; the son yielded his life with the calm and gentle, but resolute fortitude of a martyr, praying with his latest breath for his murderers: ‘Father! forgive them.’ The brave Sir Patrick died the last, or all but the last, of the Scottish knights of the middle age—the age of chivalry. His son had nothing in him of the middle age save the noble and generous blood which it transmitted to him. He was the first illustrious Scotsman of modern times.

The sensation produced by Patrick Hamilton’s death throughout the kingdom was profound, and was all in favour of the cause which the clergy had hoped to crush by so terrible a blow. It startled the minds of men into attention. It stimulated their curiosity to inquire into the merits of a cause for which a young nobleman, of such high rank and expectation, so gifted and accomplished, so good and gentle, had been content to die. It preoccupied many in favour of a reformation which had not only such men for its disciples and martyrs, but which was so strong in argument that its adversaries could only persecute, but not refute it. The bishops and doctors imagined that they had destroyed the Reformation in its cradle, but it proved itself an infant Hercules, and strangled the serpents which attempted to destroy it. ‘When these cruel wolves,’ says Knox, ‘had, as they supposed, clean devoured the prey, they find themselves in worse case than they were before; for then within St. Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm, there was none found who began not to inquire, Wherefore was Master Patrick Hamilton burnt? And when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden if such articles were necessary to be believed under the pain of damnation. And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity.’*

* History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 36.

The vibration of feeling produced by the tragedy was felt even in foreign lands. When informed of the event by Alexander Galloway, canon of Aberdeen, the doctors of Louvaine were filled with a cruel joy, and wrote to Beaton to thank him for his services to the common faith, and to congratulate, almost with envy, the University of St. Andrews upon the honours which it had earned by such an edifying display of catholic zeal. The manner of the proceeding, they declared, with a savage delight, had been no less *pleasant* than the transaction itself was commendable; everything had been done *so prudently*, and the order of the law in all points so well observed. And with no less complacency did they anticipate that the example so worthily set by the ‘excellent virtue’ of the Archbishop would find many imitators in other lands. ‘Believe not,’ say they to the persecutors —‘believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be those among externe nations which shall imitate the same.’*

At Marburg the grief of the Reformers was only equalled by their admiration. ‘He came to your university,’ exclaimed Lambert, addressing the Landgrave not many months after, ‘out of Scotland, that remote corner of the world; and he returned to his country again to become its first and now illustrious apostle. He was all on fire with zeal to confess the name of Christ, and he has offered himself to God as a holy, living sacrifice. He brought into the church of God not only all the splendour of his station and gifts, but his life itself. Such is the flower of surpassing sweetness, yea, the ripe fruit, which your university has produced in its very commencement. You have not been disappointed of your wishes. You founded this school with the desire that from it might go forth intrepid confessors of Christ, and steadfast assertors of His truth. See, you have one such already, an example in many ways illustrious. Others, if the Lord will, will follow soon.’†

At Malmoe, in Sweden, where the Reformation was just beginning to strike its roots, and where there was settled, apparently, a small colony of Scottish traders, who had imbibed its doctrines, the feeling produced by the event was so strong, that several years later

* For this ‘letter congratulatory,’ see Note R.

† For the whole passage, in Lambert’s own words, see Note S.

it broke out in an epistle addressed to ‘the Nobil Lordis and Baronis of Scotland,’ by John Gaw, who was probably engaged as a chaplain to his countrymen in that city. In this interesting letter, which forms part of one of the very earliest productions of the Scottish Reformers, the zealous writer inveighs against ‘the blind guides and pastors who seek but the milk and wool of the sheep, and yet think no shame to call themselves vicars of Christ, and successors of the apostles. They preach dreams and fables and traditions of men, and not the evangel; and if any among them would preach it, and not their traditions, they are holden for heretics, as ye know by experience of Patrick Hamilton, whom they put cruelly to the death; but now he lives with Christ, whom he confessed before the princes of this world; but the voice of his blood cries yet with the blood of Abel to the heavens.’*

Of all our Scottish martyrs the character of Patrick Hamilton has universally been felt to be the most interesting and attractive; a feeling which will not be diminished, we are confident, by the new facts which have now been added to his biography. On the contrary, every new line and touch which has been put into the old familiar portrait, only serves to enhance the effect of its singular beauty and grace. His spiritual character needs no eulogy. It is worthy of the earliest and best age of the Church. It is seldom that history has exhibited to us a man so thoroughly Christianized, so consistently Christ-like both in life and death, so full and faithful an image of Him who is Himself the outshining and express image of God. His simple maxim as a disciple was ‘to follow the footsteps of his Lord;’ and it is admirable to see how fully he followed Him, not only to bonds and to death, not only in the sense of bearing a cross like the crucified One, but also in the whole tone and spirit in which he bore it; not only living and dying for the truth, but living and dying for it in love.†

The qualities which chiefly drew and overcame his heart in the character of his Lord were his gentleness and goodness. ‘We have a good and gentle Lord,’ was his touching testimony; ‘let us follow His steps.’ But it is still more touching to see how beautifully and

* See Note T.

† ἀληθεύων ἐν ἀγάπῃ—Eph. iv. 15.

tenderly he exhibited this gentleness of goodness in his own spirit and bearing. We can admire and appreciate a strong and heroic character even when it is rough, and rugged, and ungainly, when all its words are blows, and all its actions thunderbolts of power. But we have double reason to admire and appreciate when we see heroism and gentleness, strength and beauty, constancy and courtesy combined. It is not often that qualities so different, so almost opposite, are found together in one mind. They were joined in a high degree of perfection in the character of Patrick Hamilton.

If in spiritual and moral qualities he occupied a place in the first rank, in intellectual powers he was entitled to take a position inferior only to the first. We cannot claim for him the gift of creative genius. He created nothing ; he led the way, in point of original thinking, in nothing. He was a Lutheran, not a Luther ; a disciple, not a master. But he was one of the quickest and most capable of disciples. If he had not the power of originating thought, he had uncommon power of mastering and appropriating the ideas which were originated by others, of grasping the teaching of his masters in its deepest principles, of penetrating all its inner relations, and of reproducing the whole in an independent way of his own. Under his vigorous hand all the parts of a complex mass of ideas and principles fell rapidly into their appropriate places, and arranged themselves into a compact and well-ordered system of truth. He was a master of intellectual antithesis ; he discerned rapidly and clearly the mutual repulsions as well as the mutual attractions of principles, and, firmly fixed and poised at the opposite poles, the whole sphere of his theological views moved with a steady and stately revolution. His ‘Places’ bear ample testimony to these qualities of his intellect. Their ripeness of theological and religious perception is marvellous ; and taken in connection with his extreme youth, and the shortness of the period during which he had been a disciple of the Reformation, that remarkable work could only have been the fruit of a mind of extraordinary *capacity*—in that primary sense of capacity which denotes a power to receive and to hold, as distinguished from a power to originate and create. It may need high powers to take in and master all that a great genius teaches ; although such powers are confessedly inferior to those which enable the teacher to originate what his disciples can only receive.

The memory of Patrick Hamilton flourished like an amaranth in the hearts of those who had known him as a friend and teacher, to the latest day of their lives. Nearly twenty years after his death, Alexander Alane, in the midst of an address, sent from Germany into Scotland—in which he appealed in behalf of the Reformation to all ranks of the kingdom—broke forth into a pathetic apostrophe to his departed master, in which he avowed his inability to do justice to his character and merits, and lamented his death as bitterly as if his heart had been bleeding from a newly-inflicted wound—‘And was it indeed possible, Patricius, that the audacity and tyranny of impious men should prevail so far as to strike down *thee*? How can I enough deplore our loss in being left, nay, justly forsaken of *thee*? How can I enough deplore the wickedness and cruelty of thy enemies, nay of Christ’s?’ It was more than a quarter of a century after his martyrdom, when Alane penned that account of his life and death which has contributed so materially to the preceding narrative. He was the first writer to rear such a monument to his memory; and it is a curious instance of the truth that the monuments raised by the pen are more enduring than those of the architect or the sculptor, that at a distance of more than three hundred years, the writings of Patrick Hamilton’s first biographer should be forthcoming from the dust of remote libraries, to add new facts to our knowledge of his life and death, and to weave fresh leaves into the unwithering chaplet that surrounds his name.

CHAPTER IX.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S INFLUENCE UPON THE SCOTTISH CLERGY.

THE HAMILTON PERIOD OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION—THE SCOTTISH AUGUSTINIANS—THE RULE OF ST. AUGUSTIN—THE PRIORY OF ST. ANDREWS—ALEXANDER ALANE—HIS SERMON TO THE CLERGY, IMPRISONMENT, AND FLIGHT—GAVYN LOGIE—JOHN WYNRAM AND OTHER CANONS—ABBEY OF CAMBUSKENNETH—ABBEY OF INCH-COLME—DEAN THOMAS FORRET—THE SCOTTISH DOMINICANS—JOHN ADAMSON AND CONVENTUAL REFORM—CONVENT OF ST. ANDREWS AND PRIOR CAMPBELL—ALEXANDER SEYTON—JAMES HEWAT—JOHN M'ALPINE—JOHN M'DOWEL—JOHN KIELLOR—JOHN BEVERIDGE—JOHN ROUGH—THOMAS GUILLIAME—JOHN WILLOCK—THE BENEDICTINES—THE FRANCISCANS—THE CORDELIERS—THE CARthusians—THE CISTERCIANS—THE SECULAR CLERGY.

And yet ever still did some lycht burst out in the myddis of darkness, for the trewth of Christ
Jesus entered even in the cloasters, as weall of frieris as of monks and channounis.

KNOX'S HISTORY.

CHAPTER IX.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S INFLUENCE UPON THE SCOTTISH CLERGY.

THERE are only three names that can be considered entitled to occupy the foremost rank of Scottish reformers, and we claim for Patrick Hamilton the distinction of being one of the three—of standing side by side with George Wishart and John Knox. It was from these three eminent preachers and confessors that the Reformation, viewed as a spiritual and religious movement, was chiefly propagated.

There was an interval of seventeen years between the return of Hamilton from Germany in 1527, and that of Wishart from England in 1544; and we may perhaps be allowed to designate that interval the Hamilton period of the Scottish Reformation. For in point of popular power and effect as a preacher and teacher, Hamilton had no equal nor any proper successor till the appearance of Wishart; and the type of his theology continued to characterise the doctrines of the Reforming party down to the same period. The principles and views put forth in the able ‘Answers’ of Sir John Borthwick, to the charges of heresy laid against him by Cardinal Beaton in 1540, are in no degree more advanced, on doctrinal points, than those which had been expounded by Hamilton himself. There was no change in that respect till the advent of Wishart. Wishart was a theologian and reformer in the sense of the Helvetic Confession. He had visited the reformed churches of Switzerland, and agreed so thoroughly with their First Confession, that he executed a translation

of it for the benefit of his countrymen;* and the accounts which have come down to us of his preaching, disclose how earnestly and fully he taught the Swiss doctrine of the sacraments. But it does not appear that Hamilton had promulgated any doctrine on that head, either Lutheran or Helvetic, save in the negative form of a rejection of the Roman dogmas of the mass and baptismal efficacy. And as the same remarkable silence is preserved in the answers of Borthwick, we may regard this as good evidence that Hamilton's theological teaching had continued to give type to the doctrine of the Scottish Reformers down to 1540.

On a careful examination of the traces of Hamilton's influence during the period now defined, it will be found that it principally affected three sections of his countrymen—the Augustinian canons, the Dominican friars, and the nobility and upper ranks of several parts of the kingdom. At a later period the Reformation became much more widely and indiscriminately diffused through all classes of the community; but it is a striking peculiarity of its earliest stage that the great majority of its converts belonged to one or other of these three sections. Few of the secular clergy are named as having embraced the evangelical doctrines during that period; and few or none of the Franciscans, the Cistercians, the Benedictines, or the Carmelites; and few or none of the regents or professors in the universities, save such as belonged to the Augustinian order.

Every one must have noticed the very prominent position which was taken in the general history of the Reformation by the order of St. Augustin. Luther himself, it is well known, was an Augustinian monk; and Staupitz, the first man from whom Luther learned any rudiment of evangelical truth, was vicar-general of the order in Saxony and Thuringia. It was the same in Flanders, in France, and in Spain. The Augustinians of Antwerp were the first Lutherans of the Low Countries, and gave up to the cause of the Reformation, in the great square of Brussels, its two first martyrs—Henry Voes and John Esch. John Castellane, one of the earliest and most eminent of the French Protestants, was ‘a religious man of the Friars Eremites, of the order of St. Austin.’ Dr. Cazalla,

* Wishart's Translation of the Former Confession of the Helvetian Churches is printed in the Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, edited by David Laing, Esq., vol. i.

the celebrated Spanish Lutheran, who perished at Valladolid in the *auto-da-fé* of 1559, and who is described as ‘a standard-bearer of the Gospellers,’ was an Augustinian friar.* It was the same also in England. Dr. Robert Barnes, one of the first Englishmen who ventured to tell Wolsey the truth, and who afterwards suffered martyrdom in Smithfield, was prior of the Augustinian monastery of Cambridge, where he gave shelter to the preaching of Latimer and Bilney, when these reformers were driven from the university pulpit of St. Mary’s. It proved the same in Scotland too. It was the Scottish Augustinians who first gave disciples to the Reformation, and who first suffered in its cause. Patrick Hamilton was himself the abbot of an Augustinian house; and Alexander Alane, his first and most eminent convert, was, as we have seen, a canon-regular of the Augustinian priory of St. Andrews.

The Rule of this order was, in truth, eminently favourable to the entrance of the principles of the Reformation among its adherents. Though destitute of any valid claim to be considered the production of Augustin himself, it was in no respect unworthy of the name of that celebrated father. It prescribed a spiritual and moral discipline, well fitted to form its disciples to sound and enlightened views of Christian character and duty. It consisted almost entirely of practical principles derived from the New Testament, and was singularly free of any admixture of superstition, or of merely traditional and conventional morality. The life-order which it prescribed went back to the earliest and purest age of the Church for its models of Christian excellence, and was little more than a reiteration of the ethical maxims of the apostles themselves. A curious ‘Exegesis’ of the Rule was given to the world in 1530, by Robert Richardson, a canon of the Augustinian abbey of Cambuskenneth, who boasts that there was no other Rule in existence which could be compared to it. ‘It was not formed,’ he warmly urges, ‘like most others, upon the institutes of those holy fathers who lived as Cœnobites, but upon the example of the life of the apostles themselves—an example which was instituted by the infallible wisdom of God. And by how much that sacred senate of the apostles was more excellent than the college of the sainted fathers, by so much is the life of the former

* Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. iv. pp. 362, 454.

more excellent than the institutes of the latter.' He lauds also the superiority of the Rule to all others in respect to spirituality. 'While all others are occupied with mere bodily observances—with fastings, vigils, and mortifications—the Rule of our most holy parent is taken up entirely with the spiritual duties of love to God and man, unity of heart, concord in doing good, offices of devotion, and such like; and certainly, as much as the soul is more noble than the body, so much is a spiritual law more excellent than a carnal one, and spiritual exercises to be preferred to mere corporeal discipline.' He commends, likewise, with good reason, the moderation of its precepts. 'They are neither too burdensome,' he urges, 'nor too easy; they avoid extremes; they are equally opposed to austerity and to indulgence. They hit that happy middle path in which all virtue is justly considered to be found.*

As was naturally to be expected from Hamilton's intimacy with the members of the Priory of St. Andrews, that house took the lead of all the religious houses of the kingdom, in espousing the cause for which he had laboured and died; and, as might have been anticipated from the deep impression which his teaching had made upon Alexander Alane, while he was yet alive, Alane was the first of all his brethren to speak out his mind, regarding the violence and cruelty which had been displayed in the martyr's death. The Primate and the Prior expected to find their deed applauded by every man in St. Andrews; and they resented the disappointment, when they found that Alane, and several other canons of the Priory, could not be induced to approve of their proceedings.

It was probably with the view of entrapping Alane, who was the most decided of the malcontents, into an open declaration of his views, that the Primate appointed him to the dangerous duty of preaching before a provincial synod of the clergy, which assembled in St. Andrews in 1529. Alane was well aware that he was the object of their suspicion and dislike, and was careful to say nothing in his discourse, which could give reasonable or just offence to any

* Exegesis in Canonem Divi Augustini per Fratrem Robertum Richardinum Celebris Ecclesiæ Cambuskenalis Canonicum. Lutetiae, 1530.—A very rare and curious book, to which the author had access in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Considerable extracts from it will be found in the Preface to *Liber Collegii Nostræ Dominæ, &c.*, referred to in a former note.

man. He contented himself with pointing out the duty of the clergy of all ranks, to take faithful heed to the flock of Christ committed to their charge, and with urging upon his brethren the obligation of adding to their teaching the illustration of a good example, and avoiding the corruptions of licentiousness and vice. The sermon was applauded by all good men, but it was heard with displeasure by the Archbishop, who smelt a taint of Lutheranism in the canon's officious zeal for morality; and it gave mortal offence to the Prior, who looked upon the whole as a personal attack upon himself, and could not believe that the preacher could have any other object in preaching against the profligacy of the clergy, than to hold up to condemnation his own profligacies. Having the canon in his power, Hepburn speedily made him feel all the weight of his resentment. Alane was thrown into a dismal and foetid dungeon, where he languished in the midst of filth and loathsome vermin for many months. The young king interposed to deliver him, but without permanent effect. The Provost of St. Andrews insisted, in the king's name, upon seeing the prisoner, for the rumour went that he was dead; but the enraged Prior only produced his victim for a few hours to the light, and again immerged him in his horrid prison. It became evident at last to Alane's friends among the canons, that nothing short of his death would satisfy the vengeance of Hepburn; and by their aid he was enabled to effect his escape. He fled under night to the shipping at Dundee, and got immediately on board a vessel which was on the point of sailing for a foreign port. He embarked just in time to avoid being retaken by a troop of horsemen whom the Prior had despatched in pursuit, and who galloped down to the shore of the Tay, at the very moment when the friendly ship had spread her sails to the favouring wind.

We have given only a bare outline of a narrative of deep interest which Alane has written very minutely with his own pen, and which yet remains to be incorporated with the history of the Reformation of his native country. It was some time in 1530 that he fled from the kingdom; and he never afterwards returned to it. When his countrymen next heard of him he had changed his name to Alexander Alesius, *i.e.* Alexander the Wanderer,* and when he next demanded

* For proof that his real name was Alane, not Aless or Ales, and that Alesius means the Wanderer, see Note U.

a hearing among them, it was in the shape of a disciple and friend of Luther and Melancthon, pleading with the young king of Scots, in two eloquent Latin epistles, indited and printed in Wittemberg itself, in behalf of liberty to his Scottish countrymen, to read and to teach the Word of God in their mother tongue.*

Though the Prior was now rid of Alane, it soon became evident that he was not to be so soon rid of Lutheranism. The leaven of Hamilton's influence still continued to work both in the Priory and in St. Leonard's College. Gavyn Logie himself, one of the senior canons, and principal regent of the college, a man of high standing in the university, ere long went over to the new opinions, and continued for some years to diffuse them among his students, till he was at last driven into exile in 1534. John Wynram, another of the canons, and soon afterwards subprior, concealed his sentiments with more caution than Logie, but was well understood to be favourable to the same views; and John Fife, John Duncanson, and James Wilkie, all admitted enough of the new theology to their convictions to prove a seed which afterwards developed itself, sooner or later, into the open profession of Reformation principles.

There was naturally a close communication kept up between all the religious houses which belonged to the same order; and this intercourse was eminently favourable to the spread of the Reformation when once a footing had been secured for it in one of the associated fraternities, especially if the society first gained in any of its members happened to be one of superior influence and importance. The Priory of St. Andrews was such a society. It was the wealthiest and most dignified monastery of the kingdom; and it was in communication with, and gave tone to, no fewer than twenty-eight houses of Augustinian canons scattered in all parts of

* The titles of these epistles, which are of extreme rarity, are the following :—Alexandri Alesii Epistola contra Decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia quod prohibet legere Novi Testamenti libros lingua vernacula. 1533.—Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlaei Calumnias. 1534.—It is from these two epistles to James V. that we have derived the particulars of Alane's persecution and flight. Some extracts from them of considerable length will be found in Anderson's 'Annals of the English Bible,' to which work the author is indebted for his first knowledge of their existence. He has since been favoured with a leisurely inspection of the originals from the collection of David Laing, Esq.

the country.* Its connection with the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, was particularly intimate. In 1544 Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, was administrator also of the Priory of St. Andrews, in name of its young commendator, James Stewart, afterwards the Regent Murray. Members, it would seem, were occasionally transferred from the one establishment to the other. Robert Richardson, before referred to as author of the ‘Exegesis of the Rule of St. Augustine,’ was a student of St. Leonard’s in his youth, and in 1520 had become a canon regular of the Priory, and sacrist of the Holy Cross. But in 1530, when his ‘Exegesis’ appeared, he was a canon of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, and dedicated his work to Alexander Myln, whom he addresses with great reverence and affection as ‘his own most Venerable Father and Abbot.’†

Gavyn Logie had a brother or other near kinsman, Robert Logie, who was a canon of Cambuskenneth, and had charge of the novices of the abbey, to teach them ‘the grammar.’ This relationship formed an additional link of connection and communication between the two houses, and no doubt served as a conductor by which the new influence which had begun to work so powerfully at St. Andrews might be conveyed across the country to the Abbey of Stirling. In fact, there are several authentic particulars which go to prove that that Abbey became one of the earliest seats and most influential centres of evangelical truth and life. Robert Richardson himself became a professed Lutheran preacher only a few years after the publication of his ‘Exegesis.’ He had a brother or other kinsman, John Richardson, who was a canon of the abbey, and who was driven into exile in 1538 or 1539, for the same cause. Thomas Cocklaw, parish priest of Tullibody—one of the churches belonging to the abbey and served by its canons—was summoned before the Bishop of Dunblane for having secretly married a widow in the same village, named Margaret Jameson, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But by the help of a relative, who broke down the walls of his prison ‘with crowbars and other instruments,’ he was able to effect his escape, and afterwards became a Protestant minister

* Account by John Spottiswood, Esq., of all the religious houses in Scotland at the time of the Reformation. Appended to Keith’s Scottish Bishops.

† Knox’s History, vol. i., Appendix vi., p. 530.

in England. Cocklaw was intimately connected with a circle of Reformers in Stirling, including John Kiellor and John Beveridge, Black Friars; Duncan Simson, priest; and Robert Forrester, a gentleman burgess of Stirling—who were all soon after Cocklaw's flight brought to the stake on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, not only as ‘chief heretics and teachers of heresies, but also because they had been present at Cocklaw's marriage, and had eaten flesh in Lent at the same.’ And there was a like intimacy between Robert Logie and the excellent Dean and Canon of St. Colme's Inch, Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dollar, who was cruelly put to death along with the martyrs of Stirling. Logie used much the company of the Vicar of Dollar, and great search was made for him in the vicar's house when he took to flight. ‘When he perceived he was to be apprehended he conveyed himself secretly to Tullibody, where he found some treasure which Thomas Cocklaw had laid under a horse-stall, as the said Thomas had directed him. He was hardly pursued by the way, and drew into a sheepfold till his pursuers passed by. He went to Dundee, where he took the seas. Some years afterwards he was seen teaching in London, but nothing further is known of him.’*

From these facts, taken in connection with what is further recorded by Knox, that in 1559 ‘the malice of the Queen Regent’ extended to Cambuskenneth, for there ‘she dischraigit the portionis (stopped the stipends) of as many of the canons as had forsaken papistrie,’ it appears that this ancient and opulent abbey had become a centre of light to all the country round. Its influence was very great in that part of the kingdom. It had numerous churches and chapels dependent upon it, including St. Ninians, Larbert, Kippen, Kirkintilloch, Alloa, Clackmannan, and several others; and having the patronage of most of them as well as the fruits, it filled them with parish priests from its own college of canons.† It was an honourable peculiarity of the canons regular of St. Austin that they took the charge of parish churches, and performed ecclesiastical functions, without distinction of place; whereas the regular clergy of other non-predicant orders seldom discharged spiritual duties beyond the walls of their own monasteries. And

* Calderwood (Wodrow Society), vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

† MS. Chartulary of Cambuskenneth.—Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

hence the clergy of St. Austin, who had once been the most active agents of papal influence, were qualified to become, as many of them in fact became, highly efficient instruments in propagating the principles of the Reformation and extending its triumphs.

It was remarkable that the Abbey of Cambuskenneth should have become imbued to so considerable an extent with the doctrines of the Reformation, considering the character and principles of its distinguished abbot. Alexander Myln was a churchman of the strictest Roman orthodoxy, and took an active part in the severe proceedings which were adopted through a long course of years to suppress the Reformation. He had sat on the tribunal which condemned Patrick Hamilton to death, and he was one of the judges who doomed the numerous exiles and martyrs of 1534. But Myln, though not a doctrinal, was an educational Reformer. He was exemplary in his own life and deportment, as attested by Richardson, and took great pains, in imitation of the example set by his predecessor, Patrick Panther, to improve the talents and scholarship of his canons. Richardson speaks in strong terms of the benefits which he had derived from him ; and it was no doubt by Myln's liberality that he was sent to study in the University of Paris, where he was residing at the time when he published his work. But it was in all probability these very reforms, introduced into the abbey by two successive abbots, that prepared in it a soil for the seed of Reformation truth. Generally speaking, it was the better sort of monks in every country, not the worse—those whose minds had been enlightened, and whose mental and moral tastes had been improved by superior culture—who welcomed the Reformation. It was perfectly natural that the two Augustinian houses of St. Andrews and Cambuskenneth, the two most lettered in the kingdom, which had long been united by the tie of common intellectual studies, should also be drawn to each other by common religious sympathies, and that the religious Reformation begun in the one should speedily be communicated to the society of the other. But the most curious fact of all connected with this subject is, that Robert Richardson, whom the abbot had selected from his canons to send to the schools of Paris, and who, so late as 1530, gave a proof both of his zeal as an Augustinian, and of his veneration for Myln, by the publication of his ‘Exegesis,’ and the dedication of it to the abbot, should turn up in London only a

few years after, as a religious disciple and *protégé* of the celebrated Thomas Crumwell, Prime Minister to Henry VIII., the worst enemy of monks and monasteries that the world had ever seen; and that he should have been one of the first Lutheran preachers employed to declaim in the dioceses of England against the supremacy of the Pope, and in support of the new spiritual prerogatives claimed by the English crown.*

About halfway between Cambuskenneth and St. Andrews, on an islet in the Firth of Forth, called St. Colme's Inch, stood an ancient Augustinian monastery, which had been erected by the piety of the good King Alexander. It had but a small number of canons, and was inferior to many other religious houses in wealth and influence. Yet this modest establishment produced one of the most beautiful examples of evangelical faith and excellence which the Reformation age can boast—a model parish priest and pastor, and a martyr equal in constancy and mild humility to any in the whole range of the history of the Church. This was Thomas Forret, canon and dean of the Abbey of St. Colme's Inch, and vicar of Dollar. His story belongs to the Hamilton period, and has been beautifully told by Fox and Calderwood. We give it in their words, after a single preliminary remark—that while it appears from the following narrative that Forret did not owe his first knowledge of the Gospel to Patrick Hamilton or any other man, his position at Dollar, in the neighbourhood of Cambuskenneth, and in the direct line of communication between it and St. Andrews, must have afforded him facilities for improving his religious attainments by intercourse with other kindred minds, and must have thus brought him within the sphere of the evangelical influence which had been propagated from the first Scottish Reformer. We have already had evidence before us of his frequent intercourse with Robert Logie, who was no doubt a disciple of Hamilton through Gavyn Logie.

‘ Dean Thomas Forret, vicar of Dollar, was a gentleman of the

* This singular fact rests upon the authority of three letters of Richardson, preserved among the Crumwell correspondence in the State Paper Office. These letters, which are very curious, have not hitherto attracted the notice of our ecclesiastical historians. In one of them Richardson speaks of his patron as having been next to God the cause of his being brought to ‘the knowledge of the veritie.’

house of the Laird of Forret, in Fife. His father was master-stabler to King James the Fourth. After he had gotten some beginning in the rudiments, he went to Cologne and learned his grammar, and by the help of a rich lady was sustained there at the schools. After he returned he was made a canon in St. Colme's Inch, and was then a fervent Papist. There fell out a debate betwixt the abbot and the canons about their portion due to them for their maintenance. They got the book of their foundation that they might understand the better what allowance was due to them every day. The abbot took the book from them and gave a volume of Augustin's to read and study instead of it. "Oh happy and blessed was that book!" said he many a time after, whereby he came to the knowledge of the truth. He converted the younger canons, but "the old bottles," he said, "would not receive the new wine." Thereafter he was made vicar of Dollar. He taught his flock the Ten Commandments, and showed them the way of their salvation to be only by the blood of Jesus Christ. He penned a little catechism which he caused a poor child answer him, when any faithful brother came to him—to allure the heart of the hearer to embrace the truth; which, indeed, converted many in the country about. When the pardoners would come to his kirk to offer pardon for money, he would say, "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you; there is no pardon for our sins that can come to us from Pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ." When the abbot of St. Colme's Inch would say to him, "Will ye say as they say, and keep your mind to yourself, and save yourself?" "I thank your lordship," said the vicar; "ye are a friend to my body, but not to my soul. Before I deny a word which I have spoken, ye shall see this body of mine blow away first with the wind in ashes."

He rose at six of the morning and studied till twelve, and after dinner till supper, in summer. In winter he burnt candle till bed-time. When he visited any sick person in the parish that was poor, he would carry bread and cheese in his gown-sleeve to the sick person, and give him silver out of his purse, and feed his soul with the bread of life. He was very diligent in reading the Epistle to the Romans, in the Latin tongue, whereby he might be able to dispute against the adversaries. He would get three chapters by heart

in one day, and at evening gave the book to his servant, Andrew Kirkie, to mark when he went wrong in the rehearsing ; and then he held up his hands to the heavens, and thanked God that he was not idle that day. He preached every Sunday to his parishioners the epistle or gospel, as it fell for the time, which then was a great novelty in Scotland to see any man preach, except a Black Friar or a Grey Friar. Therefore the friars envied him and accused him to the Bishop of Dunkeld, in whose diocese he remained, as an heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop, moved by the instigation of the friars, called the said Dean Thomas, and said to him, “ My joy, Dean Thomas, I love you weill, and therefore I must give you my counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself.” To whom Thomas said, “ I thank your lordship heartily.” Then the bishop began his counsel on this manner : “ My joy, Dean Thomas, I am informed that ye preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that ye take not the cow nor the upmost cloth from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the Churchmen.* And therefore, my joy, Dean Thomas, I would you took your cow and upmost cloth, as other Churchmen do ; or else it is too much to preach every Sunday, for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle or any good gospel that setteth forth the liberty of the holy Church, to preach that, and let the rest be.” Thomas answered, “ My lord, I think none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing they have, and I will give and communicate with them anything that I have ; and so, my lord, we agree right weill, and there is no discord among us. And when your lordship saith it is too much to preach every Sunday ; indeed, I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like.” “ Nay, nay, Dean Thomas,” said my lord, “ let that be, for we are not ordained to preach.” Then said Thomas, “ Where your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New

* These were exacted by the priests on occasion of the death of a parishioner. The ‘upmost cloth’ was the coverlet of the bed on which the deceased had died.

Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find any evil epistle or evil gospel ; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I will preach the good and omit the evil." Then spake my lord stoutly and said, " I thank God that I never knew what the Old and the New Testament was. Therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my porteuse and my pontifical. Go your way," said my lord, " and let be all these phantasies, for if ye persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it when ye may not mend it." Thomas said, " I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon." So my lord and he departed at that time.'

' He was divers times summoned before the bishops of St. Andrews (James Beaton) and Dunkelden to give account of his doctrine ; but he gave such reasons and answers that he escaped till the cruel Cardinal David Beaton got the upper hand. He was condemned to the death without any place of recantation, because, as was alleged, he was a heresiarch, or chief heretic, and teacher of heresies. When he was brought to the place of execution, on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, the last day of February, 1539, Friar Hardbuckel biddeth him follow him—" Say, I believe in God," sayeth the friar. " I believe in God," sayeth he. " And in our Lady," sayeth the friar. " I believe as our Lady believeth," said he. " Say," said the friar, " I believe in God and our Lady." " Cease," said he, " tempt me not ; I know what I should say as weill as ye ; thanks be to God." So he left him and tempted the rest [the martyrs of Stirling before referred to] after the like manner. In the mean time, while he was saying to the people, " I never ministered the sacraments but I said, ' As the bread entereth into your mouth, so shall Christ dwell by lively faith into your hearts,' "— " Away ! away !" said one standing beside, with his jack on him ; " we will have no preaching here." Another taketh the New Testament out of his bosom, holdeth it up before the people, and crieth, " Heresie ! heresie !" Then the people cried, " Burn him ! burn him !" When one of the number was wirried (strangled) and burnt before him, he said, when it was told him, " Yea, he was a wily fellow ; he knew there were many hungry folks coming after him, and he went

before to cause make ready the supper." They that were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously did comfort them that came behind. He cried with a loud voice, first in Latin and then in English, "God be merciful to me a sinner." After that, first in Latin, then in English, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" After that, as his manner was to end with some psalms in his prayer, he began at the fifty-first psalm in Latin—"Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam," &c.; and so continued till they pulled the stool from under his feet, and so wriried and after burnt him. Thus ended this faithful servant of God, envied by the clergy for his good life, diligent preaching of the Word, and sparing the cow and uppermost cloth.*

It is indeed a beautiful picture, a realization, in plain prose and in actual life, of Chaucer's exquisite ideal of 'the Poore Parson':—

' But rich he was of holy thought and work ;
 He was also a learnèd man—a clerk,
 That Christe's Gospel truëly would preach,
 His parishens devoutly would he teach.
 Benign he was and wondrous diligent,
 And in adversity full patient ;
 And such he was yprovèd often sithes (times). . .
 Full loth were him to cursen for his tithes,
 But rather would he given, out of doubt,
 Unto his poor parishioners about,
 Of his offring and eke of his substânce ;
 He could in little thing have suffisânce.
 Wide was his parish, and houses far asunder,
 But he ne left nought for ne rain nor thunder,
 In sickness and in mischief to visit
 The farthest in his parish much and lit (rich and poor),
 Upon his feet, and in his hand a staff.
 This noble ensample to his sheep he yaf (gave),
 That first he wrought, and afterward he taught.'

Eminent, however, and numerous as were the converts gained to the Reformation, during the Hamilton period, among the Augustinian clergy, they were scarcely if at all superior either in numbers or distinction to those who were obtained, during the same years, from the

* Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 124—129.

order of St. Dominic. Between Hamilton's death and Wishart's return to Scotland in 1544, no fewer than nine names of Black Friars have been recorded who went over to the side of evangelical truth, and endured for it either exile or death, and almost all of them men of superior talents and standing in the order. The contrast between the Dominicans and the Franciscans in this respect was very remarkable. Not more than one or two of the latter embraced the truth. Not only so, but the Grey Friars signalised themselves beyond all other classes of churchmen by their persecuting zeal against the Reformers. Knox speaks of their numerous convents as the 'dens of those murderers.' Buchanan directed against them the shafts of his keenest satire, as the *Frates Fraterrimi*—*i.e.*, as we understand him, the most friar-like of friars, in whom all the peculiarities of friarhood were most fully developed—the worst and most vicious of all friars. The names of the Dominicans are almost always found among the persecuted, but the names of the Franciscans almost always among their persecutors. So remarkable a contrast must have had a cause, and must admit of an explanation. The cause and the explanation, we believe, are to be found in the fact, that in the early part of the sixteenth century the Scottish Dominicans had passed through a process of intellectual and moral reform, while the Franciscans had sunk deeper and deeper in the corruptions and superstitions which had long disgraced their order in Scotland, and in every country of Europe.

This Dominican reform has not received due attention from our ecclesiastical historians; and we are left to gather up such scattered traces of it as have been left in the literature and archives of the pre-reformation period. Its author and chief promoter was John Adam or Adamson, Prior of the Dominican Monastery of Aberdeen, and for many years Provincial of the order; of whom, as one of the eminent men who had received their education in King's College, Hector Boyce has given us the following interesting account:*

'John Adam, Professor of Theology, and a man of distinguished piety and learning, was the first man who took a degree in divinity in Aberdeen. He is now at the head of the Friars Preceptor of Scotland—provincial of the order, as they term it. For his piety

* Boethii Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ, under the Life of William Elphinstone.

and zeal he deserves to be ranked among the foremost men, and the brightest examples, of his institute. Finding his order fallen into a condition in which it had become an object of indifference and almost contempt to the country, he undertook the arduous work of reforming and restoring it, and by great and incredible labours he succeeded in his design—braving the perils of the sea, sparing no bodily exertion and fatigue, and disregarding the malice, the threats, and the injuries of envious rivals. The results which he has accomplished are before our eyes. There are now numerous members of that order in the kingdom, who are men of distinguished piety, and who are labouring among us as preachers and professors of sacred learning.* All this is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the pious exertions of John Adam, aided by the influence of William Elphinstone, whose assistance was of great weight, both at home and abroad, in supporting his design.'

The renovated Order continued to enjoy the favour of the good Bishop of Aberdeen as long as he lived, and it shared largely in his testamentary bounty when he died. Elphinstone's death took place in Edinburgh in 1514. Three weeks after, John Hepburn, as Vicar-General of the See of St. Andrews then vacant, issued his warrant to Thomas Myrton, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the bishop's executor, to pay four hundred merks, in gold and silver, to John Adamson, to be applied to the purposes of his order; and on the 7th July following, Adamson received payment of that sum, and took an obligation that in all time coming two solemn anniversaries, in honour of their benefactor, should be celebrated yearly in the convent churches of Edinburgh and St. Andrews.†

The rebuilding and restoration of their convent in St. Andrews was a favourite object of the Dominicans at that time. The house was founded in 1274 by William Wishart, Bishop of St. Andrews, but had latterly fallen into a state of great dilapidation in its buildings

* Among these preachers and professors of theclogy, Boyce makes special mention, as King's College men, of Alexander Laurence, who, from being an eminent jurist, had become a predican friar; David Menzies, a powerful preacher, and of equal gravity and erudition; and John Gryson, Robert *Islay*, and Alexander *Hall*—theologians all of distinguished piety and science. So we interpret the last two names given by Boyce—*Insulanus* and *Aulicus*.

† *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Maitland Club), vol. ii. p. 310.

and revenues, insomuch that usually it had only a single resident friar. But it was important that the resuscitated order should be well represented in the ecclesiastical metropolis; and vigorous measures were now adopted for that end. In 1516, on the Feast of St. Matthew, a Chapter was held in the Monastery of Stirling, when it was resolved to apply the whole Elphinstone legacy to the object in view, ‘out of zeal for the advancement of our order in regularity of life and in the study of learning, and that in future they might have in St. Andrews a convent of brethren living in strict discipline, and applying themselves with diligence to the cultivation of sacred letters.’* But it was necessary to improve the annual revenues of the establishment and to fill it with inmates, as well as to rebuild its ruinous walls. For these purposes the convents of Cupar and St. Monan’s were both suppressed, under the sanction of the Pope and the King; and with the exception of two brethren (and the rents necessary for their support), who were still to reside at St. Monan’s to say the accustomed devotions at the tomb of the saint, the whole of the friars and revenues of those houses were transferred to St. Andrews. Of these new revenues a part was to be applied to the support of students at the university. Still further accessions of revenue were obtained in 1517 and 1519 from the lands of Douglas of Lochleven and Spens of Lathalland; and ere long the restored monastery arose from its ruins in new architectural splendour and internal equipment—a memorial, as well as a result of the Dominican reform carried through by John Adamson.† Alexander Campbell, who was one of the friars removed to St. Andrews from Cupar, was probably the first prior of the renovated establishment;‡ and the prominent part which he was appointed to take in the trial and execution of Hamilton was probably as much owing to the high credit of his convent as a school of theological learning, as to his personal ability and zeal. The study of scholastic divinity had been revived within its walls; and it was meet that its prior should step forward among the foremost to vindicate the doctrines of the Church, and to silence their impugners.

* Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis (Maitland Club), vol. ii.

† For Charters confirmatory of all these transactions, see Registrum Mag. Sig.—Register House, Edinburgh. ‡ See Note X.

We have been at pains to bring together these scattered notices of this work of Dominican reform, because it proved ere long a valuable auxiliary to the reformation of the Church, and issued in the accession of many men of first-rate ability and efficiency to the evangelical cause. To these men it was like the baptism of John preparing the way for the advent of Christ. By elevating their moral and intellectual standard, it served to make them more sensible than they would otherwise have been, of the gross corruptions of the Church, and of the need of a thorough restoration of primitive purity. But in this intellectual and disciplinary reform the Dominicans stood almost alone. All the other orders, with the exception of a few houses of the Augustinians, remained as they were; and among the bishops and secular clergy no change took effect except for the worse. The improved discipline of Adamson was commended by all, but was imitated by none. No wonder, then, that when pious and heroic men rose up and demanded in God's name the reformation of the Church, the best and truest of the Black Friars sympathised with the demand, joined in it, and went over to the ranks of the Reformers. We do not find, indeed, among these Dominican converts any of the names which we have seen signalised by Boyce, nor any of the eminent members of the order who had been coadjutors of Adamson. Those respectable men had grown too old to receive new ideas, and were too dignified in office to trust themselves to innovations of which they could not foresee the issue. But there were younger men in the order—men of excellent talents and culture—who were not so inaccessible, or so timid, and who, already excellent preachers and theologians in the sense of the old Church, were destined to become still more efficient ministers of Christ in the sense of the Reformation.

Prior Campbell himself was an instance of the sympathy which was felt by these young Dominicans in many of the views and principles of the Reformers. Buchanan tells us, that almost all the doctrines, which were then thought to be paradoxes, Campbell confessed to be true, and acknowledged many of the complaints which Hamilton made of the state of the Church to be just. The young prior, indeed, loved life better than he loved truth. He proved a traitor to his convictions when he basely stooped to do the work of an informer and accuser. But the terrible event which

followed revealed how violently he had suppressed his convictions in adopting that course. The dying martyr's appeal to his conscience, and his solemn citation of him to appear before the tribunal of God to answer for his perfidy, fell upon him like a stroke of Divine vengeance. 'From that day,' says Buchanan, 'his mind was deranged with affright, and not long after, he died insane.' How deep and strong must his real convictions have been, when they reacted upon him, after his deeds of guilty duplicity, with such tremendous energy!

The whole case of their unhappy young prior, his many concessions to the Reformer, the force he had put upon his conscience in the process of the trial, and the dreadful penalty he had paid for his sin, must have made a deep impression upon his brethren in the convent of St. Andrews. Incidents so striking must have conspired, along with the teaching and martyrdom of Hamilton himself, to beget a strong prepossession among the fraternity in favour of the new doctrines. But an impression made there was an impression made at the head-quarters of the whole order; and from the convent of St. Andrews it might be speedily communicated to all the Dominican houses of the kingdom. In point of fact it was not long before the effects of the impulse which had been given began to appear not only at St. Andrew's but in various other quarters.

The first of the Friars Preacher of St. Dominic who stood forth as a preacher on the side of Gospel truth was Alexander Seyton, son of Sir Alexander Seyton of Touch and Tullybody, and confessor to the young King James V. He had received an education suitable to his birth. His name appears among the Determinants of St. Andrews in 1516, and in 1518 he was one of the intrants or electors of the rector of the university. He was a man 'of quick ingyne and tall stature,' and from his commanding talents, high standing, and official connection with the king, was able to approve himself equally powerful as a friend and a foe.

We may safely infer that he was a member of the convent of St. Andrews, from the fact that he was appointed to preach in the principal church of that city 'for the space of a whole Lenten.' The year has not been recorded, but there are good grounds for thinking that it was in 1532. His sermons were extremely remarkable, and very different from what the people had been accustomed

to hear at such seasons. ‘During the whole of that Lent,’ says Knox, ‘he taught the commandments of God only, ever beating in the ears of his auditors “that the law of God had of many years not been truly taught, for men’s traditions had obscured the purity of it.” These were his accustomed propositions: 1, Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law; 2, There is no sin where God’s law is not violated; 3, To satisfy for sin lies not in man’s power, but the remission thereof comes by unfeigned repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father merciful in Christ Jesus his Son. While oftentimes he puts his auditors in mind of these and the like heads, and makes no mention of purgatory, pardons, pilgrimage, prayer to saints, nor such trifles, the dumb doctors and the rest of that forsworn rabble began to suspect him, and yet said they nothing publicly till Lent was ended, and he passed to Dundee. And then, in his absence, one hired for that purpose openly condemned the whole doctrine that before he had taught, which, coming to the ears of the said Friar Alexander, then being in Dundee, without delay he returned to St. Andrews, caused immediately to jow (ring) the bell, and to give signification that he would preach, as that he did in deed. In the which sermon he affirmed (and that more plainly than at any other time) whatsoever in all his whole sermons he had taught before the whole Lentrain preceding—adding that, within Scotland there was no true bishop if that bishop should be known by such notes and virtues as St. Paul requires in bishops. This delation flew with wings to the bishop’s ears, who without further delay sent for the said Friar Alexander, and began grievously to complain and sharply to accuse that he had so slanderously spoken of the dignity of the bishops as to say that it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or else he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but his own belly. The man being witty and minded of that which was his most assured defence, said, “My lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars.” Whereat the bishop rejoiced, and said, “Your answer pleases me well. I never could think of you that ye would be so foolish as to affirm such things. Where are those knaves that brought me this tale?” Who compearing and affirming the same that they did before, he still replied that they were liars. But while the witnesses were multiplied and men were brought to attention, he turned him to the bishop and said, “My lord, ye may

see and consider what ears these asses have, who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zacharie and Malachi, and Friar Alexander Seyton. In very deed, my lord, I said that Paul says, ‘It behoveth a bishop to be a teacher.’ Isaiah saith, ‘That they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs.’ And Zacharie sayeth, ‘They are idle pastors.’ I of my own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God had before pronounced; at whom, my lord, if ye be not offended, justly ye cannot be offended at me. And so yet again, my lord, I say that they are manifest liars that reported unto you that *I* said that ye and others that preach not are no bishops, but belly-gods.”’

Beaton was highly offended ‘at the bold liberty of that learned man, and at the scoff and bitter mock’ of these pungent words. But he concealed his resentment for the present, ‘for not only feared he the learning and bold spirit of the man,’ but also the favour which he had both with the people and the king. But ‘foreseeing the danger which might come to their estate if such familiarity should continue betwixt the prince and a man so learned and so repugnant to their affections, he laboured with his complices by all means to make the said Friar Alexander odious unto the king’s grace,’ and easily found means by the Grey Friars to traduce the innocent as an heretic. The king listened but too willingly to the accusations of his confessor’s enemies, for Seyton had spoken almost as plainly in the confessional to the pleasure-loving prince as he had declaimed in the pulpit against the pleasure-loving bishops. Instead of protecting him from his enemies he confirmed the truth of their accusations, remarking that he knew more than they did themselves in that matter, and that he understood well enough, from what had passed between himself and Seyton in the confessional, that he ‘smelt of the new doctrine.’ It soon became evident, from the altered countenance of the king, that Seyton had no justice to expect either from him or the bishops. If he might have had a fair trial and an impartial hearing of his cause he would have awaited the issue. But despairing of this at a time when the king was entirely in the hands of the bishops, he determined to provide for his safety by leaving the kingdom. He fled first to Berwick, from which he addressed a letter to the king, to acquaint him with the reason of his flight, to offer to return immediately upon receiving his princely assurance that he should have

a fair trial under his own eye, and to warn him of the evils which must result to himself and his kingdom from surrendering himself into the hands of the bishops, instead of ruling the realm with the counsel of his temporal lords. The letter remains a noble memorial of Seyton's manly loyalty, both to his king and to the cause of truth and justice. Every word of it is spoken like a patriot and a Christian. ‘It was delivered to the king’s own hands, and read of many;’ ‘but what,’ says Knox, ‘could admonitions greatly avail where the pride and corruption of prelates commanded what they pleased, and the flattery of courtiers fostered the insolent prince in all impiety?’ Receiving no answer to his letter, Seyton went forward from Berwick to London, still wearing his habit as a Dominican friar; and nothing is known of his life for many subsequent years, except that he was taken into the family of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to Henry VIII., in the capacity of his domestic chaplain—that by his influence he was made free denizen of his adopted country, and that he occasionally preached in London, where he drew together large congregations of the citizens by the power of his pulpit oratory and the fervour of his expositions of Divine truth.

The religious movement which had thus commenced among the Dominicans of St. Andrews was speedily propagated to other monasteries of the same order. In Dundee, Friar James Hewat stood forward as a preacher of evangelical truth, and rendered important service to its cause by confirming, in their attachment to the principles of true religion, the whole family of the Wedderburns of Dundee. Three gifted brothers of that family had attended in their youth the prelections of Gavyn Logie, and had imbibed from him their earliest knowledge and love of Gospel truth. It was the work of Hewat to carry forward what Logie had begun, and the three Wedderburns were enabled by their talents and learning, and especially by the excellent gift of poesy with which they were all endowed, to render very important services to the reformation of their country. One of the brothers excelled in dramatic compositions, and the others in the production of ‘gude and godly ballads,’ and translations of the Psalms of David and the Hymns of Luther. It is believed with much probability that the psalms and hymns in which the earliest Scottish Reformers sang the praises of God were translated into Scottish metre by these authors; and in any history

which may yet be written of the poet reformers of Scotland, the Wedderburns would justly lay claim to a prominent and honourable place.

Hewat had previously belonged to the Black Friars' Monastery of Perth, where he held for some time the office of sub-prior; nor was he the only convert to the Reformation obtained from that celebrated religious house. In 1534 the Prior of the Monastery himself went over to the side of the Reform. John M'Alpine was born of an ancient and respectable family of the famous clan Alpine, and received his academic education, as several others of his countrymen did in that age, at the University of Cologne.* It is certain at least that he studied theology there, and that before leaving it he proceeded to the degree of Formed Bachelor of Theology. At Cologne he enjoyed ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the doctrines and movements of Luther, and of studying the spirit of the Hochstrattens and Pfeffercorns, who stood forward as the champions of the old darkness and bigotry, in that stronghold of Rome. Returning to Scotland, M'Alpine entered the Dominican Monastery of Perth. It was an ancient and wealthy foundation—had been frequently the residence of the Scottish kings; and parliaments, as well as provincial councils, had occasionally met within its walls. It was inferior in architectural splendour to the Abbey of the Charterhouse in the same city, and its friars lived in less luxury and superfluity than their neighbours the Grey Friars. Still, when their gates were broken open, and their stores and treasures rifled by the 'rascall multitude' in 1559, there was 'more abundance found in their possession than was thought becoming for men professing poverty.' In 1532 John M'Alpine was elected Prior of the monastery, from which we may safely infer that up to that time he had given no marked indications of favour to the Lutheran cause. But in 1534, when the fires of persecution were lighted up into new fury, he had attained to the distinction of being a known and dreaded Lutheran.

* This appears from the registers of the University of Wittemberg, where M'Alpine was made Doctor of Theology in February, 1542, Dr. Martin Luther himself presiding on the occasion. He is described in the 'Liber Decanorum Facultatis Theologicae' as 'Venerabilis vir D. Johannes Maccabeus Scotus, Bacularius Theologiæ Formatus Coloniensis.' This interesting register has been edited by Færstemann, Leipzig, 1838.

He was summoned to appear before the Tribunal of Heresy, and was compelled to provide for his safety by fleeing to England, where he remained till 1540. He found a good friend in Nicolas Shaxton, the first Protestant Bishop of Salisbury, by whom he was presented in 1538 to a canonry and prebendal stall in his cathedral.* In after years he rose to high distinction as a reformer and theologian on the continent, and especially in Denmark, where, by the recommendation of the reformers of Wittemberg, he was made professor of theology in the University of Copenhagen. A friendship which sprang up between him and Alesius in England, and which was firmly cemented by common dangers and sufferings, and by a remarkable congeniality of tastes and pursuits, continued to bind together these two distinguished exiles for the remainder of M'Alpine's life. They were in Wittemberg together in 1540, shared with each other the distinction of Luther and Melanethon's friendship, and were both promoted, by their recommendation, to high office as doctors of the evangelical church. Shortly before M'Alpine was called into Denmark, Alesius had been invited to fill a theological chair in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, and had become the first academic teacher of the reformed doctrines in the territories of the house of Brandenburg. In after years John M'Alpine's name came back to Scotland, which he does not appear to have ever revisited, under the curious disguise of 'that famous man Dr. Machabæus.' His countrymen, forgetting or not knowing that he had ever been John M'Alpine, concluded too hastily, from his learned cognomen, that his family name must have been M'Bee; and under that designation he is mentioned in several of our histories, and continues to be referred to down to the present day. But his real name was the Highland patronymic; the other, Machabæus, or Maccabæus, he received at Wittemberg from his learned friend and instructor, Philip Melanthon.†

In the year 1530, the Monastery of the Black Friars of Glasgow had for its sub-prior the Friar John M'Dowel. He was a man of talent and studious habits, and was incorporated on the 26th of

* This fact has been ascertained from the registers of the diocese of Salisbury, to which the author was kindly allowed access by the diocesan registrar.

† Stephanus, in his 'Historica Danica,' distinctly states that it was Melanthon who gave him the new name. See other authorities quoted by Dr. McCrie, Life of Knox, vol. i., Note I.

February in that year as a member of the University of Glasgow.* We see no reason to doubt that this John M'Dowal is the same individual who is characterised by Knox and subsequent historians as ‘a man of singular prudence, besides his learning and godliness,’ and who is recorded to have fled out of Scotland to England about the same time as M’Alpine and Gavyn Logie, and for the same cause. In England he became known, either personally or by fame, to John Bale, who mentions him in his ‘Catalogue of Illustrious British Authors’ as a cotemporary; and the curious circumstance is further recorded of him, that after his flight from England in 1540, and his settlement in Germany, he was elected burgomaster of one of the German cities. But the fact, scarcely less curious, which we are now to mention, is new to his biography. During his stay in England he experienced, like his countryman, M’Alpine, the hospitality of the Bishop of Salisbury, was made one of his chaplains, and was the first preacher who appeared in the cathedral of that diocese to assail the pretended supremacy of the Pope, and to support the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry. This was in 1537. The fact is not mentioned by any of the historians of the English Reformation; but it is certain from three autograph letters of M'Dowal, written from Salisbury, which have been preserved among the public records. These letters contain some curious particulars of M'Dowal's mission to that city, and the violent handling to which he was subjected there by the zealous and angry partisans of the Pope. They were written to the Bishop and to Crumwell from the city prison, into which the heretical friar had been thrown. But it would be inappropriate to refer further to their contents in this place. They would supply some interesting contributions to a chapter of the history of the Scottish Reformation, which still remains to be written —the history of the Scottish Protestant exiles in England and Germany.†

The Dominican Monastery of Stirling had the signal distinction of contributing no fewer than three martyrs to the cause of the Reformation. Two of these have been already referred to in connection with the evangelical canons of the neighbouring Abbey of Cambus-

* *Liber Collegii Nostræ Dominæ, &c.*—Preface by the Editor.

† These letters form part of the Crumwell correspondence preserved in the State-Paper Office.

kenneth. John Kiellor was a poet and dramatist in the rude sense of the old ‘Miracles and Moralities.’ On a Good-Friday morning, in presence of the king and a multitude of the people, ‘he set forth,’ in the church of the monastery, ‘the history of Christ’s passion,’ in which he appeared in the double character of preacher and player, and in which it was made plain, even to the simplest of the spectators, that, by the priests and Pharisees of Jerusalem who crucified the Lord, Kiellor meant to hold up to public hatred the persecuting prelates of his own day. Of John Beveridge nothing more is known than that he shared Kiellor’s convictions, took part with him in his endeavours to enlighten the minds of the people, and was finally joined with him in the fiery honours of martyrdom. John Rough, friar of the same monastery, was destined to earn in the end the same painful glory, but to pass through an intermediate career of singular vicissitudes, of broadly-contrasted situations, and of far-extending usefulness. Already his life had included some singular passages. Born about the year 1508, he was incorporated, in 1521, in St. Leonard’s College, St. Andrews; and in his seventeenth year, ‘because some of his kinsfolks would have kept him from his right of inheritance to certain lands,’ to displease his friends he professed himself into the order of Black Friars of Stirling. Here he remained for the space of sixteen years, and the Hamilton period of the Reformation had nearly closed when he appeared upon the public stage as a preacher of evangelical truth. Being a man of ability and energy, though of no great learning, he was sent on two different occasions to Rome on negotiations connected with his monastery or his order, and he long afterwards told Bishop Bonner very frankly his opinion of what he had seen in the Holy City. ‘He affirmed that he had been twice at Rome, and there had seen plainly with his eyes what he had many times heard of before—namely, that the Pope was the very antichrist, for there he saw him carried on men’s shoulders, and the false-named sacrament borne before him, yet more reverence given to him than to that which they counted to be their God.’ These visits to Rome predisposed him to give heed to the teaching of Rome’s enemies; and before the year 1543, when the Earl of Arran obtained the regency by the influence of the reforming party, Rough had qualified himself to occupy, with credit and great usefulness, the honourable post of chaplain or court preacher to the

JOHN ROUGH'S MARTYRDOM.

Protestant regent. He had for his colleague in that responsible office another converted Black Friar, Thomas Guillame or Williams, a native of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian, who had risen to high office in the order, and who had the remarkable distinction of being ‘the first man from whom John Knox received any taste of the truth.’

After Arran’s apostacy Guillame withdrew to England, where he became a preacher in one of the churches of Bristol; and Rough laboured for a time in the sheriffdom of Ayr, that ‘receptacle of God’s servants of old,’ as Knox terms it, where he was extremely useful in rousing the old spirit of Lollardism, which, though dormant, was by no means extinct. After the murder of Cardinal Beaton he was obliged to take refuge from the dangers that threatened his life, in the Castle of St. Andrews, where he acted for several months as chaplain to the besieged garrison; and, as is well known, he had here the singular distinction of being the man who first brought forth John Knox from his privacy as a tutor of youth, ‘to take upon him the public office and charge of preaching,’ calling and charging him as solemnly as it was unexpectedly from the pulpit, ‘in the name of God and of His Son Jesus Christ, and of all those that were there present,’ including Henry Balnaves and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, ‘to refuse not that holy vocation.’

This is not the proper place to pursue the career of John Rough further. Many vicissitudes still awaited him: exile in England, exile in Holland; labours in the pulpit, and labours with his hands to earn his daily bread; high favour in the days of Somerset and Edward, and hot persecution in the days of ‘Bloody Mary.’ But such a man, of so bold a spirit and of a mould so truly heroic, could not be less in the end than a martyr of Christ. He had much of the ‘vehemence against all impiety’ which distinguished the old prophets; and a man who had been sent into the world with no little share of ‘the spirit and power of Elias’ could most appropriately leave the world again in Elijah’s chariot of fire with horses of fire. He was consumed in the flames of Smithfield on the 22nd day of December, 1557, exclaiming with his last breath to the faithful little band of disciples who, on losing their leader and captain, were in danger of thinking that they had lost all, ‘It is no time for the camp to turn back for the loss of one man in the battle. Up with

men's hearts—*sursum corda!* Blow down the daubed walls of heresies. Let one take the banner and another the trumpet, and ye shall have Elias's defence and Elisha's company to fight for you. The cause is the Lord's!*

In the person of John Rough, the religious life which received its first impulse from Patrick Hamilton linked itself on to the mission and work of John Knox, summoned him forth to his work, and assisted at his inauguration. Another evangelised Dominican, a distinguished preacher of the Hamilton period, grasped the hand of the great Reformer near the close of his struggle, stood side by side with him in the high places of the field, and shared with him the joy of the final triumph. We refer to John Willock. He was a native of Ayrshire, and was probably born about the same time as Patrick Hamilton. Nothing is known of his early life or of his place of education, but a contemporary historian informs us that he entered the Monastery of the Black Friars in the town of Ayr. In what year he embraced the reformed doctrines is not known, but his conversion and exile must have taken place during the Hamilton period, as he is found preaching in London, and brought under examination as a heretic, in 1541. He probably fled out of Scotland either in the persecution of 1533-34, or in that of 1538-39. Like his countryman, Alexander Seyton, he was a popular preacher in the city of London, and went among the citizens by the name of 'the Scottish Friar' of St. Katherine Colman's, where he was wont to preach. He was 'a man of learning and gravity,' and was deemed worthy to succeed Seyton as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. When, after several 'assays, what God would work by him in his native country,' he finally returned to it in October 1558, he formally undertook the office of the ministry, and bore an honourable part in all the perils and vicissitudes of the struggle which soon ensued between the light and the darkness. Knox greatly esteemed him—he calls him 'that notable man John Willock'—and so did all the friends of Knox. For a whole year, in the very crisis of the battle, when it was judged unsafe for the chief captain of the war to remain in Edinburgh, Willock was the man chosen to fill his vacant place in the metropolis. He was the

* Fox's Acts and Monuments.

only representative of the Hamilton period who was present to share in the congratulations and thanksgivings of the final Reformation victory. Many of the first converts had received ‘the crown of life;’ many more of them were still in exile; but John Willock linked together in his person the beginning and the end of the great work. One disciple at least of the Hamilton period survived to bear eminent office in the church of John Knox; and the fugitive Black Friar of Ayr lived to return to Ayr as ‘The Superintendent of the West.’ He was a great man in Ayrshire. Before he received the style of Superintendent, the Reformers of Kyle and Cunningham were wont to speak of him as ‘the Primate of their religion in the Scottish realm.’ He was not only considered far too dignified a personage to enter into a controversy with Kennedy, the Abbot of Crossragwell, nor only was ‘nane qualified to reason with him but my lord of St. Andrews;’ he would even seem to have been for some time a rival in greatness, at least in the west of Scotland, to John Knox himself.*

Having dwelt at such length upon the fruits of Hamilton’s ministry among the Augustinians and Dominicans, a few lines must suffice to indicate its effects among the other sections of the clergy.

Henry Forrest was a young *Benedictine*, and, for affirming that Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr, was condemned, not long after that event, to become a martyr himself. David Lyne was a *Franciscan*, who threw off ‘his hypocritical habit’ about the year 1538, and was driven into exile. At Wittemberg he won the heart of Melancthon by his piety and learning; and an interesting letter is still extant, dated August 1556, in which the Preceptor of Germany recommends him to the good offices of another Scottish exile, John Faith, who had risen to be professor of theology in the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. Jerome Russel was a *Cordelier*, ‘a young man of quick spirit and good letters,’ who was apprehended in Dumfries and laid in sore irons by Lord Maxwell in 1538, and was soon afterwards condemned to the flames by the Archbishop of Glasgow. His ‘comfortable sentences’ gave strength to his fellow-sufferer, Kennedy of Ayr, to walk to the stake with a step of calm resolution; and companions in tribulation and in the kingdom and patience of

* Letter of Quentin Kennedy to the Archbishop of Glasgow—Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 267.

Jesus Christ, ‘they constantly triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire.’ The *Carthusians* had only one monastery in Scotland, the Charterhouse of Perth, and we read of only one convert gained among them to the cause of the Reformation, Andrew Charters of Dundee, ‘a man of quick ingyne and goodly personage.’ He fled to England in 1538, and from thence to Germany, where he cast off his cowl. He was a year in Wittemberg, and was afterwards in Zealand and in Italy. In a letter which he sent from Zealand to his brother, the provost of Dundee, he inveighed with great vehemence against bishops, priests, abbots, monks, and friars. ‘If Christ himself were in Scotland,’ he declared, ‘he should be made more ignominious by our spiritual fathers than he was of old by the Jews. Their *will* standeth for a reason. They dare not commit the controversy to disputation except one of themselves be judge.’*

It is remarkable that we do not read of a single monk of the Cistercian, Cluniac, or Tyronensian orders going over to the Reformation during the whole of the period now under review. The abbeys of these orders in the country were numerous, and of great wealth and magnificence. Arbroath, a Tyronensian, and Melrose, a Cistercian house, were inferior in splendour to few monasteries in Europe. But their inmates had sunk into hopeless indolence and torpor, or were only roused to exertion by the goadings of fear and ambition. The monks of Melrose had become associated in the popular mind only with ideas of sensuality and sloth—

‘The monks of Melros made gude kaill
On Friday when they fastit;†

while in the character and career of David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, the age saw with a mixture of fear and abhorrence the combined extremes of fiendish energy and dissolute self-indulgence—at once the epicurean and the inquisitor—the pampered voluptuary, the insatiable grasper of power, and the bloodthirsty hater of good men and goodness, all in one.

The disciples gained by the Reformation among the secular clergy during the Hamilton period were not numerous, but they were all

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 114.

† Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, vol. ii. p. 193.

earnest and devoted men, and some of them men of genius and extensive usefulness. Among the latter were two of the Wedderburns, formerly noticed—the brothers John and Robert, who were both secular priests in Dundee. The rest, without having any genius to devote to the great cause, did a vast deal more for it than any services of the tongue or the pen, by immolating themselves on its altar as living sacrifices. Maister Norman Gourlay, ‘a man of reasonable erudition,’ was consumed at the same pile with David Stratoun of Lauriston, in 1534; and *Sir* Duncan Simson, priest of Stirling, perished on the Castle Hill in 1539, along with two Dominicans, an Augustinian, and a gentleman burgess, ‘as if in omen,’ as Beza remarks, ‘that a time would yet come in Scotland when Christ would attach to himself all orders and ranks and conditions of the nation.’*

* Beza's *Icones*, in the short account of Adamus Vallacus—Adam Wallace.

CHAPTER X.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S INFLUENCE UPON THE NOBILITY, GENTRY, AND BURGESSES OF SCOTLAND.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND AN ARISTOCRATIC BEFORE IT BECAME A DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT—THE YOUNG NOBLES AT ST. ANDREWS—SIR JAMES SCRIMGEOUR OF DUDHOPE—HENRY BALNAVES—JOHN ANDREW DUNCAN AND THE OLD LOLLARDS—SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT—REFORMERS AMONG THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY IN ANGUS AND MEARNS, PERTHSHIRE, FIFE, AYRSHIRE, THE LOTHIANS, AND THE SOUTH OF SCOTLAND—REFORMERS AMONG THE LAY LAWYERS—AMONG THE BURGESSES—ACT OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT, 1543—CLOSE OF THE HAMILTON PERIOD.

They brunt and heryit Christen men,
And flemit them full sair;
They said, They did but erre
That spake of the commandments ten
Or read the Word of Jesus Christ.

Nobill lords of greit renowne,
That favours aye the truth,
On your saullis have rueith,
And put the Antichristis downe
Whilk wald suppress the Word of Christ.

Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century.

CHAPTER X.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S INFLUENCE UPON THE NOBILITY, GENTRY, AND BURGESSES OF SCOTLAND.

THE remark has often been made, that while the Reformation in England was effected by a movement originating among the heads of the nation, and operating from above downward, the origin and direction of the Scottish Reformation were exactly the reverse; as the latter took its rise among the bulk and body of the people, and forced its way upward among the rulers. And it may be allowed that the remark has as much truth in it as such sweeping generalizations of historical facts generally have. But it requires some important limitations in regard both to England and Scotland. The recent volume of Dr. Merle D'Aubigné on the English Reformation abundantly shows that the Work had begun and made way as a divine and spiritual movement, several years before Henry and his bishops stretched forth a finger to help it—nay, while Henry and his bishops were still its vigilant and energetic enemies. And in regard to Scotland, the facts which we are about to bring into view will evince that, while the Reformation had an upward, it had also a downward movement. It was certainly not the work of the crown and the bishops, but neither was it the work of the multitude—the democracy. It was an aristocratic before it became a democratic movement. Its first preachers and confessors—Patrick Hamilton, Seyton, Alane, M'Alpine, Forret—were all men who belonged to noble, or knightly, or eminent municipal families; and it found its earliest adherents among the same high classes from which it drew its earliest preachers. Before the close of the Hamilton period it reckoned

its disciples among the nobles and gentry and opulent citizens by fifties, even by hundreds; and from them its influence spread downward among the masses of the common people, as well as upward to the court, the great officers of state, and the parliament.

There were several circumstances of a very propitious kind, revealing very distinctly the finger of Providence, which were extremely favourable to the dissemination of Hamilton's principles among the upper classes of the community. The first of these was the presence at St. Andrews, at the time of his teaching and martyrdom, of several of the young nobility of the kingdom. St. Leonard's College was the favourite resort of that influential class, and Gavyn Logie was their best-liked instructor. Alexander Alane tells us that these young nobles espoused his cause in his quarrel with Prior Hepburn. They interceded with the young king on his behalf; and by doing so they gave a pretty plain proof of their sympathy with his views and feelings with respect to Hamilton's martyrdom, and the need of ecclesiastical reform. It was a strong step to take in the face of the powerful Prior and Primate. They were no doubt well aware that nothing could be more offensive to the princes of the Church, than to attempt to checkmate their abused authority by the power of the king—the only power in the kingdom which they condescended to regard as a rival to their own. If ecclesiastical power had been the idol of their worship, they would not have prepared for it so vexatious and humiliating an interference. We are at liberty, therefore, to infer that something of Hamilton's and Alane's spirit had already taken possession of these young members of the nobility; and that even as early as the years 1529 and 1530, they had received into their hearts the seeds of new religious convictions and life.

It was another happy circumstance for the spread of Hamilton's principles among the upper classes of the kingdom, that very soon after his death Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Constable of Dundee, and hereditary Standard-bearer of the kingdom, stood forward to oppose the high-handed oppressions of the prelates, and to befriend and defend the adherents of the Reformation. We learn this interesting fact from Alane's narrative of his flight from St. Andrews. When the horsemen who had been sent in pursuit of him returned to the Prior and reported his escape, 'the Prior suspected,'

says he, ‘a citizen of Dundee to be the man who had provided me with a ship, and summoned him to appear before him to answer to the charge. The citizen appeared at St. Andrews, accompanied by the provost of Dundee, one of the knights of the kingdom, and was able to assure the Prior that he had given no such assistance to the fugitive. But the provost told Hepburn plainly that for his part he would gladly have assisted Alexander to find a ship, if he had known of his flight, and would have given him money too for his journey with the greatest pleasure. “If he had been my brother,” he added, “I should long ago have delivered him from the miseries and dangers which he has been suffering at your hands.”’ This bold provost was Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope. The incident gives us an interesting glimpse into the state of feeling and opinion in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, at a period so closely succeeding the time of Hamilton’s teaching and martyrdom. Dundee had already among her traders and merchants, citizens who were honoured by the suspicion of aiding and abetting fugitive heretics; and her provost and constable, a man of hereditary courage and spirit, was already so fearless a defender of oppressed Lutherans, that he frankly told a mitred prior to his face how glad he would have been to baulk his persecuting zeal, and to disappoint his cruel designs.

The Constable of Dundee was an important accession to the cause of the Reformation. The Scrymgeours of Angus, whose chief he was, were a numerous, wealthy, and powerful family, and were connected by marriage with several other great houses of the kingdom. In a royal charter of 1527, granted to Sir James, mention is made of ‘the principal messuage, tower, and fortalice of his barony of Dudhope,’ of ‘his patronages of chaplainries within the burgh and town of Dundee belonging to him by inheritance,’ and of many lands, his possessions, in the neighbouring counties of Fife and Perth.* From other charters it appears that the family were connected with the Melvilles of Dysart and of Baldowey in the Mearns, with the house of Sandilands of Calder, and with the Crichtons of Lothian and Sanquhar—all families who became associated with the progress of the Reformation. It is remarkable, indeed, to what a large extent almost all the noble and knightly families of Scotland who

* See notes from this Charter, Note Y.

accepted the Reformation in its earlier stages, were connected with each other by intermarriage. The Kirkaldies and the Melvilles in Fife; the Leslies, the Ruthvens, and the Errols in Fife and Perthshire; the Melvilles, Scrymgeours, and Erskines in Angus; the Forresters, Sandilandses, Cockburns, and Crichtons in Stirlingshire and Lothian; all these different groups of families were bound together by affinity among themselves and with each other, and had been so in most cases before the Reformation began—a fact worth recording, as it serves in some degree to explain the rapidity with which the spirit of that great religious movement was conducted from one to another of these ancient houses, and obtained, in their influence and resources, a powerful support against its early enemies.* To the interests of the Reformation in Dundee in particular, the support so early given to it by Sir James Scrymgeour was of the greatest consequence, and goes far to account for the prominent place which her citizens soon took in the great cause. We have already referred to the preaching of James Hewat and two of the Wedderburns in the churches of the burgh. It is no wonder such preachers found access to its pulpits, and protection in their ministry, when a man like Sir James was at once the patron of its churches and its Provost and Constable.

A third auspicious circumstance was the early accession to Hamilton's doctrines of Henry Balnaves. Among the higher orders of Scottish society at the period of which we speak, there was one very select class whom it was of great importance to gain to the side of the Reformation. These were the lawyers, the lay lawyers of the kingdom. That small class of learned and able men was fast rising into great influence and weight in the affairs both of Church and State. Till recently the jurists of the country had been all churchmen; but lay practitioners of the law were now beginning to divide with the more learned of the clergy the honours of the bar, and even of the bench. The Court of Session, established in 1532 by James V., included men of both classes; and ten years from that date had not passed away before several of these learned lay jurists were filling

* These affinities appear from charters given under the Great Seal of Scotland, preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh. The author consulted the convenient *Abstract* of Royal Charters, drawn up for the use of the Writers to the Signet, and deposited in their library in Edinburgh.

the highest offices of state as well as of law. Such a position in their profession, and such offices of high trust in the public service, gave them commanding influence with the court, with the nobility, and, indeed, with all classes of the realm. They constituted a new power in the social system, and it was of great consequence that that power should be early secured to the cause of truth and reform. And this was happily effected to a considerable extent, chiefly through the influence of Henry Balnaves, who was himself gained to the cause not long after the death of Hamilton.

Henry Balnaves was a native of Kirkaldy, and was born about the year 1502. His family was probably in a respectable position; and he was sent for his education to the University of Cologne. ‘There he profited,’ we are told, ‘not only in literature and the laws, but also in religion;’ by which we are no doubt to understand that he became conversant with the doctrines of the Reformed as well as of the Roman theology. His residence in Cologne at the time when the Reformation broke out in Germany, and when Luther’s cause had many supporters in the Rhine-land, and even among the clergy of the German Vatican itself, was eminently favourable to his becoming familiar with the new doctrines. He took his master’s degree before leaving the university, and, returning to Scotland, fixed his residence at St. Andrews with the view of practising as a lawyer in the Consistorial Court of that see. He was incorporated as a master in the College of St. Salvator on the 7th of December, 1526, while Hamilton was still residing in the university; and in all probability he was afterwards a listener to his disputations, a resorter to his society, and a spectator of his trial and martyrdom. His professional promotion was rapid and distinguished. In 1537 he ranked as one of the eight leading advocates of the Court of Session; and on the 31st of July, 1538, he was raised to the bench as Lord Ordinary, and took the designation of Halhill, a property in Fife which he had recently purchased. In the same year he sat in Parliament as Commissioner for Kirkaldy; and on the accession of Arran to the Regency in 1543, he was appointed ‘Secretary of State and Keeper of all the Seals of our Lady the Queen.’*

* Knox’s Works, edited by David Laing, Esq., vol. iii. Appendix, containing Balnaves’ Treatise on Justification, to which is prefixed an account of Balnaves from the pen of the learned Editor.

At the date of this last appointment he was already, as Knox describes him, ‘an old professor’ of the truth—a Reformer of long standing; and the influence of a man of such uncommon learning and ability, installed in such high office, could not fail to be eminently useful to the infant cause. The best proof of his having wielded such influence is to be found in the fact, that he was, for many years before 1543, an object of jealousy and dislike to the clergy. Towards the close of 1539 he was marked out for vengeance. His colleague, Thomas Scott, Justice-Clerk, who was devoted to the bishops, delated him to the king; and the stroke was only arrested by the sudden mortal sickness of his delator. Balnaves was solicited by messengers from the dying Justiciar, who was now in the agonies of religious despair, to forgive the wrong which he had meditated against him.

Another circumstance singularly favourable to the spread of Hamilton’s influence was, that at the time when he resided and taught and suffered in St. Andrews, there was a zealous and energetic representative of the old Wickliffites of the kingdom living in the immediate vicinity, and as eager to profit by the Reformer’s conversation and teaching as the Reformer was ready to communicate to him all his views and feelings. This was John Andrew Duncan, laird of Airdrie. We have before referred to the generous but rash design which he formed, to deliver the Reformer by force from the hands of his persecutors. But the present is the proper place to give a fuller account of his history and principles:—

‘John Andrew Duncan,’ says Dr. M’Crie,* ‘a son of the Laird of Airdrie, in Fife, was induced by youthful ardour to leave the University of St. Andrews in 1513, along with some of his fellow-students, and to join the standard of James IV. at the head of a few of his father’s tenants. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Flodden. Being a young man of gallant appearance he was treated with indulgence by the Earl of Surrey; and when carried into Yorkshire, was suffered to reside at large in the town of Beverley with Mr. Alexander Burnet, a near relation of his mother. Burnet, who was a zealous Wickliffite, found his young kinsman disposed to

* Life of Melville, Note D. Dr. M’Crie’s account is taken from the *Bio-graphia Britannica*.

listen to his religious principles. A spirit of inquiry, with a passion for exposing to contempt the abuse of reason and religion, had already distinguished young Duncan at St. Andrews. His conversation with Mr. Burnet raised to a degree of enthusiasm the aversion he had before conceived against some of the absurdities of the Church of Rome. Upon the termination of the short contest with England he returned to his native country, but, having joined the party that opposed the regency of the Duke of Albany, he was soon obliged to return to Beverley. His friend reproved him for abetting factions in which neither the religion nor liberties of his country had any concern; and having exacted from him a promise that he would reserve his activity for a better cause, gave him his daughter in marriage. When Albany took his final departure into France, Duncan returned to Scotland, and passed about ten years in the enjoyment of domestic tranquillity at Airdrie, and in literary intercourse with the members of the neighbouring University of St. Andrews. The opinions and spirit of the Reformers were now more openly avowed, and the house of Airdrie became occasionally the resort of the chief maintainers of the new doctrines. This led him into a particular intimacy with Patrick Hamilton.'

This zealous Wickliffite, now developed into a Lutheran, would naturally become a link of connection and communication between the young Reformer and the old Lollard advocates of religious reform. These had once been numerous among the families of Fife and Perthshire, where Paul Craw, the Bohemian Hussite, and James Resby, the English Wickliffite, had preached and suffered martyrdom; and their principles still lingered in these parts of the kingdom. But the hereditary Lollards were most numerous in the districts of Kyle and Cunningham. As late as the reign of James IV. many of the Lollards of the West had been in trouble for their principles. Thirty members of some of the best families of Ayrshire had been summoned in that reign to the tribunal of Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, and had only escaped the penalties of heresy through the interposition of the king. Nor was the old Lollardy of the West dead; it was only dormant; and at the summons of a new reformer and a fresh martyrdom, it woke up again to new activity. The death of Patrick Hamilton reminded the descendants of those

old worthies, of the ecclesiastical victims of a former age, whom their fathers had sympathised with as apostles of God's truth, and had long remembered with honour in their households, as holy martyrs. Comparing Hamilton's articles with those which had been exhibited at Glasgow against their own fathers and mothers, they found them to be substantially and sometimes almost verbally the same. They saw at once that it was just the old battle over again. The spirit of their godly ancestors revived in them. They took down again from the wall the old soiled banner; and stood forth, with a Christian manhood worthy of their fathers, to maintain God's truth and the Church's liberties against Popish corruption and aggression.

There still remains to be mentioned another local coincidence connected with Hamilton's teaching and martyrdom at St. Andrews, which proved of very great importance to the subsequent progress of the Reformation. At that very time Sir David Lindsay, who was destined to become the great Poet-Reformer of Scotland, was residing only a few miles off on his patrimonial estate of The Mount. He had lost in 1524 his position at court as gentleman-usher to the young king; not from any change in his prince's favour, who continued to be strongly attached to him, but through a factious movement of the Queen-mother and a party of the nobles. During the subsequent ascendancy of the Douglases from 1525 to 1528, it was dangerous, he tells us, even 'to peep out of his neuk' at the Mount:—

'He durst not be seen
In open court for baith his een.'

He was busy during these years with his favourite studies of history and poetry, and was sunk in gloomy reflections on the miserable condition of the kingdom both in Church and State, when the alarm of the advent of Lutheranism and the voice of Hamilton's martyr-testimony rang loud through the land. When all the lairds of Fife were summoned by the Archbishop to stand to the defence of the Church, the Laird of the Mount would probably not be absent from the muster, though his zeal in such service would not be very great. It is extremely probable that it was from Sir David Lindsay that Pitscottie, his kinsman, re-

ceived his interesting account of Hamilton's trial and death.* It is certain that in the course of the very same year, 1528, Lindsay presented to King James—now self-emancipated from the Douglases—the first of his published poems, ‘The Dreme’; and that in that work he came forward with the strongest proofs of his enmity to the prelates, of his hatred to their corruptions, and of his commencing attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation. It is equally certain that he followed up this first assault upon the hierarchy by a rapid series of additional attacks, each surpassing its predecessor in severity and force. The ‘Complaint’ followed close upon the ‘Dreme.’ The ‘Testament and Complaint of the King’s Papingo’—a most admirable satire—succeeded in 1530 the ‘Complaint’; and as early as 1535, Lindsay produced upon the boards in the play-field of Cupar, his formidable satiric drama of the ‘Three Estates,’ which was performed a second time in 1540 before the king and court and some of the bishops themselves, in the Palace of Linlithgow. The services which the poet rendered to the Reformation by these productions, especially by the last, were immense; and though it is an extreme exaggeration to claim for him, as some have done, a higher merit than is due to John Knox himself, Knox is certainly the only man to whom Lindsay can be considered inferior in popular power, and in the effects which he produced on the minds of all classes of his countrymen. In the first instance, however, this influence was exerted upon the higher, not the lower classes. Lindsay’s earliest pieces were addressed to the king and the court; and it may be doubted whether they were printed and circulated among the people at large, till many years afterwards. It was not till he appeared as an actor as well as a poet that he reached the ear of the great body of his countrymen. Till then his satires upon the state of the Church found readers and hearers only in the upper circles. Their effect was to increase greatly the numbers of the reforming aristocracy. We can well imagine what a favourite the Bard of the Mount must have been among the young noblemen and gentlemen who had heard

* Pitscottie mentions Sir David as one of his principal sources of information in the compilation of his History.

Hamilton preach and seen him die, a few years before, at St. Andrews.*

All the circumstances now enumerated were extremely propitious to the early progress of the movement commenced by Hamilton. The prescience and wisdom of Divine Providence were signally conspicuous in bringing the Reformer to teach and to die on the very spot and at the very time which were most advantageous, in so many respects, for the rapid spread of his doctrine among all the most influential classes of the Scottish laity—among the nobles, the gentry, the lawyers, and the wealthier burgesses of the land. And the effects of this providential arrangement soon began to appear among all these sections of the community.

As early as 1534 we read of John Erskine of Dun as ‘a man marvellously illuminated for those times;’ and of his neighbour Alexander Stratoun of Lauriston, and his kinsman David Stratoun, as devout students of the Word of God. The Laird of Lauriston possessed a copy of the New Testament in English, and would read occasionally from its precious pages to his young kinsman. This youth had of late become almost miraculously changed. From being a despiser of all reading, especially of a religious kind, nothing now delighted him so much as to hear the Scriptures read aloud; and from being a man of stubborn and contentious mould, he was now ‘earnest in exhorting all men to concord, and quietness, and the contempt of the world.’ One day when he was listening to the Laird reading ‘in ane certain quiet place in the fields,’ he heard the sentence of Jesus Christ:—‘He that denies me before men or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, him will I deny in the presence of my Father and before his angels.’ The words went to his heart. He suddenly became like one ravished with emotion, fell down upon his knees, and, lifting his hands and his face to heaven, exclaimed, ‘O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw from me thy grace; but, Lord, for thy mercies’ sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth for fear of death or bodily pain.’ It was strength for a trial of his faith already imminent, which he prayed for so fervently. He had already been summoned to answer to a charge of heresy laid

* The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, by George Chalmers. Lond. 1806.

against him by Patrick Hepburn, now Bishop of Murray; and the issue of the process declared that his prayer had not been in vain. He appeared before the tribunal at Holyrood in 1534. Great efforts were made by the judges, including the king himself, to induce him to recant. But Stratoun stood to his defence, steadily alleged that he had been guilty of no crime, and heroically refused to ‘burn his bill.’ When sentence was pronounced upon him, he asked grace of the king; but the bishops proudly answered that the king’s hands were bound, in the case of such as were condemned by the law of the Church. He was led forth to execution along with Norman Gourlay, a secular priest; and at the Rood of Greenside, between Edinburgh and Leith, David Stratoun earned the glory of being the first man of his order—not a Churchman—who offered himself as a sacrifice for the religious emancipation and reformation of his country.

The lesser glory of becoming an exile from ‘country, kindred, and father’s house,’ in the same cause, was obtained at the same time by Sir James Hamilton of Kincavel, the Reformer’s brother. He was summoned to appear before the same tribunal. He appealed to the king, his kinsman, for protection; but the king advised him to flee, telling him that if he appeared before the judges he could not assist him, as the bishops had persuaded him that ‘the case of heresy did no wise appertain’ to the prerogative of his crown. He was condemned in absence, excommunicated, and banished, and all his lands and goods confiscated to the crown; and his sentence bore that he incurred this severity as a relapsed, pertinacious, and impenitent heretic, inasmuch as, two years before, he had abjured his heresies, and on his profession of penitence had been restored to the bosom of the Church.* Sir James fled to England. From Berwick he opened a communication with Crumwell, the secretary of Henry VIII., entreating his protection, and his good offices with the English king in his behalf. He hoped, by Henry’s intercession with his sovereign, to obtain the cancelment of his forfeiture, and

* An authentic certified copy of the Sentence is preserved among the Crumwell papers in the State-Paper Office; among which also is to be found a holograph letter of Sir James to Crumwell, which he had sent along with the sentence, when transmitting it to him from Berwick. For this curious letter, which contains a few interesting particulars of a personal and domestic kind, see Appendix VII.

liberty to return to his family and estates. Henry interceded more than once, but without effect.* Sir James was doomed to endure the misery of exile for many years, and, stripped of all his revenues, he was reduced in London to the greatest distress. It was not till 1543 that he was able to return to his native country.

Katherine Hamilton, his sister, appeared before the tribunal in the church of Holyrood, and pleaded her own cause with great spirit and courage. ‘Being questioned on the point of justification by works, she answered simply that she believed no person could be saved by their works. Master John Spence, the lawyer, held a long discourse with her about that purpose, telling her that there were divers sorts of works—works of congruity, and works of condignity; in the application whereof he consumed a long time. The woman growing thereupon into a chafe, cried out, “Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no works can save me but the works of Christ my Saviour.”’ The king was sitting on the bench and laughed heartily at her answer; yet, taking the gentlewoman aside, he moved her to recant her opinions.’ She granted to his princely entreaties what she had stoutly refused to the lawyer’s arguments and sophistical distinctions, and professing her submission to the authority of the Church, she was allowed to escape. Two years later she appears in the capacity of a Lady of the household to the Dowager Queen Margaret, who, in 1536, applies to her brother Henry VIII. for a passport to enable her ‘familiar servitor’ to pass through England to France ‘on her lawful errand and business.’† In 1539 she is mentioned in a letter of the Duke of Norfolk, the English governor of Berwick, as having been a fugitive in that town ‘for a good season, and she dare not return for holding our ways, as she saith.’‡

* Printed State Papers, vol. v. p. 49; Letter of Bishop Stewart to Crumwell.

† See Appendix VII.

‡ Norfolk also mentions that Katherine Hamilton ‘had been in England, and had seen Queen Jane’ (Seymour), referring to her journey through the kingdom in 1536; and he speaks of her as having been ‘wife to the late Captain of Dunbar,’ which will account for her having had ‘lawful errand and business in France,’ as the captains of Dunbar, who held the castle for the Duke of Albany with French troops, were at that period always Frenchmen. Katherine was not the only religious fugitive in Berwick at that time, for Norfolk reports to Crumwell that every day there came to him ‘some gentle-

In Angus and the Mearns, the Melvilles of Dysart and of Baldowey, and the Wisharts of Pitarrow, were united in religious sympathy with their neighbours the Erskines of Dun and the Stratouns of Lauriston. In Perthshire, the noble families of Ruthven, Methven, and Errol were all ranged on the same side. Lord Ruthven was ‘a stout and discreet man in the cause of God.’ John Stewart, son to that Lord Methven who married the Dowager Queen Margaret, ‘was a fervent professor of the truth, and made many ballads against the corruptions of the times, after the death of the Vicar of Dollar.’ He was ‘convict of heresy,’ and was for some time deprived of his rights as a citizen, including the right of giving evidence in the courts of law, till he was ‘rehabilled’ by royal letter in 1539. William Hay, Earl of Errol, ‘was learned both in humanity and divinity, and specially well versed in the New Testament. He would rehearse, word by word, the choicest sentences, specially such as served to establish solid comfort in the soul by faith in Christ. He suffered much for the cause of Christ.’ His tutor, Robert Alexander, advocate, described him in 1539 ‘as a plant of all godliness, not only brought up into humanities, but as well in the school of Christ, for whose testimony he suffered oftentimes great injury; yet not the less, as a most valiant soldier, he ever abode by the ensign of his sovereign Captain, Christ, and never retired back therefrom during the whole course of his most perilous days.’ In Fife the professors of Gospel truth among the landed families were more numerous than in any other part of the kingdom. The Leslies of Rothes, the Kirkaldies of Grange, the Melvilles of Raith, the Lindsays of the Mount, the Monypenneys of Pitmilly, the Lermonths of Balcomie and Dairsey, the Balfours of Montquhannie, the Carmichaels of Balmadie, were all, with different degrees of strength and sincerity, attached to the principles of Reform, although in some of them the political bearings of these principles appear to have been more regarded than their purely spiritual and religious qualities.

In Ayrshire the old Lollard names soon reappeared in the van of the good fight—some of them men of genius as well as men of God, and able to serve the cause with the pathos of native song, and the men and some clerks, fleeing out of Scotland for reading of Scripture in English, saying, that if they were taken they should be put to execution.—*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. v., p. 155.

pithy strokes of home-spun satire, as well as by the courage of their deeds, and the martyr-heroism of their deaths. Walter Stewart, son to Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, was accused in March 1533, before Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow, ‘for casting down an image in the kirk of Ayr.’ Andrew Cunningham, son to Sir William Cunningham, Master of Glencairn, was summoned for heresy a few years later; and after the escheat of all his goods, movable and immovable, only recovered them again by an act of grace of the king. Kennedy, a young man of Ayr, not yet eighteen years of age, and ‘of an excellent ingyne in Scottish poesy,’ was arraigned of heresy before the Archbishop of Glasgow in 1539, and, along with Jerome Russel before mentioned, was condemned to the flames. His laurel-wreath was surmounted with the fiery crown. He was not the first of Ayrshire’s many bards; an earlier Kennedy had disputed the palm of poetic genius with William Dunbar himself. But he had the signal honour—an uncommon honour for a poet—of being the first of Ayrshire’s many martyrs. His poesy has perished; but his martyr-memorial was written in immortal lines by Knox, in his History of the Reformation. Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, who by the death of his brother William succeeded to the earldom while yet young, ‘painted forth the hypocrisy of the friars in rhyme,’ in an Epistle purporting to be directed from the Holy Hermit of Loretto, near Musselburgh, to his brethren of the Grey Friars. The rhyme is full of vigorous home-thrusts at the sordid greed of the friars, and the wicked delusions which they practised upon the people; and there is great force and point of expression in many of its lines, as when he describes the Grey Friars as—

‘ Professors of hypocrisy,
And doctors in idolatry;
Stout fishers with the fiendis net,
The upclosers of heaven’s yett;
Cankered corruptors of the creed,
Hemlock-sawers amongst good seed;
Monsters with the beastis mark,
And dogs that never stint to bark.’*

&c. &c.

The number of Reforming families was also considerable, as early as the Hamilton period, in Stirlingshire, in the Lothians, and in

* The Earl’s Rhymes have been preserved by Knox in his History, vol. i. pp. 72, 73.

the south of Scotland. The Forresters of Arngibbon, and the Buchanans of Killearn; the Sandilandses of Calder, the Crichtons of Brunstain, the Cockburns of Ormiston, the Douglases of Langniddry, the Hamiltons of Preston, the Maxwells of Dumfries, and the Borthwicks of Wigton, are all recorded as supporters of the Reformation at a period when the numbers of its enemies still immensely exceeded the muster-roll of its friends, and when nothing, therefore, but some sincerity of conviction could have induced so many to declare themselves on its side.

Nor is it only social rank and consideration that we recognise among these aristocratic names, nor only, in the most of them, disinterested zeal for Divine truth and the purity of the Church, but also, in several instances, a high degree of intellectual endowment and learning. John Erskine, the young Baron of Dun, was a man of excellent capacity and good attainments, which he afterwards improved by further study in foreign universities. He was a liberal patron of men of learning as well as men of piety, and was the first man to introduce the study of Greek into the schools of Scotland. George Wishart of Pitarrow was first a pupil and afterwards a teacher in the classical school which Erskine founded at Montrose; and it was for teaching his scholars to read the Greek Testament that he was accused of heresy, and driven into exile. James Sandilands was ‘a young man of good parts, and bred a scholar in the University of Paris,’ and was not only ‘well instructed in religion,’ but, along with his father and elder brother, was ‘most zealous in advancing it.’ His learning and sufficiency recommended him to the Great Master of the Knights of Malta to succeed, in 1543, to the high dignity of Lord St. John, and Preceptor to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at Torphichen. Scarcely less accomplished was Sir John Borthwick of Cinery. He was accused in 1540 of being not only a heretic but an heresiarch, ‘of having persuaded many persons to embrace the heresies of England as most true and conformable to the law of God;’ yea, of ‘having openly taught and preached also, that his faith was much better and more excellent than the faith of all the clergy in the realm of Scotland.’ He was charged, too, with being a man of unorthodox erudition, with having in his possession ‘divers books suspected of heresy, including the New Testament in English, *Œcolampadius*, *Melancthon*, and several treatises of *Erasmus*.’ In truth, Sir John was one of the most able and well-read men in the whole realm. He was

bred a soldier, and had the command of a body of the King's Guard; but he was equally well disciplined as a scholar and divine. He could wield the pen as well as the sword. His answers to the articles laid against him by Cardinal Beaton, when he was condemned in absence, excommunicated, and burnt in effigy in St. Andrews, were worthy of a professed theologian of the first order. Nor was Sir John unconscious of his powers and equipments. 'I thought good,' says he, 'to bestow some labour in repelling these articles, that their errors being thereby made manifest they should even for very shame repent. Therefore I will first confirm, by evident testimonies of the Scriptures, those things which in times past I have taught; and afterwards I will repel their vain sophification, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God.'*

To these names there still remains to be added one which alone would have sufficed to cover these early disciples of the Reformation among the Scottish laity with a flood of learned and literary glory. It is the name of George Buchanan. Having returned to Scotland from France in 1537, and entered into the service of his sovereign as tutor to one of his sons, Buchanan was not content to cherish in silence his repugnance to the doctrines and institutions of the national church, but commenced a series of bold attacks upon the principles and practice of the order of St. Francis. In the 'Somnium,' the 'Palinodia,' and the 'Franciscanus,' he displayed to the utmost advantage his marvellous command of the purest Latin speech, and powers of polished and pungent satire which have never been surpassed. 'No class of men,' says his learned biographer, 'was ever more completely exposed to ridicule and infamy; nor is it astonishing that the Popish clergy afterwards regarded the author with implacable hatred.'[†] Buchanan was one of the victims of the persecution of 1539. Even the king, who took delight in his exquisite genius, and had stimulated him to his last and most severe assaults upon the Franciscans, was not able to protect him from the vengeance of his enemies. He was thrown into prison at St. Andrews, and only saved his life by a fortunate escape through the window of his dungeon, while his keepers were asleep. He fled into England, and from thence passed again into France—the only country of Europe

* Borthwick's Answers may be seen in Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 607.

† Dr. Irving's Memoirs of George Buchanan, second edition, page 21.

where he felt himself perfectly in his element, and which afforded him for any length of time, till his final return to his native country in 1561 or 1562, a secure asylum. His influence as a poet upon the Scottish Reformation cannot of course be compared, in point of extent or popular effect, with that of Sir David Lindsay, who spoke to his countrymen in their own homely vernacular. But in poetical genius and literary skill he was vastly Lindsay's superior; and in estimating the contributions of the Scottish poets to the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, the satires of Buchanan would justly demand as careful an analysis and exact an appreciation, as the more numerous and popular effusions of the Patriot Bard of The Mount.

The nobility of Scotland have long lain under the reproach of having deserted the old Church and joined with its assailants for the selfish purpose of enriching themselves with its spoils. They saw that the old house must fall, and they joined in rifling and demolishing it, that they might have their own share of the booty. And certainly the reproach is well founded in regard to some of their number. But, on the other hand, it is only historical justice to say, that there were many of the noble families of Scotland who embraced the truth, at a time when it was to all human appearance much less likely to triumph, than to be trampled down by the hoof of hostile power, and when the profession of it brought nothing but loss and trouble, and in many cases even exile and death, to its professors. It is only fair to set such early examples of noble and disinterested zeal over against later instances of a more worldly spirit, disguising itself under the cloak of reforming zeal. It is only fair to remember that the Scottish Reformation began with the preaching of a Scottish nobleman, and that the preacher sealed his testimony with his blood. Let it not be forgotten that all the Scottish barons and lairds who have just been enumerated espoused the cause of the Reformation, at a time when their names were all marked for proscription by a powerful Cardinal working upon the covetousness, and the fears, and the jealousies of a despotic prince. Once and again did Beaton solicit James V. to enrich himself with the spoils, by consenting to the death, of his heretical nobles and gentry. A long list of their names was found in the pocket of the sovereign after his death; and in all probability nothing but that premature decease saved the lives and the estates of hundreds of his best subjects.

Among the lay lawyers of the kingdom, who formed a small intermediate class between the nobility and gentry on the one side, and the merchants and burgesses on the other, Henry Balnaves did not stand alone in his attachment to the principles of the Reformation. There were several of his professional brethren who sympathised with him in his religious and ecclesiastical views, including William Johnston, Thomas Bellenden, and David Borthwick. Johnston studied in St. Leonard's College, and his name appears as a Bachelor of Arts in 1525. After proceeding to his Master's degree he commenced practice in St. Andrews, and he was the last named of nine advocates who were admitted to plead before the Court of Session in Edinburgh, at its institution in 1532. Thus advancing in his profession *pari passu* with Balnaves, he came to share with him also the same views of religious truth and right. He would appear, indeed, to have arrived sooner than Balnaves at decided convictions, or at least to have been less cautious in proclaiming them, for as early as 1534 he was summoned to appear before the spiritual tribunal at Holyrood, and was obliged to escape to England for his life.

Thomas Bellenden of Auchinoul was a very different man from Johnston—slow, apparently, in maturing his opinions, prudent in revealing them, and ‘gentle as well as sage’ in his manner of speech. He was an eminent lawyer, and, after being admitted an Ordinary Judge of Session in 1535, was appointed Director of Chancery in 1538, and successor to Thomas Scott as Justice-Clerk in 1539. He participated in the enlightened and patriotic views of his colleague Balnaves. At a meeting at Coldstream with the English commissioner, Sir William Eure, for redress of border grievances, in which he and Balnaves were associated as joint-commissioners from James V., Bellenden appears, even more than his colleague, to have impressed Sir William with a conviction of his desire to see a religious reformation carried through in Scotland, similar to what Henry VIII. had effected in England. Eure informs Crumwell ‘that he had had divers communings with Maister Thomas Bellenden, especially touching the stay of the spirituallie in Scotland, and, gathering him to be a man inclined to the sort used in our sovereign's realm in England, I did largely break with him in those behalves, as to move to know of him of what mind the king and counsel of Scotland was inclined unto, concerning the Bishop of Rome, and for the reformation

of the misusing of the spiritualtie in Scotland. Whereunto he gently and lovingly answered, showing himself well contented of that communing, and did say that the King of Scots himself, with all his temporal council, was greatly given to the reformation of the misdemeanours of bishops, religious persons, and priests within the realm.' Sir Thomas had been a spectator, a few weeks before, of the performance of Sir David Lindsay's satirical drama of the 'Three Estates' in the Palace of Linlithgow, and he informed Eure that the whole matter thereof concluded upon the declaration of the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of bishops, the collusion of the spiritual courts, called the Consistory Courts, in Scotland, and the misusing of priests. He related to him how the king, after the performance was over, called for the Archbishop of Glasgow and other bishops, and exhorted them to reform their fashions and manner of living, and that, unless they so did, he would send six of the proudest of them unto his uncle of England; and as those were ordered so he would order all the rest that would not amend. Bellenden also advertised him, 'that the King of Scots was fully minded to expel all spiritual men from having any authority by office under his grace, either in household or elsewhere within the realm, and was duly studying and devising for that intent.' He had also desired Sir William Eure to furnish him with an abstract of all such acts, constitutions, and proclamations as had passed in the realm of England touching the suppression of the monasteries and the reformation of the misdemeanours of the clergy—saying that he trusted to have the king his master to study the same; and had arranged to send to him a 'privy person,' provided with a secret token devised between them, to receive the said acts and proclamations, and convey them to him without risk of discovery.*

This highly interesting letter of the English commissioner affords the best evidence of the influence which Bellenden and Balnaves had attained to in their sovereign's councils, and how successfully they were using that influence on the side of the Reformation. Through these high functionaries the truth had at length penetrated into the king's closet, and, aided by the genius of Sir David Lindsay, was for the time at least in the ascendant at the council table. The haughty bishops were humbled at the feet of the king, and were fain

* Printed State Papers, vol. v. p. 169.

to assure him that ‘one word of his grace’s mouth should suffice them to be at commandment.’

David Borthwick of Lochill remains to be added to this distinguished group of learned and enlightened lawyers. Like the rest, he studied in St. Leonard’s, and took his Bachelor’s degree in 1525, the same year as William Johnston. Devoting himself thereafter to the study of law, he was probably at St. Andrews when Hamilton suffered, and appears to have received the same favourable impression of his cause as his other learned colleagues. It is not, however, till 1543 that his name appears in public connection with the reforming party. He is then found associated in the same honourable group of advisers of the Regent with Sir James Kirkaldy, Balnaves, Bellenden, and Lindsay—‘men of counsel, judgment, and godliness, who had travailed to promote Arran to the regency, who gave him faithful counsel in all doubtful matters, and by whose advice he so used himself at the beginning that the obedience given to him was nothing inferior to that obedience which any king of Scotland of many years had before him. Yea, in this it did surmount the common obedience, that it proceeded from love of those virtues that were supposed to have been in him.’ Borthwick is specially named among those of the regent’s councillors, who were plain enough to warn him against the evil practices of his own kinsmen—‘who counselled him to have in his company men fearing God, and not to foster wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his surname.’ This high pitch of faithfulness, however, proved too much for the fickle regent to appreciate. He took it much amiss; and the crisis having now come when, under evil counsel, he suddenly turned round against the Reformers and their cause, he allowed his kinsmen the Hamiltons to avenge themselves upon the men who had been so honest and plain-spoken. Borthwick, with several others as zealous as himself, were threatened with the halter if they did not instantly leave the court; and his subsequent appearances in the history of the Reformation seem to indicate that he did not soon forget the experience he had had on this occasion of the danger of dealing too frankly and honestly with the sins of rulers.*

* Knox’s History, vol. i. pp. 106, 107. Among others banished from the court at this time with Borthwick was ‘Maister Michael Durham, physician to the late king,’ showing that the Reformation had its converts also among

When so many influential individuals and families of the upper classes of Scottish society had embraced the Reformation, it was only natural that it should extend itself to the classes immediately below them, to the wealthy burgesses of the cities and towns, and to the traders and shippers of the sea-ports; and ample traces of a vigorous movement in that direction are to be found in the authentic records of the period. Within twelve years after Patrick Hamilton's death the burghs of Edinburgh and Leith, Ayr and Stirling, Perth and St. Andrews, and Dundee more than all, signalled themselves by the number of their burgesses who not only embraced the truth, but suffered loss of goods and of life itself, in testimony of their faith, and the sincerity of their zeal. In 1534 Adam Dease, Henry Cairns, and John Stewart, all 'indwellers of Leith,' were summoned to answer to the charge of heresy before the same tribunal which condemned Stratoun and Gourlay; and this early appearance of converts among the shipping population suggests, how much the progress of the Reformation was aided by the intercourse of the traders of the kingdom with the continental ports. The 'skippers of Leith' were diligent importers of Lutheran books and English Testaments; and it was by the frequent reading and hearing of these publications that the people, often assembling for the purpose under the cover of night, were able to increase their knowledge of Divine truth, and to cherish and confirm their new and better faith. In 1536 letters were despatched to the provost and bailies of Dundee and Perth, to search and seek for John Blackat and George Lovel, 'who were suspect of hanging of the image of St. Francis.' In 1537 'the men of Ayr' were summoned to compear before the Lords of the Council, 'anent the geir of them who were convicted of heresy.' In 1538 and 1539 the persecution directed against the evangelical burghers of the kingdom was peculiarly severe. Robert Forrester, one of the Stirling martyrs, was a gentleman-burgess of that burgh. William Forrester, another member of the same family, and three other burgesses, including Walter Cowsland, were all summoned for 'certain points of heresy, and especially for the having and using of heretical books.' William Forrester suffered severely in his estate, or rather he was entirely ruined. All his 'goods, moveable and medical men; and David Forres, probably a member of the same Linlithgow family which produced the martyr Henry Forres or Forrest.

immoveable, lands, heritages, corns, cattle, tacks, steadings, debts, obligations, jewels, sums of money, and others whatsoever that pertained to him,' were forfeited and given away the same month 'to John Cowan of Stirling and Jonet Tennant his wife.' In the same years, Robert Cant, John Brown, and William Clerk, all burgesses of Edinburgh, and no fewer than fourteen citizens of Dundee, including a member of the family of Wedderburn, were all severely mulcted in their goods for the same cause.* And finally, in 1542, the famous scroll of names 'infamed with heresy' which Beaton presented to the king, included numerous members of the wealthy burgher class. Buchanan informs us that the list of the doomed amounted to as many as three hundred names, of which it appears from Knox and other historians, that only a hundred and a few more were landed men and nobility. The rest were no doubt of the burgess class. There was wealth to be found among the heretics of the towns and cities as well as among the nobles and gentry. The burgesses themselves were well aware of the cruelty of the cardinal's designs against them. In 1544, when he carried the renegade regent through the kingdom, to give a public sanction to his persecutions, the citizens of Dundee fled in a body at his dreaded approach; and, to show the sense of relief which this class of the community experienced when Beaton was taken out of the way, it may be mentioned that when Norman Leslie held up the body of the slaughtered cardinal above the parapet of his own castle-wall to the citizens of St. Andrews, in order to satisfy the 'faithless multitude' that he was really dead, 'and in his own person would trouble the world no more,' the burghers, with Sir James Lermont of Dairsie, their provost, at their head, made no stay to 'sing *Requiem eternam* or *Requiescat in pace* for his soul, but instantly departed to their homes, glad that such a tyrant was taken away, because they were ever in danger as long as he lived.'†

The most striking and impressive proof of the progress which the Reformation had made in Scotland at the close of the Hamilton period, was exhibited in the passing of the Act of Parliament on the 15th of March, 1543, which ordained 'that it should be lawful to every man to use the benefit of the translation which then they had of the Bible and New Testament, together with the benefit of

* M'Crie's Knox, vol. i., Note H.

† Calderwood, i. 224.

other treatises containing wholesome doctrine, until such time as the prelates and kirkmen should give and set forth to them a translation more correct.' 'And so,' continues Knox, 'it was made free to every man and woman to read the Scriptures in their own tongue, or in the English tongue; and so were all acts made to the contrary abolished. This was no small victory of Jesus Christ fighting against the conjured enemies of his verity, and no small comfort to such as before were held in such bondage that they durst not have read the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, nor the articles of their faith, in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands. We grant that some, alas! profaned that blessed Word; for some that perchance had never read ten sentences in it had it most commonly in their hands. They would touch their familiars on the cheek with it, and say, "This hath lain hid under my bed-feet these ten years." Others would glory, "O how oft have I been in danger for this book! how secretly have I stolen from my wife at midnight to read upon it!" And this was done of many to make court thereby, for all men esteemed the Governor to have been the most fervent Protestant that was in Europe. Albeit we say that many abused that liberty granted of God miraculously, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wonderfully increase, and God gave His Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance. Then were set forth works in our own tongue, besides those that came from England, that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and abuses of that Roman antichrist.'

In this great transaction, the nobility, the gentry, the lawyers, the burgesses, the old west-country Lollards, the preachers, and even the reforming poets—all of every class who had received the doctrines of Hamilton—were fairly represented, and had an effective voice. The nobility and gentry were represented by Lords Maxwell and Ruthven; the lawyers by Henry Balnaves; the Ayrshire reformers by the Earl of Glencairn; the burgesses by their commissioners; the poets by Sir David Lindsay, who sat for the burgh of Cupar; and the preachers by Rough and Guillame, who preached before the assembled Estates. All were there to utter aloud what they had long thought and felt, and by their concurrent voices to

give it legal effect. The clergy were fully represented too, and acted as perfectly in character as any of their countrymen. Driven back in the debate from one position to another, they at last remained dumb; and when the votes were collected, and the cause of the old tyranny was lost, to make the picture complete, the Archbishop of Glasgow rose in his place, and for himself, and in name of all the prelates of the realm, ‘disassented thereto *simpliciter*.’

It was a bright gleam of sunshine—a morning of hope and promise; and, doubtless, if the sky had remained bright, and no threatening clouds had soon begun to gather upon the horizon, all the numerous Scottish exiles who were scattered abroad in England and the Continent would have crowded home again to enjoy the new liberty, and to lend their assistance in carrying forward the reformation of the Church’s whole order and discipline, which now appeared to be imminent. Melancthon happened to be at Bonn when he heard the news from a Scottish nobleman who was passing through that city. His disciple and friend, Alexander Alesius, was then newly settled in a chair of theology at Leipzig, and might well be supposed to be weary of wandering through so many lands and so many universities. But Melancthon tells Camerarius that he was sure that, as soon as the Scotch professor heard the news he would be off again to Scotland on the wings of Dædalus.* But it was well for Alesius that he did not assume the wings. If he had taken flight at that moment, he would have plunged like another Icarus into a sea of troubles. For all was soon changed again in Scotland. The regent proved fickle and perfidious. The cardinal still lived to baffle all the plans of his enemies. The time of reformation was not yet ‘full come,’ and the Hamilton period closed, as it had begun, with the shedding of innocent blood. Arran was first induced to recant his evangelical confession, and then to persecute and put to death his former friends; and the tragedy of the five martyrs of Perth was the closing scene of a period which had opened with the ever memorable martyrdom of St. Andrews.

* Philippi Melanthonis Opera. Edidit Bretschneider. Vol. v. p. 110.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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NOTE A.—P. 4.

BARONIES OF KINCABEL AND STANEHOUSE.

THE barony of Kincavel is mentioned in a charter of King Robert II., October 24, 1378, to Sir David de Hamilton, as having belonged to William Douglas of Kincavel, from whom it had descended with other lands to James de Douglas of Dalkeith. It was probably forfeited to the King at the time of the fall of the Black Douglasses in the reign of James II.—(*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland* (Wood's edition) vol. i. p. 694.)

The charter to Sir Patrick Hamilton of the barony is dated Linlithgow, September 22, 1498, and bears to have been granted to him by the King for services rendered and to be rendered to the Crown—*pro bono fideli et gratuito servitio nobis, tam tempore pacis quam guerrae, impenso et impendendo.*

The charter of the lands of Stanehouse is dated Stirling, April 7, 1498, and included also the lands of Wynelands, Tweedie, Watstoun, Kittymure, and others, in the county of Lanark. These lands were conveyed by Sir James Hamilton of Kincavel (son of Sir Patrick), December 7, 1529, to his kinsman James Hamilton of Stanehouse; and this deed was confirmed by royal charter at Glasgow, December 13, 1529.

By the same charter, Edinburgh, February 8, 1498, by which James IV. granted to Sir Patrick and his heirs the sheriffdom of Linlithgow and the captaincy of Blackness, he empowered him to establish salt-works on the coast of the Firth of Forth, for which he was to pay yearly “unum denarium argenti,” on the day of Pentecost, at the Castle of Blackness, if required.

On the 3rd September, 1507, Sir Patrick Hamilton conveyed a portion of the Kincavel estate to his kinsman William Hamilton, to be held of Sir Patrick; which deed of conveyance was confirmed by royal charter, dated Edinburgh, March 15, 1512. Hence mention is made of William Hamilton in *Kyncavill*, in a meeting of the size or assize of the burgh of Linlithgow, of November 5, 1529, either the same individual or his successor, to whom Sir Patrick made the grant now mentioned.

On the 12th July, 1514, Sir Patrick had a charter of confirmation of certain lands of Strabrock, lying in the barony of Strabrock, in the county of Linlithgow, which he had inherited from George Oliphant, son and heir of William Oliphant of Berriedaill.

All the above charters are preserved in the Registrum Mag. Sigil., Register House, Edinburgh.

NOTE B.—P. 5.

The author communicated the discovery of Patrick Hamilton's birthplace in a letter to the *Scottish Guardian* newspaper in July last, of which the following is a copy :—

‘PATRICK HAMILTON A NATIVE OF GLASGOW.

‘ English Presbyterian College,
51, Great Ormond Street, London, July 9, 1856.

‘ My dear Sir,—The citizens of Glasgow have recently been paying well-merited honours to a veteran captain and warrior of whom they are justly proud, not only as a Scotsman, but also as a native of their own ancient and opulent city. I think the moment opportune for bringing to their knowledge a fact which I only became aware of a few days ago, that they have a right to claim as a fellow-citizen a man whose name has for centuries been familiar as a household word at every Scottish hearth—a captain, too, and valiant warrior, like Sir Colin, but in a higher service, and a more arduous conflict,—Patrick Hamilton, the first preacher and martyr of the Scottish Reformation. None of our historians have recorded the place of Patrick Hamilton's birth. They have left it to be inferred, that as his father, Sir Patrick, was baron of Kincavel, near Linlithgow, he was probably born there. But it is now ascertained that he was really a native of Glasgow; and, what is singular, this information comes to us from France, from an ancient parchment found among the few remaining records of the University of Paris. In a register of *Acta Rectoria* of that University of the 16th century, and under the year 1520, there was found only last month the following entry—“*Patricius Hamelto, Glassguensis, Nobilis.*” The *nobilis*, taken along with the date, fixes the identity of the personage referred to in the register with the reformer, because it is known from other and independent evidence, that he must have been a student in Paris at that very time. The record now produced is very brief, but it is quite decisive, not only of the point (one of much historical interest) that Patrick Hamilton was a graduate of Paris, but also of the fact that he professed himself a native and citizen of Glasgow. The statement in the register that he belonged to that city could only have been derived from his own mouth. Such evidence on a point of this kind is of primary authority, and perfectly adequate though standing alone.

‘ If our historians had given any other account of the place of his birth, the authentic original record now produced would have been quite sufficient to have convicted them of error: but, as already stated, they are entirely silent upon the point; so that the present is not a case of conflicting authorities—the Paris register is the only witness in court.

‘ What adds not a little to the interest of this discovery is, that the fact now rescued from oblivion appears to have been in imminent danger of hopelessly perishing from human memory. Professor St. Hilaire of the Sorbonne, my correspondent in Paris, who kindly undertook to search the records of the university for me, to ascertain the precise date of Hamilton's graduation, informs me that nothing but some *débris* of the university archives now remain. The whole, or all but the whole of the records of the University of Paris and its numerous colleges were destroyed or scattered by the fury of the first Revolution. The register of *Acta Rectoria* which he found, contains only the names of the *Magistri Jurati* of the sixteenth century, and, by a happy accident, the year 1520, when the register begins, happens to be the very year under which Hamilton's name appears. If he had graduated a single year

earlier the memory of his Glasgow nativity and citizenship would have been irrecoverably lost.

'I was lately at Cambridge to look into the manuscripts of Corpus Christi, or Benet College, where our reformer, George Wishart, was for some time a Regent,—and I was not a little gratified to find that in one of the beautiful stained windows of the college hall, the fellows of that society had recently introduced a blazoning of his name and the arms of the Wisharts of Pitarrow, in honour of his martyr-memory. The window was full of mitres of bishops and archbishops, who had been ornaments of the college, but it had only one martyr's crown, and that was our countryman's. Might not some such memorial as this of Hamilton's martyrdom and connection with Glasgow be introduced into one of the windows of your beautiful cathedral? These, I understand, are about to be fitted with stained glass, and the corporation of the city has undertaken to bear the charge of a part of the work. If the glass is to be "storied" as well as stained, surely the name of such a citizen is worthy of a place in the *corporation window* of the cathedral of his native city.

'I was delighted to see that in the late presentation of a sword of honour to the hero of Alma and Balaklava, Glasgow did not curtail by a single word her noble old motto—"Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word." And well does the godly legend become her municipal shield. For not only did she educate John Knox, the mightiest preacher of God's Word that Scotland ever saw, but she is now known to have been the mother of Patrick Hamilton, by whose preaching and martyrdom the long-lost gospel was first recovered to the kingdom, and by whom the Reformation, completed a generation later by Knox, was, in 1527 and '28, begun. Begging a corner in your columns for this communication, I remain, &c.'

It may be interesting to add to the above an extract from the letter of Professor St. Hilaire, in which he communicated to the author the result of his research:—

‘Paris, le 13 Juin, 1856.

‘ J'ai eu la joie de mettre la main sur *Patrick Hamilton* dans les *Acta Rectoria*, recueil sur parchemin, qui contient les noms de tous les maîtres jurés de l'université de Paris pendant le 16^e siècle. Mais voyez, cher monsieur, si vous avez du bonheur: ce registre commence seulement à l'an 1520, et c'est justement à cette année que j'ai trouvé le nom de P. H. à la suite de l'élection de Nicolas Maillard, Normand, nommé recteur trimestriel, suivant l'usage, le 10 Août, 1520. Un an plutôt je ne trouvais rien: les registres n'existent pas. Voici la courte mention, à peu copiée exactement quant à l'écriture:—PATRICIUS HAMELTO, GLASSGUENSIS, NOBILIS.

‘ Je n'ai, du reste, trouvé, ni pour lui ni pour aucun des *magistri jurati*, la mention des collèges auxquels ils ont appartenu, soit comme des élèves soit comme des maîtres, ni des professeurs sous lesquels ils ont étudié. Vous avez été bien-informé quand on vous a dit que les archives de l'université ont péri dans notre grande révolution. C'est un de leurs débris, fort-curieux, sur parchemin, et avec de belles vignettes. J'ai été assez heureux pour trouver une partie de ce que vous désiriez. Je me félicite bien vivement, cher monsieur, d'avoir pu vous faire ce plaisir, et j'aurais désiré vous transmettre des renseignements plus étendus et plus complets, &c., &c.'

It had not occurred to the author at the time he wrote to the *Scottish Guardian* that any doubt might fairly be raised as to the meaning of the epithet 'Glassguensis' in the Paris Register; but on finding that a doubt was entertained by competent judges of such matters whether the *diocese* of Glasgow

might not be all that was intended by the term, he reopened his correspondence with Professor St. Hilaire, with the view of ascertaining the usage of the Register in this respect. The result of Professor St. Hilaire's renewed examination of the *Acta Rectoria* has justified the doubt, and has brought that gentleman to the conclusion that the diocese, and not the city of Glasgow, was what was meant. He thus expresses himself:—

‘Paris, 10 November, 1856.

‘ Si occupé que je soie, j'ai pourtant trouvé le temps de consulter les Acta Rectoria. J'ai relu tous les noms inscrits dans le trimestre, où j'ai trouvé celui de Patr. Hamilton ; et après mûre délibération je regrette de devoir vous dire que j'ai la conviction que le mot de *Glassguensis* n'implique rien de plus que le diocèse. Tous les autres noms de maîtres-es-arts auxquels est joint le titre de *nobiles* portent un d. (c'est-à-dire *diocesis*) quand il y a la place de le mettre ; et le d. n'est absent, comme dans le cas de Patr. H., que quand la ligne est trop longue pour l'y insérer. Voilà la vérité, telle qu'elle m'apparaît ; et je regrette qu'elle atténue un peu le prix de ma découverte, dont j'étais heureux pour vous plus que pour moi.’

Professor St. Hilaire is probably quite correct in the conclusion which he has reached; but the author reserves his final opinion upon the point till he has an opportunity of examining the Register for himself, and of marking with his own eyes the way, especially, in which the Register indicates the birthplaces of other Scottish graduates.

It may be useful to future inquirers to add here a letter on the subject of the archives of the Scots' College and other colleges of the University of Paris, which was lately received by the Rev. G. J. C. Duncan of Greenwich, from one of the French bishops. The author had requested his friend Mr. Duncan to make inquiries in Paris in the autumn of 1855 respecting these archives; and Mr. Duncan addressed himself to Bishop Caire, who is administrator of the British Roman Catholic foundations in France, including the Scots' College:—

‘Paris, 3 October, 1855.

‘ Monsieur,—J'ai le regret de ne pouvoir en aucune façon favoriser vos recherches. L'Administration des Fondations Britanniques en France, exclusivement consacrée à la comptabilité, ne possède dans ses archives aucune espèce de documents historiques. Il est hors de doute que les divers collèges, avant la grande révolution, devaient avoir des collections précieuses ; mais, puisqu'on ne les trouve pas aux archives impériales, elles sont ou détruites ou égarées sans espoir de retour entre les mains des intéressés.

‘J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c.

CAIRE.’

NOTE C.—P. 9.

THE FYANCELLS OF MARGARET, &c., BY JOHN YOUNGE, SOMERSET HERALD.

Younge mentions that in the marriage procession ‘the Lord of Hamylton barre the Kyng's swerde before hym.’ ‘His cupbearer was the Lord of Hamylton.’ ‘After the dynnar began (second day after the marriage) jousts war apoynted in the basse court before the wyndowes. The place was without barreres, and only the tylt. The challengers war my Lord of Kylmars and my Lord Creithoun. Their aids wer Sir Alexander Seytoun, the Maister of Montgomery, Syr Patrick Hamylton, and Sir John of Creytom, to all the comers durynge the jousts. The deffenders for that day wer my Lord of Hamylton,

cozen of the Kynge, dressed in red satyn, my Lord Roos, Syr Davy Hume, William Cokburn of Langtoun, Patryk Sinklars, in jackets borded of black velvet, and Henry Brus. Ychon of them tuke a corse of a spere and a swerde with the poynte broken, some brak speres, the others not. At the wyndowes was the Kynge, accompanied of the Archbishops of Saint Andrew and York, and of the Bishop of Durham, and of other prelatts, the said wyndows being well appointed. The Queene was at the windowes of hyr grett chamber, accompanied of hyr ladyes and of the others of the reyme, with my lord her chyf chamberlayne.'

NOTE D.—P. 10.

EXTRACTS FROM 'HISTORIA HENRICI VII., A BENEDICTO ANDREA THOLOSTATE.

(Cotton MSS. *Julius*, A. iii.)

1508, Januarius.

Venit per id tempus ab Escocia quidam comes Hemerton una cum fratre suo, viri bellatores incliti qui anno superiore istac dissimulanter transeuntes in Franciam trajecterunt; quamobrem rex dominum Hugonem Vaughan, obviam illis e Francia redeunribus in Kanciam misit, qui illos in civitate hac tractavit festiviter. Cui alter dominus vir, dominica sequente, urbanus autem pretor magnum convivium exhibuit. Hic est ille qui cum illo strenuo milite, de la Bastide in Scocia, ut in superiore anno seripsum strenuissime duellatus est. Hoc idem jam dictus frater ejus, nomine Patricius, adversus Gallum quendam dominum de Campana in Scocia olim factitavit.

Sub idem tempus ad Sanctum Paulum quidam doctor theologus Scotus nacione, domini Pauli epistolas magna doctissimorum virorum ecclesiasticorum cum approbacione atque frequencia gratis interpretabatur. Quam quidem lecturam reverendus ejusdem ecclesiae decanus Colet omnibus palam dicebatur exhibuisse.

1508, Januarius.

Vicesima quarta Januarii comes ille Scotus præmemoratus, permagna cum regalium in ipso Richemondiæ aditu stipancium apparatu, tum deinceps nobilium frequentia, una cum fratre suo, ad regem ingressus est. Ubi mensarum undique exuberantium omnigeno rerum luxu canere erat. Interfuit huic tam egregia receptioni ante memoratus Galliæ orator; interfuit et Hispaniæ.

Mayus (May).—Venit etiam ad Grynwickum (Greenwich) domini Kyldariæ filius dominus Gerardus, et multos tam regi quam aliis proceribus sonnipedes partitus est. Cum quo strenuus quidam bellator adventavit, quem Scotus miles *Patricius*, vir in omnium armorum disciplina peritus, quibusvis pugnandi et certandi generibus superavit.

Junius.—Præscripta die episcopus Moreliensis (Bishop of Murray) Scotus orator, præstantibus viris comitatus, applicuit, qui gravidam ut aiunt reginam Scociae referebat.

Julius.—De dominis autem Scociae, custodia major circa illos apposita est, quos quidem rex, jurejurando illis durissimo, in suam fidem astringere volebat. Illi promissis regiis sese delusos reputabant apud eorum custodem, strenuum dominum Hugonem Vaughan, regiæ custodiæ præfectum, in cuius ædibus predicti a suis arcis servabantur, ad quos quidam præsulis Scociae doctor clam in colloquium veniens repulsus illie fuit, a dicto custode, verbis et pene factis gravissimis. Interea ad regem accitus est legatus ille novus cum

egregio comitatu, episcopi Wigorniensis, et domini Brandon magni scutiferi regii, &c. Cujus quidem præsul is adventus fuisset regi longe gratissimus si reginæ Scociæ serenissimæ tristem de abortu nuncium non audivisset.

16 Julii.—Semoti etiam sunt non multis ante diebus Scociæ illi sæpe memorati domini; antehac enim simul cum præfecto regiæ custodiæ habitabant; et hoc quidem tempore undique occidunt vicatim in urbe hac non pauci, quæ quidem plaga annos circiter quatuor et viginti huic quoque regioni atrox incubuit; quam altera longe detestabilior consecuta est, lepræ instar, abominanda, et quæ multos adhuc vexat egregios, lues.

To these extracts we may add the following from Ayloffe's Calendars, p. 316:—

Quia Patricius Hamilton miles intravit regnum Angliæ contra fœdera inita inter reges, captus fuit per Hugonem Vaughan militem et detentus ut prisonarius, et nunc venit coram consilio regis et juramento se obligat se redditurum ut prisonerus, quandocunque placuerit regi ipsum facere comparare.—Dat 8 Augusta 24 Hen. VII.

Jacobus Hamilton spopondit pro Patricio Hamilton quod se reddet prisonarium quandocunque precipit rex juxta juramentum dicti Patricii.—Dat 13 August. 24 Hen. VII.

The above documents are referred to by Pinkerton in his History of Scotland, who has also printed in his Appendix a curious letter from Dr. West, Henry VII.'s envoy at the Scottish court, on the subject of the dispute between the two monarchs, of date April, 1508.

NOTE E.—P. 13.

CONNECTION OF THE HAMILTONS OF KINCABEL WITH THE SINCLAIRS AND DOUGLASES.

Catherine Sinclair, the first wife of Alexander, Duke of Albany, was daughter of the same Earl of Orkney who built, in 1446, the beautiful chapel of Roslin, and of Lady Margaret Douglas, eldest daughter of Archibald, fourth Earl of Angus, and Margaret Stewart, eldest daughter of King Robert III. This link of connection between the Sinclairs and the royal house, through the Douglases, explains the propinquity of blood which was made the ground of divorce between the Duke of Albany and Catherine Sinclair. We see also from this statement how the Kincavel family were related to Gavyn Douglas, the poet, who was third son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus.—(*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland*, Wood's edition.)

NOTE F.—P. 30.

WORKS PUBLISHED BY JOHN MAJOR IN PARIS, A.D. 1516-21.

THE following works of John Major were published in Paris at or near the time of Patrick Hamilton's residence there, and may be supposed to have occupied some portion of his attention:—

In quartum Sententiarum Commentarius, recusus amplior apud Jodocum Badium Ascensium. Anno 1516.

In tertium Sententiarum Commentarius, apud Joannem Granjonum. Anno 1517.

In primum et secundum Sententiarum totidem Commentarii. Apud eundem, 1519.

Literalis in Matthæum Expositio, una cum trecentis et octo dubiis et difficultatibus ad ejus elucidationem admodum conducentibus passim insertis; quibus perfectis pervia erit quatuor Evangelistarum series. Parisiis, apud eundem, 1518.

De Auctoritate Concilii supra Pontificem Maximum, liber excerptus ex ejus Commentariis in S. Matthæum. Parisiis, 1518.

De Historia Gentis Scotorum libri sex, seu Historia Majoris Britanniæ tam Angliæ quam Scotiae, e veterum monumentis concinnata. Parisiis, anno 1521. Apud Jodocum Badium.

The Commentary on the First Book of the Sentences was first published in 1510: it is dedicated to George Hepburn, Abbot of Arbroath; and the Epistle Dedicatory contains one or two points of interest in regard to the biography of the author. It appears from it that Major was born and brought up within three miles of Hales Castle, in East Lothian: 'Vix etenim ab Halis, domo Celsitudinis tuæ altrice, ter mille natus et educatus sum passibus.' We also learn from it that, at the date of this work, 1510, Major was a resident in the College of Montacute: 'In honestissimo Montisacuti apud Parrhisios collegio, domo mili nutrice, semperque cum veneratione nominando'; and that he was accustomed to exercise its students in his own Commentaries on the Sentences, under the presidency of Noster Magister Natalis Bedda—'ejusdem collegii pri-mario et vigilantissimo et doctissimo, vel eo absente, sub Magistro Nicola Euscho Trevero viro sane docto.'

After the epistle to Hepburn comes a 'Dialogus, inter duos famatos viros: Magistrum Gavvimum Douglaiseum virum non minus eruditum quam nobilem, ecclesiae beati Egidii Edinburgensis praefectum, et Magistrum Davidem Crenstoune in sacra theosophia baccalaureum formatum optime meritum.*' This dialogue is very curious, and throws some valuable light upon the theological spirit of Gavyn Douglas, who appears from it to have been no admirer of the scholastic method of theologizing. He is introduced as saying that he could not see what advantage theology could derive from so many frivolous positions and subtleties, which could give no entrance into the science, but only mystified and darkened it. He quotes Eneas Sylvius, who had been bold enough to say that the works of Aristotle would perish some day by the hand of all-destroying time; and he thinks that his friend Major would be better employed in preaching than writing commentaries on the Sentences. He complains of the multitude of such books. Many were beginning to speak against that whole manner of treating the topics of theology. It was absurd to have more regard to the authority of Aristotle on such subjects than to the doctors of the Church; he therefore wished much that Major would abandon such studies and return to his native country, to cultivate the vine-yard of the Lord, and, by preaching, to scatter far and wide that evangelical seed from which the souls of the faithful would reap the best fruits.

Cranstoun answers for Major, that he proposes indeed to follow that course at some future time, but in the meanwhile he will not desist from the labour of producing such works as these Commentaries; for those who write well what is fit to be preached not only preach with their own mouths, but with the mouths of all their disciples, and not in one sanctuary only, but wherever their works obtain circulation.

* David Cranstoun was the author of several works, two of which are mentioned in the Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1824—viz., *De Fortitudine*, Paris 1511; *Quæstiones Physicales*, Paris, 1511.

Curiously enough, too, there is another allusion to Major's birthplace at the end of this dialogue. Gavyn Douglas is made to say that Major and he were born in the same neighbourhood: 'Qui conjunctus est mihi patria, conjunctus est amicitia. Intervallum inter Tentalon et Glegornum de quo oriundus est, bene nosti opinor.' Cranstoun replies: 'Optime novi; iter Sabbati in lege Mosaica vix hæc intercapedo suscipit.' Glegornum then must have been Major's birthplace, not more than a Sabbath day's journey from Tantallon, and within three miles of Hales.

The 'Tabula' at the end of the volume bears to have been drawn up 'per Magistrum Alexandrum Cowanum Scotum Hadynthonensem.'

NOTE G.—P. 54.

GEORGE LOCKHART.

The following are some of the uninviting titles of Lockhart's works, as stated in the 'Memorial' for the Bible Societies in Scotland:—

- Geo. Lokert Scotti Ayrensis Scriptum de Materia Notitiarum. Par., 1518.
- Geo. Lokert S. T. P. Syllogismi. Par., 1522.
- Ejusdem Tractatus Proportionum.
- Ejusdem Quæstiones et Decisiones Physicales. Par., 1518.
- Ejusdem Tractatus Exponibilium. Par., 1522.
- Ejusdem De Oppositionibus. Par., 1523.

The publication of these and other Scottish works at Paris does not imply that their authors were resident there at the time. They were printed abroad simply because there was no press at home. 'We do not know,' says the learned author of the Memorial, 'of any book printed by Chapman and Miller, the first Scottish printers, after 1510; and we have not learned of any other printer in Scotland till about the year 1530.'

NOTE H.—P. 54.

JOHN MAJOR'S ECCLESIASTICAL VIEWS.

Dr. M'Crie has given, in a note to his Life of Knox, some illustrations of Major's political principles, collected from his works. The following passages from Major's History of Scotland exhibit the freedom of some of his ecclesiastical views.

Speaking of the profusion of David I. in the erection and endowment of monasteries, he remarks, 'Si cœnobia a suis prædecessoribus extracta considerasset, et quod regi pauca admodum vectigalia Scotti pendere assueti sunt, et religiosorum modum vivendi prospexisset, non sic regios proventus attenuasset, magnificando cœnobia, et ipsa nimis opulenta faciendo. Opes illa primitiva devotione peperit, sed matrem lasciva filia suffocavit.'—P. 111.

'Et tamen,' he adds in another place, when censuring the similar prodigality of David's descendant, William, 'Reges illos, nostrates et potissimum aulici ad æthera extollunt, qui suis proventus regios distribuere solent. Hi cœco et particulari amore, utilitate communi neglecta, procedunt.'—P. 135.

Speaking of monks and nuns he says: 'Multo melius esset quod mulieres et viri in Domino nuberent, quam cœnobium male viventium ingredierentur, ubi nulla reformationis spes de propinquο eminet. Et teste psalmographo, cum perverso perverteris.'—P. 147.

Referring to the excommunication and interdict pronounced by the Pope's Legate upon Alexander II. and his kingdom, he observes, that Alexander, 'fortasse plus aequo censuras ecclesiasticas formidans, Carliolum Anglo restituit, et ingentem pecuniae vim quatenus absolveretur legato tribuit. Si justum ad Carliolum titulum habuisset, excommunicationis nodum timere non habuit. Carliolum prædecessores ejus varii tenuerunt, nec quomodo jus ad ipsum perdidit video; et quicquid sit, in casu injusto vel anticipite ab hoc legato ad superiore pro gravamine illato appellandum fuisse. At forte objicies, pastoris sententiam etiam injustam timendam esse. Cui facile respondebimus: si est injusta sic quod est nulla, nullo modo formidanda est; excommunicatione injusta non magis est excommunicatione quam homo mortuus est homo. Non solum in Britannia sed in plerisque locis nimis leviter homines censuris ecclesiasticis innodant. Nemo, nisi ratione mortalis noxae commissæ, excommunicandus venit, nec a jure nec ab homine, et pro sola contumacia, excommunicatio ab homine ferenda est. Si ecclesiam non audierit, dicit veritas, fiet sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Ergo, per locum ab opposito, si ecclesiam audierit, quare a fidelium consortio instar ethnicorum ejicietur? Quo fit quod plerosque excommunicatos putamus qui in gratia sunt.'—P. 141.

A number of other passages of the same kind were long ago collected by John Bale, in his notice of Major in the ' Illustrious Writers of Britain.'

NOTE I.—P. 57.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM ERASMUS TO HECTOR BOYCE.

Litteras tuas, Bœoti ornatissime, datas Aberdonæ septimo calendas Junias, anno salutis MDXXVIII., accepi Friburgi. . . . Ergo ad tuas paucis accipe. Quum mihi tua consuetudo jucunda fuit, Hector eruditissime, quum ante annos triginta duo Lutetiae in litterarum studio pariter curreremus, licet te pro ingenii tui singulari felicitate multis passibus præcurrente; tam mihi gratum fuit eam voluptatem ex tanto intervallo mihi tuis litteris refricari. Ad laudes autem, quas tuus candor mihi tribuit affatim, plenaque (quod aiunt) manu, nihil aliud audies quam te de Erasmo non minus diserte quam amanter, non dicam mentiri, quod a tuis moribus semper fuit alienissimum, sed multum a vero aberrare. Faveo tamen interim tuis de me præconiis, vehementer optans ex meis lucubrationibus aliquid utilitatis, ad disciplinarum ac veræ pietatis candidatos pervenire. Earum catalogum, uti petis, huic subtexam epistolæ. Nec mihi mediocrem attulit voluptatem, quod intelligo Scotiæ regnum ut aliis pluribus ornamenti, ita liberalium artium studiis indies magis ac magis expoliri. Hoc nomine semper amavi Jacobum regem, quod ditionem suam non tam proferre studuerit quam exornare, inter felicissimos monarchas numerandus, si præclaris virtutibus hominis fortuna respondisset. Nec dubito quin filius illius ut in paternum regnum successit, ita paternis vestigiis ingrediatur. Quum Jacobi regis filium Alexandrum archiepiscopum divi Andreæ Senæ instituerem, aderat illi frater vix decimum agens annum, incredibile puer indole, ac jam tum nescio quid eximum de se pollicens. Aveo scire, quid illi acciderit, utrum paterni fraternalique fati comes fuerit, an adhuc supersit. Pro istius academie non ignobilis in me favore studioque gratiam habeo plurimam, cuius commodis et ornamentis utinam mea opera possit aliquid accidere. Certe, quod unum possum, precor ut Dominus per te tuique similes viros, eam omni genere disciplinarum veræque pietatis dotibus bene fortunet ac locupletet.—Datum ex inclyta Academia Friburgensi, idibus Martiis, MDXXX.

NOTE K.—P. 88.

SCOTTISH NAMES IN THE ALBUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WITTEMBERG.

The Album of the University of Wittemberg from 1502-1560 has been printed under the editorial care of Førstemann, and contains the following Scottish names:—

- Joannes Nutrisen Scotus, dioc. Sancti Andreæ, 18 Octob. 1519.
 - Nicolaus Botwynni Scotus, 1524.
 - D. Alexander Alesius Scotus, Edenburgensis, Magister S. Andreæ, 7 Oct. 1533.
 - Joannes Scotus, 1539.
 - D. Joannes Maccabæus Scotus, Nov. 1540.
 - Joannes Faithus Scotus.
 - Gualterus Spalatinus Scotus, 1544.
 - Vilhelmus Ramusius Scotus, Artium Magister S. Andreæ, Sep. 1544.
 - Jacobus Balfurius Scotus, Sep. 1544.
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NOTE L.—P. 90.

EXTRACTS FROM REGISTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG.

The Album of the university opens with the following short narrative:—

Catalogus Scholæ Marpurgensis, anno Domini MCCCCXXVII.
Deo Opt. Max. auspice.

Illustrissimus simul et pientissimus princeps Philippus, landgravius Hessiae, &c., unicrus et pietatis et literarum vindex, cum quasque liberales disciplinas, partim sophistarum invidia, partim temporis difficultate, ruinam hand reparambilem minari videret, ad instaurandas eas annum appulit, et doctissimos quosque, sub annum Christianæ salutis MDXXVII., liberalibus stipendiis invitatos, Marpurgum vocat, atque in Neacademia illa sua Trilingui recens instituta sacras literas, jus civile, utramque medicinam, treis linguis atque adeo omnes bonas literas, sinceriter doceri jubet.

Joannes Ferrarius Montanus, juris civilis professor et judicij Hessiae, quod curiale vocant consiliarius, quem primum academiæ apud Marpurgum per Philippum principem recens institutæ magistratum, III. kalend. Junias MDXXVII. iniisset, hos, uti ordine scribuntur, in ejus album, Deo optimo maximo auspice, retulit.

Then follows a list of the first members of the university, both professors and students, from which we select the following names:—

2. Franciscus Lambertus Avenionensis, S.S.T. Prof.
3. Adam Crato.
4. Erhard Schnepf.
5. Euricius Cordus.
6. Hermannus Buschius.
37. Patricius Hamilton a Litgovien., Scotus, Magister Parisiensis.
38. Joannes Hamilton, a Litgow., Scotus.
39. Gilbertus Winram, Edenburgensis.

In the year 1533 appears the name Petrus Bauckbeus Scotus, and in 1537 Joannes Krom Scotensis.

From the fact that Patrick Hamilton entered his name as connected with

the county of Linlithgow, we may infer that Kincavel had been his residence during the years between his return to Scotland from Paris and his flight to Germany, at those seasons of the year when he was not in residence at St. Andrews.

NOTE M.—P. 94.

DATE OF JOHN FRITH'S FLIGHT FROM ENGLAND.

Dr. Townsend, in the appendix to vol. v. of his valuable edition of Fox's 'Acts and Monuments,' p. 801, fixes the time of Frith's flight from England to Germany in 1528. But the grounds which he relies upon for that date are erroneous, and the true date—which is that also assumed by Mr. Anderson in his 'Annals of the English Bible,' and by Dr. D'Aubigné in his volume on the History of the English Reformation—is the close of 1526 or early in 1527.

NOTE N.—P. 97.

COMPARISON OF PASSAGES FROM LUTHER, TYNDALE, AND HAMILTON.

In 'The Parable of the Wicked Mammon,' Tyndale thus expresses himself:—

'Take forth also the similitude that Christ maketh (Matt. vii.), A good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruit. There seest thou that the fruit maketh not the tree good, but the tree the fruit; and that the tree must beforehand be good, or be made good, ere it can bring forth good fruit. As he also saith (Matt. xii.), Either make the tree good and his fruit good also, either make the tree bad and his fruit bad also. How can ye speak well while ye yourselves are evil? So likewise is this true, and no thing more true, *that a man before all good works must first be good, and that it is impossible that works should make him good, if he were not good before ever he did good works.* For this is Christ's principle and (as we say) a general rule.'

'This is therefore a plain and a sure conclusion, not to be doubted of, that there must be first in the heart of a man, before he do any good works, a greater and a more precious thing than all the good works in the world—to reconcile him to God, to bring the love and favour of God to him, to make him love God again, to make him righteous and good in the sight of God, to do away his sin, to deliver him and loose him out of that captivity wherein he was conceived and born, in which he could neither love God, neither the will of God. Or else how can he work any good work that should please God, if there were not some supernatural goodness in him, given of God freely, whereof that good work must spring? even as a sick man must first be healed or made whole ere he can do the deeds of an whole man; and as the blind man must first have sight given him ere he can see; and he that hath his feet in fetters must first be loosed ere he can go, walk, or run; and even as they which thou readest of in the Gospel that they were possessed of the devils, could not laud God till the devils were cast out.'

Between this passage and the following from Luther's sermon 'On the Freedom of a Christian Man,' there is a striking resemblance:—

'The two maxims are true—"Good and godly works make not a good and godly man; but a good, godly man, makes good and godly works;" "Evil works make not an evil man, but an evil man makes evil works." In all cases

the person must first be good and godly before all good works, and good works follow and proceed from the good and godly person. As says Christ, "An evil tree bringeth not forth good fruit; a good tree bringeth not forth evil fruit." Now it is plain that the fruit does not bear the tree, the trees do not grow upon the fruits; but contrariwise, the trees bear the fruits, and the fruits grow upon the trees. As now the trees must be before there can be any fruit, and the fruits make the trees neither good nor bad, but the trees the fruits, so also must a man be first godly or wicked in his person before he does good or evil works; and his works make him neither good nor bad, but *he maketh* good or bad works.

' It is thus, as we see, in all handicrafts. A good or bad house makes not a good or bad carpenter, but a good or bad carpenter makes a bad or good house. No work makes a master to be such as his work is, but as is the master so also is his work. So also is it with the works of man: as the case stands with him with respect to faith or unfaith, so also are his works either good or evil; and not the converse—that as his works are so is he godly or believing. Works, as they make not a man believing, so neither do they make him godly. But faith, likeas it makes him godly, so also does it make his works good.'

Compare now these passages with the extracts from 'Patrick's Places' which will be found in Chap. VI., and the resemblance will be found to be strong and striking.

NOTE O.—P. 124.

PATRICK HAMILTON'S DAUGHTER.

The notices in the treasurer's books are the following, which the author has verified by inspecting the original:—

' Item. The x day of Aprile, deliuerit to be ane gowne to Issobell Hammiltoun, dochter to umquhill Patrik, abbot of Fern, four elnis Frenche blak, price of the eln xxxiiii s.	summa, vi lib., xvi s.
Item. Deliuerit to be hir ane kirtill, three elnis French browne, price of the eln, xxx s.	summa, iiiii lib., x s.
Item. Deliuerit to hir to walt the samin, and to be hir pertlettis, ane eln blak velvet, price thairof	lvi s.

In the following month of May, 1543, another gown was furnished to Isobell Hamilton.

(From Appendix iii. to vol. i. of Knox's History, by David Laing, Esq.)

NOTE P.—P. 139.

ORDER OF INCIDENTS IN HAMILTON'S TRIAL AND MARTYRDOM.

The author has experienced considerable difficulty in arranging the order of these incidents, owing to the variations which exist in the four principal accounts which have come down to us, those of Knox, Pitscottie, Spottiswood, and Alexander Alane. It may be of use to state here his reasons for thinking that the order which he at last determined to follow is the right one.

(1.) Though no mention is made, by either Knox or Spottiswood, of a summons having been issued to Hamilton to appear before Beaton, it is *certain* that that was the first step in the process, because it is distinctly mentioned in the sentence itself.

(2.) That the Reformer, after receiving this summons, confined his teach-

ing more than he had done before to those doctrinal articles which were of most importance, and to which he declared himself, at his examination, ready to put his hand, is also clear from the terms of the sentence, although this fact, too, has not been otherwise recorded: ‘We have found that he hath affirmed, taught,’ &c., ‘*after that he was summoned to appear before us and our council,*’ &c.

(3.) The Reformer had not been apprehended when he first appeared before Beaton and his council. Spottiswood indeed states the contrary, and Knox makes no mention of his preliminary examination by the council at all. But a circumstance is mentioned by Fox, upon the authority of Lambert, which makes it certain that he was still at liberty, viz., that he *anticipated the time* fixed in the summons, which could not have happened if he had been then in custody, and all his movements restrained by his gaolers.

(4.) His apprehension, then, must have taken place *after* his first examination, and some considerable interval must have elapsed after the latter to allow time for Beaton to bring together so many of the dignitaries of the church to be present at the trial in the cathedral.

(5.) That there were *oral* charges of heresy laid against Hamilton by Campbell, his accuser, as well as written articles, appears from the narrative of Pitscottie, who mentions the fact that Campbell *read over* the written articles, and then goes on to specify the additional charges.

(6.) That Campbell was refuted by Hamilton upon the written articles, and that he received instructions thereupon from the bishops to call him heretic to his face, and treat him opprobriously, appears from the account of Alesius. It is an inference of the author’s own, from a comparison of Pitscottie’s statements and those of Alesius, that the reason why the oral charges were added to the written articles, and formed no part of the articles inserted in the sentence, was—that Campbell having been silenced by the reasonings of Hamilton upon the latter, it became necessary, for the sake of further effect, and with the view of justifying in the eyes of men the sentence and execution which were to follow, to give Campbell fresh instructions, and put him upon a new tack.

(7.) Knox’s account of the process of the trial agrees so far with Pitscottie’s that he says that ‘the articles for which he suffered were but of pilgrimage purgatory, prayer to saints and for the dead, and *such trifles*, albeit that matters of greater importance had been in question.’ And this statement is true in the sense that these smaller matters were really those upon which the success of the trial as a public spectacle turned. But Knox was mistaken in thinking that there were no other articles but these ‘trifles’ drawn out in the process. The sentence itself embodies another set of articles altogether, and that sentence was derived both by Fox and Spottiswood ‘out of the Bishops’ Registers.’ The statement of Alesius also tallies with theirs. Knox could not have had access to these registers when he wrote, and his account of the trial must have been derived from the information of persons who were present at it. It is true he had Fox’s ‘Acts and Monuments’ before him, and Fox has given the written articles at full length; but it was the first edition of 1564 which Knox had before him, in which the details of the trial were not inserted. Fox’s more minute account did not appear till the publication of the second edition, after Knox’s death.

(See Mr. Laing’s Appendix iii. to Knox’s History, vol. i. p. 507.)

NOTE Q.—P. 139.

EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF ALEXANDER ALESIUS, CONTAINING ACCOUNTS
OF PATRICK HAMILTON.

(From *'Cohortatio ad Concordiam Pietatis ac Doctrinæ Christianæ Defensionem; missa in patriam ab Alexandro Alesio Scoto, Sacræ Theologie Doctore.'* 1544.)

‘Quid ego de te, jam pæne dolore et lacrimis consumtis, loquar Patrici? Quia oratione de tua doctrina, probitate, virtute, sapientia, et ante omnia pietate et studio religionis Christianæ, utar? Quibus verbis describam et constantiam in confessione veritatis et omnibus propter hanc adversis tolerandis fortitudinem tuam? Quo pacto non quidem tuam migrationem sed desertionem nostri, et tuorum, immo Christi inimicorum scelus in te commissum et crudelitatem deplorem? Tene hac generis nobilitate, tanta dignitate præditum, tot honoribus perfunctum, tale in existimatione apud universos, corripere et prosternere potuit audacia et tyrannis impietatis? Vidi ipse qui hæc scribo produci hunc virum, eum in quo laudando jam laudis me vocabula deficiunt—vidi ego, inquam, hunc produci quasi in scenam ante eos qui utinam non astrinxissent sese hoc tam nefario scelere injustæ cædis, qua hominem, ut nihil jam dicam amplius, Christianum e medio sustulerunt. Apponebatur quidam qui cum illo verba faceret, immo qui et illuderet et malediceret capto. Hunc incitant et jubent vehementer et aspera oratione uti. Increpat ergo hic vere histrio et actor aliciae fabulæ Patricium acerbius et hereticum appellat. Ad quod falso sumum crimen nihil ille respondit aliud, quam testatus animum et conscientiam criminoris rem aliter se habere: “Scis tu,” inquit, “frater, me hereticum non esse.” Obsecro nunc saltem, cognoscite quanta sit vis veritatis. Ita percutit hæc vox animum accusatoris ut paucissimos post dies moreretur. Rapitur inde ad supplicium Patricius. Alligatur ad palum. Incenditur ignis. Accedit monachus; hortatur ut nunc saltem animum mutet; ad quem subridens Patricius, “Cum lieuerit huc non accedere mutata voluntate, tu nunc sero suades ut aliter sentire incipiam, eum me videoas propemodum flagrare. Quin tu, vero, pro confirmandis tuis,” inquit, “ad quæ me revocas, digitulum inseras in flamam qui ardeat.” Ita incendio undique oborto, martyr Christi Patricius, per summos ille quidem cruciatus, sed gloria Dei gratiæ Maximi felicissimo fine functus fuit vitæ suæ in terris.’

(From *'Primus liber Psalmorum juxta Hebreorum et divi Hieronymi Supputationem, Expositus ab Alexandro Alesio, D. in celebri Academia Lipsensi.'* 1554.)

The commentary upon Psalm xxxvii. extends from leaf 157 to 183, and is rich in historical allusions to both Scotland and England, especially the former. The account of Patrick Hamilton occurs in the commentary upon the third verse of the Psalm: ‘Trust in the Lord and do good.’

‘Hic rursus mihi ante oculos versatur impietas et crudelitas episcoporum et theologorum qui nobilissimum, doctissimum et optimum virum M. Patricium Hamiltonum, vivum in mea patria cremarunt propter has positiones:—

1. Homo non habet liberum arbitrium ad bene-operandum ante Spiritum Sanctum.

2. Bona opera non faciunt bonum hominem, sed homo bonus facit bona opera.

Loquebatur autem, sicut ipsi loquuntur, de operibus moraliter vel in genere

bonis. De his enim intelligebat primam partem secundæ propositionis, et negabat opera ante fidem vel sine fide facta mereri gratiam gratum facientem de congruo et S.S. ut ipsi docent cum enthusiastis. Affirmant enim ethnici suis viribus fuisse meritos illuminationes seu revelationes singulares de Christo, sine Scriptura, et verbo prodito et ministerio, contra Pauli doctrinam, Quomodo credant ei de quo non audierunt? Magna audacia contendunt Deum non posse non dare gratiam homini facienti quod in se est; et Deum necessario infundere gratiam homini sufficienter disposito, huncque se posse sufficienter disponere ad gratiam, et elicere, ut dicunt, actum dilectionis Dei super omnia, quæ erit sufficiens et immediata dispositio ad gratiam, et propter quam Deus necessario—necessitate inevitabilitatis, infundit gratiam gratum facientem—id est charitatem infusam, qua habita, homo per bona opera potest mereri vitam eternam de condigno.

‘Hanc doctrinam Pelagianam, Ethnicam, Pharisaicam, et Cainicam, quam oppugnarunt omnes justi ab Abel, patriarchæ, prophete, Christus et apostoli, ex claris et firmis Scripturæ sacræ testimoniis confutavit, et ex eisdem statuit et constabilivit has propositiones: Nemo justificatur ex operibus, sed ex fide tantum, et ne calumniarentur eum de fide dæmonum et hypocritarum et non de fiducia nostra quæ habet annexam pœnitentiam, spem et dilectionem loqui, addidit, fides, spes et caritas sic sunt unitæ ut qui unam habeat, reliquas possideat, et qui una caruerit alias mimine sit assecutus, et contra, fides in Christum facit hominem certum de gratia Dei, et qui dubitat de misericordia Christi non est dignus qui dicatur Christianus.

‘Affui ego spectator tragœdiæ, et audivi respondentem ex suggestu pro capite Dominicastro cuidam, cui cum deficerent rationes, detegente sophisticam martyre Dei, jusserunt episcopi et theologi ut ei convitiaretur et vocaret eum hæreticum. Id cum ille præter voluntatem fecisset (erat enim aliqui in eo placida natura, et jam favere cœperat veræ doctrinæ, postquam fuisset privatim cum Patricio colloquutus, et audiisset ipsius conciones et disputationes cum theologis) nihil respondit ad convictum, sed dicebat Dominicastro placidissime, “ Mi frater non ita sentis ex animo.” Hoc dicto ita conscientiam illius perculit ut domum rediens inciderit in phrenesim et non longe post mortuus sit. Ex hujus Patricii sermonibus et patientia melius intellexi quid propheta in hoc loco precipiat, cum ait, “ Tu vero in Domino, &c., quam ex omnibus mutis magistris.” Nam cum eo colloquutus sum, sperans me effecturum ut errorem agnosceret. Eram tum doctrinae Sententiarorum addictus, et paullo ante, ex Roffensi Lutheri assertione refutavi cum applausu theologorum. Verum præter expectationem meam evenit ut ex ipsius colloquio meum errorem agnoscerem; et dissimulare non potui meum dolorem in ipsius cruciatu. Fuit ei etiam indicatum quid theologi definivissent, cum adhuc fugere pectuisset, et quidem cupiebat archiepiscopus eum aufugere, quia affinitate ei conjunctus fuit, et cognatus regis et nepos ducis Albaniæ ex sorore; et frater Patricii præfector regis in armis erat, et duxisset exercitum in urbem nisi adversis ventis fuisse impeditus; erat enim fluvius Fortha trajiciendus. Id quia metuebant episcopi aliquot millia conscripserunt equitum. Verum Patri- cius fugere noluit, quod metueret pios offendendos esse, si hoc faceret, dicebatque se ad hoc ingressum esse urbem ut pios in vera doctrina confirmaret sua morte. Prædictis etiam se brevi moriturum, cum adhuc apud suos esset. Ad hæc, foveat in sua mensa monachos, et de multis quæ flagitarent emendationem in dogmatibus, administratione sacramentorum et usitatis ritibus, est colloquutus, cum tamen sciret hos hypocritas qui simulabant se descendit causa accessisse, prodituros eum episcopis, imo jam prodidisse et propterea ab iis missos esse ut sententiam ejus de tota eorum doctrina et ceremoniis explorarent. Docuit et disputavit palam in academia apud S. Andream plus

minus mensem priusquam caperetur. Cum vero jam capiendus esset, et ii qui missi erant sub noctem ab episcopis hospitium ejus obsidissent, processit ille obvius eis et petit quem quererent, seque praefecto arcis offert capiendum, orans ut discedere permetteret suos quibus coram prohibuit ne defensionem pararent. Sed illi nihilominus eum praefecto non ante permiserunt priusquam promitteret se eis redditurum incolumem Patricium. Sed vide quomodo episcopi prefectum hac promissione liberarunt. Cum jam condemnatus fuisse et conclusus inter aliquot millia armatorum, jubent praefectum alta voce vocare fratrem Patricii (quem sciebant non adesse) ut fratrem suum reciperet.

‘Cum jam instaret hora supplicii ejus, et ipse adhuc in mensa sederet, jubar vocari praefectum, et querit utrum omnia sint parata. Illoque respondente, “Dii meliora,” apprehensa ejus dextra properat ad locum supplicii; et viso palo ad quem alligandus erat, aperit caput, suspiciensque in celum orat; vestes tradidit ministris, et librum evangeliorum cuidam familiariter nota. Ignis ter accensus extinctus est, ipso clamante, “Non habetis ligna, et pulverem bombardarium?” Interpellatus a Dominicastro, an vellet revocare, respondebat, “Tu si vera doces infer digitum ubi totus ardeo.” Postea orat ut Deus populi oculos aperiat ad cognoscendam veram doctrinam, et commendat matrem amicis. Cum jam scissus per medium ignita catena ferrea qua ad palum ligatus erat, et rogatus a quadam si adhuc sentiret doctrinam pro qua moriebatur veram esse, signum ederet, erexitque tres digitos, aliis duobus combustis, et tamdiu immotos tenuit donec expiraret. Doctrina erat excellente et ingenio acerrimo. Philosophiam revocabat ad fontes, Aristotelem et Platonem, relegatis et explosis sophismatibus ex schola. Missam ut vocant musici, novem vocum figurali cantu composuit, in honorem angelorum, super tenore vel plano cantu officii missæ Benedicant Dominum omnes angeli ejus, &c. Hanc cantionem in ecclesia metropolitana S. Andreæ curavit cani, et ipse precentorem egit. Studuit Lutetiae Parisiorum, Lovanii, Marpurgi Hessorum, et in aliis academiis. Designatus fuit et abbas in monasterio Ferne, sed quia hypocrisin odivit, noluit inducere cucullum, et paulo ante mortem duxit nobilem virginem uxorem. Vix tricesimum etatis annum attigerat cum martyrio coronatus fuit.

‘Habes jam alterum exemplum ex quo discas sententiam hujus psalmi et horum versuum. Nam potuit Patricius habuisse opes et frui voluptatibus si voluisset assentire malis aut eos sequi; sed ipse confisus Deo contempsit magno animo quæ impii mirantur. Non irascebatur iis propter successum, ac ne quidem vindictam de his qui eum tanquam seditiosum et contumeliosum in Deum condemnaverunt et combusserunt poposcit. Non fremebat adversus Deum inter supplicia aut in igne in quo ab hora xii. usque ad vi. vespere stetit ustulatus magis quam combustus, nec ullam notam impatientiæ edidit; tanta erat in Deum fides et fiducia ipsius.’

NOTE R.—P. 157.

THE COPY OF A LETTER CONGRATULATORY SENT FROM THE DOCTORS OF LOUVAINE TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS AND DOCTORS OF SCOTLAND, COMMENDING THEM FOR THE DEATH OF MR. PATRICK HAMILTON.

(*Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. iv. p. 561.*)

Your excellent virtue, most honourable bishop, hath so deserved that albeit we be far distant both by sea and land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we desire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, by whose works that true faith, which not long ago was tainted with heresy, not only remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For, as our dear friend, M.

Alexander Galloway, canon of Aberdeen, hath showed us, the presumption of the wicked heretic, Patrick Hamilton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you have cut him off when there was no hope of amendment, &c.

This thing, as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many states, as of the clergy, nobility, and vulgar people, not rashly, but most prudently, the order of law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and always do approve the same, not doubting but that the articles which be inserted are erroneous; so that whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same with pertinacity should be esteemed an enemy to the faith and an adversary to the holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appear to be without error to them that will consider only the bare words—as, for example, ‘Good works make not a good man, but a good man maketh good works’—yet there is no doubt but they contain a Lutheran sense, which in a manner they signify, to wit, that works done after faith and justification make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be those among externe nations who shall imitate the same, &c.

Certainly ye have given us great courage, so that now we acknowledge your university, which was founded according to the example of our university of Louvaine, to be equal to ours, or else above; and would God occasion were offered of testifying our minds towards you. In the mean time, let us labour with one consent that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheep-fold of Christ, while we have time. Let us study to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter and more wisely. Let us have inquisitors and espies of books containing that doctrine, especially that are brought in from far countries, whether by apostate monks or by merchants, the most suspected kind of men in these days. It is said that since Scotland first embraced the Christian faith it was never defiled with any heresy. Persevere, therefore, being moved thereunto by the example of England, your next neighbour, which in this most troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the bishops, among whom Roffensis (Fisher of Rochester) hath showed himself an evangelical phoenix, and partly of the king, declaring himself to be another Matthias of the new law, pretermittting nothing that may defend the law of his realm; which if your most renowned king of Scotland will follow, he shall purchase to himself eternal glory. Further, as touching the condign commendation due for your part, most reverend bishop, in this behalf, it shall not be the least part of your praise that these heresies have been extinct some time in Scotland, you being primate of Scotland and principal author thereof, albeit that they also who have assisted you are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise; as the reverend bishop of Glasgow, of whose erudition we have here given us partly to understand; and also the reverend bishop of Aberdeen, a stout defender of the faith; together with the rest of the prelates, abbots, priors, and professors of the holy Scripture. But, your reverend fatherhood, take this little testificate of our duty towards you in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.

From Louvain, in the year 1528, April 21. By the masters and professors of theology in the university of Louvain.

Yours to command.

NOTE S.—Pp. 93, 157.

ACCOUNT OF PATRICK HAMILTON BY FRANCIS LAMBERT.

Extract from ‘Exegeseos Francisci Lamberti Avenionensis in Sanctam divi Joannis Apocalypsim,’ libri VII. Basileæ, anno MDXXXIX.

Addressing ‘the illustrious Prince Philip, Landgrave of Hesse,’ the author says, writing in 1528:—

‘Habuisti anno superiore in tua nova academia Marpurgensi ex Scotia unum qui vere suam in Dei ecclæ iam attulit gloriam, Patricius Hammerton, ex illustrissima Hammertonum familia, quæ ex summis regni Scotiæ ac regi sanguine proximius junctis, est. Is cum esset annorum circiter trium et viginti, eruditio nisus non vulgaris, et in Dei sermonibus, judicii et certissimi et solidissimi, ab illo mundi angulo, nempe Scotia, venit ad tuam academiam ut abundantius in Dei veritate confirmaretur; de quo veruntamen testor me vix alium reperisse qui de eloquiis Dei spiritualius ac sincerius loqueretur. Sæpe enim mecum de eisdem contulit. Præterea et is primus fuit, qui post erectam a tua sublimitate academiam, in eadem Christianissima aliquot axiomata palam et doctissime, me hoc illi consulente, asseruit. Ubi autem robustior in pietatis doctrina factus est, assumpto uno ex tribus quos secum hoc veniens duxerat, rediit in Scotiam, et palam Christum docuit, factus Seotorum primus et idem inclytus ἀπόστολος. Mox principes sacerdotum cum satrapis suis, apud Sancti Andreæ urbem convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum et Christum illiusque apostolum Patricium, et illum quantumvis sanguine clarum, et (ut puto) rege adhuc puero ab eis seducto (neque enim metu cognitorum ejus quidquam alioqui ausi fuissent in eum), vocarunt in concilium suum, in Calend. Martias hujus anni. At ille in Christi confessione ardens totus, tempus ipsum prævenit et pridie calend. Martii mane, illis pinguibus Samariæ vaccis, adfuit, et ab illis velut a Judæis Christus, damnatus mox, et morti adjudicatus est, atque a prandio ipsiusmet diei combustus et factus Deo in hostiam sanctam et vivam. Is vere attulit in Dei ecclesiam non solum gloriam suam sed et vitam. Hunc veluti suavissimum flerem, maturumque fructum ab ipso initio protulit nova et felix illa academia tua. Non es fraudatus desiderio tuo. Idcirco enim maxime illam erexisti, quod cuperes ut intrepidi Christi confessores, et constantes veritatis assertores ex ea prodirent. Ecce jam unum habes, et eundem quidem inclytum multis nominibus; alii, cum Domino visum fuerit, sequentur.’

NOTE T.—P. 158.

JOHN GAW.

The work of John Gaw bears the following title:—‘The richt way to the kingdome of hevyn is techit heir in the x commandis of God, and in the creid and Pater Noster, in the quhilk all Chrissine men sal find al thing yat is needful and requirit to onderstand to the salvatioun of the saul.’ Large extracts from it have recently been printed in the last volume of the Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club. It was printed at Malmoe in 1533. That there were Scotsmen settled there appears from a passage in the dedication of an extremely rare work of Alesius, who mentions that on escaping from Scotland in a ship bound for France he was driven by a storm into one of the Danish ports, and found at Malmoe a circle of his countrymen, by whom he was kindly received. The name of John Gall (which is the same as Gaw) appears upon the registers of the university of St. Andrews as a Determinant in 1510.

His taking a degree, and his choice of such a subject to write upon, may be considered tolerable evidence that he was a churchman, and if so, the conjecture may be allowed that he lived at Malmoe in the capacity of chaplain to his countrymen established there.

(See Mr. Laing's Appendix iii. to *Knox's History*.)

The work of Alesius alluded to is not included in any catalogue of his writings which the author has seen; but he has examined two copies of it, one in the library of Wolfenbüttel, the other in the Royal Library of Berlin. It is intitled, 'Ad Libellum Ludovici Nogarolæ Comitis, De Traditionibus Apostolicis et earum Necessitate, Responsio Alexandri Alesii D. 1556.'

NOTE U.—P. 167.

CHANGE OF ALANE'S NAME TO ALESIUS.

This is not the proper place to enter at any length into a point of Alane's biography. But we may briefly indicate the three principal parts of the proof which can be produced to show that his real name was *Alane*, and that *Alesius* was afterwards assumed in allusion to his exile and foreign wanderings:—

(1.) In a contemporary English translation of one of his Latin tracts, executed, it is stated by John Bale, by Edmund Allen, the author is called on the title-page 'Alexander Alane, Scot,' whereas in the original he calls himself 'Alexander Alesius Scotus.'

(2.) In several of Melancthon's letters to him there are manifest allusions to the significance of his name Alesius. Sometimes Melancthon writes the name in Greek characters, and there is one letter written during the troubles of the Interim Controversy in which Melancthon, anticipating that he might be driven out from Saxony by his enemies, says that in that case he too would become another *'Αλήσιος*. The name is in fact formed from the Greek verb *ἀλείνω*, meaning, to be a fugitive and wanderer. It is not improbable, moreover, that the resemblance of sound between Alane and *ἀλείνω* suggested to Melancthon such a cognomen for his friend: for it was Melancthon, in all likelihood, who dubbed him with this learned designation, just as he made M'Alpine a gift of the singular name *Maccabæus*, as stated by the Danish historian Stephanus.

(3.) The name Aless or Ales does not occur in the registers of the university of St. Andrews, nor any other at all like it, at the time when Alane was a student and graduate there, though the registers are apparently quite complete at that period. But the name Alexander Alane occurs twice, among the Incorporati and among the Determinantes, at the exact time when Alane must have been a student at St. Andrews.

The inference from these facts is plain: That when he began to be called Aless by our historians, which was not till the seventeenth century (he is never so called by Knox or any other writer of the sixteenth century), it was merely by inference from his learned name Alesius, after his real name had become lost to the memory of his countrymen.

NOTE X.—P. 179.

FRIAR CAMPBELL.

Campbell was Prior at least as early as May, 1526, as appears from an instrument of sasine (in possession of David Laing, Esq.) of a piece of land near Cupar, called Katherine's Haugh, in favour of David Jamieson, burgess of Cupar, and proceeding upon a charter bearing that date, granted by Friar Alexander Campbell, ‘Prior loci fratrum prædicatorum infra civitatem Sancti Andreæ.’ It is worth mentioning, also, that one of the names engrossed in this instrument as witnesses is *George Wischert*. For without identifying the person there referred to with the Reformer of the same name, it thus appears that there was at least one other man in the kingdom who bore the same name as he—a fact which becomes of some importance since Mr. Tytler’s unhappy attempt, on evidence so extremely slender and inadequate, to fasten upon the Reformer the guilt of being privy to a conspiracy for the assassination of Cardinal Beaton.

NOTE Y.—P. 199.

SIR JAMES SCRYSMEOUR OF DUDHOPE.

The following are a few notes from the charter given under the Great Seal to Sir James Scrymgeour on the 2nd July, 1527. It bears to be a charter of confirmation to James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee; whom failing, to John Scrymgeour of Glastre; whom failing, to James Scrymgeour, brother of John; whom failing, to Walter Scrymgeour, brother of John and James; then to David Scrymgeour of Ffardill, and to John Scrymgeour, Claviger—of the whole of the third part of the lands of Dudhop, with the principal messuage, tower, and fortalice; the lands of Castlehill; the constabulary of Dundee; the patronate rights of chaplainries within the burgh and territory of Dundee, belonging by inheritance to the said James Scrymgeour; all the lands of Hillfield, Southborland, Marissland de Innerkething, lying in the barony of Innerkething and county of Fife; all the lands of Northbellanth, Southbellanth, and Kingudy, cum le plew lands within the territory of Rail, in the county of Perth, &c. &c.

This charter is to be found in the Registrum Magni Sigilli, Register House, Edinburgh—liber xxiii., No. 19.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

I.

ORIGINAL LETTERS OF GAVYN DOUGLAS IN RELATION TO THE COMPETITION FOR
THE PRIMACY OF ST. ANDREWS, A.D. 1514-1515.

(Cottonian MSS., British Museum, *Caligula B. 1.*)

GAVYN DOUGLAS TO ADAM WILLIAMSON.

18 Jany. 1515.

Brother master Adam, I commende me to you in my harty wyss, and ye sall knew that sen my last wrytyng of Perth, ye last day of December, quhilk I trust ye haf *gotyn* (?) and harde ferthur all thynges by Sir James, the byshop of Dunkelden is deceessyt yis Monunday ye xv day of January. And because yon evyll myndyt byshop of Murray trublys all our promociones, and hes sped Sanct. Andrews to hymself, with Dunfermlyng, Arbroth, legacie, and other facultys quhilk are nedfull, and all ways manbe retretyt, yet not the less sen syk debates and [redacted] are costly [redacted], in all aventour ye quenes grace, my self, and frends thynke nedfull I be promovyt to that seyt quhilk now is vacand, and but pley, and ane ryght gude byshopric of rent, and the thryd seyt of ye realm. And to that effect hes ye quenes grace wrytyn for me to ye papes halynes and cardynals, quhareof ye sall with yis ressave ye copy—to solyst syk lyke wrytynges fra ye king's grace, hyr broder. And be not hyr lettryrs obeyt in ye curt of Rom, ye solist evyll your memoryall-less yan ye kyng wyll do not for his systyr, as I knew. I dout not bot ye wyll solyst my maters aliss trewly as your awyn, thocht ye quene's grace had not wrytyn for me; and, as I wrate to you laytly, ye promocion of hyr servandes and frendes, is hyr weylfare and autorisyng and hyndyryng of hyr adversaries. I pray you at a word, spedie yir lettryrs to Flanders as yai are dyrectyt, and spedie wyth tham ye kynges wrytynges. And gyf ye houth do samekyll as causs ye kyng mak a post tharfor, I war bedyttit to hys grace and you for ever—a wyse frend is soyn chargeyt.

Item : ye sall know that mi lord erl of Huntlye was heyr at the quenys graces, and wyll go hyr way, and bryng many of ye other lordes to hyr opynion, and wyth hys avyss she hes mayd proclaim a parlymant in yis town, to be haldyn and begyn in yis town ye xii day of March, quhar we traist tyl haf all thyngs redressyt. I wald not ye leyt ye byshop of Murray nor yon duke steyll hydder by you, as now latly his clerk master John Sawquhy hes doyn and landyt at Leyth furth of a French shyp, and brot wyth hym ye bullys of Sanct. Andrews, and publyst ye samyn on hys manner in Edinburghh yis last

Twysday ye xvi day of Januar; bot I beleve he sall not haf possessyon yis yeir. Nedfull it is, and yt is a speciall punct of your memoryall, to caus ye kyng wryte to ye kyng of Frans heyrupon, to ye effect that by hys ways ye kyng our soverane lord be not hurt in hys privyleges and facultyes, for yt were to byreif hym hys crown; nor that hys gude systyr the quenes grace be thereby minysht in her autorite—but raythur mainteynit and defendyt by hym in ye samyn. And aught hes beyn doyn by his wrytinges in ye contrary, othyr in fawse of yon byshop of Murray *on ony others*—that the saymyn be hys ways and solystations be reversyt agane—that thereby na prejudice may happyn to ye king, nor yis hys realm now in tyme present nor yet in tyme coming by eyll exemple—so that syk doyng nor attemptate be na preparatyve to others in time to come. And howth the kyng solyst his brothyrr of Frans to haf that byshop *redyrrit* to hym, other be pollyty or other wayes that he mycht thereafter be demanyit as efferes all yis three realmys I trust war bro^t to grete rest, ffor he is and hes beyn ye instrument of mekyll harm, and I dreyd sall yet be of mair, and he be not snybbyt. Tent to hym and yon duyk gif ye kyng thar luffe ye weylfare of hys syster and mast tendyr nevoes, and alss the quyet of his awyn realm. Haste answer again and be solyst as ye haf beyn in tyme passyt, and God keip you.

Of Perth, ye xviii day of January, with ye hand of your frend,

GAVYN DOUGLAS.

The quene thynkes ye haf beyn over slowthfull, that sa lang tym ye beand in Ingland whereof beyn nocht done nother in Rome nor ye curt of Frans agayns yon wykket byshop of Murray, and byddes you mend your falt. Item at ye solyst ye kyng her broder, that na letters pass throghe his realm, to na fra, that belangis ony Scottesman, less yan he haf hyr speciall wrytinges and request therefor. For syk letters hes done gret harm, and was the fyrrst caus of all ye truble anent ye promociones and is daly a preparatyve to solyst yon duyk of Albany to come hydder. Remembryr my salve conduct and spedie ye samyn to me as I wrayt to you lately. And gif ony of my wrytinges pertenyng the quene come furth of Flandres or Rome to your handes, na fors that ye king se and knew ye contente therof, that thai may be the bettyr and mare hastily sped to hyr grace or me, for I wayt his hienes wyll spry nane of hyr letters nor myne—quhilk salbe ever to hys pleisour and awayll.

GAVYN DOUGLAS TO ADAM WILLIAMSON.

Reprinted from Appendix to "Pinkerton's History of Scotland," vol. ii.

21 January, 1815.

Lat not the kyng spar therfoyr, that and (if) he wald cum wyth his army or send hys puissans in this realm, and declar to the pepyel his actyon war (would be) to haf justice and gud rewll, and to caus the kyng hys nevo (nephew) and the queyn his syster be obeyit as thae autht (ought), but cummand on thys wise and notfyfand the samyn to our comonyys be proclamation, bot he suld fynd mony to tak hys part: for I assur yow the pepill of this realm are sa oppressyt for lak of justice by thevys, rubbry, and other extortions, that they wald be glad to leve under the gret Turk to haf justice.

Ye wryt that the kyng's grace ther has wryttyn twyce to Roym agains Glasgw, but I had lever he had wrytyn agains the bishop of Murray; and yet needlyngs he man (must) wryt against hym tyl (to) have all his promotion reversyt, lyk as at mair length the quene's grace hes wrytten to the kyng her

broder thereupon. Master Adam, brodyr, forget not to solyst (solicit) and convoy weill my promotion to Dunkelden, as ye luf me; for I haf gevyn the money quhar ye bad me. Lat see how ye can convoy syk a mater for your friends; and I sall do mekill bot I sall spek with you in London or Pasch, for I have many devyses that I wald fayn enclose to kyng thar, quhilks I wyl not wryt. And gif it be possybill that ther may be found ony tyme to perform the kyngis pleasure and desyr, as ye haf wrytyn with Sir James (Inglis), I saldo my devor and full best to convoy that matter at all punets. Bot I kan not hastely beleif as yit quhow it may be less (unless) than the kyng wald cum hymself in this realm. *And then mycht he do quhat him lykit, for he wald lytell nor na resystance, and be the soverain.*

I haf gud hope, and is in convoying a mater of discord among our party adversary, on six ways that I trust ye sall heyr quhow this promocioun now impetrat be yon dysseitful byshop of Murray sall turn to our weill, and cause bayt (both) hym and yon duke cum in evill conceit over all this realm, quhilk man (must) always redound to our profyte and sall purches us ma (more) frends.

GAVYN DOUGLAS TO LORD DACRE.

21st January, 1515.

My Lorde,—I commende me to your L. in my mast harty wyss. And as towart ye kyngis desyre and instructionnes sende to ye quenys grace with Sehir James Inglys, her hienes hes wrytyn heyr with answer to the kyng hyr broder, and to your L., and in sum part as I howth (could) thynk efter my lytell wyt. I haf wrytyn tyll master Adam to be shawyn to your L., and to ye kyngis grace thare, quhom seyn he sall cum to his presens, and be ye suyr the quenys grace, my lordes and me all wald be als glad to fulfill ye kyngis desyr gif it war to us possybill as with hande or mynde may be devysit, and kan not so mekyll as we beyn addettyn for our part rendyr thanks to his hienes therof, and not the les of a (one) thynge he salbe suyr that our servys sal be hys before all other man levynge, our allegens to our soveran lord hys nevo alanelry exceppt.

My lord, ye sall knew thar is ane byshop latly deid in yis lande callyt ye byschop of Dunkell, and for als mekyll as yir other benefyces be now in pley, and debait be yis byshop of Murray, therefore ye quenys grace my soverane lady hes wrytyn hyr especiall wrytyngs to ye papes halynes for my promotioune thereto, and ferthar hes by yir hyr wrytingis, solyst ye kyngis grace hyr broder to wryt and lawbor effectiously to ye samyn effect. Quharefor I beseyk your lordship, y^t ye sayd letters myght be conveyt w^t diligence, and gyf your gude assistans and commendatioun to ye kyng for me, sen our houssys ar of ye auld allyat and mekyll togydder aquintans and kyndnes hes beyn betwyx yam of lang tyme as approvyt weyll be my grundsyr at ye sege of Nawart, and I beleif that ay mayr and mayr tendyrnes and amyte sal daly incres among yam. Gude it war ye suffyrryt no other letters to haf passage throw ye realm but syk as salbe sende fra ye queyn, the caus quhy I haf wrytyn to maister Adam. And gif there be ony stede or servys or plessour I may do to your L., I sal at commandm^t. as knawys God quba haf your L. in hys blessyt keipyng.

At Perth ye xxi day of Január, with hand of yo^r cousyng, and at all hys power, your

GAVYN,
Postulat of Arbrot.

To my Lord Dacres gude lordschip.

POSTSCRIPT OF LETTER OF ADAM WILLIAMSON TO GAVYN DOUGLAS.

My lord Dacres has delyverit to Sir James (Inglis) III. lettres which war direct to fals Panter, ye secretary, wherein yee may see yat Murray has gottyn ye gift of all ye best benefices of Scotland. Yff ye quene folow ye kingis counsell as I haif wrytten, Murray shall be prevyt a tratour, and yee shall have what benefices yt. ye desyre in Scotland.

My lord, evyn now wils I was writyng ys copy, thynking to have writtyn it agyn *in mundo*, ther cam a post to ye lord Dacre, and tuyk hym a letter from the consell, wiche shew yt. ye kyng off Frans is deid, and yt. ye duke is on ye sei; wherfore it is nedful to mak hast iff ye thynk to save ye quene and her children, my lord of Angus and your frends.

Ye xx day off Januarie (1515).

II.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HENRY VIII. AND POPE LEO X., IN RELATION
TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND, A.D. 1513-14.

(From "Monumenta Britannica ex Autographis Romanorum Pontificum De-
prompta," vol. xxxvii., British Museum.)*

LETTER OF POPE LEO X. TO HENRY VIII.—SEPT. 20, 1513.

Carissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Nostra, dilectique filii nostri Christophori (Bainbridge, Archbishop of York), Cardinalis Angliae, rerum tuæ majestatis studiosissimi, sententia, dilectus filius Balthasar (Stuart) notarius et secretarius noster idoneus visus est, qui ad carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Jacobum Scotorum regem illustrem, in hac rerum et temporis varietate, nuntius et orator mitteretur, potissimum qui, ut arma inter vos cessent, nostra adhibita auctoritate, effici curet, ut quandoque pacatis regum et principum Christianorum animis, sanctissima et pernecessaria expeditio contra perfidos Turcos, Christiani nominis hostes, sumi posset; prout eadem majestas tua ex eodem Balthasare nobis probato et caro valde, quique praeteritarum et praesentium rerum scientiam habet non mediocrem, uberius intelliget. Majestatem igitur tuam hortamur in Domino ac paterne requirimus, ut pro nostra et apostolicæ sedis reverentia, eundem Balthasarem non solum attentius audire, et in quæ nostro nomine referat, plene credere, verum etiam, quo tuto in Scotiam per regnum atque dominia majestati tuæ subjecta exequitur sibi per nos commissa se conferre possit, oportunum salvum conductum concedere sine ulla mora aut excusatione velit, prout eandem majestatem tuam non dubitamus esse facturam. Nihil enim Balthasar ipse curaturus est, quod ad reipublicæ Christianæ quietem, religionisque nostræ incrementum decusque, et commodum majestatis ipsius tuæ non per-

* These documents are called the "Vatican Papers." The collection consists of thirty-five bundles, which were transcribed under the direction of the Abbate Marini Archivista of Pope Leo XII., by the permission of his Holiness, which was obtained in 1826 by Mr. William Hamilton (who had been, previously to that date, Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Department), were deposited in 1829 in the State Paper Office, and from thence in 1843 and 1845 removed by the order of the Secretary of State to the British Museum, where they now remain.

tineat.—Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die 20 Septembris, 1513, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

P. BEMBRIS.

Superscribitur—Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico, Angliæ regi illustri.

HENRY VIII. TO POPE LEO X., WRITTEN SHORTLY AFTER THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

Sanctissimo clementissimo d^{no} nostro Papæ.

Beatissime pater, post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Tantum abest ut prospera nobis contingere ac falso a quoquam jactari velimus, quemadmodum nostros communes hostes nonnunquam facere intelleximus, quod nostras et secundas res quas summa Dei erga nos benignitas continuo quodam cursu nobis largiter subministrat, parce potius quam magnifice, et seriuscole quam propere, ad vestram sanctitatem scribere amemus. Ut nuper de victoria qua nostri adversus Scotos et pugnatrorum numero et tormentorum multitudine omniq[ue] alio bellico apparatu, hostibus longe inferiores, nobis absentibus, duce illo comite Surrei, in nostro regno Angliæ, parvo suo incommodo, ac nemine qui modo alicujus nominis esset amiso, Dei ope nunquam manifestius se ostendente, sunt potiti, Scotis ad xii millia, cum ipso rege et omni Scotica nobilitate trucidatis. Quæ tamen, quamquam ordine ac sigillatim ut gesta fuerant non recte cognoveramus, quum paucissimis vestræ sanctitati superioribus diebus significavimus. Nunc vero omnem eam rem, quam multorum jam litteris exactissime percepimus, ad reverendissimum D. Cardinalem Eboracensem, et D. Episcopum Wigorniensem, Nostros apud vestram sanctitatem oratores, scripsimus; ut si aliquando vestre sanct. a suis sacratissimis occupationibus vacaverit, manifesto exemplo perspicere queat, Deum optimum maximum pro meliore demum causa pugnare, et sancti fœderis omnisque humanitatis violatores ac istius sanctæ sedis contemptores merita ad extreum vindicta insectari. Quanta autem nobis esset cum dicto Scotorum rege quam affinitatis tam fœderis necessitudo, latere vestram sanct. non putamus. Praeterea fidem quoque sæpe ab eo accepimus debitam nobiscum amicitiam et conjunctionem servaturum. Cui tamen nos ita semper credidimus ut tam ad pacem quam ad bellum cum eo nunquam non fuerimus parati. Et fortassis ipse in fide totiens nobis data permanisset, nisi Galli ingentibus pollicitationibus, multis etiam aureorum millibus, tormentis omnis generis neque non armis et viris ad ipsum missis, humana et divina jura eum calcare, et captata nostræ absentiæ occasione, quasi ex insidiis bellum, sibi et suis exitiale mox futurum, in nos movere coegissent; quo sane ingente calamitate regnum suum affixit, quod quidem nos, utpote de nobis nostrisque majoribus pessima semper meritum, et quieti inimicum, haud quaquam hunc quiescere patiemur, sed victoram Deo signifero prosequemur, licet quidam qui ex omnibus Scotorum primoribus, quum fuga mature sibi consuluit, unus remansit, inducias submisso a nobis petierit, quas ei negavimus.

Then follows some account of the state of the war in France, after which the letter proceeds thus:—

‘Porro, instante bruma quum nec bellare nec tanto nostro exercitu in his locis ob hiemis incommoda ac nuditatem ullo modo esse possimus, rursusque hoc medio tempore domi res Scoticas plurimum urgere nos facile posse existimemus, communi et conventu totius nostri regni Angliæ quem ad proximas

kalendas Novembris indiximus præsentiam nostram maxime exigente, in idem nostrum regnum, Deo bene juvante, redire ac primo quoque tempore majore exercitu hoc omnino reverti, et hanc expeditionem totis viribus continuare decrevimus. Quare firmo huic urbi interius exteriusque præsidio relecto, cras Angliam versus iter capere constituimus, quo, ubi Dei benignitate sospitis pervenerimus, de incolumi nostro reditu, et si quæ alia nobis occurrent vestre sanctitati scribemus, quam etiam atque etiam rogamus, ut de supra dictis non magis nostris quam totius Christianæ reipublicæ quo potissime nostras cogitationes intendimus secundis rebus, omnipotente Deo duce et imperatore nostro, gratias immensas agat. Ad hæc, beatissime pater, quum dictus Scotorum rex nonnulla ab ista sancta sede, et ad regni nostri Angliæ prelatorum haud exiguum prejudicium et, ut vere dicamus, injuriam, extorsit, ea omnia ut vestra sanctitas, pro singulari sua equitate, ad pristinum statum nunc redigere velit oramus: ac in primis, ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ quæ non nisi ante paucos annos metropolitanam fuit facta, et novissimus archiepiscopus qui in supradicta pugna fuit peremptus ejus dignitatis secundus tantummodo erat. Alii vero ejus predecessores suffragani nostri Archiepiscopi Eboracensis semper fuerunt. Proinde vestræ sanctitati supplicamus ut dictam ecclesiam S. Andreæ, ad metropolitanum honorem, per manifestam sicuti diximus Archiepiscopi Eboracensis injuriam evectam, rursus ad antiquum gradum—hoc est ad episcopalem solum dignitatem reducat—et eadem quoque ratione prioratum de Coldingham, antea semper ecclesiæ Dunelmensis prioratu annexum et unitum, ac non multos post annos ab eo disjunctum et divisum postremoque in commendam dicto archiepiscopo S. Andreæ concessum, vestra beatitudo proprio ipsis corpori, videlicet, prioratu Dunelmensi restituere et denuo unire dignetur. Præterea, quia propter res Scoticas permultum nostra interest, qui impresentia ad episcopatus in regno Scotiæ per necem quam certo dolemus eorum presulum quos in supradicta pugna armatos absque ullo conspicuo sacerdotali habitu occisos fuisse, vestra sanctitas intelliget nunc vacantes promoveantur. Ideoque a V. Sanct. magnopere petimus ut dictarum ecclesiæ tam St. Andreæ, quam aliarum in dicto regno Scotiæ vacantium provisioni tantisper velit supersedere, donec ei nostrum super hac re animum declaraverimus, quod brevi sumus facturi.

‘ Restat etiam ut cum vest. sanctis. venia dicti Scotorum regis (qui multis modis excommunicatus occubuit) cadaver loco quidem honesto sed minime sacro haec tenus asservatum ad nostram urbem Londinum deferri et in templum divi Pauli pro regia dignitate sepeliri curare nobis licet. Hoc enim ad nostrum honorem non parum pertinere arbitramur. Quocirca vest. sancto. rogamus ut dictam veniam nobis concedere et hanc facultatem D^{no}. Episcop^o. Londinensi per suum breve committere non gravetur.

‘ In quibus omnibus non dubitamus vestram beatitudinem pro studiosissimo ac indulgentissimo suo in nos animo nobis gratificaturam, quam felicissimam ac longævam Altissimus conservet. Ex urbe nostro Tornaco, xii Oct. 1513. E. V. S^{ts}. Devot. S. atque obsequentissimus filius, D. G. Rex F. A^e. ac D^s. Hiberniæ.’

HENRICUS.’

HENRY VIII. TO LEO X.

28th January, 1514.

Beatissime pater, post humillimam commendationem ac devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Certiores facti sumus serenissimam dominam reginam Scotiæ sororem nostram carissimam, vestræ sanctitati diligentissime nuper commendasse venerabilem virum D. Gauuinum Douglas, suppliciterque

rogasse ut eum ad archiepiscopatum Sancti Andreæ ac Metropolitanam, ac primariam totius regni Scotiæ sedem evehere ac promovere dignetur juxta antiqua privilegia eidem regno Scotiæ a vestre sanctitatis predecessoribus induita, de præficiendis tantummodo his qui a Scotorum principibus pro tempore existentibus, ad vacantes ecclesias fuerint commendati. Quum vero nos probe sciamus ejusdem D. Gauuini præclaram non generis solum sed etiam animi nobilitatem, eminentem videlicet doctrinam, prudentiæ, modestiæ atque egregiæ probitati conjunctam; et quantopere sit communis boni studiosus, dignum eum duximus, quem ut nos vestræ sanctitati accuratissime commendaremus. Ideoque vehementer eam rogamus ut, divina sua prudenter, bonam aliquam rationem invenire dignetur, qua idem Gauuinus ad prædictam metropolitanensem ecclesiam perveniat ipsique præficiatur; atque ita vestra beatitudo hominem meritissimum ornabit, primatumque ecclesiæ egregie consulet, et in pacis concordiaæque fundamentis magnum lapidem plane angularem constituet, tum rem nobis summopere gratam efficiet. De episcopo autem Moraviensi præterquam quod est dicto Gauino natura ac moribus omnino diversis, pro certo intelligimus eum ad supradictum archiepiscopatum Sancti Andreæ admissum nunquam iri. Quare ingenitæ vestræ beatitudini pietatis et instituti sui præclarissimi de universalis concordia operis esse arbitramur, non modo controversiarum semina et causas quæ inter regna et regiones intercedunt penitus tollere, sed ab ipsis quoque singulis regnis ac regionibus discordias prohibere, innatumque forte lolium ac zizaniam crescere non sinere, sed radicibus potius extirpare, quo nihil potest esse aut Deo altissimo acceptius, aut summae reipublicæ utilius, aut vestræ sanctitati gloriiosius, quæ felicissime ac diutissime valeat.

Ex palatio nostro Grenivici die xxviii Januarii, MDXIII.

E. V. St^{is}. Devotissimus ac obsequentissimus filius Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ ac Dominus Hiberniæ.

HENRICUS.

HENRY VIII. TO POPE LEO X.

7th May, 1514.

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Defendere atque augere istius sanctæ sedis dignitatem, non ad nos magis quam ad quencunque Christianum principem pertinere antea putavimus. Nunc vero postquam omnibus quibus potuimus officiis eam pro virili fuiimus tutati, peculiarius quoddam studium nobis accessisse videtur, ut et illam et nostra pariter in eam officia obnixe conservemus; idecque non facile dictu nobis est quam de ejusdem sedis honore, majestate, et amplitudine facti simus solliciti, quibus profecto nihilominus cura studemus quam quæ summopere nobis sunt cordi. Quamobrem cum reverendus in Christo pater D. Episcopus Theatinus vestræ sanctitatis dignissimus apud nos orator et una cum eo Joannes Baptista Reverendi D^mi Cardinalis Cibo vestræ sanctitatis secundum carnem nepotis procurator, homo, ut quidem pro se fert, rerum peritus, circumspectus ac diligens, nobis enarrasset quanto vestræ sanctitatis contemptu atque contumelia non idem solum Johannes Baptista sed ipse etiam D. Baltassar vestræ sanctitatis orator ab ingressu Scotiæ turpibus minis deterriti prohibitiue fuerunt, et quod non nisi indecoris demum conditionibus idem D. Baltassar fuit admissus. Cujus rei indignitate sane quam vehementer sumus commoti, atque eo gravius id tulimus, quod Scotti ista, suis afflictis rebus, nec ullius rei quam miseræ fiducia, committere non videntur, quæ nulla alia Christiana quamvis florentissima natio auderet cogitare. Nam quid a Christiano nomine magis diversum quam ejus nuncios cum igno-

minia repellere, quem verum certumque Domini nostri Jesu Christi in terris vicarium confiteri sit necesse. Quid, quod hoc facinus non ab agrestibus ferisque illis, sic enim nominant, Scotis perpetratum fuisse intelleximus, sed ab ipsis episcopis et his qui sanctissimo jurejurando isti sanctæ sedi sunt adstricti, ut facile vestra sanctitas queat judicare quale sit Scoticum vulgus et qua erga vestram sanctitatem dictamque sanctam sedem reverentia quum episcopi tam insigniter utrumque contemnunt.

Hæc vero quamquam non dubitemus vestram sanctitatem quum ex dictis suis oratoribus, tum ex eodem Jo. Baptista coram uberiori omnia intellecturam, voluimus tamen et nos non tam hoc factum quam ingentem nostram de eo molestiam vestræ beatitudini significare. Et quum non satis esse arbitramur injuriam vestræ sanctitati et dictæ sedi illatam solum dolere, proinde boni etiam utriusque filii operam pollicemur si eam vestra sanctitas in hoc usui sibi esse posse existimaverit, quod si velit nos suam et ejusdem sedis auctoritatem ac dignitatem adversus Scotos armis asserere eorumque temeritatem retundere, et ad officium reducere, nec tam impiam audaciam impunitam relinquere, vestra beatitudo negocium hoc, ex juris, ut mos est, formula nobis dare et committere dignetur, nosque in hoc juxta ac in aliis omnibus quæ ipsa nobis mandaverit, et quemadmodum adversus Gallos effecimus, ita etiam contra Scotos studium et operam nostram vestræ beatitudini comprobare nitemur, quippe in obsequendo vestræ sanctitati istaque sancta sede tuenda nostram immo Dei gloriam potissimum collocaverimus.

Ex palatio nostro Grenivici die viii Maii, MDXIII.

HENRICUS.

III.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JAMES INGLIS (CHAPLAIN AND SECRETARY TO QUEEN DOWAGER MARGARET), DR. MAGNUS, AND LORD DACRE, IN RELATION TO SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS—A.D. 1514—1515.

LETTER OF SIR JAMES INGLIS (CHAPLAIN) TO LORD DACRE.

(*Cottonian MSS., Caligula, B. x. 24.*)

22nd January, 1515.

Pleiss it your L. to know that the 21 day of January I delivered my credence in Sanct Johnstown, and was delivert agayn the xxii day. The quene's grace, my L. of Angus, and ye apostolate (the postulate of Arbroath, Gavyn Douglas) war ryght gladd of your desire—whowbeit yai thocht it unpossible to perform, for it was spokin ower all the countre incontinent efter my departure that I had tane the king and brocht hym in Ingland, and that the quene and hyr husband war salit out of Sanct Johnstown; wharfore grete serche was made incontinent, and when all was found of nane avale thai said it was the quenes purpose to do it. Thar is na sclauderous wordes punyshit in this countre; ilk man says what yai wyll without blame. The servandis are checkmate with the masteris. The vylest boy must know his maisters counsele. Thai are sa full of talk, and sa inquisytyf of tythingis, that thai ymagyne thinges quhilk was never thocht. The quene has sent me to Sterlinge, to tarry yare for a season. The lordis hath ordaint a parliament. Ye erles of Huntlee

and Marchall has tane her part. Many of her adversaries laboris for her kyndnes, and all for y^e resistans of y^e bishop of Murray. Thai had tydyngis of hym here lang or I com by a shyp. I can devys na way possible of y^e mater that your L. speck to (me. Thair are) sa mony ridars nyght and day ower all ye countre, than may na man pass secretly unrobbet or slayn. The quene taks (mekill thocht) for expenss. I dout she sall fall in despar or melançoly for lak of hir mysteris. The comon voice goes that the lords will accord upon sum reformacioun at this parliament, yf the Duke cum not or yan; and yf he cummis y^e quene hes nane other refuge bot Sanct Johnstown or Sterling till other (help) cums, &c. &c.—At Perth, y^e xxii day of January.

SIR JAMES INGLIS TO ADAM WILLIAMSON.

(Cottonian MSS., *Caligula, B.*)

22nd January, 1515.

Master Adam, I commend me hertly unto you, and I delivered my instructions to y^e quene in Perth, y^e xxi day of Januarie. I couth mak na hastier expeditione, y^e watters were sa grete. The quene, my lord of Anguss and Arbrot were rycht gladd of y^e kyndly desyre of the kyng and his counsell. I schawit yam y^e grete lufe and affection y^t y^e kyng and his said counsell hadde to yam, and whow hartfully I was recyved and entreited with my lord Dacres and master Magnus, wth mony other swasions to entrete yam to accomplish yar desyn, quhilk nedeth not to be rehersed, ffor yai war more willinge to do it na I was to desyre it, yff possibilities mycht have bene hadd to perform it. The common voice was, efter my departyng, y^t I was gane (to) Ingland, and hadd stollen away y^e kyng, and y^t the quene and my L. of Angus war departit out of Sanct Johnstown by water unto Ingland. Ye knew y^e use of yⁱs countre. Every man speke quhat he will without blame; yere is na sclauder punished; y^e man hath ma wordes na y^e master, and will not be content except he ken his masters counsell. Yare is na ordir amang us. Nane of God's preecepts are kepit except y^e first, and yat full ill. It is unpossible to bring yⁱs matter to effect y^t we spake off, becaus yare is sic watch or all y^e countre—ridars day and nyght robbing and slaying, y^t na man may pass between townys wout yere be a grete company togidder. Yare is sic inundacionis of watteris y^t all yis cunter is o'flowing. On Thursday, ye xi day of January, ye lord Hamylton set vi hundred men with gons and artilery in way, as my lord of Anguss cum fra Glasgo fra the erl of Lennox to sla hym, he not beyng advertiset yarof, bot be a scurriour of the L. Hamyltons, quhilk ane of my L. of Anguss happynet to tak, els he hadd fallen in hys enemy's hand unwitting. Then ye lord Hamylton sende for ye lord Chamerlaine, Cassels, and Sempell, with uthurs to cum to Lanrik, and wald have seget ye erl of Anguss in ye castell of Cowtheter, bot ye Chamerlain was aganys yt purposs. The erle of Lennox hes tane Dumbarton, to quhaes behufe I knew not. The maister of Kilmawres, with help of the erl of Lenox, has enteret in Kilwynning agane, and put out ye Lord Mongumery, with slachter and hurt on bayth ye sides. Every man tak up abbacyis yt may lest; yai tarry not quhill benefices be vacand. Yai tak yam or yai fall, for yai tyne ye virtue yf yai tuiche ground. I (tr)ow yt all ye lords will keip togidder agane ye bischop of Murray—ye duke will be ye werr resvit yf he tak hys part. I am comming to Stirling to tak hede of all things. Ye lord Drummond has causit ye erles Huntlie and Merschall to tak the quene's part. Yar is a parliament ordanit be ye quene and her lords ye xii day of Marche—ye quene is sa cumbered with (y—) yt it is petie to se

her; she laikes money quhilk causes her to grete thocht. The byshop of Dunkell is dede, and the erl of Athol's broder hes entrit in be fors. The quene considers yt all uther benefices are in pley, tharfore she hes gewin it to ye apostolate, and tharupon direct her wrytings to ye Pape. Cambuskenneth was tane be sir Ryngane Seton, bot my L. Erskin and ye secretar (Panther) has put hym out agane. All frends fare wele. Your sister and bath her sons are in gud helth. Ye apostolate has gefin iiiii crowns off wet (*sic*) quhar ye badd hymn. Ryngane talde me yt Grame promittet hym ye crowns, (bot) he has not gotten it; quharfore I rep'pet Grame, and he said he deliveret it to your youngest sister. Gif it be sa I wate (not) giff ye sende ony letters, send yam to Ryngane or to George Dempster in Stirling, saying, yt yai com fra my (fader) and commend my service to Mr. Magnus, and shaw to my lord yt I am our ferr in his lordshippis comon (or canon), bot he sall hafe my service be ye grace of Good. Quhe hafe you in keping.—At Perth, ye xx day of January.—Tuus

ENGLISH.

DR. MAGNUS TO WOLSEY.

(State Paper Office—*the Wolsey Papers.*)

Kirkoswald, 15th March (1515?)

It is openly spoken that the Duke of Albany is setting forward into Scotland. The Scottis are in continual trouble and busyness amonges thaymselves, dayly fighting, kylling, and robbing, so that the Scottish marches make their raides into thayre own realm as and it were into a land of ward against them. And as for abbots and priors passe by nane ordinary process, bot by the micht, strength, and power of their frends and kinsmen temporal, in all their elections, and depose them in divers places after the same manner. Other news have we none here, but that ane Sandy Jarden is commen from out of France into Scotland, and avaunceth much the coming thider of the Duke of Albany.

LORD DACRE TO GAVYN DOUGLAS.

(State Paper Office, contemporary copy of original.)

Kirkoswald, 2nd July (1515?)

My lord and cousin,—I commend me unto you in full hertie manner. Ascertayning you that this day I haif reeeyved a pacquet of letters from the kingis highnes my soverane lord by post, wherein emonges oder there is two breves, with the copie of them, directed by the pope's holines, the an to youe and the oder to the archbishop of Sainct Andrews, and also a little pacquet sent to your lordship by your factour in the courte of Rome—with a letter from Mr. Adam Williamson, which I send unto your lordship with my servaint this berer.

My Lord, I understand by suche letters as is come to me that the pope's holines, at the instant request and greate laubur of the queen's letters, your soverane lady, sent unto his holines, and also at the request of the king's grace, my soverane lord's writing hath electe you bishop of Dunkell. My said soverane lord, for the pleasure of the queen his said sister, and also for the grete wisdom, faithful counsale, and stedfastness, that he findeth ye give beres and awe unto the said quene, with duetie of allegiance to the king your maister, and his broder, my soverane lord's nephews, hath obtayned the said Bishop-

rick to you, trusting that your wisdom will induce and counsale the said quene and your nephew her husband, to be sure of the said king and his broder, and not to departe with them to ony oder handes without the hale assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, seeing what possibility they stand in.

My lord, I understande by the copie of the two breves that the effect of the ane sent unto the archbishop of Sanct Andrews is a speciaill revocacion of such auctorite as the pope's holines committed to hym, and also of the king's legacie, which his holines hath fully remit unto you to be executed and done, which shall sounde and growe to your honour and proufit, and so my said soverane lord intendeth and is well mynded towards you. Wherfor I heartily desire and pray you to deliver, or cause to be delivered, by a substancial person afore a notary and record, the breve to the said archbishop, who is fled out of Flandres, and thought he is kept secret in Scotland; and upon the delivering thereof to make certificate accordingly. My lord, richt joyous and glad I am of your promocion and help, as I am bounde to be for the grete kyndnes and entire favour that hath been betwixt our antecessours and blood in tymes past, which sall never fail on my partie, &c.

LORD DACRE TO GAVYN DOUGLAS.

(*State Paper Office.*)

[After statements to the same effect as in the preceding letter (of which this was intended to be a duplicate), Dacre proceeds as follows:—]

Abbey of Hume, 6th July.

The effect of the one brief sent to the said archbishop was, that the pope's holines had revokt *all auctorities* granted by him to the said archbishop, and also the king's legacy, charging him not to meddle nor intromit with no part of them.

And as my said servant and the notary were coming towards the quene and you on Wednesday, in the dawyng at Moffett, Sir Alexander Jardain and Thom Moffett Larde of Knok toke them and thare wrytyngs, and had them to the Lord Chamberlayne, and fro hym Sir Alexander toke all the writings and had them, with the notary and my servant, to the Duke.

Note.—From a letter of Dacre to the Privy Council of 4th Aug. (1515?) it appears that Lord Home was then Chamberlain of Scotland, and that he was ‘fast and sure upon the quene's party, for he sees that the Duke of Albany is sett to have the children in his own hands and keping, which is expresselye for their utter destruction.’

LORD DACRE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

(*State-Paper Office—Border Papers.*)

Carlisle, 14 July [1515].

My Lordis,—Aftur mooste humble and due recommendation had unto your good lordshippis, pleas the same to knowe that I received a pacquet of letters from you by pooste the 2^{de} daye of this present moneth, and by my letter therein conteigned I perceive that the kingges commandment and yours is that I shuld with all convenient diligence not onoly send the pope's two briefes and therre coopies, with a pacquet of letters to the abbot of Arbroothe,

elect of Dunkell, and with the same I shuld wrete unto hym, shewing howe the kingges grace hath bene soo good lord unto hym to opteyn for hym the said bisshopricke of Dunkeld, bot also yf I couthe fynde the mean that at the tyme of delyvere of the said briefes to the said elect there might be present a notary whiche wold testifie the same delyveryng, and therupon make an instrument in due fourme.

My lordis, because I couthe not be in suretie to haif a Scottis notary redy at the delyvere of the said brefes, I sent the saide brefes and pacquett with a servaunt of myn ownne, and thereupon made letters to the quene of Scottes and the elect of Dunkeld, and send them with the common notary of the marchies, whiche canne perfityle speke and undrestand Frenche, to the intent he shuld see the delyverie of the said brefes, the copies of whiche letters I send unto your lordshippes herein closed.

And as they were riding at Moffett, 36 myles within Scotland on Weddinsday, in the mornyng, the 4th daye of this moneth, Sir Alexander Geardin (Jardine), knight, toke the seid notary and letters; and because they mentioned of the same brefes which my servaunt had in keping, the same Sir Alexander toke the brefes from my servaunt, and had the notary and letters, with the brefes and pacquet, to the lord chamberlayn, beyng wardain, and from hym to the duke of Albany, in Edinburghe, and there the said notary sawe the saime brefes and writings in the dukis haunds. Of whome he desired that aither the said brefes and writings were gevin to hym that he might deliver them according to there superscriptions, or els that it wold like his lordship to cause them be delivered accordingly for his discharge, seyng that he came upon the poope's message. The said duke sent the quene hir letter unopynned, and read the other letters to the counsale openly, and thenne delivered as well the poope's brefes as pacquett unto the custodie of Maister Gawan Dunbarris haundes, beyng clerk of the counsaill and kepar of the register, to be furthecommyngh whenne as they be called for.

And as sone as it came to my knowlege that the notary and my servaunt were arrested, I made another letter to the seid elect, reciting the effect of my formour letters as well sent to the quene as hym, with the popes brefes, whiche letter was delivered to the same electis haundes with all celerite (the copie of whiche letter I in like wise send unto your lordshippes); and anon efter, the same duke sent for the elect, and examined him in the presence of the counsale wheder he made laubor to the poope's holiness and the kinggs highnes, our soveraine lord, for the said bisshopricke or not, or howe durst he be soo bold as to laubor therefor without licence of the king of Scottes, or governour of Scotland in his nonage. Who annswered that he made never laubor therefor, and what laubor as the quene his souverane lady made for his promotioun, as tutrice and governour to the king hir sonne, he knewe not. Wherupon the duke, beyng frett with ire and malice, committed hym to warde in the castell of Edinburghe, wheras he yit remaynis; and thenne suffered the saide notary and my servaunt to departe at ther libertes on Thurisday last past, after they had bene kept 8 daies in warde.

My lordes, seyng the premisses come not to soo good spede as the kyng's highness entended they should haif done, there is noo man living more sory for it thenne I am, wherin I did my best diligence for the spede and performance of your commandmentes, as our Lord God knowes. Wherfore I beseche your good lorshippes to have me excused, for had not bene the sending of the notary, whiche was taken as a straungier in Scotland, I couthe haife conveyed the writings to the haundes of the said elect without daungier.

For newes, your lordshippes shall know that I am advertised be myne espies out of Scotland that the bisshop of Murray hath not only opteyned the arch-

bishopricke of Sanctandros, and is come home in Scotland, but also the duke has commanded hym to warde to remaigne in the priory of Pettenwene, within eght myle whar he laundyd, and no nerer to come to the courte ne counsaile. It is thought that he shalbe kept in strater warde unto the season as he resigns the said archibusshopricke to the use of a bastard sone of the late king of Scottes, whichie came home in compayne with the said duke.

The lord Drommond, captain of the castell of Streveling, was sent for be the duke to appear afore hym, upon his allegiance, whiche at his commyng was accused for the striking of an harrolde, and also that he with other lordes shuld have bene of counsaile to have made the king's grace, our maister, protectour of Scotland, and delyvered the young king to his haundis. And therupon he was committe to warde on Weddinsday last past, and shall abyde assise in Edinburgh upon Monday next commyng.

I assure your lordshippes that the quene of Scottes canne gitt noo noble man to be capten of Streveling, ne that will take the charge of keping of the younge king and his broder, for every man refuses her and gifffes them to the duke, which I fere and canne see no remedy, but in conclusion the king and his broder will come and be delivered to the dukes haundes to their utter destruction by all likelioode, and as I am credubly ascertaigned be my secrete espiel.

I trust that at the breking up of ther parliament to gitt knowledge of ther determinaciones, and what ordour shalbe taken emonges them, and therof I shall advertise youe with all spedē and diligencē.

My lordes, if suche letters as the quene of Scottes haif sent with the poope's legate which hath been in Scotland this yere, passed as well to the king's highnes, the French quene, his and hir sister, as to divers other of you my lords of the king's counsail, to be mean and sollicitous to his highnes for hir help, she is right desirous to haif aunswer again. Albeit whenne she might have holpen herself and husbande with his freyndes, and also meanes founde and devised for the suretie of them and hir childer, she regarded it littell, whiche she nowe sore repentis, making great lamentatioun and weping daily for the same. She is great with childe. It is thought by hir freyndis that thorowe the anguyse of the premisses she wolbe in great jopardie of her lyfe, remembering the daungier that her husbande, uncle, and his graundfader standis in at this tyme as the Holy Trinity knowes, who kepe your good lordshippes.

At Karlisle, the 14 daye of July,
Yours at commandment,

THOMAS DACRE.

To my lordis of the kingis most honorable counsale.

IV.

LETTERS OF GAVYN DOUGLAS, BISHOP OF DUNKELD, TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

The following letters have been preserved partly in the Cottonian Library, and partly in the State Paper Office.

I.—GAVYN DOUGLAS TO WOLSEY.

(*State-Paper Office.*)

Dec. 24, 1520.

My lord, in all humble and dew maneyre I recommend my lawfull servyce unto your grace ; quham pleisyt knaw I am cummyn in yis realm sende from my lord Erll of Anguss, other lords of Scotlande and grete personagis to ye kyngis hyenes apon certan neydful dyrectiounes, and specially concernyng ye weylfare and surte of his derrest nevo (nephew) the kyng my soverane. And gif I quhilk am onknawyn with his magesty durst haf presument to haf wrytyn onto ye samyn I wald gladly, beseykyng your grace to support me in that behalfe; and yat it mot playss you to shaw me in quhat place and quhat tyme I sall cum to your grace, and sa furth onto ye kyngis hienes ; and I salbe verre glad to awayt apoun your commandis. And gif it had not beyn for this the fest of Cryste's natyvite and alss that I am sumpt by the way, I suld haf cummyn strecth to your grace ; beseykyng elykwyss the samyn to pardon this my hamly wrytyng, and to sende ansuer tharof at your plassor ; and ye blyssit lord preserve your grace in lang and eternall prosperite.

At Waltain Cross, this Crystymas evyn,

By the hande of

Your chaplain with his lawfull servyce,

GAWYN, bishop of Dunkeld.

To my lorde Cardinall's grace.

II.—SAME TO SAME.

(*State-Paper Office.*)

Dec. 31, 1521.

Pleiss youre grace,—Maister galtere, commendator of the abbay of glenluse and secretar to the duke of Albany, callit governor of Scotland, is cummin to Londoun, and with him Ross, herald, and ane nother pursavant callit Carrik, quhilk is ane franch man borne, and I traist is to pass to france and with thame thre uther servandis. Quhairfore I beseyk your grace gif it war youre plessor that I mycht haif presence of the kyngis hienes als sone as yai. And gif I mycht knaw ony of thair directiouonis, peradventure I suld informe the kingis hienes and your grace of sik thingis as ye wald think necessair to mak answer to thair peticiounis and desyris. Farther, mot pleiss your grace to remembryr my lytill materis at Rome, and in that behalfe to geif credence to this berar, my familiar chaplain and cousyng, with quhom your grace wald

adverteiss me at youre plessr what ye will commande. And the haly Trinite
presserse your grace eternaly.

At Lundoun, the new yeris evin,
Subscrivit with the hande of
Your humble servitour,
CHAPLAIN OF DUNKELD.

III.—SAME TO SAME.

(Cottonian Library—*Caligula.*)

January 1, 1522.

Pleiss your grace, my chaiplane, quhilk was yesterday at your presence, shew
me yat Galtere, this secretar of the duke of Albanyis, has said to youre grace
that I promyst not to cum within this realm, and therefore of his maister's
behalf your grace to withhold me heyre, and lat me pass na farther.
My lord, I beleif your hye wisdome will not geif credence sa lichtlye against
me, and alanelrie to the duke of Albany, or any of his servandis, quhilkis is
capitalle and dedelie inimye to me and all my houss. And thairfor it is na
wounder albeyt he say sik thingis for my harm, quhilk divers tynes and yet
daylie baith sayis and dois all that he may or can ymagyn to my destruccioune
and exterminatioun of all my kyn. And as I sall ansuer to god and your
grace, the contrare of it he sayis is playn varite; for baith be messenger and
write I declareret him playnlie I wald pass thro this realm and na uther way,
and gart shew him quhat day I was appoyntit to enter in ye ground of Ingland,
the quhilk I kepit trewly. And this youre grace may consider, quhat favour
he beris to me, or how I suld be intretit gif I war in Scotlande under his sub-
jeccioun, or yet gif I pass to france or ony uther part quhair he may sollist
ony thing, quhen he is sa bald within this realm, quhairin I traist he has lyttill
credence, as to sollyst your grace in my contrare, albeyt ye haif grantit me the
king's hienes sauf-conduct, the quhilk I traist I haif not forfeit, nor yet your
grace will suffer be brokyn. And besyde this, the mater is petiouss gif ony
kyrkman suld be (kepit fra) gangand to Rome for his lauthfull defence and
summond thider. And neththeless your grace knawis full wele I may be
lichtlie (easily) intretit to remane heyr, bot in na wayis at his commande nor
desyre. And full wele wayt your hye wisdom quhat is to be done or ansuerit
to sik ane peticiooun,mekyle better yan I or manny sik can ymagyn; albeyt,
gif it mycht stand with your plessr, I wald (beseyk) your grace to ansuer to
this Galter that gif ye duke his maister wilbe content my accioun and mater
be remittit furth of Rome to your grace, and before your auditors, quhairof I
wald be glayd, your grace suld causs me remaine. And ellis, quhy or how
suld ye hold me fra my lauthfull defense, quhilk is of the law of nature,
speciallie I havand the kingis sauf-conduct to pass, as said is. This is my
little avise, under correctiooun of your grāce, quham I beseyk to pardoun this
my sa haymlie wrytnyg. And the haly Trinite haif youre grace in his blessit
and eternall keping.

At Lundoun this new yeiris day,
Subscrivit with the hand of
Your humble servytour and
CHAPLAIN OF DUNKELD.

IV.—SAME TO SAME.

(Cottonian Library—*Caligula.*)

January 6, 1522.

Placyt your grace, ye had yesterdai syk byssynes that I mycht not schew your grace quhat I thocht twychyng (touching) the cummyng of this Scottis prest, Shir John Duncanson, quha yestirday presentyt wrytyngis to the kyngis hienes and your grace for ane sauf-conduct, and is cummyng furth of Scotland with grete dylligens apon vii days, and is ryght famlyar with the duke of Albanye, and speciall servand of a lang tyme to ye archbyschop of glasgow, and hes bro^t wyth hym wrytyngs and dyrectyonis fra tham bayth to be sped in frans, flanders, and rome, as I knew by his wordes. Alss thar is commyng with hym an Italian callyt ewangelista, the mariner of a lumbarde in Scotlande, to convay hym at merchands hande heyr and in flanders. Gif your grace hed seyn thair letters and dyrectyonis I traist ye suld knew mony thyngis tharby. And gif your hye prudens think spedfull ane salve conduct be sped heyr at ye instance and subscriptioun of ye said duke, I report me to your grete wysdom, or yet that the said bishop of glasgwy's materis and promocion for sanet andrews suld prosper, consydderyng he is the maist specyall man that man-teynis and all ways hes manteynyt the said duke. I dreyd also this duncan-son is dyrekkyt in my contrary and to do me hurt, and besyke your grace to provyd ye rather sum remedy thairfore. And gif it mycht stand with your pless^r that he had na passage, for ye causys forsaidis, onto ye tyme your grace knew mar fully his dyrectyonis. And gyf your hye prudens plesys, so do I wald no man knew this cam by my desyr, because he fenzeis hym famyliair with me, wharby peraventure I sall knew sump^t (somewhat) mayr of his mynde, albeyt I knew ellis the fynes (finesse) of the man, and nayn mayr dowbyll in our realm. Do as pleiss your grace, quham God preserve.

At Lundoun, this epiphany day,
With ye hand of

Yor humble servyt^r and

CHAPLAIN OF DUNKELDE.

V.—SAME TO SAME.

(State-Paper Office.)

January 31, 1522.

Plesit your grace, sen I herd the tythingis and wrytingis of yestirday I am and haif bene so dolorous and full of vehement ennoye that I dar nocht aventour cum in your presence, quhilk causis me thus wryte beseking the samyn, of your grete goodnes to haif compacieunce of me, desolatt and wofull wyght. Albeyt I grant I haif deservyt punyciou, and am under the kyngis mercy and youris, not for any falt or demeritt of my awne, but by raisoun of thair untreuth that causit me labour for the wele of thair prince and thair securite, quhilk now has wrocht thair awne confuscion and perpetuall schayme, and hes servit me as your grace may considyr, that sollistit the kyngis hienes and your grace to wrytt and doo for thayme so often tymes and so largely in divers sortis, als wele to thair support as comfort; quhairof as now I most (must) nedis underly youre mercy, albeyt I dowte not bot youre hye prudens consideris profoundly my part thairof and my hole trew mynde all tyme but (without) ony dissimulance, that in good fayth am farther dissavit in this matter then ony utheris; by raisoun quhairof I am so full of sorowe

and displesour that I am wery of my aune lyfe. And promittis to God and your noble grace, as your humile servand and ane trew cristen preist, that I sall nevir here nor tak way with the duke of Albany, the unworthy erl of Angus, nor na utheris that assistis to the said duke, but (without) your express comande and avise, nor nevir sall pass in Scotlande, but at your plessour, so lang as this wikkyt duke is tharin or has rewle thairof. And I traist my brothre and uther my frendis will use my consale. Albeyt yon young wytless fwyll (fool) has runnyn apoun his aune myscheyf be continewall persuasiounis of wlyle, subtile men, and for lak of good counsale, showing to him, I dowte not, mony fenzeit lettres and wounderfull terrouris, that the lord Hume and utheris wald pass in and lefe him alone, and that I wald be takin and haldyn heyr, and that Galter, the dukis secretar, had appoyned with the kyngis hienes for his distruccioun, and the duke to mary the qwene. I dowte not sik thingis and mekle mayr has been sayd; and with this, the wrytingis at (that) your grace causit me send furth of Hamtoun Courte on Sanct Thomas daye cam not to him, quhill the 14 day of Januair, and so he has remaynet comfortless in the menetyme, quhill the tother subtile folkis had convayit thair mater. Wuld God I had sende ane servand of my aune with the wrytingis, or post self with thame in caiss I had lyin 7 yeris efter in preson, for I fynd absence ane screw, and diligence with expeditioun mycht haif done grett goode. Albeyt of veryte thair may be non raisonable nor honest excuse that suld causs ony creature brek his lawte or promyt. And I beseyk God that I may see him really punyst for his demerittes and promyss brokyn mayd to the kyngis hienes and me his uncle; and salbe glayd to sollyst the kyngis hienes and youre grace to this effect at all my poure. Nottheless I besekе your grace to remember the welefare and securite of the kyngis grace of Scotlande, my soverane lord and maister, and to sollist the kyngis hienes to that effect, for his grace has maid na falt, but is allutterlie innocent. This is and was my principal direccioun and causs of my hyddyr-cumming, as your grace full wele understandis, albeyt I wald haif procurit as I cowthe the weilfayr of myself and frendis besyde, gif thai had not wrocht in the contrair to thair aune destruccioun and myne, sa fer as in thame lyis. And gif I durst be sa bald as to sollist youre grace, and schew quhat wayis war best for the weylfare of the young kingis grace, my soverane, I wald be glayd to endevour myself thairto at the commande of your grace. In caiss now I dar nocth aventour to propone na sik thingis, by raisoun that I am dissavat be my most tendyr frendis in my fyrist interpryss, in contrair to all goode lyklyhood or naturall equite. Besekyng your grace of your gracious ansuer, and quhat ye will commande me to doo, and to be my good lorde, and to lat me knaw gif it be your plessour that I awayt apon your service and doo my dewitee as I aucht of dett, and wald be glayd so to doo. For furth of this realm will I not depart, so long as I may remane thairin with the kyngis plessor and youris, quhat penurite and distress so evir I sustene. And youre gracious ansuer heirupoun, in wourde, be message, or writing, I humily beseyke, or gif it pleiss your grace I cum myself to youre nobill presence thairfor. And God allmychty preserve your grace eternalye.

At the In of Carlile, the last day of Januar,

Subscrivit with the hand of your humble servytor and dolorous

CHAPLAIN OF DUNKELD.

To my lord Cardinallis
good grace.

The allusions in the above letter are explained by a letter of Anthony

Oughtred, Governor of Berwick, to Wolsey, dated Jan. 21, 1522, in which he informs him 'that the Duke of Albany has taken the castle of Tantallon from the Earl of Angus, and that the Earl has come in and submitted to Albany, contrary to his oath on the evangelists, to Lord Dacre.'—*State-Paper Office*.

V.

STATE OF THE CHURCH IN LINLITHGOW.

I.—EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM MR. W. H. HENDERSON, LINLITHGOW, RESPECTING ALTARAGES IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL.

'An immense number of "annual rents," as they were called, were payable by the proprietors of almost every property in the burgh to the chaplains of the various altars in the church. I have looked over a list of these, engrossed in the "Register of the Special Evidents," concerning the burgh, and I find that the undermentioned altars had the following numbers of annual rents, payable chiefly from tenements in this town, and a few from houses in Edinburgh, &c.:—

1.	The altar of the Virgin Mary,	.	.	.	38
2.	Do.	do.	(founded by Robert Beggs),		21
3.	Do.	St. John the Baptist,	.	.	20
4.	Do.	St. Ninians,	.	.	20
5.	Do.	the Holy Trinity,	:	.	20
6.	Do.	St. Andrews,	.	.	19
7.	Do.	the Holy Cross,	.	.	17
8.	Do.	St. Katherine the Virgin,	.	.	15
9.	Do.	the Third Chaplain (dedicated to St. Bridged),			15
10.	Do.	Lampadis et Luminis Sacramenti,			13
11.	Do.	the Second Chaplain (dedicated to St. Anne),			12
12.	Do.	St. Peter,	.	.	8
13.	Do.	Corpus Christi,	.	.	6
14.	Do.	St. Elizii,	.	.	2
15.	Do.	Omnium Sanctorum,	.	.	1
16.	Do.	St. Michael,	.	.	1

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In all, a goodly number. I suppose the houses in the town would not much exceed this number. The priesthood seems to have flourished here in all its branches; for the Carmelite Friars, who were beggars in every corner of Scotland, and were presumed to be incapable of holding lands or goods, for many years were proprietors of a large piece of fine arable land to the south of the town.'

II.—COPY OBLIGATION BY PATRIC BRONE, CHAPLAIN AT CORPUS CHRISTI ALTAR IN ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, LINLITHGOW, IN FAVOUR OF THE BAILIES AND COMMUNITY OF LINLITHGOW.

(*Taken from the Original in the Burgh Charter Chest.*)

Til al and sundrie quahis knawlege thir present lettres sal to eum, Patric Brone, chapellane, greting in the Salvior of all. Yhoure universite (you all) sal knaw me

to be oblist and be thir present lettres, in the faith of my body, leleli and treuli oblliss me til honorable and worshipful men, the baileyheis and communite of the burgh of Linlithgw for thare suppli and favoure done to me thankfulli, that I sal be lele and trew to thai, obedient and inclinand to thare ordinance in all lefful things and honest, tuiching the service of God and haly kirk. In manere as eftir followis. In the first, I oblliss me to do divine service at the altar of Corpus Christi, foundat in the parisch kirk of Llithgow be a reverend man of worthie memore, quhilis Maist. Williame of Foulis, archedene of Sanct Andrewis, eftir the tenor of his chartir of fundation made thareupon, as I will ansere in that actione before the heeast Juge. Alsa I oblliss me that I sal mak ministracion at my cunning and knawlege in the parisch kirk and in the quere of the said burgh in divine service, sic as afore used dayli and continualy in matutine, mess, evynsang, lladymes, salve, and processione, gif the said baileyheis and counsale thinkis expedient that continuale service be made, and umquiliues on festivale dayes and haly dayes, as the causs requer. And attour I oblliss me that I sal kepe and conserve all the graith and reparatioun of the said altare, bukis, chalice, chosabill, albis, towallis, and the apparaling of thai to the profet of the said altare. And at I sal not sell, wedset, nor analre ony part of the graith of the said altare, for na mistere may happyn me in ony tyme to cum, and gif I do the contrare in ony thing I renunce my said service, to be quite thereof in al tymes to cum. Alsa I oblliss me be thir presents that I sal govern my person in honeste and be of honest conversation in mete and drink, lying and rising, and at I sal not use unressonable excess, no continuale concubine. And gif me happyne to do the contrare, I sal, at the ordinance and consale of the said baileyheis and communite, desist and amend, under payne of deprivacion fra my said service; and in tymes to cum I sal leyr diligentli to rede and sing in augmentation of Godd's service and for pleasance of the said baileyheis and communite. And till all thir thingis before writin leleli and treuli to be kept in manere and fourme, the haly evangell twichit, I have gevyn a bodily aith in presence of the baileyheis and communite of the said burgh. And for the mare schures, I have fundyn thir worthi persons borrowis and pleges for me that the said condicione sal be kept. That is to say, Henry of Livingstone of Middleberry, Walter of Hamilton, William of Saltone, Thomas of Cowers, William Brone my fadyr, and John Brone my brodir. In witnes of the quhilk thing the said persons in takenyng of thare borowgang has set to thare selis the xxiiii day of the moneth of Februare, the yhere of our Lord Im^m foure hundir fifti and fyve yheres.

(Seal) (Seal) (Seal) (Seal) (Seal) (Seal)

III.—EXCERPTS FROM THE MINUTE-BOOKS OF THE ROYAL BURGH OF LINLITHGOW.

October 22, 1529.—‘The balzeis and consale delivers yt ye maister of Werk sal delyver ij merks to Sir Henry Mushet, and he to m^k gud service at ye singing of ye morn^g mess.’

Note.—The ‘Master of Work’ was treasurer of the burgh.

November 5, 1529.—‘The siss ordinis yt ye bailzeis call yair festmen befor yai, and charge yai to do yair service at mess, mattyness, and evynsangs, eftir ye forme of yair fundacionis and bards, and gif yat yai will not obey, yai to do yair service eftir ye tenor of ye fundation, to call yai before yair ourman w^t a scharp sumonds.’

Note.—The ‘siss’ or ‘assize’ was the ancient name of the Council, when sitting in a judicial capacity. This minute would argue a laxity on the part of the chaplains.

Eo. die.—‘ Item. Ye size deliuers y^t Maister Fynlaw Forest get ane suppiore grammariare to tech ye skoll, or ellis ye balzeis to discharge ye said Maister Fynlaw of ye skole, and to discharge all ye nytbours y^t yai put na bairns to him, for he has donne gret hurt to ye towne.’

October 20, 1540.—‘ Item. Memorandum. It is consentit be ye provest, baillies, and counsale of ye brogh of Linlithgw, and also ordanit, y^t y^r be in ilk hour ane mess, fra fywe houris in ye mornynge qll xii houris at nowne in sumyr, and six houris in ye mornynge qll xii houris in wint. And yis roule to be keipit in honor of God and hali kirk.’

Note.—In September, 1540, the burgh got permission from the king to elect a provost.

‘ *In primis.* Ye Rud aul^r, fywe houris in somyr, and six houris in wint. And becaus Sir Hendre Mushett, chapillane of ye said aul^r, is ane elder man, and may no keip ye said service, the said provest, ballies, and counsale for-said, ordanis ye maister of werk quhatsumever beand for the tyme, to asur ane chaplane y^t sal come of ye said mess saying at ye hour forsaid, siklik as Sir Robart, townnis chaplane, is assurit of now p^{nt}lie, quhilk extending to in ye hale four merkis viii^d lyand qll ye said rud aul^r waik, and come to the gud townnis hand.

Item. Sanct Ninian’s chapplane, half-hour to sewin h. ye mornynge.

Item. Sanct John ye baptist aul^r, the chaplane of ye same at vii hours.

Item. Or ladie chaplane, qlk ye gud brugh fundit, viii hours.

Item. Sanct Kathrynis chapplane, half-hour till ix hour.

Item. Sanct Androis chappilane at ix hours.

Item. Corpus X^ti chapplane at half-hour to x houris.

Item. Sanct Peter chappellane at x houris.

(Here follows a short blank of a quarter of a page, which has been left seemingly for the rest of the altars to have their service adjusted.)

Item. Yat na chapillane ga till ye mess in tyme of ye hie mess, bot all ye chappellanes sal sitt in ye queyr w^t yair surpless on yai; and do sic service as yai cann. And quha y^t dois ye contre, and he be warnit be ye prowest, ballies, and consale, and will not, the chappellanis foresaid, keip yis roule and statut, his benefice soll waik, and ye provest, balzeis, and consale, to provyd for ane uyir sufficient kirkman yarto. And y^t ye parech clerk keip his mess, mattyngs, evynsangs, and confessionis dailie, siklik as ye festmen gois y^t are fest chappellanis at ye townis gyft, as his band purportis, w^t his surpless in ye queyr, for ye administration of Goddis service.

Item. Y^t ye sacrament lamp be dailie lytit be ye prech clerk or his servitor at fyve houris, &c., &c., and to ring the bells in the morning and ‘curfoue’ nightly.

Item. Y^t all ye chappillanes cum till mattyngs, hie mess, evensangs, processionis, w^t y^r surpless on yame, and till sitt in ye queyr, and yai y^t can-not^t syng till do uthir suffrage for ye honestie of Goddis service, as sone as ye third bell is rung, undir ye pane of x^d Scottis unforgiven, til be gevin till ye collector of ye festmen. And y^t yair be collectours maid and chosin be ye fest chappillanes of ye said kirk for till gaddir in ye obitis, and till maik compt till ye festmen as ye purportis.’

October, 1541.—‘ The said day it is statut and ordanit be the prowest, ballies, and consale of yis burgh of Linlithgou, for the weillfair of yis brugh, that yai and all honest personnes y^r of observe and keip all soung, ewinsangs, and mess

in the kirk, sayand yr devotion to God Almighty and his modir the blesst virgine Marie, yame for the comone weill of yis burgh qlk be yr interest.'

Oct. 19, 1541.—' The prouest, ballies, and consale of yis burgh of Linlithgw, for the lawd and honor of God omnipotent, and ye halie archangel Sanct Mychaell, patron of ye said brugh, and decor of ye hie altar situat within ye paroch kirk of ye samyn, thinks expedient yat yar be lychtit thua (two) prik-catts ilk haly day apoun ye said aultar, in tyme of ye hie mess and ewinsang, quhilk soll burn fra ye begynning of ye said mess quhill ye complet end yeroef. And in likewys at ye ewinsang, and yat yere be three torches lychtitt at ye elevatioun of ye sacrament of ye hie mess, and magnificat of ye ewinsang at ye lest.

Item. Yat our ladie aultar and ye Rud (Rood) be lychtit with three impes ilk haliday at ewinsang; and apone dowbill and solempnet festes, ye saids aultar and all utheris with impes and torches, as hes beyne in tymes bypast.

Item. Yat all ye fest lampis within ye said paroche kirk be lychtit conform to ye funditoris will, eftir ye tenor of ye auld statutes and consuetud; and yat ye provost and baillies vesye the samyn, and correct faultes quhar any herein is fundin.

Item. It is statut and ordanit yat ye provest and ballies quhatsumever for ye tyme, at yair first entres to yair offices, wesy (visit), see, and consider ilk aultar yat yais are patronis to, the albis, tunyklis, chalices, bukkis, and all uyers (other) ornamentiis yr^{of}, and causs ye samyn to be correkkit, reformat, and mendit, and als renewet be the chaplans yat are potent; and quhar ya ma nocht, be ye common gudis.

Item. Yat ye provest and ballies at yr^r said entres als wesye, see, and consider yat albis, tunyklis, cappis, chalices, and bukkis, and all other ornamentiis of ye hie altar and ye queir, and causs the samyn to be observit and kept be ye paroche clerk and his servandis, yat nane yr^{of} be spilt, worne, want in yr^r defalt, and yat yai be tikkattit yeirlie in the commoun buke, and yat the said paroche clerk do his service at tymes usit and wont.

Item. It is statut and ordanit, because ye queir is waik and febill of syngars, yat na chaplan in tyme comyn be admit till, nor chosin to ony altarge at the townis gift, but gyf he be ane kennand qualifyit man in musyk, notourlie kend, or ellis yat he underlie and abyd ye examination of kennand men in musyk, and be admittit be yame ye provest, ballies, and consale cheisis to examine on him.

Item. Yat nyctbouris bernis of ye burgh forsaide, being lik qualifyet in musyk to uyirs extranes (others who are strangers) be erest (first) admitted to altaraiges, and ye maist kennand and best conditionat first.

Item. Yat na infestment nor mortification of ye townis altars be remane in the chaplans handes, but be in kepin in the commoun charter kist of ye town, and yat the chaplans have ye attentik (authentic) copye yr^{of} apone yr^r expensis, and (if) it be desyrit.

Item. Yat the bellman pass for fyre and candill, and all cristyne saulis, at tyme usit and wont.'

April 2, 1543.—' Ye qlk day ye assyss ordanis the prouest and ballies, wt yr^r wele avisyt counsale, to pass on Wodynsay, the five day of Aprill instant, to ye kirk of Linlithgw, and requyr the chaplains to concur wt yame of the samyn, and yr^r to commoun and see gyf yr^r be ony faltis to Godis service qlk suld be done in ye said kirk dailie, and quha hes ye weyit (blame) yr^{of}, or quharin ye fale and falt is; and yt^t ye provest, ballies, and their wele avisit consale, wt ane avyse of the brether and chaplains of ye said kirk to causs all faltis to be reformat, to the honor of God, or ladie, and guid sanctis.'

VI.

ORIGINAL LETTERS OF JAMES V. AND THE EARL OF ANGUS.

(From State-Paper Office.)

Two letters of James V., the one to Henry VIII., the other to Wolsey, are found bearing date Edinburgh, the 27th day of March. The year is not mentioned, but they contain ample internal evidence of having been written on the same occasion as the following letter of the Earl of Angus to Henry, to the contents of which, on the subject of Border affairs, James alludes in these terms :—‘ And as tuichand (touching) ye effaris of ye bordore, our richt traist and weilbelovit counsalour, chancellour, and wardane, ye erle of Anguss, sall at mair length advertyss you of our mynde in every behalff.’

Angus’s letter to Henry is dated at Edinburgh, the 28th day of March, and treats of the same topics as the king’s letter. It refers the English king for further satisfaction to a letter which Angus dispatched at the same date to Wolsey. Angus’s letter to Wolsey concludes as follows :—

‘ And finalie, my lord, desiring your kyndly and faithfull counsall, the kingis hieness and your grace sal be sure that thare sall nathing be left on this syde in making of dew redress, keping of amite and kyndnes betwix the realmis, and to do and labor that thing may be plesor to the kingis hieness your soverane, in sic sort that his hieness and your grace sall tak just occasioune to set forward all my soveranis ressonabil desyris. Praying your grace to excuse the lang tary of this answer, because the kingis hieness, my soverane, at the cummyng of the messinger with your grace’s letteris, was in the north countre, in ye extreme partis of his realmye, and at his returnyng the answer was als hastily sende as mycht be. And thus I pray God preserve your grace eternaleie.

‘ Written at Edinbrought the penult day of Marche, 1528,
‘ Your grace’s, with all service,

‘ ARD, Chanceller.’

The year as above is embodied in the letter itself by the writer, which is not at all common in the correspondence of that period.

VII.

I.—LETTER OF SIR JAMES HAMILTON OF KINCABEL TO CRUMWELL.

(State-Paper Office.)

To my lord secretar of Ingland—

Ry^t honorabill syr, I recomend my humile serves onto your m. (mastership) in my maist hartlye maner, quhome pleiss to wit y^t my wife hes gotten ye copy of ye sentens quhilk was gewin aganis me be ye bischoppis, ye quhilk

copye your m. pleiss to rasaif fray ye berar to be awiset w^t, and had not beyn y^t my wife's drowre (dowry) and hir tocher was raservit to hir in it, yai wald not haif gewin it to me nor hyr for moche monye; bot yai haif forbyddyne hir y^t ever I knew ony thyng of it, for in gudefay^t ye tane half of it is falslye alegyt aganis me, as I sall shew your m. at or^r meting. Ferder ye kyng's grace hev sufferryt my wife to intromet as yit w^t my landes, bot he wold haif hir to byaim fray hym for a soume of money to my sone, or ells to tak yair assedacione for ane yerelye ferme confowrme to my rentell; bot I will not suffir hir to do ane of ya twa onto ye tyme y^t I se quhat ye kyngis grace of Ingland may do yareto at ye king's grass's hand, my mastyr; yarefore I besek your m., for ye luyf (of) god, to help me as sone as ye may w^t ye king's wryte to ye kinge my master for me, y^t I may wit your ye gude and ye evill of ye matter, and yan I sall do yareftir w^t yair m. awise and gude consell. Ferder, as I schew your m., I will tarye apon ye bordo^r of Inglande onto ye tyme I haif your m. wryte and answeir quhat I sall do, for my haill hoip off help is in your m. hands, for ye poyr service at I ever may do for you in ony tymis cummin, bayt in words and deids, as knawis god, quhay mo^t evir haif your m. in honor and prospereate bayt in sawll and bodye. Of berwik ye xxiv day, be your servand and gudfrend at powar,

JAMES HAMILTON, Shref of lytgw.

Note.—The date assigned to this letter in the calendar of the State-Paper Office is April 24, 1536, but it was probably much earlier, as Sir James fled to Berwick in the summer of 1534.

II.—LETTER OF MARGARET, QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND, TO HENRY VIII., ASKING A SAFE-CONDUCT FOR CATHERINE HAMILTON.

(From *Crumwell Papers, Rolls' House, Chancery Lane*. This and many other papers, however, have recently been removed to the State-Paper Office.)

Richt excellent, richt hie and michtie prince, and oure derest bruder. In oure maist hartlie and tender manner we commend us unto youre grace. Fforsamekle as yis gentill woman, oure familiar servitaire, Catherine Hamilton, intendes presently to vesy ye partis of France for hir leiffull erandis and besynes, yar to be done and addressit, it will pleis youre grace for oure saik and special request, graunt unto hir your sauf-conduct, swa yat sche may pas sauffie and repas throw youre grace's realme of Ingland without hurt, harm, or molestatioun of hirself or servandis, in yare personnis or gudes in ony manner. And to have gude expeditioun of ye samyn, as oure most singular confidence restis in your grace. Richt excellent, richt hie and mychtie prince, and our derest bruder, we pray eternall God preserve your grace in tuitiouen and gouvernament. Written of Edinburgh, under our signette, ye xxiiii day of December, 1536.

Your luffent systar,

MARGARET.

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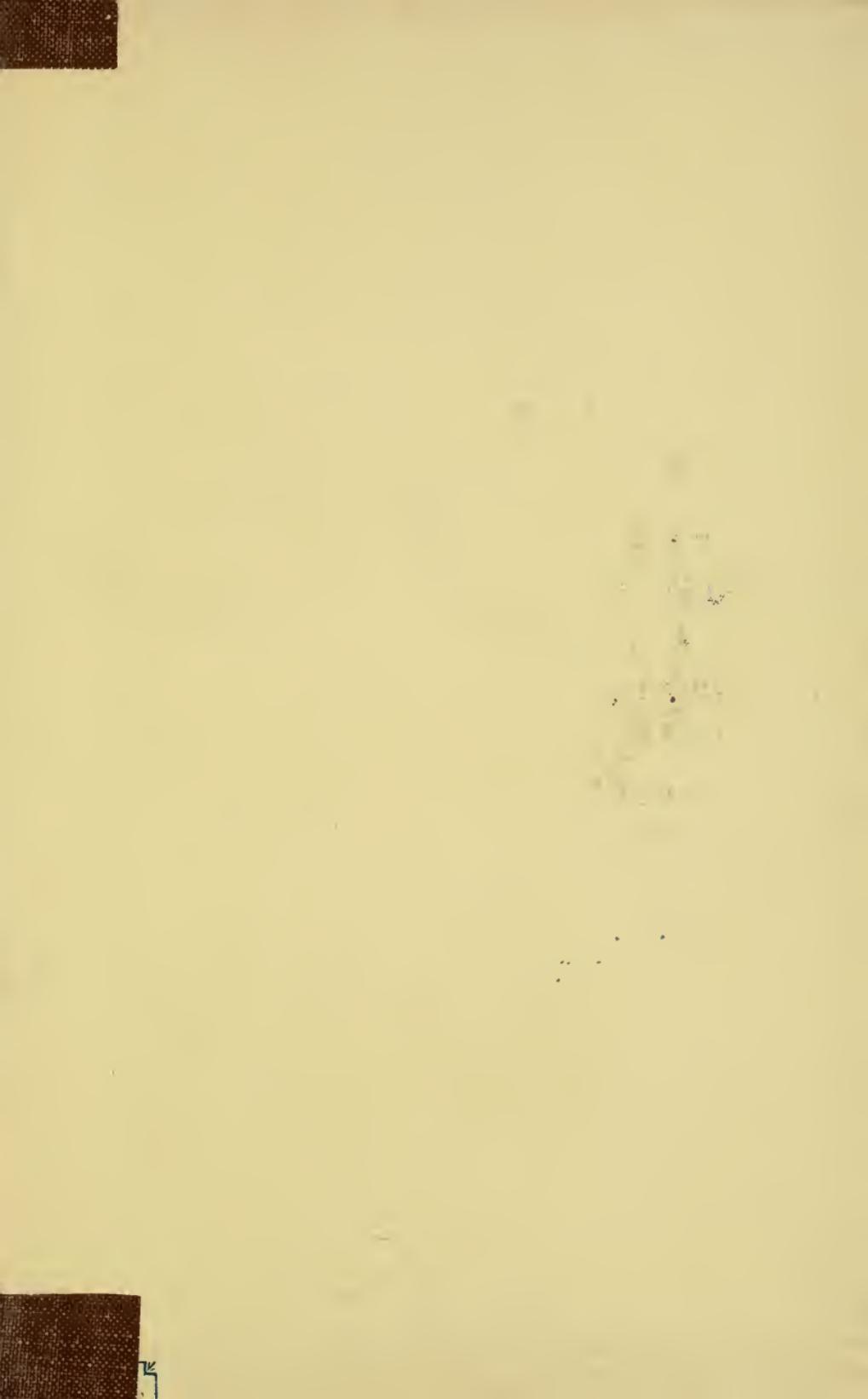
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