A THESIS ON

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLAND ON THE

SCOTTISH REFORMATION

BY

DONALD DAVIDSON
M.A., B.D., D.LITT. (Oxon)

Presented for the Degree of Ph.D.
CONTENTS.

Introduction . . . . . . . . . . Page 3.

Part I.
The Origin of the English Party.
" 3. Henry VIII and Cardinal Beaton " 63.

Part II.
The Eclipse of the English Party.
Chapter 1. The Protector's Policy . . Page 75.

Part III.

Appendix.
"Had England remained a part of the Roman Church, the Scottish Reformation would have been an impossibility. It was to England almost from the first that the Scottish Reformers looked for the support which should ensure their final triumph."

Prof. P. Hume Brown - (John Knox 1:40
The object of this thesis is to elucidate the influence that was exercised by England on the religious movement in Scotland which culminated in the Reformation of 1550. To trace this influence from the start, we would require to go as far back as the time when the teaching of the English Lollards first spread to Scotland. But although it is readily granted that this would be the proper beginning for an exhaustive study of our subject, the scanty materials for such a work have already been collected and reviewed. It is therefore our intention to begin rather from the natural starting point suggested by the separation of England from the Roman Church, and it will be our endeavour to trace the influence exerted by the country in the South on its Northern neighbour during the subsequent twenty-six crowded and critical years.

It seems reasonable to assume that the influence of Protestant England on Roman Catholic Scotland would be considerable. Yet Professor Hume Brown, while admitting that England's example, "was a great fact that touched men's minds at a thousand points and influenced them unconsciously to themselves," warns us that, "the influence of England in hastening the Reformation in Scotland is one of those facts in history which cannot be measured by any accumulation of detail." This does not sound encouraging, and we would be compelled to agree with him, if England had been nothing more than an example. But what we shall try to show, by some attempt at an accumulation of detail, is that the influence of England was more than that of example. There was

2. "George Buchanan" P. 88.
throughout the years immediately prior to the Scottish Reformation a definite policy on the part of England, to stimulate and develop the Reforming movement in Scotland by every means available,—by open embassy, by secret intrigue, by bribery, by propaganda written and spoken, and not least by holding out a friendly hand to every poor Scotsman who was a fugitive for his faith. It may not be possible to measure by any definite standard or comparison the exact effect of this influence, yet the fact remains that the policy bore such fruit, that when the fate of the Scottish Reformation hung in the balance, it was to England that its leaders turned instinctively for the help which alone could secure their triumph.

From the very nature of things, however, we are bound to find the religious relations of the two countries during this period operating within a somewhat limited sphere. In the first place the English were not by any means an out and out Protestant people. Right down to the end of our period, the north of England from which the new influence would most naturally percolate into the neighbouring country remained strongly Roman Catholic. Then we must remember that England was herself but a child of the movement. She was thus most unlikely, as the event proved, to have any great influence on the doctrinal development of the Scottish Reformers. It is in the method by which the change was brought about in that we find the clue to the character of the influence she was likely to exercise upon Scotland. The peculiar feature of the English Reformation was that it was imposed on the nation by royal authority. In an age therefore, when adherence to a particular faith was a matter of prime political importance, it is obvious that the English king who had renounced the Pope and reformed his Church, was bound to be acutely interested in the religious relations of his nearest neighbour, and as events prove, during the
throughout the years immediately prior to the Scottish Reformation a definite policy on the part of England, to stimulate and develop the Reforming movement in Scotland by every means available,—by open embassy, by secret intrigue, by bribery, by propaganda written and spoken, and not least by holding out a friendly hand to every poor Scotsman who was a fugitive for his faith. It may not be possible to measure by any definite standard or comparison the exact effect of this influence, yet the fact remains that the policy bore such fruit, that when the fate of the Scottish Reformation hung in the balance, it was to England that its leaders turned instinctively for the help which alone could secure their triumph.

From the very nature of things however, we are bound to find the religious relations of the two countries during this period operating within a somewhat limited sphere. In the first place the English were not by any means an out and out Protestant people. Right down to the end of our period, the north of England from which the new influence would most naturally percolate into the neighbouring country remained strongly Roman Catholic. Then we must remember that England was herself but a child of the movement. She was thus most unlikely, as the event proved, to have any great influence on the doctrinal development of the Scottish Reformers. It is in the method by which the change was brought about in that we find the clue to the character of the influence she was likely to exercise upon Scotland. The peculiar feature of the English Reformation was that it was imposed on the nation by royal authority. In an age therefore, when adherence to a particular faith was a matter of prime political importance, it is obvious that the English king who had renounced the Pope and reformed his Church, was bound to be acutely interested in the religious relations of his nearest neighbour, and as events prove, during the

(1) Of Hist. of Liberty (Macdonald) II. P. 268.
greater part of this period, English statesmen strove by all means in their power to induce Scotland to follow the example of England, and repudiate the authority of Rome. Although Scotland's debt to England is thus of a totally different character from her indebtedness to the Continental reformers, it is none the less heavy.

It is scarcely necessary for our purpose to trace in detail the religious and political developments in Scotland prior to the English ecclesiastical revolution, but there are two points that must be noted. The first is, that it was not by any means a virgin field in which Henry VIII commenced to sow the seeds of heresy. Although the English Reformation preceded the Scottish settlement by twenty-six years, seventeen years had already passed since Luther fastened his manifesto to the Church door at Wittenberg. The Lutheran books, as they were called, had very quickly found their way into Scotland. In some of the seaport towns on the East coast the new doctrines had been widely circulated and must have gained many adherents, for it is in these places that the flame was to burn with the greatest intensity. The desire for a purer faith was at the same time intensified by the increasing dissatisfaction with the Roman clergy whose demoralized state can only be painted in the darkest colours. "Nowhere else," says Professor Maitland, summing up the situation in Scotland, "was there a seed-plot better prepared for revolutionary ideas of a religious sort. Nowhere else would an intelligible Bible be a newer book, or a sermon kindle stranger fires." The martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton in 1528 shows how seriously the ecclesiastics regarded the situation. There was indeed at the time of the Reformation in England, combustible material lying about in large.

quantities in Scotland, and Henry VIII was only too anxious to apply the spark.

The other point that must be noted is the development of an English party in Scotland during the decade that preceded the Act of Supremacy. The origin of this intrusion of England into Scottish politics goes back, of course, to a much earlier date. On the eighth of August, 1503, James IV married the English princess Margaret. This marriage was destined to prepare the way for the union of the two kingdoms, although its immediate results were not crowned with much success. Within ten years of it we have the two nations at war, the disaster of Flodden, and the death of the Scottish king. Yet it is just at this point that it begins to bear fruit. In the person of Henry VIII's sister, we now have England represented in the highest councils of Scotland. Then, in the marriage of the English Queen-regent within a year of her widowhood to a Scottish earl, some historians (1) have seen the origin of that faction in Scotland, which was to become familiarly known as the English Party. We may, however, postpone consideration of such a party as a serious force in politics for another ten years, and on the authority of Professor Hume Brown, take the final departure of Albany from Scotland in May 1524 as the date of its formal entry into the political arena. "It is perhaps from this moment," says Prof. Hume Brown, "that we may date the beginning of a distinct party favourable to an English as opposed to a French alliance. From the days of the first Stewarts there had been frequent treasonable intercourse between Scottish nobles and the successive kings of England: but an English party with specific aims had never existed till the years that immediately followed the final departure of the Regent Albany." (2)

(1) e.g. Tytler ii 150. (2) Hist. of Scot. i. 288.
But though we may thus excuse ourselves from following in detail "the crooked lines of Scottish politics under the Duke of Albany," (1) there are certain outstanding features of this period which are noteworthy in view of later developments. The first is, that during these years 1513-1524, England laid the foundations of that policy on which she was later to lavish so much treasure and attention. The dominant figure in this tangled piece of history is undoubtedly Lord Dacre, the Warden of the English Marches. Through all the conflicting strifes of human passion, of shifting parties, and of broken faiths, Dacre had only one object,—"I labour and study all I can to make division and debate," he described himself as, "the fiddling-stick to hold Scotland in cumber and business." (2) In this hot bed of sedition and strife there was gradually trained, thanks to Dacre's untiring efforts, the nucleus of the later English party. This included not only the partisans of England among the Scots nobility, such as the Earl of Angus, the Master of Wilmars, and others, but also 400 "outlawes" who were in the pay of the English warden, all being, as he boasted "Scots that should be under the obedience of Scotland." (3).

(1) Cf. Brewer's Intro. to Henry VIII's Letters & Papers. (2) Dacre to Foley, 25 Aug., 1513. Cf. Ellis's Collection of State Papers I. p. 131. (1st series) Also quoted by Tytler, iii, p. 117. How well he succeeded is reflected in the distracted state of the country, and the despair of its inhabitants. James English, the Queen's Secretary, gives a graphic picture of the prevalent disorder. "Every man stakke what he will without blame. Yer is no corder punyst. Ye man hath all words no ye mastir, and yill not content except he van his misterys counsel. Yer is no ord in any mane no man of Goodle superstis ar spirit except the kine. And that full ill." Henry VIII's Letters & Papers i. 575. 25 Jan., 1515. Dacre, the cause of so much of the trouble, gives a similar account. "Sir, of a surety, he telleth to the royal master, "There is under law no reason ne justice at this day used as was went in Scotland, but all that is by. Ibid., L. No. 1723, 3rd June, 1514. There was thus good ground for Gavin Douglase's assertion that the people of the realm were so oppressed, "that they would be glad to lay under the great Turk to be justice." Cf. "Archbishop of St. Andrews," Z. p. 111. (3) Dacre to Foley, 22d Aug., 1513.
It was during this period that we see the first signs of the coming rift in the French alliance. Although the friendship between the two peoples sounded very fair on paper, insular suspicion of the foreigner made it very difficult to put it into practice, (1) while no patriotic Scotsman could fail to be impressed by the obviously disestrous consequences of doing the French King's bidding, (2). A concrete example of the strength of this feeling was the failure of Albany to induce the Scottish nobles to invade England. They frankly declared that, "for no love, favour, or fair promises of the French king would they in any wise attempt war against England or invade that country," (3). All this contributed to pave the way for the introduction of English as an offset to French influence, and it is noteworthy as being the first indication of the struggle which was to be so closely bound up with the Reformation. When the English informed the French ministers that if Francis sent the Duke of Albany to aid the one party in Scotland, their master, (1) cf. Prof. Mackinnon's Social & Industrial History of Scot. p. 57 for Freissart's account of trouble between French & Scots. The visit of a French force to Scotland in 1668 was a cause of friction and ill-will. Though note p. 105. According to Ayala the people were very partial to French & English French. (2) Spirely writing to Cardinal Bainbridge on Sept. 20 1612, with reference to Flodden, says that a number of Frenchmen who served in the Scottish army, were cut to pieces by the Scots, who reproached the French with causing the cause of their destruction. Henry VIII State Papers 1. 4469. Spirely writing on the 13th November informs his master that the Scottish soldiers who have been in France speak ill of their entertainment by the French. No. 4468. That discontentment with the French Alliance as not by policy as well as by personal dislike became more evident. Spirely writing to Henry from Bruges informs him that the Bishop of Norwich who is at the French Court does not like the French, and had his charge thrown from the state king of Scots against his will. He is expressly forbidden between England & Scotland and he could not promote it. Id. No. 5015. 24th April 1611. In a letter dated the 17th Jan. 1616, Levin de Plancq expresses the wish that a reconciliation might be made between England & Scotland till they were all "for God kraght that the half hour to use less." (3) Cited Tytler ii 157. Albany was forced to admit that reason of the charge. "They say here," he wrote, "that war is merely for the advantage of France," and adds that unless France issue a bold declaration that they do not care to stir, and send good assistance they do not care to stir, and send good assistance for others. Henry VIII Letter & Despatches 1547-1558.
"would send another as big as he" to help his sister, (1)—you have the great duel of later days in embryo.

Albany left Scotland in disgust about May, 1524. After his departure events moved quickly. On July 24, Queen Margaret, backed by the support of her brother, had the young king "erected" to the throne. English ambassadors were sent to the Scottish Court, and a temporary peace was arranged between the two countries. At the same time Angus returned to Scotland. His arrival caused further complications and drove Margaret again towards the French party. Angus, however, was strong in favour of the English king, and two events took place which contributed greatly to his advantage. A reconciliation was arranged between France and England in 1525, and this at once deprived the French party in Scotland of its main dynamic. The other advantage was Angus's gaining possession of the person of the king. The boy, now 11 years of age, was kept a virtual prisoner, and the supreme power was consequently in the hands of Angus, who moulded it in the interests of his master the King of England.

In May, 1528, however, the young king escaped from the control of the Douglases, quickly gathered a following, and showed his intention of ruling in his own name by at once proceeding against his late captors. Angus and his brother were declared outlaws, and compelled to retire to England. James had naturally developed a bitter hatred not only towards all the house of Douglas, but against what they stood for,—friendship with England. He had, however, sufficient troubles at home to absorb his attention, and a five years peace was concluded between uncle and nephew. It was during this interval that there occurred in the ecclesiastical policy of England, those changes which give a new interest to the relations of the two countries.

The English party which during these four crowded years had sprung into being and become for the moment supreme, seemed now with the overthrow of the Douglases to have come to an end. But it was never allowed to disappear completely. The system of bribery and intrigue had become too well established to be easily eradicated. It continued all through the reign of James V, and was in large measure responsible for the tragedy of Solway Moss. By that date however, two important developments had taken place. The English party had become identified with the policy of Church reform, and the Roman clergy had declared themselves mortal enemies of amity with England.

The long minority which followed the death of James V was a glorious opportunity for the dissemination and propagation of heresy in Scotland. During all this long period which began with the Protestant and pro-English spring and summer of Arran's first year of office and ended with the winter of Mary Tudor's accession, the hand of England was never out of Scottish affairs. This was the period proper of the English party, of Assured Lords, and of wholesale bribery, corruption and intrigue. The dominant figure is Cardinal Beaton whose statesmanship in identifying the interests of the Church with support of the French alliance was the greatest obstacle to the designs of the English king. His death in 1545 was fatal to his cause, while the entry of John Knox into St. Andrews ten months after the Cardinal's assassination is an anticipation of that union of the English with the Protestant factions, which was to prove the most important factor in the accomplishment of the Reformation.

The accession of Mary Tudor however, might appear to write finis to the history of the English party. A Roman Catholic queen held sway in both countries, and by the treaty of Boulogne, England gave up all further
attempt to maintain a footing in Scotland. Then by the
marriage of Mary of Scots to the Dauphin, the hope of
Anglo-Scottish alliance was extinguished. Thus all that
the English party had stood for seemed to be lost. But
though perforce dormant, it was not yet defunct. The
negative effect of Mary's reign on Scotland was as great
as, if not greater than the positive influence exercised
by Henry VIII, and the successors to his policy. Both
nations were to discover a new bond of sympathy in their
common antagonism to foreign domination. Mary a Scotsman
and many an Englishman, while sharing a common exile,
must have been surprised to discover how little dissimil­
arity there was between the spirit of the two peoples.
The Scots came gradually to realise that they had more
in common with Protestant Englishmen than with Roman
Catholic Frenchmen. Thus the reign of Mary Tudor, though
the last and darkest hour of the pre-Reformation night,
made all the more certain the speedy coming of the dawn.

The two years from the accession of Queen Elizabeth
to the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1550 saw the triumph of
the English party. It emerges, if anything, stronger
from its winter sleep. The nobles, who in the intrigu­
ing days of Henry VIII had been notorious as partisans
of England were now conspicuous as ardent reformers. It
was therefore only in the nature of things that they
should look instinctively to the Protestant Queen in the
South to aid the cause that had been so dear to the
heart of her father. It was indeed a great change that
had come over the character of the English party. No
longer could the charge of traitor be hurled against the
friend of England. The cause of Protestant and patriot
had become identified, and in friendship with England
both were at last to find their common salvation.

It is obvious, therefore, that politics and religion
during this period are almost inseparable, (1). So bound up was the English Party with the Reformation movement that the story of one is very much the story of the other. It is for this reason that it has been thought advisable in this thesis, to keep in view the existence of this party, as the background to our subject. And although we do not follow in detail the story of its varying fortunes, we hope to show with how great success England used this powerful weapon to promote the desirable end of Reformation in Scotland.

(1). Knox noted this close interdependence in the preface to his history, "In the begynnyng," he wrote, "mon we crave of all the gentill Perachie not to look of us such ans History as shall express all things that have occurred within this Realme, during the tyme of this terrible conflict.....for, with the Pollicesy (i.e. the Civil Policy) mynd we to meddill no further than it hath Religioun mixed with it. And therfoir many things which wer don be omitted." Knox I. P.4.
PART I

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH PARTY

1528-1546.
"In revolutions the most excellent things are found ever in connection with the most base. The enthusiast for the improvement of mankind works side by side with the adventurer to whom change is welcome, that he may better his fortune in the scramble: and thus it is that patriots and religious reformers show in fairest colours when their cause is ungained, when they are a struggling minority, chiefly called upon to suffer... Too often, as the Devil loves most to mar the fairest works, the good when success is gained, are pushed aside as dreamers, or used only as a shield for the bad deeds of their confederates."

Froude. Hist. of Eng. Ch. 28.
CHAPTER I

HENRY VIII and JAMES V.

In 1528, a five years truce had been arranged between England and Scotland. The change that took place in the religious relationship of the two nations during these five years is most remarkable. On April 7th, 1528, the University of Louvain wrote a letter to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Doctors of Scotland, congratulating them on the death of Patrick Hamilton, and urging them to, "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,---and partly of the king, declaring himself to be another Mathias of the new law, pretermitting nothing that may defend the law of his realm; which if our most renowned king of Scotland will follow, he shall purchase to himself eternal glory, (1). The advice was singularly ill-timed, for by 1534, Henry had consummated his breach with Rome, and when he intrudes again upon the scene of Scottish politics, it is with a great anxiety to persuade his nephew to follow his example and reform the old regime.

Thus it comes about that during the last years of James V's reign, the absorbing interest is his policy with regard to England. It is however, scarcely accurate to assume, as Professor Hume Brown suggests, (2), that the traditional enmity of the two countries was now further intensified by differences of religion. Scotland, on the one hand, was already beginning to show signs that her thraldom to the old Church was coming to an end. England, on the other hand, was not so Protestant as to add that as further fuel to the old antipathy. We see from the sequel to the Pilgrimage of Grace (3) that

(1) Foxe's Martyrs iv. 552.
(2) Hist of Scotland i. 307.
(3) cf. Appendix I.
Scotland was an easy and a safe retreat for persecuted Catholics from the north of England. And what was even more remarkable, we have evidence that the supporters of the old faith in England, were as ready to look for succour to the Catholic King of Scots, as the Scottish Reformers of a later date were to hold out imploring hands to the Protestant ruler in the south.

The point for us, of course, is that the separation of England from the Church of Rome, gives a new interest and a new direction to her relations with the northern kingdom. It now becomes of paramount importance for England to detach Scotland from its connection with Rome, and all that that connection involved, and the task before us is simply to trace the many varied, long, and persevering efforts by which England attempted to influence the religious standpoint of her neighbour. It is in this period of James V's reign that these conscious efforts first came to light. The previous policy of sowing disaffection in Scotland and fostering an English party was made subservient to the new purpose. Here Henry found a weapon ready to his hand when his break with Rome gave a new importance to the problem of his relations with the people on his Border.

**THE ENGLISH PARTY.**

It is true, that at this time, this weapon was only partly forged, though full of possibilities. After the escape of the Scots King, in May 1528, his so-called guardians, the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas fled to England, and remained at the court of Henry till after the battle of Solway Moss. But the name of Douglas was still a name to conjure with in Scotland, and sympathy with them and their quarrel kept together the remnants of their party.

While Henry was doing his utmost to strengthen this party by a system of bribery and intrigue, his enemies
by their policy of religious persecution were doing a
great deal to strengthen his hand. Converts to the new
faith must have looked with cordial sympathy to the
change that had taken place in England. The natural
result was the gradual fusing together of the Protestant
cause with that of the exiled Douglases. It was all to
England’s advantage to further this alliance of politics
and religion, and we find that fugitives for religion
were as gladly received into England as those who had
come into collision with the civil authority,(1).

Another factor that favoured Henry’s scheme was
the disaffection existing between James and his nobles.
James cannot be held altogether responsible for the fatal
breach between himself and his nobles. When he acquired
the reins of Government, the country was already torn
by rival factions. Stern measures were essential to
restore order, and stamp out lawlessness. Yet such
measures could not but stir up the enmity of the turul-
ent nobility. The king’s attempts to quell lawlessness
were simply met by the transfer of their allegiance to
England, (2).

The clearest indication of the strength of the
English party and the wide breach between James and his
nobility is seen in the reluctance of the nobles to

(2) In a letter of Northumberland to Henry VIII dated 31st
December, 1521, reporting the defection of the Earl of
Bothwell, he forwards this information, “The said Earl doth say, remembering the banishment of the Duke of Craw-
ford, the true imprisonment of the Duke of Argyle, the
litigating of the Duke Murray and the lord Maxwell the
simple regarding of Sir James Hamilton for his good
and powerful services, he puts no doubt with his own possi-
ble distraction and the Duke of Argyll, seeing all their nobles
knighted more expressively withdraw from the King of
Scotland, to crown your grace in the town of Edinburgh in
fresh towns; quoted Tytler ii. 103 & cf. Hill Burton ii, 125.
This, of course, was pure treason with no religious
motive to palliate it. Sir Adam Otterburn in a letter to
Cromwell dated 18th Oct. 1537 states that although they
could not agree touching the authority of the Pope he
would use every effort to preserve the unity of the two
kingdoms.” Quoted Tytler ii. 103. Footnote also in Henmon’s
State papers V. P. 14, and dated 2th December, 1521.
support the king in his offensive policy towards England. Knox has described how they answered the King's desire for an invasion, "That to defend his persons and realm, they would hazard their lives and whatsoever they had; but to invade England, neither had they so just a title as they desired." The final rout at Solway Moss must be attributed in great part to these dissensions among the nobility. The fact that among the 1200 prisoners were numbered two earls, three barons, and about 500 lairds and gentlemen would alone countenance such a conclusion.

It would have suited Henry's purpose admirably if these discontented barons could have been made to turn Protestant at his bidding. But to what extent the new doctrines were championed by them at this time, is most difficult to determine. We are warned not to attach too much credence to the story of the scroll of noble heretics found on the person of the Scottish king at his death. Sadler mentions it, and gives as his authority the Earl of Arran who claimed to have seen it. According to this report the list contained the names of 350 nobles and barons who might be deprived of their estates on a charge of heresy. But whether fact or fiction, the mere rumour of its existence shows that there were grounds for believing that some of the nobility were as doubtful in their allegiance to their Church as they were to their king.

(1) Knox 1, p. 80.
(2) Knox believed in its existence and describes it in his history as, "ane scroll containing the names of such as the! in thare inquisitioun had convict for heretikis.
(3) This suspicion is also echoed by the Venetian ambassador in one of his dispatches, where he says he had been told under pledge of great secrecy that Lord Dacre, "being a Lutheran and disagreeing with Cardinal Beaton who for many years had ruled the king and realm of Scotland, caused the rout of the Scots." of Archbishops of St. Andrews, iv. 79. Also Cal. State Papers. Henry VIII, Vol 12 No. 1207.
English party should ultimately become identified with Protestantism. The king, defied and deserted by his nobility, found refuge and support among his clergy, while the nobles, by the very fact of their opposition to the king, were thrown into violent antagonism towards the Churchmen by whom James was surrounded. This antipathy, the English monarch would naturally do his utmost to intensify, and turn to his own advantage.

JAMES V and the CATHOLIC CLERGY.

Two results followed upon the feud between James and his nobles, and the development of an English party in Scotland. These were, first the co-operation between the Crown and the Clergy, and second, a weakening in the traditional policy of alliance with France. The union between James and the churchmen has the most important bearing on our subject, for it was this combine that completely defeated Henry's schemes, so far as any hope of getting royal authority in Scotland enlisted on the side of reform. The clergy were the soul of the opposition to amity with England. (1). They did all in their power to deflect James from his uncle's advances. They were undoubtedly the cause of his failure to meet Henry in conference. As Knox very picturesquely puts it, "Father wold thei have gone to hell, or he should have mett wyth King Mary: for then thought thei, Fayr weill our Kingdome and fayr weill thought the Cardinalî his credite and glorie in France." (2)

Not only were his own clergy eager for James to repudiate the affectionate overtures of his uncle, but the Pope also looked to the Scottish king to avenge the Catholic cause in the south. At St. Peter's, on Christmas Eve, 1536, a sword and cap were consecrated for James,

(1) Hamilton Papers i No 175.
(2) Knox 1 p. 78.
the sword to smite the enemies of the Church and the cap
to protect the smiter, (1). In fact, it was with a view
to stimulating the aggressiveness of the Scots king that
Beaton was made a Cardinal and a legate a latere. One
of the avowed reasons for commending Beaton to the Pope
for this dignity was that he would secure the publication
in England of the papal censures against Henry, (2).

WEAKENING OF THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

The story of the Reformation in Scotland is bound
up inextricably with the struggle between France and
England to control the policy of the northern kingdom.
The ancient alliance, it was now obvious, was fast becom­
ing an anachronism. Blind attachment to France, if
persevered in, could only reduce Scotland to the position
of a pawn in the game of international politics, to be
used or cast aside as circumstances required. The treat­
ment of Scotland by France after the disaster of Flodden
was an object lesson that was taken to heart by many
Scotsmen. They realised that although the friendship of
France had been a great boon to their fathers, it might
easily become in these days of shifting alliances, a
doubtful blessing to themselves.

From the point of view of England, the friendship,
or, better, the control of Scotland, became more than

(1) Quoted from Drummond of Hawthornden's Hist. of James V
(2) Archbishops of St. Andrews iv pp 24-31. That measures
were taken to carry out this intention is evident from
one of Hertford's letters, "I am informed," writes the
English Commander, "That the Cardinall of Scotlande, with
the Pyle of Murray were porposal in case the Scottes had
not had the over thorne in the West Marches, with three
bishops and diverse other with them -- to have entred in
to this realme, and to have commen unto som of the Church:
on our Borders, where with the Bishop of Rofnes auctorite
to have enterdicted this realume." Hamilton Papers 1
No. 245.
ever desirable after Henry VIII's breach with Rome. The desire was only fair and reasonable, and one cannot but feel that if Henry had pursued this policy with more tact and gentleness, his object might very well have been accomplished. As it was, however, the problem was felt to be so vital, that caution and concealment, patience and policy, were ultimately thrown to the winds, and in the end the scheme was wrecked by the very relentlessness with which it was pursued.

But of course, the same criticism applies to the French. The French king showed no more disinterested regard for Scotland than did Henry VIII. All that France desired was to have in Scotland a weapon with which to threaten England, and when this policy became too brazen to be concealed, the French alliance steadily declined in favour, and in the end was altogether disowned.

Henry VIII's efforts to weaken the alliance between France and Scotland forms an essential part of our subject, for the religious question is very closely bound up with it. The alliance between the King, the Clergy, and France was cemented and strengthened by their mutual attachment to the Church of Rome. The friends of England, on the other hand, must needs condone or at least sympathise with Henry's break with the Papacy.

(1) When Henry sent his ambassador Sadler to Scotland, one part of his commission was to advocate the English as against the French alliance. He was to warn James against, "the following & satisfying of other men's fancies, to their advantages & his damage: knowing that displeasure happened to his father, making himself another man's instrument to annoy his own friend and ally in his absence." He was "to weigh & ponder what prince or potentate in Christendom may stand him in best stead—To speak of the Emperor or French King—what can he look for at either, or at both their hands, but fair words and entertain ment for a time, as their instrument with his own power to serve their purposes." Sadler's pages 1 & 9. Although Sadler's words had no effect on the king and his clerical advisers, to whom it was a matter of life & death that Scotland should hold firm to the old alliance with France, yet there must have been many present at the Scottish court who found themselves in whole-hearted agreement with the arguments of the English ambassador.
Accordingly, therefore, as each of the two nations prevailed in the councils of Scotland, so would the tide run in favour of the new faith or in defence of the ancient church.

BARLOW'S EMPASSIONS.

During James V's reign, Henry sent several embassies to Scotland to discuss the religious question. Twice, in 1535 and 1536, this duty was imposed on Dr. William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, and chaplain to the king. Henry's instructions to his ambassador, dated 3rd October 1535, were to show James the danger he was exposed to by his adherence to Rome, and the advantage to himself of following his uncle's example, (1). He was to implore the Scots king to curb the arrogance of the Roman clergy, (2). He was to enlarge on the Kirkmen's cruel policy of persecution, (3). He was to direct the king's attention to the wealth of his Clergy, (4). This was to lead up to some such peroration as,—"Ye have the late experient example of the most prudent prince, my dread scurvarreraign, King of Englands, your entier loving uncle, who valiamently hath vanquished the papishe puissant power, and utterly

(1) "Hadst not the Bishop of Rome" the English ambassador was instructed to ask, "and his prelately prestes clene contrary in every region, abolishing the lawe of God brought in traditions of their own devise, and sworne princes to obeye them? Whereas by the ordinance of God they should be obedient to their princes."

(2) "Consider how within your proper realmes, your peculiar jurisdiction is defeated, and of what little effecte regarded is your roual renown and princely power, even of your owne clergie. They have your bounde to their lawes, but they be free from yours."

(3) "How pitieous a processe, what lamentable tragedie, were it to recetye the furius persecution, etc. which they have executed upon diverse of your loving subjetttes, because in preaching the truth of Gods worde they labour ed to deprisse the Papistical Kingdom and to advance your auctorisated majestie."

(4) "Dives of them have encroched soo large possessions that in their richesse and yerly revenues, they same nable to compare with youe, and as for preheminant auctoritie they farre surmounte your highnesse, whiche in no conditio should be suffered of soo noble a prince as your grace is."
defaced his most mightie usurped majestie, to the enriching of his realme, with the tranquillitie of his subjettes, and assured establishment of his renowne," (1).

Next year Henry again sent his ambassador to renew the attack, supported this time by Lord William Howard. Their instructions dated February, 1536, are in much the same strain as the former, but it would appear as if the difficult and delicate nature of the mission was more clearly recognised (2). Howard, as a man of the world, was to "harp uppon the string of honour and proffit." while Parlow as the theologian, was to set forth the spiritual advantages that would follow renunciation of the authority of Rome. A very human touch is added by the detail that as Lord Howard was not "soo furnished to treate in such matters as touche our religion," his companion on the journey was to, "Make him a certain abrsviation, shortly conteyning certain auctorities of scripture mets to be spokin for the furtherance of that purpose," (3).

But all these painstaking efforts of Henry's ambassadors "dulcely to inculce" into the head of the king of

(1) Hamilton Papers 1, No. 22.
(2) The envoys were to, "endeavour themselves as occasion and opportunitie may serve them, which nevertheless they shall not soo prestte or seke as they may appere to have any instruction or commandament for that purpose, dulcely to inculce into the said King of Scottes had the argument of the instructions herto given, advauoyng the greate increase of honer of God thereby ensued within this realme, the innumerable riches that comynges,--and the greate joyes, wealth, and quiet that doth folowe therof, to his subjettes of citatés, degrees, and conditions." They shall "in like maner practise as they may conveniently get occasion, which they must gather of other mannes voresse and communication, or by the proposition of other maitres, to induce and conferre therupon the same, soo as they may rather appere ty chaunce thene of purpose, to fall into conference therof, with suche noble men and others being of auctoritie or nere aboute the king, as they perceyve or canne lerne be inclynable to the advancement of the truth, awai to tast their opinions concerning the kings majesties proceedings against the Bishopp of Rome and otherwise, as to persuade them to be inclynable to the like to be doyn ther, and to be meanes to their monister for the advancement of the same." (3) Hamilton Papers 1 No. 28.
Scots the advantages of a Reformation were of no avail (1). James, as Earlow had to report, was surrounded by clerical advisers, "the Pope's pestilent creatures, very like of the devil," who rendered abortive every effort of the English ambassador to influence him. The copy of one of Henry's new manuals of Church doctrine which was tendered by the ambassador to the Scots king was put aside unopened, and when a violent thunderstorm happened to interrupt Earlow's eloquent denunciation of Rome, James devoutly crossed himself, exclaiming that he did not know which frightened him more,—the thunderstorm or Earlow's blasphemy!" (2).

**SADLER'S MISSIONS.**

In spite however, of these rebuffs the matter was much too vital to king Henry to allow of him being easily discouraged. The next ambassador to whom the delicate task was entrusted was one who became very famous in the history of the diplomatic relations of the two countries during the next twenty years. This was Sir Ralph Sadler.

Sadler was first sent on embassy to Scotland in 1537. The business of the envoy on that occasion has no bearing on our subject though we find in the correspondence connected with it an interesting glimpse into the state of religious feeling in the north of England at this time. The northern counties, Sadler found to be in an unusual state of turbulence as a consequence of the recent rebellion. Dissatisfaction with the changes in religion was very great and the town of New Castle had

---

(1) James's attitude never altered from that expressed in a letter to Henry after the first embassy. "As to the matter," he writes, "schawin be your ambassadourie, we may rocht of our obligations but first kip our faith towar God and our obediens till Holy Kirk, as all our forefathers done this threttan hundrethe yerle by past and above!" Ibid No 23. Dec. 3 1525.

(2) Hume Brown's Hist, 1, 303.
almost been the centre of a serious rising. This of itself would show how vital to England was her neighbour's attitude to the religious question, and we find that the subsequent embassies of Sadler are entirely devoted to the advocacy of Church reform in Scotland.

Sadler's second mission, in 1536-40, was nominally concerned only with the maintenance of good relations between the two crowns, but the English ambassador had secret instructions to endeavour to instil into the Scots king's mind suspicion of Cardinal Beaton. He was to acquaint James with the perfidy of the Cardinal, as it had been accidentally revealed to Henry through the confiscation of letters from a ship which had been wrecked on the English coast. These letters, it was affirmed, contained a plan by which Beaton designed to usurp the whole government of Scotland, and bring it under the absolute control of Rome. With this introduction, Sadler was to unfold to James, "the crafty and untrue dealing of those prelates, to what ruin they labour to bring the state of kings, that they may be rulers of all, and keep them in their own realms as their ministers and deputies, or else by most detestable and impudent boldness, vindicate the deposing of them."(1).

Thus was James to be incited against his clergy, and stimulated to follow his uncle's example in the repression of them. The English ambassador was to declare how, "His majesty would wish and desire that his good nephew, seeing the untruth and beastly living of those monks, and such other of that kind, as occupy a great part of his realm to the maintenance of their volupties, and the continual decay of his estate and honour, would rather apply himself by good and politic means to increase his revenue, by taking of some such of their houses and

(1) Sadler's Papers 1, P.6.
possessions in his hands, as might best be spared, and such of the rest as be most notable, to alter, as his majesty hath done here, and convert into better uses, whereby he should well see that one house so altered should tend more to the honour of God, and to the good order of his realm, than a hundred of them now doth." (1)

But the king's reply to Sadler's suggestion that he should enrich his revenues by confiscating the property of the Church, shows how strong was the bond between James and his clergy. "Most heartily," he told Sadler, "I thank the king's grace, mine uncle, for his advice; but in good faith, I canrot do so: for methinks it against reason and God's law to put down their abbeys and religious houses, which have stood thir many years and God's service maintained and kepted in the same. And what need I to take them to increase my livelyhood, when I may have anything that I can require of them? I am sure,...there is not an abbey in Scotland at this hour, but if we mister anything, we may have of them whatsoever we will desire that they have; and so what needs us to spoil them?" (2).

Sadler proceeded to point out the degeneracy of the religious houses, as brought to light by Henry's visitations, but to this also the king had his reply. "God forbid that if a few be not good, for them all the rest should be destroyed. Though some be not, there be a great many good, and the good may be suffered and the evil must be reformed, as ye shall hear that I shall help to see it redressed in Scotland, by God's grace, if I brook life." Again Sadler had the last word. "Sir, quoth he, "ye must do as Christ saith, Omnis plantatio quam non plantavit pater meus coelestis, eradicabitur.

(1) Sadler's Papers. 1, P.7.
(2) Sadler's Papers, P.30.
And so by my truth ye must weed them up by the root, as the king's grace, your uncle, hath done, or else ye shall never redress them." (1).

The English ambassador pressed his contention to the very best of his ability, and used every weapon he had to strengthen his argument. "I had ready in my bosom, "he writes to Henry, "the device made of the alteration of Christ's Church in Canterbury, which your majesty commanded me to take with me. "Sir", quoth I, "your grace shall see here what a godly alteration the king's majesty your uncle, hath made in England, of the religious houses there, which before nourished a sort of unprofitable idle people," and so I read the same alteration to him of the said Christ's church, which he said, 'Sure was both godly and charitable.' 'In this sort,' quoth I, 'his majesty hath transformed the most notable abbeys in his realm. 'And,' quoth I, 'would your grace do the like, and take some of them into your own hands, to the augmentation of your revenue surely it should stand much with your honour and great profit, and one house so altered should tend more to the glory of God than they all now do.'"(2). But James could not be moved. (3).

(1) Ibid P.31. (2) Ibid P. 44. (3) James refused to listen to any insinuations against his clerical friends. "By my truth," he exclaimed, "there are two laws, the spiritual and the temporal, and for my part I trust I shall do my duty to God in the discharge of such things as pertain to the temporal power within my office and rule within this realm. But as for the spiritual law, in good faith, we take no regard thereof, but commit that to the pope's holiness, and other ordinary ministers of the kirk within our realm." Sadler, Mrs. Sadler, however, stuck to his contention. "Thinks your grace," he replied, "that if the ministers of the spiritual laws within your realm, for that they know your grace taketh no regard thereof shall not do their duty, so that your people in their default shall perish for lack of justice, and run headlong in blindness and ignorance of God's word, for lack of doctrine, and due preaching of the same by your prelates and clergy of your realm, think you..that in that case, if your grace do not your kingly office to redress the same, and appoint every man to serve in his vocation, that ye shall not yield a just reckoning thereof to God?" Ibidem.
Sadler, in his own summing up of his apparently fruitless embassy, attributes his failure to the predominance of the clergy at the Scottish Court. Writing to one of the Privy Council, he says, "I am right well entertained here, specially of the king. And surely it appeareth that I am very welcome to him, and to the most part of the noblemen and gentlemen here, that be well given to the verity of Christ's word and doctrine, whereof be a great number, but the noblemen be young,...so that the King, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy, as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here: they be never out of the king's ear. And if they smell anything that in the least point may touch them, or that the king seem to be content with any such thing, straight they inculk to him, how catholic a prince his father was, and feed him both with fair words and many, in such wise as by those policies they lead him (having also the governance of his affairs) as they will." (1)

But this lack of definite success did not prevent a third mission. Sadler was again despatched to Scotland in 1541. The ostensible reason for his journey was to explain to the Scots king that the work of fortifying, which was being carried out in England, was not for any purpose of offence, but merely defensive. This however, was only an excuse for a cunning renewal of the attack in the old quarter. The English ambassador was to explain that the work of fortification was necessitated through no other cause than the conspiracy, "against his noble majestie and realm, by the bishopp of Rome, and certain of his adherents and allies, intending his grace's destruction...and the subversion of his hole comonwealth" (1) Sadler's Papers P. 47.
With this introduction, the appeal to James to follow his uncle's example and break with Rome is again most exhaustively and eloquently developed. Henry, well aware of James's devotion to Rome, and knowing how difficult it is to "dissuade a thing already so persuad-ed and beaten into his sayd nephew's heed," is very loth to cause his nephew any offence. Yet as the matter both touches kings, he feels himself compelled to discourse, "the crafte, illusion, and deceiful practices" of the Roman clergy. Henry warns his nephew to join to his wit, knowledge, and learning, the prudence of the serpent. He is not to "thinke himself," as some of his clergy would have him to be, "as brute as a stocke!" and distrust his own ability to understand Christ's Word---Why should his good nephew not understand the true doctrine and discern the truth of things as well as the clergy? Henry advises his nephew to pay more heed to the "workes and dedes" of the Bishop of Rome and his clergy than to their "fayer paynted wordes"... He would fain induce him to lean upon the pure Word of God, and not be mislead by their superstitions. Further, he prays James not to believe the false and lying reports about his uncle that have been circulated throughout Christendom, by the Pope and his agents. Henry is defamed by these enemies, only because in his adherence to the Word of God, he has abolished "thair Romayn abuses and supersticions in his realm and taken upon him to exercise that power and authoritie upon his Church of England, and the clergie thereof, that the bishopp of Rome many yeares craftily and deceifully had usurped from his majestie, as he doith usurpe upon his good nephieu." Then he draws James's attention to that "sklaundrous orator, the Cardinall Pole, the king's rebell, who wandereth about to publish a cull of the said bishops against his hieghnes," and hopes that if he should be sent to Scotland, that James would not allow
the bull to be published. Finally, Henry is willing to send his nephew, secretly, some "good, honest, and true learned men," if he will give them favourable audience,—"he, himself without the presence of his clergie, or their partial fators," and he is also anxious to meet James in person, though he is afraid, that James's clerical advisers will dissuade him from accepting the invitation. He concludes by beseeching his nephew not to become the tool of Rome by attacking England, "especially where the matter that his hieghnes defendeth is God's, and his words own cause, and the conservation of the right of kings and princes, usurped by the sayd bishop," (1).

But so far as the king was concerned, the persevering efforts of Henry and his ambassadors were fruitless. Any intention James may at one time have entertained of reforming the Scottish Church was soon dispelled by his dependence on the clergy. Henry was furious at the failure of his embassies, and the subsequent behaviour of his nephew did not improve matters. Sadler had practically brow-beaten the king into a promise to meet his uncle at York for conference. James's clerical advisers took good care that he should not fulfil his pledge. The result was war, the disaster at Solway Moss, and the death of the unfortunate monarch soon after.

RETROSPECT and CONCLUSION.

Although these embassies failed in their object to convert the king, they cannot, for that reason, be ruled out as entirely ineffective. To the end, the regal power in Scotland, except for one brief period, was hostile to the Reformation. It was among the nobles and the lesser barons that it found its leaders and patrons. Although Henry failed to influence the king,

(1) Sadler's Papers. PP 50-53.
there must have been many present in the Scottish Court who already favoured the English alliance, and eagerly approved the policy of Church reform propounded by the English ambassadors. Sedler tells us that he was personally very welcome, "to the most part of the noble-men and gentlemen here, that be well given to the verity of Christ's word and doctrine,—whereof be a great number." Sir David Lyndsey, for example, who escorted the ambassador to the Court,(1) would find himself in warm sympathy with the anti-clerical views expressed by Sedler.(2) Sir John Borthwick was another of King James's courtiers who could have been charged with favouring the heresies of England. That the clergy were keenly alive to the influence exercised by these ambassadors is evident from the suspicion with which they regarded the conduct of the Englishmen. Among other incidents of a like nature, Sedler describes how, "They raised a bruit here, that I and all my folks did eat flesh here as heretics and Jews; and thereupon open proclamation was made by the commandment of the Cardinal in all the churches within his dioceses, that whosoever buy an egg, or eat an egg within those dioceses should . . . be burnt as an heretick."(3) The legislation of the Parliament of 1540 would indicate that something had happened to upset the churchmen. Among the Acts passed is one, "for honour to the holy sacraments", another, "For worship to be had to the Virgin Mary", another,"That no private conventions be made to dispute the scripture," while another denounces "pain of deid" with confiscation of goods to anyone who impugns the power of the Pope.

This rush of anti-heretical legislation immediately after Henry's embassies gives good ground to assume that his efforts had not been altogether fruitless.

(1) Sedler's Papers, P. 18.
(2) Chapter on Scottish Refugees in England.
(3) Sedler's Papers, P. 47.
Some useful evidence in this connection is afforded by a letter from Sir William Fure to Cromwell in 1540. (1) It gives a report of Sir David Lyndsay's Satire of the Three Estates which was played before the King at Linlithgow. An interesting fact is that the Englishman's informant, one Thomas Bellenden, is described as concerning religion, "Inclined to the soorte used in our Soverains Realme of England." James's grim threat on this occasion that he would send his disorderly clerics to be dealt with by the king of England is most suggestive. For many, there must have been an added sting in this satire of clerical abuses, to remember that in England they had been corrected or abolished years before, (2).

We may be sure that the jealous eye of England, as revealed in this letter of Sir William Fure, did not merely gloat over these discontents without trying to turn them to advantage. One way, and that perhaps of inestimable importance, in which she showed her sympathy, was by holding out open arms to all who fled from Scotland for the sake of religion. The long list of such refugees will be enumerated in a later chapter, but it is worth notice that even at this early date, 29th March, 1539, we have the Duke of Norfolk writing from Berwick, and describing how, "Dayly cometh unto me, some gentlemen, and some clercles, which do flee oute of Scotland, as they saie, for relyinge the Scripture in Inglish: saying that if they were taken, they sholde be put to execution." I gave them gentle wordes, and to some money," (3).

(1) Lemon's State Papers V. P. 170, also quoted in Hill Burton's Hist. iii P. 170. "I had vs divers communynge wth Mr. Thomas Bellenden, one of the Counsellours for Scotlande, a man of gentle and sage conversation, specially touching the state of the spirituallites in Scotland an gathering hym to be a man inclined to the soorte used in our Soverains Realme of England. I did soo largely brake with hym in those behalves as to move to know of mynde the King and Counsell of Scotland, was inclined unto concernyng the Bishope of Rome, and for reformation, and etc.

(2) For example, the excessive death dues which was one of the scandals exposed by Lyndsay, had been mitigated in England as early as 1523. T.C. Lant's Intro. to Hamilton's Catechism xv.

(3) Quoted Knox 1, 66 footnote s. Also Lemon's St. Papers.
Thus in different ways Henry was encouraging the desire for Church reform in Scotland. The strength of his influence may be inferred from James's warning to the Pope that Scotland was in danger of following England, that the "tares" were not only in the neighbouring field, but now in the nearest furrows. It is clear therefore that although Henry sowed the seed sometimes on hard ground where the clergy were quick to swoop down and devour it, some fell on good ground, and was later to bring forth an abundant harvest. Henry's solid achievement in this period was that he raised a Protestantism in Scotland from being feeble and unorganised, as well as a persecuted and struggling minority, to the place of an official party of recognized importance in the state. By the end of James V's reign this party was openly launched on its career endowed with a definite policy, and backed by powerful friends to whom it would look for sympathy and support.

Footnote (3) Contd. Cf. a letter from Sir Thomas Warton at Carlisle 7th Nov. 1538 to Lord Cromwell, it is said:— "There was at Dumfries laitlie one Frere Jeron, called a well lernid man, taken by the Lord Maxwell upon commandment from the Bishops, and lyith in core yerons, like to suffra for the Inglissh manes opynions, as thai saie, anenpst the lawis of God. Hit passath abrode daylie, thanks be to God, there, all that same notwithstanding." Quoted Laing's Knox. 1, P. 64. Footnote 8.
The death of James V, and the birth of an infant queen to succeed him, inspired the English monarch with the hope that he would now be able to put an end to the danger that had always menaced him from the north. Henry VIII was not, of course, the first to see the natural unity of the island of Britain, nor was he the first who had sought to achieve it by the statesman like means of marriage alliance. There had been a whole series of marriages or projected marriages between the royal families of both realms, (1). But there had never been such a golden opportunity as this present. The marriage of the Queen of Scotland to the heir to the English throne could only be regarded as a most happy conclusion to the struggle of centuries. The historians of the Archbishops of St. Andrews, though eloquent partisans of Cardinal Beaton's patriotism, admit that, "The policy of Henry VIII to secure an alliance between Scotland and England, and to reform the Church in Scotland might be set forth as the device of a wise statesman who discerned the needs of the times." (2). But we might go further and say that in the conception of this policy Henry was even in advance of his time, and if he had only brought the same genius to bear upon the execution of his plan that he showed in its conception, the Reformation in Scotland might have been anticipated by well-nigh a score of years.

Henry, none the less, saw from the start that spiritual unity would be essential to the political alliance. The union of the two kingdoms could never be considered safe while one of them was bound to Rome.

(1) cf. Mathieson P.E.
(2) Archbishops of St. Andrews iv, p. 215.
Reform of the Church therefore, always stands in the forefront of his policy towards Scotland. The marriage alliance was from all points of view so fair, and so reasonable, and Scotland at the time appeared so helpless with most of its nobles his prisoners of war, that Henry would anticipate little difficulty in securing its approval. To bring about religious conformity on the other hand would tax all the resources of statesmanship. Yet the two policies were vitally connected. Shipwreck of the one would entail the downfall of the other. And so it fell out. The triumph of the church party silenced the project of a marriage alliance. This interdependence of political and religious interests has been most admirably illustrated by the contrasting of the correlative facts: "The Parliament which approved the marriage authorised the use of the Bible; the Parliament which repudiated it, passed an act for the suppression of heresy." (1).

ARRAN'S PROTESTANTISM

In the Earl of Arran, the regent appointed on the death of King James, Henry appeared to have found a fit instrument for his purpose. "The fame of our Governour was spred in diverse countreis, and many praised God for him," (2) — was the witness of Knox regarding the advent of Arran as leader of the government in Scotland. "The cause of the great favor that was borne unto him was that it was bruited that he favored Goddis woord; and because it was weall known that he was one appointed to have been persecuted, as the Scroll found in the Kingis pocket after his death did witness." (3).

(1) Mathieson, Politics and Religion in Scotland, P.5.  
(2) Knox 1, 101.  
(3) Knox 1, 92.
During the first few months of his regency, Arran proved likely to be most amenable to Henry's desires. The Regent was in favour of friendship and alliance with England. He had little love for France, and most important of all, he was eager to reform the Church.

In regard to the first, he declared to Sadler that his ancestors came out of England, and that he himself was, "the king's majesty's poor kinsman." (1). As for the French alliance, he confessed to Sadler that the Scots, "had never gain nor benefit by France, but great cumber, lose, and slaughter for their sakes, wherefore, as for his part, he was no good Frenchman." (2). His desire to reform the Church was apparently quite sincere, and he seems to have realised from the first that such reform was inseparable from, and dependent upon, the English alliance. His own words were that he would endeavour, "to set forth the glory of God with the assistance of the king's Majesty," and immediately after he took up the office of Regent he wrote to Lord Lisle, Henry's agent in the north, proposing an alliance as the first step towards Church reform, (3). He also asks that an embassy be arranged, "for contracting of the paice betuix the realmis to the honour of God, Martht- setting of his Holy Worde, rest and tranquillitie of the inhabit-antis and faithfull subjectis of athir of the realmis."

(1) Sadler's Papers I, 216.
(2) Ibid 1, 93.
(3) This letter dated 18th Jan, 1542-3, reads, "It hes plesit Cod to call ws to the Government of this realme, incuring the tendir and less aige of our soverane Ladis (quhame Cod preserve) and we are myndit with the grace and help of God, to put sum reformation in the stait of kirk of this realme, to the hie honour of God, far the setting of his trew worde, and proffeit to our common well, the quhilk may nocht weill be done without greit inconvenient, weir standing betuix the two realmeis, as it dois instandlye; and giff your soverane and master be of mynde that Goddis word accrees and prosper in this realme, as we trast he i, we demit nocht bot his majeste wyll put away the cause and occasion that is obstable of imped­ment thairto." Hamilton Papers 1, No. 282.
Sir George Douglas, writing to Lisle ten days later, endorses the Governor's letter, and goes a step further. "The Governour," he writes, "shewes unto me that an he had any sure quyetnes with the kinges majestie, our master he wold reforme the hole Church of Scotland in to the same sorte that the kinges majeste has reformed England." Nor was Arran's profession all talk. He authorised certain friars to preach against the abuses of the church, a move which greatly intrigued the eager watchers across the Border, and was at once reported to the English Privy council. Lisle took the opportunity to write at once to the Governor, a quiet letter of advice and encouragement, suggesting that it would not be amiss to "lett slipp" among the people, the Bible and New Testament in English, and if there were none available in the Scots tongue he would help to get him some from England. That the Englishman's advice was in complete harmony with the Governor's plan is clear from the reply which it evoked. "Ye sail be sure of one thing," he informs Lisle, "the maist part of all the gret men of this realmes and temporall stait ar als weil mynfit as we to furthset the word of God." But as the clergy were ignorant and opposed to the free passage of the Bible, he had caused, "certane pur frersis that ar weil lernt in the Holy Scriptures preche playrly the trew word of God, to draw the hartis of the pepill to God and to cause thaim under­stand the abuson of the stait of clergy in tymis past, the quilk sail cause thair dowingis be holdin odious to the pepill and be that meynis repres their pryde." (4)

(1) Ibid, Vol 1, P. 401.
(2) "Therle of Arran," they were informed, "caused a sermon to be made by a clack freer who grounded his sermon moche upon the abuus of the Church, and the setting fourthe of Christies doctryne, and to have the Byble and Testament sett fourthes in Englishs for the better erudicion of the ignorant people." Ibid 1, No. 228.
(2) Ibid 1, No 228, Feb. 13th.
(4) Hamilton Papers'1, No. 303.
At this stage, Arran appeared in every respect amenable to those schemes of Church reform which Henry VIII was so anxious to have introduced into Scotland. Indeed, Arran's enthusiasm for reform was too much for Lisle, who, apparently, did not realise how large it loomed in the plans of the higher councils. "As touching Therle of Arren's lettres," he wrote on one occasion, "me thynke they sounde all toguyders uppon Church mattiers, and towchithe no parte of the kinges purpose." (1). Yet although the beginning was so auspicious, Arran was to prove a very shaky reed. To those who knew him, the sorry ending of his Protestant profession was doubtless no surprise. He had been noted by the English Ambassador Magnus, as far back as 1525, as being "some deal varisunf; while Sadler in the present instance was to sum him up as, "the most inconstant man in the world, for whatsoever he determineth to-day, he changeth tomorrow." (3).

THE "ENGLISH" LORDS.

During the reign of James V, the political faction known as the English party, had, as we have already mentioned, been gradually growing into prominence. With the death of the king, and the assumption of authority by the nobles, through the necessity for a regency, this party now becomes a dominant force in Scottish politics, and Henry VIII's most cherished weapon for the furtherance of his religious schemes in Scotland, (4).

(1) Hamilton Papers 1, No. 288.
(3) Sadler's Papers 1, No. 1.
(4) Cunningham's Church History of Scotland Vol I, P. 292.
The nucleus of it, as we have already noted, was the Douglas family. In consequence of their feud with the king, the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, had been "forfeited," and forced to take refuge in England. Henry VIII had welcomed them gladly, and entertained them at his court. Their host however, was no mere altruist, and now when the death of the Scottish king and the prospect of a long minority brought the opportunity to mould Scotland to his will, Henry hoped to reap the reward of his hospitality to the Douglas exiles. Angus and his brother were immediately sent back to Scotland where a favourable reception was accorded them. Parliament reversed their forfeiture and they were once again accepted as leaders in Scottish affairs.

The Douglases did not return to Scotland alone. With them came the Solway prisoners,—the Scottish nobles and gentlemen who had fallen into English hands at the rout of Solway Moss and had been kept captive in England. These prisoners were now given their freedom and sent back to Scotland, pledged to promote Henry's plans by all means in their power. At the same time they were instructed, "openly with their reasons and allegations, and secretly with their practices aparte, to allure to the kinges majesties devocation, as many of the nobilitie and counsayle of Scotlande as they can." (3).

A third group whom it would be easy to "allure" into the English party would be the large number of barons and gentlemen throughout the country who were

(1) Outstanding among them, and destined to play a prominent part in the events that followed were the Earls Cassillis and Glencoeirne, the Lords Somerville, Maxwell, Grey, Oliphant, and Fleming. Knox I, P. 102. Footnote 1. (2) Hamilton Papers 1, P.p. 374, 5,6. (3) Ibid P. 338.
favourable to a reform of the church, (1). It was inevitable that these men should throw in their political lot with the Anglophile party. The opposition included the whole body of the clergy. Therefore, the more strongly defined the division between the two parties became, the more strongly would the English party become identified with anti-clerical feeling, and the desire for a reform of religion.

It is not always easy to define what was the religious standing of many of these "English Lords." Froude has described them as, "Gaunt and hungry nobles, careless most of them of God or devil... who eyed the sleek and well-fed clergy like a pack of famished wolves." But, on the other hand, we think of Cassilis, the pupil of Buchanan in Paris, of Glencairne, rising alone in a hostile assembly to protest against the execution of a humble protestant, of Balnaves, meditating on justification by faith in a French prison, and we say that such a generalization is far wide of the mark.

There can be no doubt that the Douglas chiefs, Angus and his brother, acquiesced in the reforms carried out by their royal host in England. Perhaps it was even more than formal acquiescence. In a letter to Henry VIII dated 21st January, 1542-3, Lisle after recounting a discussion in the Scottish Council anent the restoration of the Douglases, describes how, "The Cardynall desired to speke with Syr George Duglas apart, and the first question he asked hym was, whether he was a good Christian man or not, or whether he was gyven to the lerning after the fassion of England or not? And Sir George said this

(1) That was no negligible minority is sufficiently attested by the widespread belief in the story of the Scroll of heretic gentlemen found in King James's possession. The list, according to Sadler, contained in addition to the names of the leading nobility, "a great many gentlemen, to the number of eighteen score, because they were all well minded to God's Ford." Sadler's Papers I, 24, and Calderwood I, 145.
that he was christened and if he were not a good Christian man, he praid God to make hym one; but as he thought the best of them two might be amended, and wished that the realm of Skotland were no worse Christians than the realm of Englaunde. Wherewithal (he saith) the Cardynall gave a grett sighe and wold speke no more of those matteris unto hym. (1). Another incident of a slightly later date shows much more depth of religious conviction. Knox has recorded how Sir George Douglas, after listening to a sermon preached by Wishart at Inveresk, openly declared, "I know that my Lord Governour and my Lord Cardinall shall hear that I have been at this preaching. Say unto thame, that I will avow it, and will not onlye manteane the doctrin that I have hard, but also the persone of the teacheare to the uttermost of my power."

By many of the other nobles, the reform doctrines were even more openly professed. There was no doubt about the attitude of the Earl of Glencairne, or of that of his son Lord Kilmours, who was to become the great promoter of the Reformation. As early as 1540, he had written a satire against the Franciscans, (2). In 1543, he was denounced by the churchmen as, "an avowed favourer of Christ's word and doctrine," and enthusiastically commended by Sadler, who wrote, that there 'be few such Scots in Scotland, both for his wisdom and learning, and well dedicate to the truth of Christ's word and doctrine. The Earl Marischal was also favourable to the Reformation and commended by the English ambassador. (4). Lord Maxwell was known to be "a Lutheran." At the same time there were many "Professors" among the lesser nobility. The Laird of Brunston, (5) was a keen reformer. Henry

(1) Hamilton Papers 1. 235.
(2) Quoted in full by Calderwood.
(3) Sadler's Papers 1, No. 83.
(4) Ibid. 99.
(5) Ibid. p. 239.
Balnaves who became an ardent partisan of the English alliance, and a pensioner of Henry VIII was also a friend of the Reformation from an early date. (1). Other names that might be mentioned in this connection are Freke of Tun, and the Laird of Lauriston. Both were friends of David Straitor, who suffered martyrdom on 27th August, 1534, (2).

An important point in connection with our subject is the fact that several of these noblemen who were to be used to propagate the English king's scheme for the conversion of Scotland, undoubtedly owed their own conversion to the new doctrines, to English influence and example. We have remarked how the nobles during the last reign had wavered in their support of the French alliance and had been thrown into opposition to the clergy who controlled the king, and maintained the traditional policy. It was the natural outcome of this opposition that they should see in the overthrow of the old religious system in England an example that might well be imitated in Scotland. Their captivity, after Solway Moss, had however, given them the distinct advantage of studying at first hand the nature and effects of the English revolution. According to the custom of the day, the Solway prisoners were honourably entertained in the houses of the English aristocracy. The Earl of Cassillis was committed to the care of Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Earl of Glencairn, to the Duke of Norfolk; Lord Maxwell to Sir Anthony Brown; Lord Somerville to the Lord Chancellor; Lord Fleming to the Lord Privy Seal; Lord Oliphant to Sir Thomas Lee; the Lord of Menteith to Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Robert Freke to

(1) Calderwood has recorded that even in the reign of James V, he was "not without envy and malice of the clergie for this religioun." Quoted Knox iii, 405. (2) Tytler's Hist. ii, 188.
the Bishop of Winchester. (1). These lords would thus see with their own eyes the purification of the English Church; they would discuss the new doctrines with its leaders; and they would assuredly come to feel that by a similar severance in their own case from the power of Rome, a new bond of sympathy and understanding would be created between the two peoples. What wonder, then, that on their return to their native country we should find them eager to cleanse in like manner their own hopelessly corrupt Church, and oppose the unnatural league with France by striving for amity between the two English-speaking peoples.

PATRIOTS or TRAITORS.

The question whether these Scottish noblemen were patriots or traitors has been perhaps the biggest bone of contention in this contentious period. It is, of course, in some respects quite immaterial to the purpose of this thesis whether they were patriots or not. But when we find that one answer to the question has been taken as ruling out all possibility of English religious influence at this time, the problem obviously requires our attention. "The peace of 1550," says one writer (2), is the true starting point of the Reformation, for it closed the long struggle for national existence, and it was not till Protestantism had outlived its invidious political connection that it could hope to find favour with the Scots." My contention, however, is that the Reformation movement in Scotland, never outlived its "invidious" political connection. But when it was seen

(1) Calderwood 1, P 153. and Lodge's illustrations P 44. (2) Mathieson P 18.
that the policy with which it was identified, so far from being invidious, was rather greatly to be desired, its triumph was assured. Such a writer would have us deny to the Scots nobility any degree of statesmanlike vision. He would infer that there were none of them who saw that the days of the French alliance were numbered, and that the future welfare of Scotland was bound to become merged in that of England. It is, therefore, good, to have the support of such an eminent authority as Professor Hume Brown. He says that, "what we have to note with regard to the 'assured Scots,' is that beneath their self-seeking there was a feeling which was shared by the best and most thoughtful of their countrymen." In the refusal of the Scottish nobility to invade England, he sees the sum of the whole matter, - "In this refusal there can be little doubt that they showed themselves wiser patriots than their rulers." (1). It did not require any very great divorce from prejudice, or uncommon depth of common-sense to see that England rather than France was the natural ally of Scotland. It had been pointed out by Major, and re-affirmed by Lyndsay, neither of whom could be described as poor patriots. There were obvious enough reasons for an amity with England. The alliance with France had brought little good result. There were the lessons of Flodden and Solway Moss. And, after all, it was surely a reasonable policy to seek the friendship of a people speaking the same language, living in the same island, and separated by no dividing barrier. We are, therefore, bold to affirm that not only was the Reformation movement in Scotland from the first in many ways an English movement, but also that this association, so far from being invidious, was in complete accordance with the true political development of the country.

(1) Hume Brown's John Knox i, 39 & 40.
(2) Prof. Maitland in Cambridge Mod. Hist. 2. p. 531.
The principal cause of the inaccurate accounts of our subject has been the effort of writers, who were not in sympathy with the Reformation, to attribute the whole origin and development of the movement to base motives on the part of its leading protagonists. And, of course, in the period under review, when anarchy and lawlessness were the order of the day, and politics was a maze of sordid intrigue, it is easy to find an abundance of material to support such arguments. There was not, at the time a very high standard of public morality, though, in this respect, Scottish politicians were no worse than their contemporaries elsewhere. It is however futile to charge the Protestant Anglophile nobility of Scotland with treachery, because they were in the pay of the English king, while all the time gold from France was simply pouring into the coffers of their enemies. Yet not only Roman Catholic writers, like Father Hunter Blair, and Bellesheim, but historians like Professors Herkless and Hannay have lauded Cardinal Beaton as a fine-spirited patriot. The same reasoning, of course, would make John Knox out to be a despicable traitor. (1). When we find ourselves therefore at this conclusion, we feel instinctively that something is wrong. Professor Macewen was much more discriminating in his summing-up of Beaton. "He was," he says, "consistent in his 'patriotism,' if opposition to England with partiality to France merits such a name." (2). Beaton in a letter to the Pope reveals his true position. "I spare no vigils," he wrote, "toils, or costs in labouring and watching for the freedom of the Church, the dignity of the Holy Apostolic see and the integrity of this realm!" The order is significant, Church comes before country (3).

(1) "Modern Scotland in the creation of the traitor whom conscience compelled to speak the truth." Smellie. The Reformation in its Literature. P. 250.
(2) Macewen i. 101. (3) Beaton had at one time not scrupled to favour England against France when appealing for ecclesiastical preferment. Cf. Magnus to Wolsey 1st March 1573. lemon's State Papers iv. p. 66.
Much of the glamour and much of the gilt of Beaton's patriotism perforce vanishes, when one remembers how closely it coincided with self-interest.

In whose favour, then, are we to decide this question,—the Scottish bishops, or the Scottish nobles, the clergy who favoured France, or the gentlemen who sought to arrange an amity with England? Father Hunter Blair would have the clergy stand out in strong contrast to the "venality and corruption of a degenerate nobility." (1)

But if the word degenerate is to be applied to either, surely it is the Scottish bishops who best merit the title? Exceptions there were bound to be, but if there was one incentive to reform the Scottish Church, it was undoubtedly the immorality, the ignorance, and the greed of the Roman Churchmen. If the Scottish nobles had been the unprincipled, avaricious brigands that Blair and Bellesheim would have us believe them to be, then the Scottish Reformation would have taken place much more speedily than it did. But the real difficulty was that the maligncd nobility were not sufficiently supine for Henry VIII's purpose. Many of them were Protestants, and favoured the reform of religion. Many were opposed to the French alliance, and anxious for amity with England. But Henry by arrogance and overweening ambition, wrecked the purpose he was so anxious to promote. The rock on which he struck was the fact that these Scots noblemen, against whom the charge of treason has been so often hurled, were at bottom staunch patriots. When Angus, after the fight at Ancrum Moor, was told that the English king had vowed to be revenged on him, he answered, "Is our good brother offended that I am a good Scottishman?" (2). This significant reply is a conclusive answer to our question.

Such was the party which Henry VIII now had at his

(1) Preface to Bellesheim's Hist. p. xii.
(2) Calderwood 1, 182.
disposal in Scotland. It was instructed and drilled to the last degree. "They shall not only utterly put in oblivion and forever cast away all old displeasures which have here tofore risen between them, and soon to use an other in all honest and kyndly facion, but also that they shall doe the semblable towards all others being in Scotlands which by any good meanes may be wonne and induced to be conformable to that parte which they promised"(1). Last, but not least they were "So rewarded as might declare a greate prince liberalite,"—Henry of course being the speaker!

That the "parte" was that they were intended to play is fully revealed in the correspondence of Henry's ambass- ador, Sir Ralph Sadler, who was again sent down to the Scottish court at this serious juncture. But before he arrived an event had occurred which gives a good indication of the strength of the party which stood for religious reform. This was the passing of an Act of Parliament permitting the Bible to be read in the vulgar tongue.

THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

"The Word of God," was one of the catchwords of the English party, and now when they came into power, they immediately sanctioned the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. An act to this effect was passed on 15th March, 1542-3.(2). In trying to estimate how far, if at all, this Act was due to English influence, we may infer a good deal from the following points. The passing of the Act was one of the first measures of the Parliament which was reinforced by the return of Henry VIII's "Assured" Lords. It was introduced by Lord Max-

(1) Hamilton Papers No. 276, 275.
(2) Acta Parl. Scot. ii P. 415, 416, "Ament the writting gavin in be Robert lord maxwell, in opinion of my lord governor and the lordis of articles to be aviset be thaim if the same be reasonab or not of the quhill the tendor fowllowis. It is statute and ordanit that It salbe lefull to all our sovranor ladyis leges to half the haly write bair the new testament and the auld in the vulgar tong in Inglis or Scottis, etc."
well, one of their number, who had been quartered during
his captivity with Cranmer and who is reputed to have
been a convert of the English Archbishop. That he took
this step in compliance with the wishes of the English
king, receives support from the fact that it was an
important part of the policy of Henry's agents in the
North to introduce the English Bible into Scotland.
Lisle, writing to the Governor on 13th February, says
"I think ye wold not do amisse yf your lordship did lett
slipp emonges the people in this tyme, the Bible and
New Testament in Englishe, whereby they may perceyve
the truthe, and so shall they knowe the better howe to
eschue sedicion, and if you have non in your own tonge,
I will help to gett you som out of England." (1). To
this suggestion, the Governor replied—"As for the
Bybill thair is nane to be gottin in our vulgar toung
in this realme, quhairfor it wull pleis you to cause
ane Englishman cum heir with certane of thaim quha sall
have ane sur pasport and weil tretit, to sel thaim to
inhabitantis of this realmes." (2). Nothing could be
more significant than the eagerness of the Englishmen
to stimulate and supply this desire for Bibles. The
very day on which the Regent was writing his request for
Bibles, the Council in the North were sending post-haste
to the Privy Council for the means to carry on this cam­
aign of Bible propaganda. "The Rotesey heralde," they
report, "telleth us that the Bible, the New Testament,
and such other books as be sett fourth within this realme
in English, as they Prymer and the Psalter, be mervelous­
ly desyred now of the people in Scotlant, and saieth
that if there were a carte lode sent thither they would
be bought every one; but my lordes, here be none to gett,
surely if there were, we wolde sende them som! Wheresfore

Hamilton Papers No. 299.
(2) Ibid No. 303.
if ye thinke good to find meanes to convey any such bokes unto them, we thinke surely it were not amysse so to do." (1).

We will deal in a separate chapter with this most important question of the distribution of English Bibles, and religious books among the Scottish people. But surely the facts we have mentioned point irrefutably to the conclusion that this famous Act, which forms a landmark in Scottish Church History, was engineered by English influence, and was regarded as marking an important step forward in the development of Henry's plans for Scotland. (2)

**SADLER'S EMBASSY.**

About March, 1543, Sadler was again sent down to Scotland. The object of his mission was threefold. First he was to endeavour to secure an alliance between England and Scotland, and negotiate the proposed marriage of the infant queen to Prince Edward. Second, he was to promote by all means in his power the policy of Church reform, and the separation of Scotland from the Apostolic See. And third, though of course part and parcel of the other two, he was to secure by fair means or foul, either the silence or the allegiance of Cardinal Beaton.

Of the first, little need be said, but in this, up to a point, the mission was successful. A treaty of

(1) Hamilton Papers No. 316.
(2) That it was looked upon as an invaluable asset in the furtherance of the English policy is clear from one of Sadler's letters. When the ambassador endorses the Earl of Glencairne's request for the return of his son, Lord Kilmaurs, he points out that the young Protestant nobleman would, "do much good in the country here, now that the gospell is set furth in English, and open proclamacyons made here that it shal be lefull to all men to rede the Bible and testament in the mother tong, and specially charge that none preche to the contrary upon payne of death." Hamilton Papers i, P. 482.
peace between the two kingdoms, embodying the proposal of a marriage between Edward and Mary, designed to take place when the latter had attained the age of ten, was approved by the Scottish Parliament on the 8th of June, and agreed to at Greenwich on the 1st of July. When the Scottish ambassadors returned, the treaties were solemnly ratified at a service in Holyrood Chapel on the 25th August, and the Great Seal of Scotland was appended.

The story of the efforts now made to influence the religious development of Scotland is fully told in the correspondence that passed between Sadler and his master. The Governor, Sadler found most amenable to his suggestions of Church reform, and declared himself in closest sympathy with such a policy. He told Sadler the story of the scroll of heretics which was found in King James's possession,—"Of the which," he said, "he was the first," and explained that, although in those days he dared not avow it, "Now," quoth he, "I shall do mine endeavour to set forth the glory of God with the assistance of the king's majesty." "In the same communication" Sadler continues,"we had up the Bishop of Rome, 'whom' he said, 'for these five years and days he never took to be any more than a bishop, and that a very evil bishop.' Assuring your majesty, I perceive so much by him, that if he could tell how to bring it to pass, he would be well content that this realm left clearly the obedience and devotion of Rome." (3). This question of reform held first place in the conversations of the two men. In a further letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, Sadler tells how that day he had dined with the Governor, "who

(1) Rymer xiv, P.P. 783-781.
(2) The Englishman's account of his first introduction to the Scottish Council has this significant touch, "I found" he says, "a great number of noblemen and others at a lon' board,..but not one bishop nor priest among them." Sadler's Papers P. 78.
(3) Sadler's Papers P. 94.
made me great cheer and good countenance, and all dinner-
while held purpose with me against the abuses of the
Church, the reformation whereof he most earnestly pre-
tendeth, and desired me to write into England for some
books of the New Testament and Bible in English, and
also the statutes and injunctions made by the king's
majesty for the reformation of the Clergy and extirpation
of the Bishop of Rome, which I promised him I would do.)

Sadler's object was of course, to persuade the
Governor to give practical effect to his zeal for reform.
We find him suggesting that the Regent should not only
follow the example of the English king, but should take
advantage of his proffered help and advice. Reporting
a further conversation with the Governor, Sadler describes
how the Earl of Arran took occasion to discourse with
him about the perplexed state of the realm, how he stood
himself in the contempt of the clergy, who knowing his
affection for God's Word, would take advantage of any
opportunity to accomplish his downfall. "Wherefore,"
says Sadler, "I advised him to consider how great a stay
his majesty should be unto him, as well in the mainten-
ance and upholding of his authority and state of his
government, as also in the execution of all his godly
purposes, both to bring this realme to due obedience,
and in the advancement of God's glory in setting forth
of his true word and doctrine." (2).

Henry was so encouraged by his ambassador's reports
of Arran's tractability, that he proceeded at once to
the composition of minute instructions for the reform-
ation of the Scottish Church. Writing, "Concerning the
extirpation of the state of monkes and fryers,"--an
enterprise, which the English king speaking as an expert,
says, "requireth politique handelyng,"--he bids his

(1) Sadler's Papers P. 108.
(2) Sadler's Papers P. 125, or Hamilton Papers No. 356.
ambassador advise the Governour to appoint, "substantial and faithful commissioners, as it were to put a good ordre in the same...Whiche commissioners must have secret commission most secretly and groundely to examyn all the religious of there conversacion, and behaviour in their livinges, whereby if it be wel handeled, he shall get knowledge of all there abhomynacions; and that ones gotten, he with the chief of the noblemen, agreyng with them for the distribution of summe of the landes of the abbays to be divided to himself and among them, which shal be to there grette proufite, and benefite." The property might also be used for the sending "of poore lame men of scolers to the Universite," and also "to thaugmentacion of the state of the king and the yong quene and their heyres." (1).

With the idea of strengthening Arran's adherence to the English king, a marriage was proposed between the Princess Elizabeth and his son. Sadler was instructed to put before the Governor the benefits that would accrue from such a union. "Forasmuch as we perceyve hym that he is specially affected to the setting forth of Goddes worde, and the avauncement of Goddes glory in thextirpacion of hypocryse, and usurped auctcrite by the Bishop of Rome, in thexecution wherof may arryse amonges carnal men grudge and displeasour, me think that he joyning with us in this marriage and theeducation of his sonne, shalbe greate staye and assistance to his proceed­inges, soo as he may the more boldly procede in that godly enterprise, and the adversayres the more afrayde to resiste and withstande hym or to enterprise anything to his disquietnes." (2).

Sadler, acknowledging these instructions reports how the proposals of the English monarch were immediately

(1) Hamilton Papers No. 348.
(2) Hamilton Papers P. 501.
placed before the Governor, and how well they were received. He reports that he found the Governor," in such terms as your majesty would have him, for the setting forth of the scripture...and when your majesty shall have perfected such books as I told him your highness intended to set forth by publick authority, containing such a certain doctrine, as is maintainable by the mere truth; "if it may like your majesty to send him the same,' he saith, 'he will not fail to publish it here, desiring, with all his heart, that these two realms may concur in unity of the true understanding of God's word.'

With regard to Henry's proposals for the reform of the Church, the English ambassador found the Regent in full agreement. He had informed Sadler that, "he desired no less the reformation of the abuses of the Church, and the extirpation of the estate of monks and friers, with the abolition of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority," than King Henry did himself. He also told the Englishman how he had thought that, "All monasteries and houses of religion, were first founded to pray for the souls being in the pains of purgatory," and if there were no purgatory, as he was now of opinion, these foundations were in vain. "Methinketh," he remarked, to Sadler, "it is a good ground whereupon to proceed to the extirpation of these sects ye speak of, of monks and friers, and to convert and employ the same to such better uses as ye have declared unto me on the king's behalf." "I told him," adds Sadler, "he should find causes and grounds enough to proceed thereunto, if he would once go about it." (1)

Another part of Henry's policy was to send preachers into Scotland. These were officially introduced by Sadler to the Scottish court. Writing on the 13th of June, he reports his compliance with his master's wishes.

(1) Sadler's Papers P.P. 127-8.
in the fulfilment of this duty. "Please it your royal majesty to understand, that since the arrival here of Sir Robert Richardson, priest, I have, according to your high commandment and pleasure, commended him on your majesty's behalf, to the governour here, who did very thankfully receive him, and for your majesty's sake, hath well entreated him, heard him preach, and also hath promised him convenient living and entertainment." (1).

The English King, however, had to safeguard his designs on Scotland from the interference of Rome. On one occasion his ambassador had to ride post haste over to Glasgow to warn the Governor of the expected arrival of a papal legate, Mark German. The Governor, however, assured Sadler that there was no cause for alarm,—"Glad he would be, according to his majesty's advice, to work so as the said legate's journey hither should be impeached and broken." He would proceed with his work of reforming the Church, and advancing God's word, "maugre the legate, the cardinal, the bishops and priests with all their partakers," so long as he had the favour and support of the English monarch. (2).

But the real enemy to all Henry VIII's designs for the religious emancipation of Scotland, was, of course, Cardinal Beaton. The Cardinal had already been recognised, during Henry's encounter with James V, as not only the outstanding supporter of the Catholic Church in Scotland, but also the soul of the opposition to the English alliance, and efforts had been made to secure his submission. He had been invited to England, but had refused to be beguiled. Henry would now have been glad if his English Lords could have procured the surrender of the Cardinal, but this, in spite of the large rewards offered for his capture, they were unable to perform. The Cardinal was too powerful, as well as

(1) Sadler's Papers 1, 217.
(2) Sadler's Papers 1, 200.
too popular. The English lords were already viewed with sufficient suspicion without getting themselves into further disfavour by attempting any outrage against the man who was the head of what was still the popular religion. True, the Cardinal was indeed in disgrace, and under strict superveillance for a short time, but he quickly regained his freedom. Thereafter Henry's greatest anxiety was how to combat the influence of the Cardinal in the Councils of Scotland. In a letter of July, 31st, to his ambassador, he is agitated by the rumour of agreement between the Governor and the Cardinal, and is full of warning against the danger of admitting the churchman to the council-board. "For being ones placed there, the Governour may be assured that his partie shall be such as with wit, rewards, and falsched he wol wol so work, as nothing shalbe doon, but as himself listeth," Sadler was therefore to advise the Governor, "Either to provide that the Cardinal be in no wise oon of the said counsail, or at the least, that befor he entre he shal renounce his red hode, and also condescende that Goddes Word may be set furthe according to the Governour's determynacion." (1). But here Arran was under no misapprehension. "It woold be difficile," Sadler reports him as saying, "to make the Cardinal renounce his redd hatt, for he thinketh he woolde rather embrace and receyve the iii crownes." But he was wrong in thinking that he could, "cause him condiscend that Goddes Woord may be sett fourthe." (2).

Yet the scheme seems to have kept simmering in the king's mind. He knew only too well that his success would be assured, if only he could win the great Cardinal to his devotion. The ambassador was therefore urged to renew his efforts. "Our pleasure is," writes Henry, as late as August 24th, "youe shall devise sum waye to

(1) Hamilton Papers. No. 435.
(2) Ibid No. 443.
bring the Cardinal to communicacion with youe, and as of yourself," — this was, of course, a common formula in delicate negotiations, — "to allure hym by all the wayes youe can conveniently, and with fayr behestes and promises of as great profett, friendship, and fredome at our hand as ever he had at the French kings or bishoppes of Rome, if he would be faithful unto us, and serve us truly. For although he should leave his red cappe (whereunto youe must travail all youe can to bring hym) yet shuld he be still an archbishop and prymat over the rest." (1) But all these "fayr devises," and even the promise of a bishopric in England that would be richer than any France could offer him, failed to influence this strong-minded and keen-sighted ecclesiastic.

ARRAN'S DEFECTION

All these fine schemes, however, came to a sudden end as a result of the Regent's reconciliation with the Cardinal. "Arran was prepared to engage in war, rather than yield to Henry's imperious demands, and in his passion or patriotism, dismissed the Protestant preach­ers from his household."(2). — so Professors Herkless and Hannay account for the change. But this is rather making a hero of the vacillating regent. He had himself confessed that he had no love of France. He was naturally inclined to the English alliance, for in seeking to impress Sadler with his friendliness, he had claimed to be himself half-English, being even distantly related to the English king. From what we know of the Governor, we may expect to find the secret of his action in a sordid, rather than in a lofty motive, and there can be no doubt that the purely selfish motive, the realisation of all that a breach with the Church might mean to his

(1) Hamilton Papers. No 457.
position as second person in the realm, must have weighed with him more than anything else. Beaton could hold over Arran's head the Dmoclean sword of illegitimacy. (1) The Earl of Lennox had recently returned from France, and Beaton did not hesitate to use the new-comer to threaten Arran's security. They were both closely related to the Royal house, and in the event of Arran's birth being called in question, Lennox would become second person in the kingdom, and heir to the throne.

This successful and unscrupulous effort to detach the Governor from his friendship with England is another indication of how sensible the churchmen had become of the danger which assailed them from the south. That the "revolt" of the Governor from England was not only of political, but of great religious significance is shown by the fact that when he joined forces with the Cardinal, he had to be formally received back again into the Church. The ceremony, which took place at Falkirk, was witnessed by one of the English spies, and is described in a letter from Parr to Suffolk on the 13th of September. "And upon Fridaye, before the coronacion," the account runs, "he (the governor) declared to the Cardinal all things that was required or laide unto hym on the behalf of the kinges majeste, and, amonge other things, touched the suppression of sundrie abbayes, and freres, declaring that by his consente the Freres of Dundee was sacked. And thereupon bothe the lordes spirituell and temporell said he was accurst, and in­courred the sentence of the Churche for causing or suffering the same to bee touched. And on the mornwe,--

(1) Calderwood has made this the strongest argument used by those who seduced the regent from his reforming zeal, namely,--"the danger he brought upon himself if in one jote he suffered the Pope's authority to be violated, or called in doubt, considering that there upon onlie stoode the security of his right to the succession of the crowne For by God's word could not the divorcement of his father from Elizabeth Hume, his first wife be found lawful." Calderwood 1, 162.
he was enjoyned to passe to the Freres in Sterling,—
and there received open penance and a solemnne othe in
the presence and hereing of all men that was there, that
he shulde never doo the same againe, but supporte and
defende the professon and habit of monkes, freres, and
such other; and thereupon being absolved by the Cardinal
and the Busshoppes, herde masse and received the sacra­
ment." (1).

Knox has noted how the regent's renunciation of
"the profession of Christ Jesus," implied the violation
of his oath "for observation of the contract and league
with England." (2). It is indeed a conspicuous illus­
tration of the progress of the idea that heresy and
friendship with England were, in the very nature of
things, inseparable.

RETROSPECT and CONCLUSION

The record of Sadler's mission, is the strongest
evidence we have of Henry VIII's desire to influence
the religious development of Scotland. It must be
granted that the embassy failed to achieve the purpose
for which it was planned, but that does not preclude
the possibility of its having had more subtle and far­
reaching effects. For one thing it helps us to realise
how great was the force of England's example. The
 correspondence connected with this embassy gives a vivid
picture of the awakening of the Scottish clergy to the
danger that threatened them from the south, and reveals
their strenuous efforts to avoid the coming cataclysm.
"As to the kirk-men," writes Sadler, "I assure your
majesty, they seek the war by all the means they can,
and do daily entertain the noblemen with money and
rewards to sustain the wars, rather than there should be

(1) Hamilton Papers, 2, No. 30.
(2) Knox's Historie, i, p. 109.
any agreement with your majesty; thinking verily that if peace and unity succeed, that they shall be reformed and lose their glory, which they had rather die and put all this realm in hazard, than they would forego." (1). In fact, we would have no better witness to the fear of English influence on Church affairs in Scotland, than the anxiety of the Catholic clergy to provoke a quarrel between the two countries, "They have devised," wrote Sadler, "to levy a tax off the clergy for the maintenance of the wars, which they have offered to the Governor and nobility here, and to go themselves in person to the battle, rather than your majesty should have so much of your desires as is now granted." (2). Similarly, one of Henry's spies reported how he actually heard the Cardinal say, "that or the king of Englande shulde have any interest in Scotlande or medle within the same, he and manye of the clergie shulde first die; and sawe hym ride in harnesse, furnished with weapon as if he there shulde have gone to battall," (3).

The English Reformation had indeed come as a nightmare to haunt the Scottish Churchmen. Never again could they return to their old sleep. One of Lisle's spies informed him of a petition made to the Governor "by the clergie and commynaltie," in which they begged, "that the state of their clergie may stand and contynue in such condicion as yt ys at this present and not followe the caste of England." (4). And the same fear is revealed in the interesting report of a conversation between Sir George Douglas and the Cardinal. Referring to the late rebellion and strife with the Cardinal's party, Sir George, "tolde him playnally ... that their querele was for the private weale of the churche, and

(1) Sadler's Papers, p. 173. Hamilton Papers 1, No. 452.
(2) Sadler's Papers, p. 184.
(3) Hamilton Papers, ii, No. 30.
(4) Hamilton Papers 1, No. 332.
the mayntenance of the prowde state and abuses of the same. Whereunto the Cardinall answered him verie frankly and playnelie, that he saide traw, and that in dede what soever pretence they made, that was the principall foundation of their querele, for they understoode that the Governour woolde putt downe all the abbeys in the realme, and make alteracions in the state of the churche, folowyng suche injunctions as in lyke case have been sett fourthe in England." (1). The close connection between the policy towards England and the question of Church reform in Scotland was thus clearly demonstrated. Arran, on one occasion, complained to Sadler of his being called by his enemies, "an heretic, and a good Englishman." (2). The fact that "heretic" and "Englishman" were regarded as synonymous terms of abuse for the Scottish reformer, is surely significant.

When we remember, however, the power of the Roman clergy, Sadler's failure must appear inevitable. There was little effort to disguise the fact that his mission was directed principally against the Churchmen. The common people were not wrong in the impression they formed of his presence among them. "They say playnely," he reported, "that the onely cause of my lying here is to put downe the kyrke." (3). It is therefore not to be wondered at, that the churchmen should rise up in a body to cast him out. A strongly organised body they were, too. While the people still remained subservient to the old superstitions, the priests wielded a power against which Henry and his ambassador could hurl themselves in vain. When Cardinal Beaton was seized and imprisoned,

(1) Ibid 1, No. 452. Sadler to Henry VIII 17th Aug. 1543.
(2) Sadler's Papers, p. 234.
(3) Hamilton Papers No. 14.
the country was laid under an interdict. (1). The immediate result of this "direct action" on the part of the clergy was the removal of the Cardinal -- much to Henry's chagrin -- to the freedom of his own castle of St. Andrews. "The cause thereof," as Sadler reported the Governor to have confessed to him," was..."that it should be noted and bruited that he was at liberty, to the intent the priests throughout this realm, which before were at such a stay, as they would neither minister sacraments nor any mass, might eraupon the rather now at this feast of Easter, in quiet manner be induced to execute." (2).

Compared with the organised strength of the churchmen, we realise how weak was the English party. The "Assured Lords" were regarded with hatred and suspicion. Sadler makes no effort to disguise the unpleasantness of his position, and the popular distrust of his friends. The English party, in spite of bribery, threatening, and cajolery, was rotten with intrigue. It was no well-knit raft on which Henry might sweep forward to success, but a tangle of flimsy floats, in some cases mere wreckage, which would turn over, or go under altogether if subjected to too much strain. The time would come when these same nobles, knit strongly together by a common bond, would look back upon this effort of England to foist

(1) What this meant for both parties may be gathered from a dispatch of Leslie's dated February 15th. - "My messenger showeth me, that all the priests thorougb the realme be at a staye agayne, for masse and divine service, and that upon Sunday laste their was none songe in all Edinburghe but that there of Arren's chapelyn, and therele of Anguishe's chapelayne did execute. And he saith the there ys a black frier doth preche the gospel, and that the said erle of Arren and therele of Anguishe doth cause hym to preche dayle, sometyme in the abbeie of Holyroodhous, and sometyme in the grstt parische churche and gothe with hym theymselfs, for fere lest he shulde have harme, for my messenger tellith me (he thinketh) he shulde be torn in peces, if they did suffre hym to preche out of their compagnie." Hamilton Papers, 1. No. 301.
(2) Sadler Papers P. 110.
(3) Sadler's Papers p.p. 165-234, and 326.
reform on Scotland, as a most worthy and commendable precedent, but that time was not yet.

When we consider the difficulties with which Henry had to contend, it is surprising that he had any result at all to show for his labours. Yet we find that when the papal legate Marco Grimani visited Scotland in October, 1543, it was a mournful tale that he had to tell his correspondent. The realm he found so divided and full of heresy that unless God provided for it, they would shortly hear of Scotland as they had heard of England. Williams, and Rough, and Richardson were not the only preaching friars who flourished under the Regent's protection. There are records of payments in the Council register of Aberdeen, in May, 1543, to Friar John Rodger, and Friar Walter Thomson for "preaching and teaching of the trew word of God." (1). This was perhaps the most effective in the long run of all the schemes devised by the English king. Although the people, as a whole, were inimical to the English alliance, they were always very ready to lend a favourable ear to denunciations of the Roman clergy, and it should not be forgotten that it was just this rising tide of popular indignation that finally swept away the old Church.

The passing of the Act allowing the reading of the Scriptures in English was an even more important contribution of England to the cause of the Scottish Reformers. Whether directly or indirectly due to English instigation, the fact that for several months of the year 1543 "the Bible in English tongue might be seen lying upon almost every gentleman's table," is so significant, that if England had done nothing more than this, she would still hold an important place in the history of the Scottish movement. These two factors, the preaching of

(1) Quoted by Hay Fleming in "Reformation in Scotland" P. 196.
Arran's Protestant friars, and the Act making it lawful for every man "to half the Bible in Inglis," were regarded by Bishop Lesley as "the first alterations of religion" in Scotland. They were, at any rate the first steps of the civil authority in favour of Reformation, (1). When we consider, therefore, their importance, we will be satisfied if it is conceded, no matter in how small degree, that both were due to the influence of England, and the conscious efforts of the English statesmen.

One writer, (2) referring to this Protestant period of Arran's regency speaks of the "blighted Protestantism of 1543." The adjective is somewhat ill chosen. It was rather a seed time. Frosts and snows were to come upon the field where the seed had been sown, and it was some time before Protestantism raised its head. But the great credit due to Henry VIII is that he took this opportunity to prepare the ground, and that he sowed a lot of seed. The movement was now launched. The illuminating description which Sadler gives of the various factions in 1543, might be applied with perfect accuracy to the state of parties in 1558. "There is one party, which be called heretics, and the English lords...Another party there is which be called scribes and pharisees, which is the clergy and their partakers; and there is a third party, which seemeth to be neuter and will, (as it is thought) be always ready to take the better and stronger party, if there come any business among them. Thus is this realm divided and perplexed," (3). The resemblance is so close that one might well say that in 1543, Henry had determined the channels in which the Scottish Reformation would flow. It would be inspired and led by a body of Protestant

(1) Dr. Hay Fleming's Reformation in Scotland P. 231.
(2) Mathieson P. 12.
(3) Sadler's papers P. 216.
noblemen, backed by the power of England. It would be opposed by the clergy, supported by foreign soldiers and French gold. The commons even in the final struggle, would still remain a precariously uncertain quantity.
CHAPTER III

HENRY VIII and CARDINAL BEATON

In spite of the Governor's "revolt", the English ambassador was not immediately withdrawn. For one reason, he was virtually a prisoner in the Scottish capital. Henry had seized all Scots shipping in the English ports out of revenge for the failure of the negotiations. The Edinburgh merchants therefore sought to detain Sadler as surety for the return of their ships. As it was, an attempt was made on his life. "I had liefer," he wrote, "live among the Turks ... The town of Edinburgh is wholly at the Cardinal's devotion ... The whole body of the people is on the other side." (1).

The most important result of Arran's defection, from the point of view of our subject, was that Beaton now comes to the front as the champion of the Church, and the leader of the opposition to England. As Lord High Chancellor, and with the Governor wholly in his power, he was supreme in the State, as well as in the Church, and in full control of all the affairs of the realm. The subsequent relations of England and Scotland, therefore, resolve themselves practically into a duel between the Cardinal and the English king. For the Cardinal it was to be a losing battle. The populace who hurled insults at the English ambassador were ere ere long to curse the churchman who was now the life of the opposition to his master. His ignominious removal from the path of

(1) This remark of Sadler's, gives us the clue to Henry VIII's subsequent policy towards Scotland. It was against the Cardinal and his power over the Scottish people that Henry was now to direct his influence.
the Reformation was the price finally paid for his opposition.

THE POLICY and IMPOLICY of FORCE.

During this last period of his reign, from 1543 to 1547, Henry forsook the policy of persuasion, and sought to impose his will on Scotland by force. He recalled his ambassador, Knox tells us, "with fearful threat—nyngis, as Edinburgh after felt, denounced war, maid our schippis pryses, and merchantis and marynaris lauchfull preasonaris, which to the browghtis of Scotland, was no small hearschipp." (1). For the moment, the English king threw all his diplomacy to the winds. Nothing would satisfy him but war. Suffolk wrote counselling caution and pointing out the futility of an invasion, "Which when it is done, your majesty, not offended, shall be never the nearer of your highness's godly and noble purpose; nor these that counteth themselves your majesty's friends, if ye have any there, either to be helped or relieved thereby, but rather to be in the worse case. For, as I think, all Scotland will say, What false traitors are these? Or, Unhappy men are they, that will take the King of England's part, or think that the King of England intendeth any good to the young Queen his neice, or the realm of Scotland, but only to the destruction of the same. By reason whereof, after Edinburgh is burned, your highness shall have nothing in Scotland but by the sword and conquest. For, I think that they which show themselves most assured to your majesty, after that doth will show themselves your highness's enemies to the utmost of their power," (2). A similar warning came from that astute politician Sir George Douglas. He

(1) Knox 1, P. 110.
pointed out how, "The kinges frendes durste never open to there frendes that they go aboute to make a parte for Englishmen, for if they did, there frendes have tolde theim they woll forsake theim," and advised that therefore, "the tyme of openinge for any parte for Englonde, must be after deadely feude rysen amonge theim selfes, and not before,—the feare whereof muste make theim searche for souccoure of England for avoyding of there owne daungiers," (1). This advice, given in 1543, shows how far-seeing was the Scottish statesman, and one cannot but feel, that if only the English king had been able to control his passionate temper, the friendship of the two kingdoms, and the reform of the Scottish Church might have been achieved before, instead of so long after his death.

THE ENGLISH PARTY.

Nevertheless, the religious element was not allowed to disappear entirely from subsequent negotiations. Henry still had his English party in Scotland, and the furthering of the reformed faith was still part of the Scots noblemen's contract of allegiance to the English king. Early in March of the year following the Governor's defection, Henry re-issued his demands to the "assured Scots,"—demands which differ very little from those of the previous year. In these, the religious issue is put in the foreground. "Touching the things that we require to be observed on their behalf towards us, the first is, that the said Earls shall, to their powers, cause the word of God to be truly taught and preached among them, and in their countries, as the mere and only foundation from whence proceedeth all truth and honour, and whereby they shall judge who proceedeth with them

(1) Hamilton papers, ii, No. Ill.
godly and justly, and who abuseth them for their own private glory and purpose." (1):

It is obvious therefore that the English Party is becoming increasingly Protestant in character, and the persecuting zeal of the Cardinal only tended to accent this characteristic. Every deserter from Rome became inevitably an adherent of the English party, while those who fled the country, found in England not only friendship, but every opportunity to strengthen themselves in their knowledge of the Truth.

No better proof, however, could be found of the strong Protestant sentiment existing among the partisans of England, than the welcome and support given to George Wishart on his return to Scotland about this time, (2). His patrons included some of the most prominent members of the English party. Knox (3) mentions "the Lord Merschell" as one of Wishart's friends. This was the same earl Marishall who had been described by Sadler as "a goodly young gentleman, well-given to your majesty," (4). The Earl of Glencairne was another. So was "the Lard of Dune," (5). The lairds of Ormiston, Brunston, and Calder, in whose homes the reformer was an honoured guest were all noted for their friendship with England. Even that unscrupulous master of intrigue, Sir George Douglas, was not afraid to avow his sympathy with the new preacher, (6). So pronounced in its reforming zeal, and secure in strength did this faction become, that there was even an attempt made to set up Wishart to dispute with the bishops in one of their conventions.

The Cardinal was well aware of the disturbing influence that England and this English party were

(2) For question of date of Knox 1, 125. (P. 28-29)
(3) Footnote 2, Knox 1, 126.
(4) Sadler(s Papers 1, 99.
(5) Knox 1, 127, 122.
(6) Knox 1, 135.
exerting on the stability of the Church. In a "monition" that he set forth, convoking his suffragans to discuss the defence of the Catholic Church of Scotland, and the preservation of the common weal of the Kingdom, he points out the need for safeguarding the Church, "In this stormy time when Lutheran and other nefarious heresies swarm on all hands; while the nobles and leaders of this kingdom are in a manner divided amongst themselves, and even aim at having the authority of the realm, and at the same time our ancient enemies of England, cut off by the ecclesiastical sword from the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and declared heretics, are on every side invading the kingdom in a hostile manner, devastating it both with a sea fleet and with land armies and forces of armed men, and incessant raids, and as may be presumed, unless resistance be made by a powerful hand and arm, vigorously opposed to them, aim, at the total and complete conquest of the kingdom, and the final ruin of the Church of Scotland, and the overthrow of its liberty, meanwhile, they and other favourers, devisers, or followers of heretical perversity, and of the Lutheran or other nefarious heresies in the realm daily strive with their whole care, zeal, and diligence, simply and wholly to weaken, destroy, and subvert ecclesiastical liberty itself, the standing, and rights, and privileges of the Church of Scotland," (1).

HENRY VIII'S DUEL WITH THE CARDINAL.

During this period the history of the Scottish Reformation is virtually that of the duel between the two mortal enemies, Cardinal Beaton and Henry VIII. It may seem a far-fetched idea this, of the English King, as the great protagonist of the Scottish Reformation.

(1) Patrick's Statutes P. 244.
Yet that is what he undoubtedly was, for on the issue of their feud hung the future of the Scottish Church. The Cardinal was the corner-stone of the opposition to England, and Henry concentrated every power upon the effort to dislodge him. It was the hope of destroying the Cardinal's influence that was at the back of all his ruthless invasions of Scotland. On March 11, 1544, the following instructions were sent to the Earl of Hertford.

"It may like your lordshippe to understand the king's majesty's opinion is, that it shal be well-done for suche as mayrodes into Scotland to leve written upon the church dore, or sum other notable place, within all such Townes, or States, where they shall fortune to make spoyle, these or such other like words: 'Youe may thank your Cardinal of this; for if he had not bene, youe myght have bene in quiet and rest; for the contrary whereof he hath travailed as moche as can be to bring you to sorow and Trowble,'" (1). Hertford, accordingly submits to the king, "A plat of a proclimacion rufli hewen and pennid bi mi dulle wite, withowght the advis of ani other, to the intent that your most sage and wise hed may diminish, augment, or anichillat the same, as to your acustomid wisedum shall seme good and convenient," (2).

The proclamation in its final approved form made known the good intentions of Henry towards Scotland, shown in the proposed marriage and treaty of peace, "Which treti the Erull of Arrain your Governar, as ye caull him, in the name of the Holle reaulme, solemly reseyvid and opunlie sware on the evangilist to hould, performe, and kep. All which notwithstanding, bi the most crafti, divillish, and subtuel mene of your Cardinalle and his complisis, hath soo sedusid and allterid that most Godlie purpos, that all this reaulme hath good and just caus to

(1) Haynes' State Papers P. 11.
(2) Hamilton Papers. ii, 194.
curs him and all thos that hath binne hinderars and
letars of the samme," (1). That this policy of propagand
did not fail to produce the desired effect, is evident
from the reports which Hertford was able to send back,
of how the homeless women in 'the ruined streets of
Edinburgh had been heard to cry, "Wa Worth thee,
Cardinal!" (2).

PLOTS TO KILL THE CARDINAL.

The success of these designs to discredit the
Cardinal was soon apparent. The growing spirit of
revolt against the cruelties of his government, manifest-
ed itself in plots to take his life, and Henry did not
scruple to encourage the malcontents who meditated these
tries. The first plot was that which has given rise
to the controversy whether Wishart the Martyr was a
conspirator. On 17th April, 1544, Hertford reported to
Henry, that "A Scotisheman called Wysshert' had brought
a letter from Brunstone to the effect that Grange the
late treasurere of Scotland, the Master of Rothes, and
John Charters would attempt to apprehend or slay the
Cardinal on his passage through Fife, if Henry approved
the plan," (3). On the 26th of the month the Privy
Council informed Hertford in reply, that, "Wishert which
cam from Brounston " had been with Henry and declared
his credence, and had been assured that if the noblemen
and gentlemen named by him would do the "feate" against
the Cardinal, a refuge would be given them in England,(4).

The second plot was concocted in May, 1545, when
Cassillis addressed a letter to Sadler in which he made
an offer, "for the killing of the Cardinal, if his
majesty would have it done, and promise when it was done,

(1) Hamilton papers. ii, p. 312.
(2) cf Macewen i, 471.
(3) Hamilton Papers ii, No. 218.
(4) Ibid No. 223.
a reward," (1). Associated with Cassillis in this plot were the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Marshall and Sir George Douglas. Henry's reply, however although encouraging savoured too much of diplomatic caution to the conspirators. Sir George Douglas's letter in this connection is remarkable for its simple directness. "If the King would have the Cardinal dead," he says, "if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof .. the adventure would be proved, for the common saying is, the Cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland." This, of course, shows how successful had been Henry's efforts to bring the powerful prelate into disrepute. But Henry could not be too careful in the concealment of his design.

Even as it was we find St. Mauris, the Imperial ambassador in France, writing to Prince Philip of Spain that the French did not hold Henry guiltless. "The principal object of this letter," he wrote, "is to report that the Cardinal of Scotland has been killed by two of his servants, at the instigation of his Scottish enemies who are partisans of England. The French are certain that the King of England caused the murder," (2).

A third offer to kill the Cardinal was made in July of the same year, when the Laird of Brunstone again expressed his willingness to put his services at the English king's disposal. But this plot also came to nothing.

The motives which inspired the final, and successful attempt, are rather complicated, and no not necessarily concern us. What is of importance is that the actual assassins, and those who joined their company, were all friends of England. John Lesley had been a Solway prisoner, (3), while Norman Lesley and Kirkcaldy

(1) Lemon's St. Papers V P.448. Privy Council to Hertford, and Quoted by Tytler ii, 239. (30th May, 1545.
(2) Quoted in Archbishops of St. Andrews, iv. P. 205.
(3) Knox, 1, 172 Footnote 1.
of Grange had two years before received the approval of the English king in their designs against the Cardinal. That Henry was on this occasion in full sympathy with the perpetrators of the deed, is obvious from the help he afforded them during the subsequent siege of St. Andrews. Knox has described how the defenders of the castle made a passage to the sea and established communication with the English ships which, "had brought William Kirkcaldy from London...and had taken with them to the Courte of England, Johnne Lesly and Maister Henry Balnavis for perforfying of all contractes betwix thame and King Mavye, who promised to tak thame in his protection." (1). That English soldiers were assisting in the defence is proved by the stipulation in the terms of the surrender, "That the lyefis of all within the Castell should be saved, alswell Engliss as Scottish,"(2).

It has been doubted whether religious motives had any part in the assassination of the Cardinal,(3). But however that may be, there is no doubt that his death marks the turning point in Henry VIII's religious policy towards Scotland. It was his most substantial success in his attack upon the Scottish Church. Beaton was the last great pillar of that ancient institution, and with his removal the whole edifice tottered to its fall,(4). The Cardinal's last words, "All is lost," were literally prophetic. His death altered the whole situation. He had stood for all that was opposed to reformation. He was the great protagonist of the Roman Church, the staunch advocate of alliance with France, and the mortal enemy of English influence. That Henry contributed to

(1) Knox 1, 182. (2) Knox 1, 205. (3) Cf. Sadler to the Laird of Brunston. 4th July 1545. Lemon's St. Papers, Vol V. P. 470. St. note. "I am of your opinion, and as you write, thinke it to be acceptable service to God to take hym out of the waye, which in suche sorte dooth not onelie asmuche as in him is to obscure the glorie of God, but also to confound the common weal of his owne countrey. For surelie, if he were taken a waye,who is the roote of all your myserie, your countrey woode soone florish with Goddes woorde and his troute, and many good purpose wherof he hath been thonslie stage, wold then proceed to an ende."

(4) To quote the Roman Catholic historian of this period Contd. on p. 73.
his downfall is just another indication of the extent to which the English king was implicated in the story of the Scottish Reformation.

RETROSPECT.

In spite, however, of all his interference in Scottish affairs, thirteen years were to elapse between the death of the English king and the final establishment of the end for which he had schemed. It might seem, therefore, that the time, and money, and labour that he expended were out of all proportion to the results achieved. But the difficulties he had to contend with made this almost inevitable. At the same time his own idiosyncracies of temper militated against the success of a policy which, even under the most favourable conditions required, as a later occasion proved, the most delicate handling. Yet the paucity of the results in no way detracts from their importance. First and foremost, Henry VIII was unquestionably instrumental in giving the English Bible to Scotland. This surely is no slight distinction? Even though it was but for a few months that the privilege was enjoyed, yet during that time the Bible was to be seen lying upon almost every gentleman's table. Here indeed was a fire started which no persecution could quench! The English king had also done his utmost to direct attention to the degeneracy of the clergy, and to fan the popular discontent. He had thrown his frontiers open to all Scottish Protestants who had to seek refuge from their persecutors. Finally, during the closing years of his reign he had pitted all his forces against the great champion of the Scottish Church, and by accomplishing his death had removed the greatest obstacle in the path of progress and reform.

The part played by Henry VIII in the story of Scottish Reformation is reminiscent of one of Bunyan's
most famous allegories. "I saw in my Dream, that the Interpreter took Christian by the hand, and led him into a place, where was a Fire burning against a Wall, and one standing by it always, casting much Water upon it to quench it: Yet did the Fire burn higher and hotter. Then said Christian, What means this? So he had him about to the back side of the Wall, where he saw a Man with a Vessel of Oil in his hand, of the which he did also continually cast, but secretly, into the Fire."

Henry VIII was indeed to the Scottish Reformation. the man behind the wall with the vessel of oil in his hand. Through all the critical years of its early growth, he kept secretly pouring in the oil, and thus saved it from the fury of those who sought to quench its feeble flame.

Footnote (4) Contd. from P. 71. "the hope of that faction, who aimed with the assistance of Henry VIII at the total abolition of the old religion, were raised by the removal of the most powerful opponent." Bellesheim ii, 187.
PART II

THE ECLIPSE

of the

ENGLISH PARTY

1546-1558
"......old, unhappy far-off things
And battles long ago."
CHAPTER I.

THE PROTECTOR'S POLICY.

The Scottish policy of Henry VIII was not abandoned at his death. His cherished plan of a marriage alliance between the two countries, was eagerly pursued by his successors. The mark at which the Protector aimed was a united Protestant Britain, and to achieve that end, every available force was brought into operation. Somerset however, saw as clearly as Henry had seen, that the union of the two countries could never become an accomplished fact so long as Scotland remained faithful to Rome, and just as when in command of the invading armies, he had carried out his master's instructions with almost literal exactness, so now he set about his task, with what we would describe to-day as Teutonic thoroughness. Moreover this conjunction of religious and political interests coincided with the Protector's personal inclinations. "I have been always," were his last words, "being in authority a furtherer of religion to the glory of God to the uttermost of my power," (1). We find Knox lamenting the Protector's death as a severe blow to the Reformed Faith. "What the Devil and his members, the pestilent Papists, meant by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to speak in more places than one."(2). When we therefore consider these things we may naturally expect to find that the effort now made to bring Roman Catholic Scotland into line with Protestant England, eclipsed all previous attempts.

The changed attitude of France also made it imperative for English statesmen to turn their attention to Scotland. With the accession of a new French King Henry II in March, 1547, the support of the Scots became vital to

(1) cf Froude's Hist. of England.
(2) Knox's Faithful Admonition.
the success of French diplomacy. England on the other hand would be imperilled by the presence of this enemy at her doors. Scotland thus becomes again the bone of contention between the two rival nations. The ruling power in Scotland, still held steadfastly to the French alliance; but so frightfully was the country ravaged by armies of foreign soldiers, that the alliance was like to prove itself a doubtful blessing, and the Governor soon found himself in the unenviable position of "one that holdeth a wolf by the ears, in doubt to hold, and in danger to let go." (1).

THE GODLY CAUSE

Amid these sordid struggles the ideal for which the Protector strove, almost redeemed the mistaken policy of force, by which he sought to achieve it. What he proposed was a union of the two kingdoms, and that after such a fashion as marks him out as a statesman a hundred years in advance of his time. The Protector's ambition was no mere union of the crowns, but the complete incorporation of the two kingdoms into one body politic. The united country was to be called an Empire, and its ruler the Emperor of Britain. The immediate basis of this glorious structure was to be the marriage between King Edward and the Scottish Queen which Henry VIII had so admirably planned. This was the object which Somerset hoped to achieve by his invasion. Before entering Scotland he issued a proclamation in which he stated that he had no wish to menace Scotland's freedom, but only, "to bring to good effect the godly purpose of the marriage." (2)

(1) Cal. Scot. State Papers. 1, No. 337.
(2) The nature of his ideal is fully explained in his "Epistle Exhortatorie", "We proteste and declare to you, and all Christian people, to be the kynges majesties mynd, our Masters, by our advise and counsell, not to conquer, but to have in unitie, not to wynne by force, but to conciliate by love, not to sroyle and kil, but to save and keepe, not to dissever and divorce, but to joyne in marriate from high to low, both the realmes, to make of on Isle, one realme, in love, amitie, concorde, peace & Christ.
This "Godly Cause," as it was commonly called, was inseparably connected with the religious issue. There could be no "Unity and concord of both the nations," while Scotland remained loyal to the old faith. The conversion of the Scots, therefore, to the doctrines of the Reformation, was as essential to the success of the Protector's plans as was their consent to the marriage of their Queen. This latter object he was wrong in thinking he could procure by force, but the other he clearly saw could only be accomplished by some method of missionary propaganda. The invasion was thus as much an evangelical as a martial enterprise. Preachers were an essential part of the Protector's army. Bibles were included in the munitions of his forts. And when Scottish deserters embraced the invader's cause, adherence to the new Faith had precedence even of allegiance to their new Master.

ENGLISH INTRIGUE.

The new director of England's policy had ready to his hand that weapon which Henry VIII had so carefully prepared,—the English party. To preserve, and if possible, to strengthen this party, was the immediate aim of the Protector. One of the first acts of the new Government was to authorize the continuation of the payment of pensions to the 'assured' Scots. The Castle of St. Andrews was still held by a garrison composed of the murderers of Beaton, persecuted Protestants, and friends of the English alliance. Two of their number, Lesley and Balnaves managed to make their way to the English Court, and as a result of their representations the pensions promised to the conspirators were guaranteed,(2). Lesley was kept at the English court to assist communication, while Balnaves returned with instructions to use...
This "Godly Cause," as it was commonly called, was inseparably connected with the religious issue. There could be no "Unity and concord of both the nations," while Scotland remained loyal to the old faith. The conversion of the Scots, therefore, to the doctrines of the Reformation, was as essential to the success of the Protector's plans as was their consent to the marriage of their Queen. This latter object he was wrong in thinking he could procure by force, but the other he clearly saw could only be accomplished by some method of missionary propaganda. The invasion was thus as much an evangelical as a martial enterprise. Preachers were an essential part of the Protector's army. Bibles were included in the munitions of his forts. And when Scottish deserters embraced the invader's cause, adherence to the new Faith had precedence even of allegiance to their new Master.

ENGLISH INTRIGUE.

The new director of England's policy had ready to his hand that weapon which Henry VIII had so carefully prepared,—the English party. To preserve, and if possible, to strengthen this party, was the immediate aim of the Protector. One of the first acts of the new Government was to authorize the continuation of the payment of pensions to the 'assured' Scots. The Castle of St. Andrews was still held by a garrison composed of the murderers of Beaton, persecuted Protestants, and friends of the English alliance. Two of their number, Lesley and Balnaves managed to make their way to the English Court, and as a result of their representations the pensions promised to the conspirators were guaranteed,(2). Lesley was kept at the English court to assist communication, while Balnaves returned with instructions to use (1)

---

(2) No actual relief however, appears to have reached the besieged.
every effort to seduce the Scottish nobility to the allegiance of England. To what extent he succeeded may be surmised from the story of the register book found among his effects after the fall of the castle. It was said to contain the names of no less than two hundred Scots noblemen and gentlemen who had secretly bound themselves to the service of England, (1).

This fatal division in the Scottish ranks must have contributed largely to the disaster of Pinkie, (10th September, 1547). Knox describes how, "The earl of Angus, being in the vantgard, had in his company the gentilmen of Fyfe, of Anguss, Mernes, and the Westland, with many otheris that of luif resorted to him, and especially those that war professouris of the Evangel: for thei supposed, that England wold not have maid gret persuyt of him," (2). The defeat of such an army was inevitable. The distrust of its leaders was further intensified by rumours of the tempting offer of peace made by Somerset before the battle, (3) which was said to have been rejected and concealed at the instigation of the Clerical advisers of the Governor. Fifteen

(1) Tytler, ii, P. 255-257. That this is not improbabe, is evident from the record of an offer made by Glencairn to Somerset, in July, 1547, that if he were allowed a hundred and sixty horses for his protection, he would go to Scotland with "apparant traist," and raise a thousand men from his friends and kindred, and a thousand more assisters and favourers of the Word of God, and break and divide the country till Somerset should come with his army. Cal. Scot. State Papers, l. No. 26.
(2) Knox i, 211.
(3) Calderwood i, 242. As Bishop Sage has quaintly described it,—"Before Pinkie, Somerset sent a letter to the Scots, written in such an obliging style, and con- taining so kind, so fair, so equitable propositions, that the Regent advised by his Papist supporters, concealed it from the army, dreading that if he had shewed the letter to such men of interest in the nation as were then it would have taken so with them that the would have laid aside thoughts of fighting." Sage, P. 142.
hundred prisoners were taken, including the Chancellor the Earl of Huntly, and the Earl of Bothwell. These Somerset treated with the greatest consideration that he might win them to his cause. Thus the Protector's victory at Pinkie had considerable effect in strengthening the standing of the English party in Scotland, (1).

A fact, that at this point becomes more and more conspicuous is that allegiance to England now definitely implies acceptance of the Reformed Faith. Sir Andrew Dudley, writing from Broughty Fort at this time, -- 8th October, 1547, -- informs the Protector, that, "Divem gentlemen who favour the word of God would come in if they durst, but wait, 'till they see how the world goo:!'" (2). We find that when the provost, bailiffs, and Council of Dundee surrendered to Sir Andrew Dudley, they bound themselves primarily to be favoures of God's word, faithful and earnest setters forth of the same as nigh as God should give them grace, (3). How imperative was this obligation on all who would have the favour of England, we see reflected in the complaint of one of the English agents to his master that it made him sore to see these gentlemen feigning themselves favoures of the word of God, "More for your pleasure, than for Godes sake," (4). Among such were probably to be numbered

(1) Bothwell had been one of those whose names were found in Balmory's Register. Tytler, vi, P. 16. But now he swears wholehearted allegiance to the English king, "I, Patricke Earl Bothwel, of the good will, zeal, and love that I bear to the unities, wealth and commodites, aswell of my naturall country of Scotland as England, and for the dutie which I know myself to owe to the superior and natural lord of Scotland, Edward the vi, promise to serve his Majestie ... to lyve and dye in his Majestie's service." Hannay's Miscellany iii, P. 410. For this allegiance, he received an annuity of 3,000 crowns and an assurance of indemnity for his estates on the Borders.
(2) Cal. Scot. State Papers. 1, No. 58.
(3) Ibid No. 71. and Maxwell's Old Dundee, App. A.
(4) Cal. Scot. State papers. No. 73.
Lord Gray, the original owner, and his captain, Henry Durham. Instead of defending the fort they had surrendered it to the English Fleet when the invaders had discharged a few shots against it "for a colour." This act Durham subsequently represented to the Protector as done out of "the good mind and favour," he bore to "the true setting forth and knowledge of the gospel, and unto the King's majesty of England," (1). In the eyes of the rulers of Scotland at all events, devotion to the new faith of itself implied attachment to the English alliance. This was exemplified by the case of John Melvill, Laird of Raith. Calderwood describes how this aged man, "was beheaded for writing a letter to an Englishman, in favour of a captive, his friend, with whom he was kept a prisoner. Although there was not the least suspicion of anie fault, yett lost he his head, because he was knowne to be one that unfainedlie favoured the truth, and was a great friend to these that were in the Castell of Sanct Andrewes," (2).

That the English party thus came to be definitely identified with Protestantism was the outcome of the deliberate policy of the Protector, who made the embracing of the reform doctrines a sine qua non of the English assurance.

**ENGLISH PROPAGANDA.**

Somerset's invasion of Scotland was carried out both by sea and land. His fleet swept down on the East coast and effected landings at Inchcolm on the Forth, and at Broughty on the Tay, both of which were at once fortified. The land army captured Haddington and made it into an almost impregnable fortress. Later in the year Arbroath and Dundee were occupied. Dalkeith was also

(1) Quoted in Maxwell's Old Dundee, P. 97.
(2) Calderwood 1, No. 262.
taken, while further south such fortresses as Dunglass, Lauder, Ayemouth, Newark, and Roxburgh fell into the hands of the English, and secured their lines of communication. The military was however, only subservient to the missionary enterprise. The occupied areas were at once converted into centres for evangelical propaganda. 

Preaching occupied an important place in this propaganda. Not only were preachers sent from England but even converted Scots friars were pressed into the service. The instructions to the English leaders regarding the clergy whose houses they destroyed were to the effect that all friars who had taken the oath of allegiance and renounced the authority of Rome, were to be spared. They were to be advised to discard their clerical vestments, and if any of them were able to preach, they were to be encouraged to do so, and expose the abuses which had crept in among them. Scots preachers who had taken refuge in England were also sent back to preach to their countrymen under English protection. Grey of Milton, writing to Somerset from Haddington in June 1548, says, "Your Grace last winter had resolved to send two or three preachers of this country 'borne! but they were then unwilling to risk their bodies, they need fear nothing now, and if sent to this town would be well received and win many to your purpose," A letter is also preserved from Alexander Whytlaw from Dundee to someone in England to the same effect. It reads, "This schalbe to dessyr your maistrship to vryt to my Lord protector's Grace for ane prechour callit John Rocht," This was John Rough, the chaplain to

(1) The letters of Sir Andred Dudley, the captain of Brown- ty Fort throw an interesting light on the methods employed. Writing to the Protector in October, 1547, he says, "I use the country gently as ordered," Cal. Scot. State Papers, i. No. 56, and shows that it was his business to win to the English allegiance the local "favourers of God's word." It was due in great part to these efforts that the town of Dundee professed the reform faith and was received into the English Assurance.
(2) cf Pollard's Somerset, P. 162.
(4) Ibid.iii.
taken, while further south such fortresses as Dunglass, Lauder, Ayemouth, Newark, and Roxburgh fell into the hands of the English, and secured their lines of communication. The military was however, only subservient to the missionary enterprise. The occupied areas were at once converted into centres for evangelical propaganda, (1).

Preaching occupied an important place in this propaganda. Not only were preachers sent from England but even converted Scots friars were pressed into the service. The instructions to the English leaders regarding the clergy whose houses they destroyed were to the effect that all friars who had taken the oath of allegiance and renounced the authority of Rome, were to be spared. They were to be advised to discard their clerical vestments, and if any of them were able to preach, they were to be encouraged to do so, and expose the abuses which had crept in among them, (2). Scots preachers who had taken refuge in England were also sent back to preach to their countrymen under English protection. Grey of Milton, writing to Somerset from Haddington in June 1548, says, "Your Grace last winter had resolved to send two or three preachers of this country 'borne! but they were then unwilling to risk their bodies, they need fear nothing now, and if sent to this town would be well received and win many to your purpose," (3). A letter is also preserved from Alexander Whytlaw from Dundee to someone in England to the same effect. It reads, "This schalbe to dessyr your maistrschip to vryt to my Lord protector's Grace for ane prechour callit Jhon Rocht," (4). This was John Rough, the chaplain to

(1) The letters of Sir Andrew Dudley, the captain of Droughty Fort throw an interesting light on the methods employed. Writing to the Protector in October, 1547, he says, "I use the country gently as ordered," Cal. Scot. State Papers, I, No. 56, and shows that it was his business to win to the English allegiance the local "favourers of God's word." It was due in great part to these efforts that the town of Dundee professed the reform faith and was received into the English Assurance.
(2) Cf. Pollard's Somerset, P. 162.
(3) Cal. Scot. State Papers, I. 239.
(4) Ibid. iii.
the garrison of St. Andrews who had escaped to England before the fall of the Castle.

Two factors must have contributed largely to the success of this missionary enterprise. One was the fact that thanks to the influence of Somerset and Cranmer, the more English Church during this period came into line with the spirit of Scottish Protestantism. The other was the great extent to which the reformed doctrines had already been embraced by the people of Scotland. John ab Ulmis, a Swiss student at Oxford, has given us his impressions of the Scots people at this time. He had accompanied his patron, the Marquis of Dorset, who was sent into Scotland with three hundred cavalry and some good preachers with the view principally of "faithfully instructing and enlightening in religion" that part of the country which had been subdued during the last few years. "There appears," he wrote, to his Swiss correspondent, "to be great firmness and no little religion among the people of Scotland; but in the chiefs of that nation one can see little else than cruelty and ignorance, for they resist and oppose the truth in every possible way. As to the commonalty, however, it is the general opinion that greater numbers of them are rightly persuaded as to true religion than here among us in England. This seems to be a strange state of things, that among the English the ruling powers are virtuous and godly, but the people have for a long time been most contumacious; while in Scotland, on the contrary, the rulers are most ferocious, but the nation at large is virtuous and exceedingly well disposed towards our most holy religion. I have no hesitation in writing this to you, for both what I saw is true and I perceive that this circumstance is frequently and seriously deplored by the English themselves," (1).

(1) Quoted by Lorimer P. 46. From Parker Society Letters.
This reflection of the Swiss student is almost an echo of a request a few years previous by Gray of Milton, in a letter to Somerset from Berwick. "Vouchsafe us one or two good preachers: these parts need them as much as Scotland, for the people know neither God nor the King, nor their laws," (1).

The fertility of the soil is frequently indicated by requests from the Scottish people for Bibles and preachers. Sir Andrew Dudley often echoes this desire in his dispatches. Of Dundee, he says, "The most part of the town favours the word of God, and loveth not the priests and bishops, very well," and continues, "they are much desirous here in the country of Angus and Fife to have a good preacher, and Bibles and testaments, and other good English books of Tyndale's and Frith's translation, which I have promised them. Desiring your Grace to have a preacher, and books sent me to give to gentlemen and other honest men of the country, for I have promised a great sort. An there were a book-binder that came hither with books, he should sell them very well, and also I think, it should do very much good in all the country," (2). Soon after he repeats the demand, emphasizing its importance over against the other mistaken means that were being taken to procure the allegiance of Scotland. "I beseech your Lordship," he writes, "to send hither with speed a good preacher and good books for they desire it much here, and I think it would do more good than the fire and sword," (3).

(1) Cal. Scot. State Papers. 1. No. 73.
(3) Ibid. P. 100.
This systematic attempt to convert Scotland from the errors of Rome was abandoned in the spring of 1550, when the English occupation came to an end. In seeking, however, to estimate the extent and success of the English policy, we might well turn to the negative evidence of a book written about this time by an opponent of the Reformation. This is the work entitled, "The Complaynt of Scotland," (1). It was written by an anonymous author and printed probably at Paris in 1548 or 1549, (2). It gives a wonderful revelation of the ramifications of English intrigue, the success of the efforts to create religious discontent, and shows only too plainly how keenly alive the Scottish clergy had become to the danger that threatened them from English influence and example, (3).

The author of the Complaynt was greatly disturbed by the presence of two grave evils. One was the "Englishmen's assurance" in which Dame Scotia accuses many of her children as living. That the writer had good cause for complaint is obvious, when we are reminded that at this time, the entire population of the

---

(1) cf. E.E.T.S.
(2) Cambridge Hist. of Literature iii, 152.
(3) The writer had apparently very little love of Englishmen. "There is nocht two nations" he held, "undir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra utairs nor is Inglis men, and scottis men, quhoseit that thal be vitht in ana ile, and nycht bours, and of ana langua$. For inglis men are subtil and scottis men are facile. Inglis men ar ambitius in prosperite, and scottis men ar humain in prosperite. Inglis men ar humil quhen thai are subiekit be force and violence, and scottis men ar furious quhen thai are violently subiekit: inglis men ar cruel quhen thai get victorie, and scottis men ar merciful quhen thai get victory. And to conclude, it is onpossibit that scottis men and inglis men can remane in concord undir ane monarche or ane prince, because there naturis and conditions ar as indifferent as is the nature of scheip and voluis," Complaynt P. 105.
counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright were living in the English assurance, and had English soldiers in their fortresses, (1). The second cause for anxiety was the passage of Scotsmen to England and their welcome by the English king. Here the writer scents a grave danger to the state. "Our croniklis rehersis of divers scottis men of all staittis that hes past in ingland. sum hes past for poverta, and sum hes past in hope to lyve at mair eyse and liberte nor thai did in scotland, and sum hes been denunsit rebellis, be the authorite quhilk vas occasions that thei past in ingland for refuge. quhom the kyngis of ingland hes resavit familiarly, and hes trettit them, and hes gifen them gold and silvir, the quhilk hedid nothir for piets nor humanite, bot rather that thei suld help to distroye there aven nativ cuntrie," (2). "There should therefore be no comings and goings with the English, for, "ane herand damysele, and ane spekand castell, sal neuyr end with honour,"(3).

The writer was a staunch supporter of the ancient Church, and saw in the designs of England, its greatest danger. Dame Scotia speaking to the Spirituality of Scotland is made to say, "Thou hes mair occasione and mystir to be vigiland in the defens of the liberte of thy faculte, nor hes thy twa brethir: forg'yf the kyng of ingland prospir in his oniust veyris and conquesses our realme, doubtless thy twa brethir vil tyne ther gudis and there heretage, bot there lyvis sal be saif, so that the vil be sworne to be inglis slavis and renegat scottis bot he vil nocht grant na grace to thy faculte, but the saymn grace that kyng henry the e'cht gave to the sperutualite of ingland, that is to says, in the fyrst

(1) J.A.H. Murray in his introduction p. xxxvii.  
(2) Complaynt P. 103.  
(3) Ibid P. 108.
he tike the patrimone and the temporal landis of the kyrkis of ingland, and anext ane part of them to the proprie of his crowne and ane uthir part he distribut amang ane certan of gret personagis of his realms, quhilkis adherit til his tirran opinion ... therefor,... thou may believe surly that the kyng of ingland vil be na mair gracious, curtas nor merciful to the, quhome he reputis for his mortal eneme nor he has bene to the sperutualitie of ingland," (1).

The writer, therefore, exhorts the clergy to put aside their spiritual garb and take up the sword against the invad-ers. He bases his appeal on Scriptural example and Canon Law. The Canon Law has justified war against Saracens, and Englishmen are more Saracen than Christian; it has declared war against the excommunicated and the infidel to be meritorious, and the English are excommunicated and denounced God's rebels for their infidelity, unbelief, cruelty, tyranny,-and sacrilege, (2).

We could have no more conclusive proof than this book affords, of the real peril to which the Scottish Church was now exposed, through the efforts of the English rulers to induce Scotland to follow her neighbour's example. For the moment, it does indeed seem as if these efforts had again ended in failure. But here, as before, the same reservations must be made. Failure it was so far as the immediate attainment of the object desired was concerned, but in so far as there had been fostered and strengthened the elements that made for ultimate success, the protector's work had not been in vain. He had kept together the English Party and infused it more strongly with the Protestant spirit. And what was even more important, he had spread the Bible and the knowledge of the reformed faith broadcast among the people. All this must be remembered in accounting for

(1) Complaynt. P. 161.
the sudden whirlwind, "the uproar for religion," which within the space of two years, overthrew the ancient Church and established Protestantism as the religion of Scotland.
CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH PRINTERS

One of the most suggestive facts in the history of the Scottish Reformation is that there was no vernacular Bible printed in Scotland until 1579. Through all this period the vernacular Bibles that were in circulation came into Scotland from the printing presses of Englishmen. When we remember, therefore, the supreme importance that the Reformers attached to the Scriptures,(1), we can realise how Scotland's dependence in this respect implied an inexpressible obligation to her English neighbour.

The art of printing seems to have come to Scotland from France,(2), for it was in Rouen that the first Scottish printer, Andrew Myllar, acquired his skill. On his return to Scotland, Myllar entered into partnership with a certain Walter Chepman, and obtained a grant under the Privy Seal, dated September 15, 1507, permitting them to set up a printing press in Edinburgh. (3). The only known and acknowledged fruits of their labours are a collection of romances and ballads and the Breviarum Aberdonense, (4). But no copy of the Scriptures was issued from their press in any tongue, nor is there any indication to show that such work was ever undertaken by their immediate successors.

One is almost inclined to question the competency of the Scottish printers of this time to execute such a work from the fact that many books written by Scotsmen during this period were printed abroad. Most Scottish printing was done in Paris, the works of Major, John Vaus, and

(1) Of Smellie, "The Reformation in its Literature." P.186
"It is the honour of Protestantism that wherever she has established herself in life and power, her children have been eager for the translation and diffusion of the Bible!"
(2) Cf. Dickson and Edmond's Annals Scot. Printing.
(3) Registrum Secreti Sigilli, I. No. 1546.
(4) Spalding, Miscellany, II. 364.
(5) This conclusion is of course open to argument. Thos. Davidson printed a splendid folio of the Acts of Parliament in 1541. His Chronicles of Scotland about the same date is a fine folio of 288 leaves.
Hector Boece all being printed in that city, (1). John Gau's Richt Way to the Kyngdom of Hevine, one of the earliest Protestant works by a native of Scotland, was printed at Malmoe, in Sweden, in 1533, (2), while Wishart's Confession of Faith of the Churches of Switzerland was printed in London about 1548, (3).

On the other hand this failure to attempt the task of printing the Scriptures may be attributed to the repressive legislation from which the Scottish printers seem to have suffered. On June 2, 1543, the Regent Arran and the Lords of Council had to take measures to repress "the sclanderous billis, wrrittingis, ballatis, and bukis" that were daily being printed. And from an Act of Parliament of February I, 1551-2, it appears that there were, "divers Prentaris in this Realme that daylie and continuallie prentis bukis concerning the faith, ballatis, sangis, blasphematious rymes, als weill of kirkmen as temporale, and others Tragedeis als weill in latine as in Inglis toung," (4). In the records of the Privy Council for 1547 we find that the Provost of Dundee was charged to apprehend "Johne Scot, prentar, to bring and present him with in the Castell of Edinburgh, and to deliver him to the Capitane theirof, to be punist for his demeretis and faltis," (5). Although the nature of the offence is obscure, the incident would tend to substantiate the view that the Scottish printers at this time were not in favour with the authorities.

(1) Cf. Lee's Memorial Bible Societies in Scot. P.1C. "John Vaus, who was professor of Humanity at Aberdeen from 1500-1537 has lamented the necessity which compelled him to encounter great danger in a voyage to France for the publication of his grammar. His colleague Hector Boece does not seem to have ventured on so perilous an expedition, when he had his history printed at the same press 5 years afterwards. The numerous erata are thus accounted for:-"Horurr sirrilia si offendes, lector, clementer irosces; difficile enim erat in reigrota et litera peregrina ab archetypo aberass nihil."
(2) Eannatyne, Miscellany III. 375.
(3) Woodrow, Miscellany P. 3.
(5) Register Privy Coun. Scot. I. 69. Cf. Works of Sir David Lindsay, F. Laing, III, 257; Appendix III.
There is, however, no evidence to suggest that any plan to print the Scriptures was ever contemplated in Scotland during the Reformation period. When Lord Lisle, the English Warden on the Scottish borders, offered to supply the Regent Arran with English Bibles if there were none in his own tongue, Arran's reply leaves no room for doubt; "As for the Eybill thair is none to be gottin in our wulgar toung in this realme," (1).

The reading of the Scriptures in English, although sanctioned by the Parliament of 1543, was not approved by the Churchmen. It was therefore unlikely that the Scottish printers would have received either thanks or encouragement had they undertaken to print the Bible. But what still inclines us to be sceptical of their ability to perform the task is the fact that no copy of the Bible was printed in Scotland till almost twenty years after the Reformation had become an established fact. This was the copy that was "Printed In Edinburgh Be Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the Kingis Majestie, dwelling at ye Kirk of Field, 1570, Cum Gratia Et Privilegio Regiae Majestatis." In the Epistle dedicatory, prefixed by the General Assembly, we are reminded of Scotland's handicap in the matter of a vernacular Bible: "The false named clergy of this realm, abusing the gentle nature of His Highness's most noble Cudshir of worthy memory, made it a capital crime to be punished with the fire, to have or read the New Testament in the vulg?r language," (2).

Thus it is evident that the demand for Bibles all through the period of the Scottish Reformation had to be met by editions introduced from abroad. That the demand was great is amply proved by the testimony of John Knox, whose graphic reference to the Bible being found, after the Act of 1543, upon almost every gentleman's table, and

(1) Hamilton Papers, I, Nos. 299 and 303.
(2) Lee's Memorial, P. 28.
borne about in many men's hands, indicates that there must have been something in the nature of a furore for Bible-reading, (1). That the Scots had a sufficiency of education to appreciate the boon need scarcely be questioned. Many of the noblemen had received the best education that the universities at home and abroad could afford, while the commons were far from being illiterate. Even before the Reformation schools were numerous in Scotland. We find them not only in all the larger burghs such as Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, but in such small centres as Crail, Dunbar, and Haddington, (2).

"INGLIS" and "SCOTTIS."

There was no obstacle to the reading of the English Bible by Scotsmen so far as language was concerned. There was, of course — and some will probably insist: there is still, -- a marked difference in the languages spoken north and south of the Tweed, but the Scottish Roman Catholic writers of this period were undoubtedly straining at gnats when they affected not to be able to understand the "Southeroun" of the Reformers, (3). Previous to the

Suffolk Tunstall etc. in a postscript to the privy Council "The saide Rotesey heralede telleth us that the Bible, the New Testament, and suche other bokes as be set forth within this realme in English, as the Prymer and the Psalter, be mervelously descyred, now of the people in Scotland, and saitha that if there were a cartis lode sent thither t. they wolde be bought every one; but my lorde, there be nona to gett, surely il there were, we wolde sende them som! Therefore if ye thinke good to find meanes to convey any such bokes unto them we thinke surely it were not anysse so to do."
(2; Cf. Granite Burgh Schools Scot. and M'Crie's Andrew Melville I.S. and Note S.
(3) Cf. T.G. Law's intro, to Hamilton's Catechism, P. viii "Roman Catholic writers of this period made it a point of honour to adhere to the national idiom. Writet even affects not to understand Knox. In his letter to the Reformer in 1573 printed in "The Duke of Purj Scoir Thre Cuestions" he writes. "Gif you throw curiositie of novationis hes forget our auld plane Scottis quhilk your mother lerit you; in tyme cuming I call wryts to vortmy mind in Latin; for I am rocht acquaynted with your Southeroun."
At a later date the secular priest, John Hamilton, in his Questions to the Ministers, similarly derided the composition of John Craig the colleague of Knox; "Gif King James the Pyft var alvyse, quha hering and of his subjectis knap knap suddrone, declarit him ane traiteur; quhinder said. Cont.
embitterment between the two nations that followed upon Flodden, the name "Scots" was applied to the Gaelic spoken by the Highlanders. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, "Inglis" and "Scottis" were used interchangeably to denote the vulgar tongue. For example, Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism describes itself as being written in "our vulgar Scottish tongue," while the translation of the Paternoster in it is headed, "In Inglis." (1). It is only necessary to consult the correspondence of the period to see that there was no remarkable difference between the written speech of the Scotsmen of the time and that of their neighbours south of the border. In all the records of the conferences and intrigues which make up the history of the relations of the two countries during this period, there is never a suggestion that the representatives of England and Scotland had the slightest difficulty in understanding each other.

FICKLIFF'S BIBLE

English translations of the Bible began to find their way into Scotland at a very early date. There are traces even of the circulation of manuscript versions of the Wickliff Bible, which was completed towards the end of the fourteenth century. An interesting tradition in this connection is preserved by Wodrow. Speaking of "that excellent person, William Gordon of Earlstoun," he says, "I am informed that the predecessors of this ancient Family entertained the Disciples of Wickliff, and had a New Testament in the vulgar tongue, which they used to read in meetings in the woods about Earlstoun House," (2).
A tangible result of this movement is to be found in Murdoch Nisbet's Scots New Testament. This, says, the writer in the Cambridge History of Literature, "was based upon Purvey's version, although the earlier Wyclifite version may also have been used," (1). The story of Nisbet and his New Testament is contained in the record of his descendant John Nisbet who was hanged for the Covenant: "In the reign of King James IV sometime before the year 1500, it pleased the eternal Jehovah ... to cause his marvellous light take influence on Murdoch Nisbet in Hardhill, in the parish of Loudon, and shire of Ayr ... but in the reign of King James V, the papists perceiving the Lollards began to grow numerous ... raised persecution against them. Then Murdoch fled overseas, and took a copy of the New Testament in it. What else he did, we cannot say, but after some stay abroad he came home to see his native country." Being again in danger he "dugged and built a vault at the bottom of his house, to which he retired himself, serving God and reading his new book. Thus he continued instructing some few that had access to him." With the establishment of the Reformation, however, he "crept out of his vault and lent his helping hand to the work," (2). What Nisbet did was to rewrite the English version he had procured, altering the grammar and vocabulary so that it would be more easily understood by his compatriots who assembled in his "dug-out" to hear it read, (3). Law gives the years 1513-22 as the probable date of the work, and points out that there is no proof of its ever having been copied. There was, of course, no need as printed editions of the English Bible were now forthcoming.

(1) Cambridge Hist.Lit., III, 45. See also Principal Lindsay's "A Literary Relic of Lollardy," Scot.Hist. Revie. I, 280. Dr. Lindsay is inclined to think that Nisbet's version was prepared in Germany.
(3) For parallel passages cf. Law, P. xix.
ENGLISH BIBLES IN SCOTLAND

About March 1525-6, the first English New Testament to be printed was issued from Tyndale's press at Worms. For the next ten years successive editions appeared, being published at Marburg, and later at Antwerp. Antwerp was no doubt a dangerous retreat for the Protestant printer, but it was an ideal centre for the distribution of the Testaments. It is evident that copies were not long in finding their way into Scotland. The English ambassador at Antwerp, writing to Cardinal Wolsey in 1527, mentions these copies of the New Testament, and informs him that, "There were divers merchants of Scotland, that bought many of such like books and took them to Scotland, a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St. Andrews," (1).

There is also Knox's affirmation that "Forress" who suffered martyrdom about 1532, was adjudged to the fire, "for non uther cryme, but becaus he had ane New Testament in Engliss," (2). On March 23, 1537, The Earl of Cumberland writing to Norfolk from Appulby, informs him that, "Four Scotchmen of the town of Hayr came to Carlisle on Wednes­day last, and being examined by my servants say they are cumbered at home for the opinion that the Bishop of Rome ought not to be called Pope, and for having the New Testament in English," (3). A similar scene is again described in a letter from Norfolk to Cromwell, dated, Berwick, March 29, 1539: "Dayly commeth unto me," he reports, "Some gentlemen and some clerkes which do flee oute of Scotland, as they say, for redyng of Scripture in English;" (4). It was also one of the charges against Captain Borthwick, who was condemned as a heretic in 1540, that he had in his possession heretical books, "especially the New Testament commonly printed in English," (5).

(1) Anderson's Annals English Bible, II. 409.
(2) Laing's Works of John Knox, I. 53. For question of date see Laing's footnote. Calderwood makes it three or four years earlier.
(3) Henry VIII: Letters and Papers, XII, I. 314.
(4) Knox's Works, I. 56. Note 2. (5) Foxe's Martyrs V., 16
temporary poetry, such as Lyndsay's Satire of the Three Estates (1) which was played at Linlithgow on January 6, 1540, and the Earl of Glenc^irn's Ryme,(2) also written about the same time, show that the English Testaments had a wide circulation and were recognised by the clergy as exercising a powerful influence on public opinion.

In 1535 Miles Coverdale issued a complete translation of the Bible. There were several editions of this printed either in Antwerp or Zurich. Soon after, through the exertions of Cranmer, the work was carried out in London, and the Bible was "set forth with the Kynges most gracious license." In April 1539 the Great Bible was issued from the press of Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch in London. Seven editions appeared between 1539 and 1541. In May 1540 the translation was commanded to be set up in the churches of England,(3)

The English Bible was one of the best weapons used by Henry VIII and the Protector Somerset to further the reform movement in Scotland. Here, as elsewhere, the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue could not fail to inspire question and invite comparisons. It is again and again made evident that the circulation of the Bible in Scotland was part of the considered policy of the English Government. In February 1543, Lord Lisle wrote to Arran advocating it: "Also I think yt wold not do amisse yf your lor^ship did lett slipp amonges the people in this tyme, the Bible and New Testament in Englishe, whereby they may perceyve the truthe, and so shall they knov/e the better howe to eschue sedicion; and if you have non in your own tonge, I will help to gett you som out of England,"(4). This offer was gratefully

(1) Knox, II. 63.
(2) Calderwood's History Kirk Scot., I, 135.
(4) Hamilton Papers, I, No. 239.
received. "As for the Bybill," Arran replied, "thair is nane to be gottin in our wulgar toung in this realme, quhairfor it will pleis you to cause ane Englishman cum heir with certane of thaim, quhu sail have ane sur pasport and weil tretit, to sell theim to inhabitantis of this realme,(1).

That the circulation of the Bible in Scotland was part of the English policy may be deduced from the fact that before Pinkie, Glencairn sent to England a list of those who were "pledged to assist in putting forth of the Word of God," (2).

Henry, however, though anxious to give the Bible to Scotland, would gladly have controlled the reading of it as he had done in his own country. The Act which allowed the Bible to be read in Scotland was almost contemporary with an Act which restricted its circulation in England. Such restriction Henry would fain have had enforced in Scotland,(3). This Act, among other restrictions, forbade women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, yeomen, and inferior serving men, husbandmen and labourers to read the Scripture in English. Sadler was accordingly instructed to advise Arran that there was need for caution and found him wonderfully amenable. "He hath taken such direction," he reports, "for the admonishing of his people to read it sincerely and quietly to themselves for their own knowledge, without taking upon them any sinister or rash interpretation of the same, as by Act of Parliament, made here in that behalf, he told me is fully set forth,(4). At a later date, though, Sadler throws an interesting light on the attitude of the various parties in Scotland towards the English king's curtailment of his

(1) Ibid., No. 303.
(3) Hamilton Papers, I. No. 348.
(4) Sadler's Papers, I. 127.
subjects' liberty in regard to reading the Bible. "Such as they call here Pharisees and Papists," he says,"be well pleased with the restraint of the Scripture made in England, from certain degrees of the people, and yet would have liked it much better, if it had been generally restrained from all sorts; though such as do pretend ... to be Professors of God's Word, be much offended with the same," (1).

This momentary caution on the part of the English King in no wise checked the demand for English Bibles or their importation into Scotland. That the thirst for the Word described by Knox continued to be felt, and that it was to England the Scots protestants turned for its relief, are facts that are frequently confirmed. The correspondence of Sir Andrew Dudley, the Captain of Broughty Fort, contains several requests for Bibles, as the Englishman found himself "daily cried on" by the people of Dundee, and the Lords and gentlemen, for pibles and Testaments and other good books,(2).

ENGLISH MANUALS OF RELIGION

In addition to the Bible, efforts were also made to introduce into Scotland books dealing with the new doctrines. When Henry sent his chaplain, Dr. Barlow, to the Scottish Court towards the close of the year 1535, some such books formed part of the ambassador's equipment. The gifts were, however, coldly received. "The King," says Calderwood, describing the scene, "shew the bookes to some courteours who were most addicted to the preestes. They had skarse looked upon them, when they condemned them of heresie, and flattered the king for his good fortune, in that he had not polluted his eyes with looking upon suche pestiferous writts," (3). On the other hand, as is borne out by the case of Sir John Borthwick, there were probably

(1) Ibid. P. 257.
some among the king's courtiers who did not hold them in such light contempt.

With the Protestant regency of Arran, and the formation of a strong English party, preparations were again made to press the new books of religion on Scotland, but pending the launching of this campaign, Henry was anxious to keep the field clear of other competitors. Writing to Sadler on April 4, 1543, he requires him to advise Arran of the danger to Church and realm of incorrect and conflicting ideas concerning Christian doctrine. "For exchuyng whereof, al such bookes must be forbydden and defended as be prynted in thenglysh tonge beyonde the se^s, and also alleuche other bokes from whens soever they com, which tende to that purpose, and the only Scripture to be permitted among the people for the first, tyl other bokes m. may be set furth by publique auctoritie conteyning a pure true doctrine, neyther swarvyng to the left hand of iniquite, ne to the right hand with other pretense of holynes thenne is agreeable to Goddes truth. Therin we maye suye we have taken labour and paynes, and with Goddes grace shal shortly bring them to perfection, and establish such a certain doctrine as is mayntenable by the mere truth, and such as no man shal be able to impugne and dis-alowe. Whiche as soone as it shalbe perfite we shal sende unto hym to be ther published for the conjunction of these realms, in oon unite of the true understanding of Goddes Worde, whereby to exchue the fransyes and dreames of the inferiour people on the oon side, and the corruption of hypocrysy and superstition brought in and persuaded by the Bishop of Rome, and his adherents on the other partie, (1). To this advice Sadler found the regent easily amenable, and writes of him as saying that, "when your majestie shall have perfected such books as I told him your highness intended to set forth by publick authority, containing such

(1) Hamilton Papers, I. No. 348.
a certain doctrine as in maintainable by the mere truth; if it may like your majesty to send him the same he sayeth he will not fail to publish it here, desiring with all his heart, that these two realmes, may concur ... in unity! of the true understanding of God's Word," (1).

The manual in question, produced by Henry with "labour and paynes," and designed to lead Scotland in the way of truth, would be the Necessary Doctrine and pruditio: of a Christian Man, which was published this year, and commonly called the "King's Book,"(2). We cannot however, ascribe to this literature anything like the influence and popularity which the simple translation of the Scripture enjoyed. In reply to the Privy Council's request to know, "Howe they like his majestes books of religion last made and whither the governour desire to have any more of them or no," (3) Sadler has to confess "surely to signify the plain truth I see not that the same is much liked of any party here, nor yet the Governour desireth to have any more of them; for such as pretend to favour God's "orde do like chiefly that part which confuteth the primacy of the Bishop of Rome; and such as they call Pharisees and Papists do so much dislike that part as they give almost no credit to the rest,—and if I had found the said book of religion well liked here, I would or this time have advertised the same, and also sent for more books,(4).

(3) Hamilton Papers, I. No. 450. (4) Sadler, I. 264. With regard to this ill reception of his books, Henry writes a very illuminating letter which shows his anxiety to remove any misconception or prejudice concerning the Reformation which he had accomplished in England. The letter is address ed to Sadler, and dated Aug. 24, 1543. "Perceyving" he says, "that the governour with sum others fynd themselves offended with part of our bookes, lately set furth touching Christ ean religion, supposing the same to have bene made by one of our bishesopps, youe shall say to the governour that the sayd booke was not made by any one bishop, more the bishopps whome he suspectith had any thing to do with it at all, but it was made by the consent of lerned men of diverse judgements in religion, and penned by the Bishops of Westminste, Chichestre and Rochester, and Doctors Cox, Redman, & Robyn-son, which be men of such indifferency for judgement in learning and honest conversacion of lyving as no man can reproche them justly. Therefore youe shall say unto them, that in capyce he will signlyye unto us lds poynys in our sayt bookes wherewith he lyndyth hymself not contented youe doubt
The reason for this lack of popularity was not far to seek. As Sadler's comments suggest, there was at this time considerable confusion in the ecclesiastical policy of Henry and his ministers, and this would inevitably be reflected in these manifestos. Their Scots critics "mis-liked" them for not being "thorough." The successful reformer is more often than not extreme and dogmatic. So it is not remarkable that the mediating doctrines of Henry VIII failed to convey conviction or inspire enthusiasm. Yet we cannot rule them out entirely from the sphere of influence, for evidence of their intrusion unto the history of the Scottish Reformation has come to light from quite an opposite quarter. In the vernacular catechism published by Archbishop Hamilton at St. Andrews, in 1552, there are passages directly borrowed from English books, and particularly from the manual in question, Henry VIII's Necessary Doctrine of a Christian Man. Law, in his edition of the catechism, has arranged parallel passages which clearly demonstrate the debt of the Scottish compilers to the English theologians,(1). The intrusion of the English manuals into the Scots work has been accounted for by the fact that there were at this time in exile at St. Andrews, two Englishmen, Richard Marshall and Richard Smith, Doctors of Theology, who may have assisted in the composition of the catechism,(2). Whether they were responsible or not, the very fact that such literal use was made of a book associated with the royal heretic of England, and that too in a work which made a definite attempt at compromise, would support the contention that Henry had not cast his bread upon the waters in vain.

doubt not but he shall receyve such answers from us again as shall be to his ful satisfaction," Hamilton Papers, I. No. 457.

PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA

One of the earliest and most effective means of promoting the Reformation in Scotland, was the introduction and circulation of books printed in England, exposing the vices of the clergy and advocating reform. Knox has recorded that there, "ware sett furth werkis in our own toung, besydis those that came from England, that did disclose the the pryde, the craft, the tyranny and abuses of that Romane Antichrist," (1). It is very probable that Simon Fish's Supplicacyon for the Beggars' was one of the books alluded to by Knox. John Row, in his history, mentions a tract which was brought into Scotland at this time, and describes it as, "a complaint, given in, by the halt, blinde, and poore of England agains the prelates, priests, friers, and others such kirkmen who prodigallie wasted all the tithes and kirk livings upon their whoores, and other unlawful pleasures, so that they could not sustentation nor relief as God had ordained," (2). This description exactly fits Fish's work, which was published in 1529, and was perhaps one of the first books to be used for propaganda purposes. The pamphlet was composed, says Oldys, by "a certain lawyer of Gray's Inn, obliged to fly into Germany, and conveyed by means of the Lady Ann Bullen, to the perusal of King Harry, at the beginning of the said rupture, and ...the copies thereof were strewed about at the King's procession to Westminster (the first example as some think, of that Kind of Appeal to the Public)." (3). It is therefore almost inevitable that this bound its way into Scotland, and although there is no resemblance, except in their strong anti-clerical sentiment, the "Beggars' Summonds," (4) which was posted up on the doors of the Scottish Friaries at the beginning of 1559, is a clear echo of the English work.

(3) Cf. Professor Arber's Reprint of the Supplicacyon.
The broadcasting of Protestant literature in Scotland was one of the Protector's methods of advancing the "Godly Cause." Ready to his hand and eminently suited to his purpose was the "Proposal for uniting Scotland with England addressed to King Henry VIII., by John Elder, Clerke, a Reidshanke," (1). Elder was a native of Caithness who had studied at the universities of St. Andrews, Aberdeen and Glasgow, and had fled to England, probably about 1541 or 1542, on account of his religious profession. In his address to the English King, the Scots exile attributes the failure of the projected alliance between the two countries to the opposition of the clergy, whom he depicts in the darkest colours. According to the writer there would be no respite for Scotland "without your highness (who haith moost juste cause and quarell ...) by the help and assistance of God, hunt, dryve, and smyke the forsaide fals papistical foxis, with all ther partakers, out of their cavis,"(2).

Another sample of this literature is, "An exhortation to the Scottes to conform themselves to the honourable expedient and Godly Union between the two Realmes, of Englane and Scotlande," printed in London in 1547. The preface is dedicated to Edward, Duke of Somerset, and signed "James Harryson, Scottyshman." It gives a good exposition of the religious, as well as the political, aim of the Protector, and is obviously intended for popular distribution in Scotland. "Remember (I beseech you, O most dere countremen) how that by this calling of us into this unitie, proceeding plainly from God himselfe, he wolde also unite and ioyne us in one religion. For howe Godly were it, that as these two Realmes should grow into one, so should they also agre in the concorde and unite of one religion, and the same pure, syncere, and incorrupt

(1) Bannatyne Misc., I. 3.
(2) Ibid., I. 17.
religion of Christ, setting apart all fonde supersticions, sophistications, and other thousandes of the devilries brought in by the Bishop of Rome and his creatures,"(1).

Similar in tone and identical in purpose are the Protector Somerset's Epistle to the People of Scotland, and the Epitome of Nicholas Bodrugan, alias Adams, of the King's Title to Scotland, Both issued in 1549,(2).

A letter of Lord Grey of Wilton written to Somerset from Haddington is evidence of the efforts made to circulate these books. "I sent the Governor," he writes, "one of your Grace's books, and mind this morrow to send him twelve more, for it seems he receives them so well,"(3)

That they would strike a responsive chord in many hearts is only natural in view of the disasters which the Churchmen's policy had brought upon Scotland. There were other sincere patriots, besides Knox, who looked upon Henry's policy of a marriage alliance as a heaven-sent opportunity, which was lost only through a treacherous breach of faith, and the intrigues of the Catholic clergy.

ENGLISH PRAYER BOOKS

The author of the chapter on the English Liturgy in the Cambridge History of Literature explains how, "with the greater sharpness of national divisions and the stronger coherence of national languages, the use of the vernacular in the services of the Church was more and more demanded. This feeling gradually led to the evolution of the prayer book." Again he says: "Not only in England but in other countries the Reformation concerned itself largely with these aids to devotion; everywhere appeared much-needed revisions of liturgies and offices, everywhere

(1) Cf. Complaynt of Scotlande (E.E.T.S) P. 234, App.II.
(2) Ibid. P. 250.
attempts were made, more or less successfully, at alter-
ing them to meet popular needs or to avoid abuses," (1). This feeling also found expression in Scotland, and was responsible for the reissue of breviaries, and catechisms. When we remember the limitations of the Scottish printers, we may naturally expect to find these English manuals of devotion making their way into the country, in response to this popular demand.

When the Scottish Lords bound themselves, in December 1557, to support the cause of the Reformation, they passed the resolution —"It is thought expedient, devised, and ordained, that in all parochines of this realm, the Commoun Prayer' is to be read weekly on Sunday and other Festival Days, publicly in the Parish Churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the Order of the Book of Commoun Prayer"(2). It has been disputed whether this was the English Liturgy of Edward VI, but the evidence in favour of this assumption is wellnigh conclusive. Kirkcaldy of Grange, in his letter to Sir Henry Percy, describing, "the manour of thair proceidyngis in Reformatiom" is most explicit,(3). "As to paroys churchio" he says, "they cleyns them of ymoges, and all other monu-
mentis of ydolatrye, and commandis that no messis be said in them, in place thereof the Booke sett fourthe be godlye Kyng Edward is red in the same churches"(4). The English agent Randolph also throws his evidence into the scale. Writing

(2) Knox I, 275.
(3) Knox I, 327, Note. Professor Hume Brown, however, does not regard this as conclusive. "In view," he says, "of the unorganised state of the Scottish Protestants before 1560, more definite information than the passing remark of Kirkcaldy is required to show that the book was deliberately approved and systematically used before that year."

writing /from Glasgow on January 21, 1559-60, he refers to the "ordre of the Commen Prayers" used in the town, and says they "are the verie same or dyffer verrie lyttle from thos of England," (1).

Bellesheim takes for granted that it was the English prayer Book that the Reformers used. The fact helps to substantiate his view of them. "The use of the service book of Edward VI., here referred to (by Kirkcaldy)," he says, "was, of coure, sanctioned by Knox, who in all such mat'ers was supreme in the Congregation; and the fact bears remarkable testimony to the convenient elasticity of his religious views. Four years age, he had stoutly resisted on conscientious grounds the adoption of this same Service Book, with it's half Catholic and half Protestant ritual, by his flock at Frankfort ... Noy, however, the paramount object of the Congregation was to secure the goodwill of Elizabeth; and Knox was not the man to let his personal convictions stand in the way of the success of his party," (2). Such an interpretation of the character of the rigid reformer needs no comment, but in spite of Knox and his strict Puritanism, the English Prayer Book had found its'way into Scotland. There was a national demand for it. In a petition presented by Catholic laymen and noblemen at a Church Council held in Edinburgh in March and April 1559, a demand was made for vernacular prayers in church after mass or in the evenings. The prelates refused their consent, but the request shows that the English Prayer Book would meet a widespread want in Scotland. When we remember also, from the correspondence of Sir Andrew Fudley, how ready the Englishmen had been to supply the demand, we are inclined to agree with the summary of Bishop Keith. "It hath been much contro-

"verted," he says, "what is meant by this book of Common Prayer; some persons strenuously affirming it to have been the Liturgy of the Church of England, and others as pertinaciously denying it. For my own part, I humbly think the affirmers need not be very solicitous to gain their point," (1).

"Our chiefest reformers had indeed their education in other churches which was the goodness of God to them, and us: there did they see examples of Reformation, and conversed with other reformers, by whom they were taught from the Word in the ways of God." So spake the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland when in London in 1641.(1)

Of all countries, England, throughout the early period of the Scottish Reformation, was the most natural refuge for persecuted Scottish Protestants. The common conception of the irreconcilable differences in opinion between English and Scottish reformers is not true to fact, especially in regard to the early period. The aspersions of Sir John Borthwick and John Knox on the insufficiency of the English Reformation, were really recorded at a much later date than the occasion of which they speak,(2).

It was only natural that the early Scottish reformers should look enviously, rather than askance, at the revolution which had taken place in England. Dissatisfaction with the corrupt state of the Church was an outstanding feature of the movement in both countries, and in mutual antagonism to their common oppressors, Scotsmen and Englishmen were bound to find themselves in sympathy.

True, some of the Scots exiles while sheltering in England

(2) Cf. Knox I. 54. "In this mydd tyme (ten years following the martyrdom of Forrest 1532) so did the wisdome of God provide, that Harry the Eyght, King of England, did abolishe frome his realme the name and authoritie of the Pape of Rome; suppress the Abbayis and uther places of Idolatrie which gave esperance to divers realmes, that some godlye reformation should thairof have ensewed. And thairfoir frome this our countrye, did diverse learned men, and uthers is that leved in fear of persecution, repayre to that realme, whair albeit thaifand not such puritie as thai wished (and thairfoir diverse of thame socht other countreis) yit thai es­ caped the tyranny of merciless men, and war reserved to better tymes, that thai mycht fructifie within His Church, in diverse places and partis and in diverse vocationis."
like Wishart at an early date, and Knox, at a later time did not escape attack, and had to recant or defend their doctrines. But this was no doubt inevitable in a time of such confusion. When however, we find a Scottish fugitive a persona grata at the English Court, and even ordained to minister in the Church of England, we feel that there can have been little disagreement between English and Scottish reformers, concerning the essential articles of their Christian faith. Slight friction was of course, inevitable in view of the manner of men these reformers were. Knox, while enjoying its privileges did not hesitate to declare that there were many things worthy of reform in the Church of England. When the English Council replied that they were sorry to find him of a contrary mind to the common order, his answer betrays nothing of that "convenient elasticity" which Bellesheim attributes to him. He was, indeed more sorry that their common order should be contrary to Christ's Institution! But apart from such passages of arms, there was never any objection, all through this early period of the Reformation, to Scottish Protestants holding office in the Church of England or joining its communion. The undeniable proof of the absence of any barrier is the large number of Scotsmen who took refuge in England at this time, and found the Church of England, as did Knox, "a delectable garden planted by the Lord's own hand."

The resort of Scottish Protestants to England was an important outcome of Henry VIII's interest in the religious welfare of Scotland. Such a ready welcome was extended to them, that all the discontented and the persecuted looked upon England as a happy refuge. "From this our country," says Knox, "did diverse learned men and uthers that lived in fear of persecution repayre to that realm," (2). The nature of their reception is recorded

(1) Knox 3, 86.
(2) Knox, 1, 54.
in a letter of Norfolk's written from Berwick in March, 1539, notifying Cromwell of the daily stream of Scottish fugitives who were being driven across the Borders by religious persecution. "I give them," he said, "gentle wordes, and to some money," (1). But this hospitality to the outcasts for religion was not, of course, altogether altruistic, (2). Both Henry and Somerset made the most extensive use of the services of the Scottish exiles. The Protector found them very helpful in carrying out his scheme for the conversion of Scotland. The work of literary propaganda was entrusted to Scottish writers, while many of the Scottish preachers were sent back to their native country to preach under the English protection, and advocate the advantages of the "Godly Cause."

The fullness of the time, however, for the effective use of these Scottish exiles was to come under much less auspicious circumstances. It is a subtle irony of fate, that the policy of harbouring the Scottish Protestants was brought to fulfilment by one of the greatest enemies of their faith. Mary Tudor, by her persecuting zeal, unwittingly completed the plan which her predecessors had prepared, and by a remarkable coincidence, when the Scottish exiles were compelled to bethink them of returning to their own land, they found that there, at the same moment through the temporary embarrassment of Mary of Guise, some measure of religious toleration was being enjoyed.

(1) Knox 1, P.66. Note.
(2) Apart from the general policy of fostering and encouraging the enemies of the Scottish Church there were many ways in which the exiles might prove a useful asset. For example, in a letter from Lisle, to Henry VIII, dated December 12, 1543, "As touching a platt of all Scotland," he calls the King's attention to the fact that, "their ys a Skottishe Doctor lerned in the lawe cyvell, who was banished out of Skotland by the Cardynall, and the Bishops ii or iii years paste, which dwelleth in London, which I thinke can do moche in the making of a platt of Skotland," Hamilton Papers i, No. 255.
In estimating the influence of England on the development of the new faith in Scotland, her importance as a city of refuge for the persecuted cannot therefore be overlooked. So far as questions of doctrine and order were concerned, the Scottish reformers doubtless owed little to the Church of England, but apart from that their debt was immeasurably great. For almost twenty years, England nourished and protected the men who were to reform the Church of Scotland. We think of the names that later became so famous,—John Knox, John Willocks, William Harlaw. They were all men who had found at some time or another a home in England. The full measure of Scotland's indebtedness in this respect may be reckoned from the fact that when these men returned to their own country they returned from no unprofitable exile, but skilled evangelists and practised exponents of the doctrines that were to revolutionise the Scottish Church.

GEORGE WHISHART,

Wishart was one of the first, as he was one of the most famous, of the Scottish reformers who took refuge in England, (1). When in 1538, Bishop Hepburn of Brechin threatened him with persecution for teaching the Greek New Testament, it was to England he retreated. But it is illustrative of the unsettled state of religion at this time, that neither in England was he free from molestation. At Bristol, where he denounced in his preaching the adoration of the Virgin, he was accused of heresy and had to make a public recantation. He subsequently, visited the Continent, and later coming to reside at Cambridge, appears to have been held in considerable estimation. On his return to Scotland (2) he was found in close association

(2) For date cf. Knox 1, 125. Note 2.
with, and under the protection of the English party. In fact his friendship with these partisans of England is the only sound excuse for identifying him with the George Wishart who took part in the murderous conspiracy against Beaton.

So far as doctrine was concerned, Wishart showed the influence of the Continental reformers. Bishop Sage,(1) however, who was perhaps over-anxious to prove the oneness of the Scottish reformers with the English churchmen, has tried to show that Wishart revealed the influence of England in his manner of ministering communion. There is however, very little fact to support such a contention. To our mind a closer connection could be traced between Wishart's methods of teaching and the Royal Injunctions of 1536. By these, the ten commandments, the articles of the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer were commanded to be taught in the mother tongue to all children. In view of this a sentence from Wishart's Defence seems significant. "Since the tyme I came into this realme," he affirmed, "I taught nothing but the Ten Commandmentis of God, the Twelf Articles of the Fayth, and the Prayer of the Lord, in the mother toung," (2). From this it would appear that in his method of teaching Wishart closely copied what he had seen enforced in England.

**SIR JOHN BORTHWICK.**

The case of Captain Borthwick, who fled to England in 1540 to escape martyrdom, sheds considerable light on the influence that the English Reformation was exerting in Scotland at even this early date. Sir John Borthwick,(3), variously described as Provost of Linlithgow, and again as Lieutenant of the French King's Guard, was apparently a man

---

(1) Sage. P. 149.
(2) Knox 1, 153.
of influence at Court. Sadler mentions his name in close connection with that of Sir David Lyndsay in his account of his visit to the court of James V.

In May, 1540, Borthwick was summoned to St. Andrews to appear before the Cardinal on a charge of heresy, and failing to present himself, was condemned in absence. Foxe in his notice of Borthwick gives in full the articles quoted against him and his answers to the charges. From these it is evident that his accusers were very sensitive of the danger of England's example. The fourth charge accuses Borthwick of holding, "That all those heresies commonly called the heresies of England," are, "of themselves good and just, and to be observed of all faithfull Christians as most true and conformable unto the law of God; and that he had persuaded many persons to embrace the said heresies." The sixth article affirms that, "Agreeably to the ancient errors of John Wickliff and John Huss, he hath affirmed and preached, that the clergy ought not to possess or have any temporal possessions: neither to have any jurisdiction or authority in temporalities ... but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in England." According to the eighth charge, "He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed, that the Church of Scotland might come and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruin as the Church of England, was already come unto."

Some writers (2) make much of Borthwick's repudiation of the suggestion that he was satisfied with the incomplete reform of the English Church. But this criticism savours of a much later date than 1540. His accusers had convincing proof of the truth of their assertions in their victim's flight to England and his welcome at the court of the arch-heretic, (3). From this point of view, Foxe's picture of

(1) Foxe's Martyrs. V. P. 606-620.
(3) Keith 1, 20. Spottiswood 1, 178.
of the indignant Puritan loses much of its impressiveness. Although the English worshipped idols, profaned the sacraments, and were Christians only in their repudiation of Antichrist, Borthwick was very glad to take refuge among them, in spite of their heinous shortcomings!

On the death of Beaton, Borthwick returned to Scotland, his Protestant friends the Earl of Glencairn, and the Earl of Cassils becoming "cautioneris and souerteis" for him, (1) and finally, after the establishment of the Reformation, he was acquitted of the charges and forfeiture against him, (2).

ALEXANDER SETON.

One of the earliest fugitives to England was Alexander Seton, confessour of King James V. The date of his flight is placed about 1535 or 1536, (3). When he reached Berwick he stopped to pen a letter to his master. The tone of this letter is so strongly reminiscent of Henry VIII's instructions to his ambassadors Barlow and Holcroft in 1535, (4), that one might well be justified in placing his escape subsequent to that date, and inferring that although the English ambassadors failed to move the Scottish king, they found his confessour in fullest sympathy with their arguments. "I believe," writes the fugitive, "the cause of my departing is unknowne to thy gracious majesty, which only is, because the Bishops and Churchmen of the Realms have had heretofore such authoritie upon thy subjects that apparently they were rather King, and thou the subject; which unjuste regimen is of itselfe false and contrarie to holy Scripture. And where they desire..."

(1) Register of Privy Council. P. 43.
(2) Bannatyne Miscellany 1, P. 251-254.
(3) Knox 1, 54 and 532.
(4) Hamilton Papers. 1, No. 22.
thy Grace to put out thy temporal Lords and lieges because they despise their vitious life, what else intend they but only thy death and destruction? For when thy Barons are put down, what art thou but the King of Bane?" (1). Compare with this the appeal of the English ambassador to the Scottish king, "Considre howe within your proper realme, your peculiar jurisdiction is defeated, and of what little effecte regarded is your roual renoun and princely power, even of your oune clergie? They have youe bounds to their lawes, but they be free fro yours! The comparison would warrant the assumption that this embassy had not been altogether fruitless.

Seton, however, was to find, like Wishart, that England was not exactly a paradise for Protestant reformers. On the 3rd of November, 1541, he preached at St. Antony's in London, a sermon in which he taught justification by faith, and denied the efficacy of prayer for the dead. He was in consequence accused of heresy, and compelled to recant. But apart from this he seems to have fared well. He became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and died in his service, (2).

ALEXANDER ALESIUS.

Alexander Aless, a canon of St. Andrews, whose conversion is attributed to Patrick Hamilton, escaped first to the Continent, and coming thence to England in 1535, on the invitation of Cromwell and Cranmer, was appointed professor of theology in Cambridge. Spottiswoode describing the favour that Aless had with Henry VIII says that, "He was called commonly the King's Scholar; as he was indeed a man of good learning, and gave thereof a notable proof in his dispute with Stokesley, Bishop of

(1) Keith 1, P. 15 and Calderwood 1, P. 92. Also Knox 1, 51. (2) Foxe V, P.P. 449-451.
London, before the convention in the year 1537," (1). This disputation which has been described by Calderwood, is an interesting indication of the fact that the religious relations of the two nations were not altogether one-sided, and that Scotsmen, even at this early date, played an important part in the story of the English Reformation.

RICHARDSON, WILLIAMS, and ROUGH.

Another refugee who was prominent in the religious relations of the two countries, was Robert Richardson. (2). A canon of Cambuskenneth when he first comes into mention, he fled to England in 1539. He was one of the Protestant preachers sent to Scotland, by Henry VIII in 1543, as a teacher of the new doctrines, and was introduced by Sadler to the regent. On Arran's defection, however, his preaching campaign came to an end, and he had again to seek refuge in England. On this occasion, Sadler writes the King, "Please it your royal majesty to understand that where it pleased the same to commend this bearer, Mr. Richardson, unto the governour here, who, before his revolt from your majesty, the rather for your majesty's commendation, was content to accept and receive him, and also maintained him and others in the setting forth and true preaching of the Word of God, which the said Mr. Richardson hath done very honestly and diligently as long as he might be permitted and suffered to do the same. Forasmuch now as the said governour who was before a supporter of good preachers ... is now become a persecutor of the same: the said Mr. Richardson is therefore forced to fly this country for fear of persecution." (3).

Closely associated with Richardson in the work of preaching at this time, were Williams and Rough. The

(1) Spottiswoode i, 131. Calderwood i, 94.
(2) Knox i, 550.
(3) Sadler's Papers i, P. 344.
former, commonly described as Thomas Guillaume, was the first, according to Calderwood, (1) to give Knox a "taste of the truth." After the return to Scotland of the Abbot of Paisley, Friar Guillaume was forbidden to preach. "He departed to England, where he was choose to be chief preacher at Birsto." It is thought likely that the "Thomas Gilham, Scott, Bachelor of Divinitie," who is mentioned in the list of preachers employed by the English Privy Council refers to him, (2).

Another chaplain to the Earl of Arran was John Rough. He appears, however, to have remained in Scotland till after the death of the Cardinal, when he joined the party in St. Andrew's Castle. "There," says Foxe, "he had assigned unto him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from King Henry the eighth, king of England." After the battle of Pinkie, he retired to England. "He came first," continues Foxe, "unto Carlisle and from thence unto the Duke of Somerset,...and by his assignment had appointed unto him out of the king's treasury twenty pounds of yearly stipend, and was sent as a preacher to serve at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle: from whence he was called by the Archbishop of York,... unto a benefice nigh, in the town of Hull, where he continued until the death of ... Edward the sixth,"(3). References to Rough show how sedulous were the English authorities in fostering and protecting the Scottish preachers. When he had to take refuge in Carlisle, Lennox and Wharton write to Somerset on his behalf,—"We ask your grace's favour for the bearer, Mr. Rough, a Scotsman, who was in the castle of St. Andrews ... and by help of friends fled hither to save his life," (4). In 1557, Rough suffered martyrdom under Bonnar. It is worthy of note that at his trial, when asked what he thought of the prayer-book of

(1) Calderwood l, 160.
(2) Lorimer's Knox. P. 4.
(3) Foxe viii P.P. 443-4.
Edward VI, the Scotsman replied, "that he did approve the same, as agreeing in all points with the word of God," (1).

**JAMES HAMILTON**

Another instance of England's zeal in protecting the Scottish Protestants is afforded by the case of James Hamilton, a brother of Patrick Hamilton, the martyr,(2). On February, 28th, 1542-3, Henry VIII writes to the Governor, "It is signifiyit unto us be Gawyne Hammyltoun, brother germane to our trusty and welbeloved James Hamilton your cousing, that quhair the said James hathe been hereto-for scharplye persequutit be certane of the clery of Scotland,.. for resisting and ganesaying of their abuses, insomuche as he was finally therupon banischst the realme, and all his gudes, landis, and heritage taken from him wranguely as we ar informit, being the said James nowe returnit again in the said realme .. we have thought good to desire ycue .. that you will considder his caus .. concernyng his restitution to his howskiis, landis, gudis, and heritage .."(3). This interest and interference of the English king shows how keen was his desire to promote the cause of the Protestant reformers in Scotland.

**JOHN WILLOCKS, JOHN SPOTTISTOODE, and DAVID FORREST.**

These three men, who figure prominently in the history of the Scottish Reformation, all spent some time in England. John Willocks, described by Calderwood, as a "learned and grave man," (4), was a member of some religious order, but renounced his connection with the Church of Rome, and fled to England. In 1539, we find him preacher in the Chapel of St. Catherines, London. He seems to have suffered from

---

(1) Spottiswoode 1, 172.
(2) Knox I. P. 60. Note 3.
(3) Hamilton Papers 1, No. 319. Also Cf. Knox 1,P.60 Ft.nt 3 and of Lemon's St. Papers V P.155. For the cause of Catharine Hamilton who was an exile in Berwick, Norfolk reports "for holding our wires."
(4) Calderwood 1, P. 303.
the persecution subsequent to the passing of the Statute of the Six Articles. One of the charges brought against a parishioner of St. John's Walbrook, was "burying his wife without Dirge, and causing the Scot of St. Katherine's to preach the next day after the burial," (1). During Edward VI's reign, he was chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, but on Mary's accession, he had to seek refuge on the Continent. He revisited Scotland in 1555 and 1556, and finally returned in 1558 to take an active share in the final establishment of the Reformation, (2).

John Spottiswoode, who was the father of the historian, and who became superintendent of Lothian, after the overthrow of the old ecclesiastical system, was reputed to have been one of Cranmer's disciples. It was probably about the year 1534 that he withdrew into England, and was introduced to Cranmer. "This great and good man was much pleased with Mr. Spottiswoode: he admitted him into his familiarity and fully instructed and confirmed him in the Protestant faith," (3).

David Forrest, General of the Mint, described by Knox as "a man that long has professed the truth," was one of those who befriended and entertained Wishart. He retired to England after the reformer's martyrdom, and from a reference to him, we may gather how the Scottish fugitives were driven to and fro by the winds of persecution. Writing to Cecil from Berwick, on 15th November, 1559, Sadler mentions how, "David Forrest cam hither three days past, who departed out of Englande in the beginning of the

"Willcock was at one and the same time, rector of Loughborough in Leicestershire, and Moderator of the General Assembly in Scotland."
(3) Spottiswoode's History. Editor's Introduction P. lxii.
reigne of quene Mary for cause of religion, and now re-
tourneth agayn becaus of these trubles in Scotland," (1).

SCOTSMEN IN THE PROTECTOR'S SERVICE.

The Protector's correspondence reveals the fact that Scottish refugees for religion were anxious to be admitted into his service, and that several were employed by him to further his designs on Scotland. Among the letters to the Protector is a petition from one of these exiles dated March 1547-8. "James Skea born in Orkney, who about Christmas last came from Edinburgh to England and has since remained, "for feare of burnyng for the word of God," being thus cast off from his living, prays for charity, either to be admitted to the Protector's service, or for some living; "being ready and willing to show all the use, fashion, and order of his country as may be most profit­able to England now in the time of these wars,"(2).

This is followed in the same collection by a somewhat similar petition from one Henry Durham, his Grace's ser­vant and orator, who for the favour he bare to the true setting forth and knowledge of the Gospel, and to the King of England, was exiled not only from his native country, but being captain of Broughty Castle and lessee of the fish­ings, etc., had surrendered the Castle to the King, and lost the revenues .. He earnestly besought his grace there­fore for some competent living, which if not obtained, would not only discourage others from serving the King, but give occasion to the enemy to rejoice at his "evyll furtheraunce and decaye," (3).

Another interesting petition is that of "Alexander Storye," one of the garrison of St. Andrews. He not only prays to be taken into the Protector's service, but also beseeches the Duke to give him money to repay what he

(1) Sailer's Papers ii, P. 123
(3) Ibid No. 207.
borrowed of some Englishmen in France, when by the "provitition" of God he escaped the galleys. (1).

Two other Scotsmen who have a place in this list are John Elder and James Harrison. Their work has already been noticed in connection with the Protector's policy of literary propaganda. Harrison was deep in the service of the Protector and an active agent in his designs on Scotland. That he held a responsible post in the "Intelligence Department" of the day is evident from his correspondence. (2) In July 1547, he reports to Somerset that he had had communication with his countrymen regarding the supply of the sea-fortresses held by the English, the suppressing of "kirkmen and resisters to Godliness," and the fortifying of St. Andrews, and takes occasion at the same time to remind his English master that his pension is in arrears. (3) In March 1548, he forwards to Somerset a memorandum of suggestions as to how to keep his hold on Scotland, and adds this piece of personal information. "Though I have been wrongously reported of and prevented doing good service to the profit of this realm, yet I will serve at the borders if I may have the deanery of Auckland in the bishopric of Durham to live on in heritage, till otherwise provided in Scotland, as promised for my damage and losses." (4).

JOHN KNOX AND ENGLAND.

With regard to John Knox's sojourn in England a very interesting point is raised by a reference in a letter from the Duke of Northumberland, to Cecil. The Duke gives there as a reason for the proposed transfer of Knox from Newcastle to some other sphere of work, the fact that, "the family of Scots now inhabiting in Newcastle, chiefly for his fellowship, would, in the event of his removal, not

(1) Ibid No. 340.
(2) Ibid nos. 27, 217, 357.
(3) Cal. Scot. State Papers 1, No. 27.
(4) Ibid No. 217.
continue there, whereon many resort to him out of Scotland, which is not requisite," (1). This pilgrimage of Scots to England, to sit at the feet of a Scottish preacher, who was payed and protected by the English Government, is indeed a curious instance of the many strange ways in which England helped forward the Scottish Reformation.

The connection of Scotland's foremost reformer with England is however a subject that has been so exhaustively treated that it need not be dealt with here in extenso. Further, it would not be easy to substantiate any claim of England to have influenced the religious development of the Scotsman. Indeed, it would be much easier to demonstrate the extent to which the religious life of England was enriched by the presence of our Reformer. Knox, himself, would probably have been loath to admit any debt to England, so far as doctrine was concerned. In his History he refers to his sojourn in England in the most cursory fashion, and gives more than one hint of his dissatisfaction with the English Reformation. (2). Yet in seeking to elucidate the influence that England exercised on the Scottish Reformation, we cannot disregard the close connection that existed between Knox and England. In the very first place, too great prominence cannot be given to the fact that Knox owed his release from the French galleys to the direct intervention of the English King, (3). Thereafter for ten years of his life, Knox lived and laboured among Englishmen. We remember that his wife was an English woman. His most constant correspondents were English people. His associates and friends at Frankfort and Geneva were all Englishmen. It is therefore, only natural to conclude that this environment had some influence on the man himself. "The letters of Knox to his English friends,"

(1) Quoted by Lorimer P. 77.
(2) Knox I, P. P. 185,231.
(3) McCrie P. 250 Note F. Pollard 'Somerset' P. 64. Note.
(4) Cf. Knox VI. P. 31. Knox to Cecil, 28th June, 1558. "One thing I know, that England by me this day hath receiv'd no hurt, yea it hath receiv'd by the power of God working in me, that benefit which yet to none in England is (over)
says one writer, "show that if he did much for the religion of the English people, the religion of the English people, also did much for him. If he did much to brace and invigorate and exalt theirs, theirs also did much in return to soften and to sweeten his, and to make it more inward and sympathising," (1).

But whatever our reformer's personal obligations may have been, we can confidently affirm that the decisive factor in Scotland's final struggle for religious freedom was Knox's friendship with England. When we compare the two dominant rival figures in the history of the Scottish Reformation,—Cardinal Beaton and John Knox,—we note how deeply they were both involved in matters of political as well as religious. Beaton was a great statesman as well as a great ecclesiastic. Knox had the same dual role,—he was both preacher and politician. But there is this essential difference in the political standpoint of the two men. Beaton was a child of France. He had spent many years of his life there, and maintained to the end the closest connection with it. The policy of his party was likewise wedded to the old French alliance. Knox, on the other hand, looked upon England as his adopted country. He was bound to the English people not only by political and religious relations, but by domestic ties and private friendships. When, therefore, the crisis of the Scottish Reformation arrived, it was Knox's friendship with the sister country that marked him out as the fittest person to negotiate the all-important amity between the two nations. We have thus to thank the long years that Knox spent in exile, for forming and fashioning the channel by which English help was to come pouring into our country, and sweep our Reformation forward to success.

known, neither yet list I to boast of the same, only this will I say, that when England and the usurped authority thereof was enemy to me, yet was I friend to it; and the fruit of my friendship saved the Borders in their greatest necessities."
(1) Lorimer's Knox. P. 43.
PART III

THE TRIUMPH OF THE ENGLISH PARTY.

1558-1560
"And here I, Sir Ralph Sadler, put him (Henry Balnaves) in remembrance how liberall the king, her majesties father had bene afore tyme to the nobilite of Scotland, as he knew, and how litle they considered it,—he confessed it to be trsw; but he sayed the case is now much otherwise than it was then, for then we sought of them, and now they seke of us."

Sadler to Cecil. 8th Sept. 1559.
The fact that England contributed in no small measure to the final triumph of the Protestant party in Scotland, has never been questioned, and the whole story of England's intervention at this juncture has been exhaustively treated by several historians. In this study however, it is our aim to concentrate attention as far as possible on the purely religious as against the purely political relations of the two countries. We admit, of course, we have now come to a state where religion and politics are more inextricably confused than ever before, and that it is unwise, as it is indeed almost impossible to separate them. But when we find that some writers affirm that England's fortunate interference at the crisis of the Scottish Reformation was inspired by none other than political motives, we have good reason to devote our attention to the elucidation of the religious issues involved, and although we make no attempt to deny the importance of the political factor, we hope by revealing the prominence given to religion in the discussions and negotiations of the English and Scottish statesmen, and the extent to which it influenced and directed the conduct of affairs, to find good grounds to support our contention, that it was the establishment of Protestantism as the religion of Scotland that England primarily required, and that the "earnest embracing of religion" was the supreme factor in binding the two nations so "straitly" together.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the English throne, it was inevitable that the relations of England and Scotland should once again become a matter of vital importance. There were two special reasons for this. The first was the revolution in international relationships.
The King of Spain was no longer King of England, and further, by the treaty of Château Cambresis, Spain was reconciled with France. Then by the sudden death of Henry II soon after, the Queen of Scotland also became Queen of France. When we remember, therefore, that Elizabeth could only be regarded by all good Catholics as the illegitimate daughter of Ann Boleyn, we realise how largely Scotland entered into her scheme of things. A league against her of such strong Catholic powers as France and Spain was in itself sufficiently formidable, but it would be all the more serious if these enemies, in the graphic phrase of Cecil, were able to use Scotland as a footstool to overlook her Borders. The Queen of Scots had brazenly proclaimed the ambition of her family by quartering the arms of England with those of Scotland and France. It was obvious that Scotland was the corner stone of this scheme of aggrandisement, and every effort was made to secure its annexation to France. Thus was history, in the relationships of England and Scotland, repeating itself. The dread which had always haunted Henry VIII of being attacked on the Border, now returned to shadow his daughter. The English Queen could only regard with the gravest concern her relations with her northern neighbour. To her representatives at the conference of Château Cambresis her private instructions were to forego every other claim, provided Scotland was included in the peace, (1).

THE PROTESTANT RESTORATION IN ENGLAND.

The second reason for the new importance attaching to the relations of the two countries, was the revolution wrought by Elizabeth in the matter of religion. The Act restoring the Supremacy renewed all the laws of Henry VIII, as well as those of Edward VI, in favour of the Reformation. Then the Act of Uniformity of Religion restored Edward VI's

The King of Spain was no longer King of England, and further, by the treaty of Château Cambresis, Spain was reconciled with France. Then by the sudden death of Henry II soon after, the Queen of Scotland also became Queen of France. When we remember, therefore, that Elizabeth could only be regarded by all good Catholics as the illegitimate daughter of Ann Boleyn, we realise how largely Scotland entered into her scheme of things. A league against her of such strong Catholic powers as France and Spain was in itself sufficiently formidable, but it would be all the more serious if these enemies, in the graphic phrase of Cecil, were able to use Scotland as a footstool to overlook her Borders. The Queen of Scots had brazenly proclaimed the ambition of her family by quartering the arms of England with those of Scotland and France. It was obvious that Scotland was the corner stone of this scheme of aggrandisement, and every effort was made to secure its annexation to France. Thus was history, in the relationships of England and Scotland, repeating itself. The dread which had always haunted Henry VIII of being attacked on the Border, now returned to shadow his daughter. The English Queen could only regard with the gravest concern her relations with her northern neighbour. To her representatives at the conference of Château Cambresis her private instructions were to forego every other claim, provided Scotland was included in the peace.

THE PROTESTANT RESTORATION IN ENGLAND.

The second reason for the new importance attaching to the relations of the two countries, was the revolution wrought by Elizabeth in the matter of religion. The Act restoring the Supremacy renewed all the laws of Henry VIII, as well as those of Edward VI, in favour of the Reformation. Then the Act of Uniformity of Religion restored Edward VI's
Book of Common Prayer, and directed that it should be used in all places at public worship. A special significance was given to these Acts by what was happening simultaneously in the Northern kingdom. It was just at this moment that Protestantism in Scotland was coming to the front as a force to be reckoned with. The Protestant lords had banded themselves together in December, 1557, and in the Parliament which assembled in December, 1558 had lodged a protest against the established religion. Everything seemed to be tending in the direction of open revolt. What would be the inevitable outcome of that revolt could be surely inferred from the fact that while the Queen Dowager of Scotland issued a proclamation ordering Easter to be observed in the Catholic manner, the English Queen received her Easter communion in both kinds, manifesting her allegiance to the Reformed faith.

When we consider these things, it is not surprising to find English statesmen looking anxiously to Scotland, and many eyes in Scotland turning eagerly to the Protestant queen in the South. The first recorded example of this mutual interest is the remarkable conference which took place in January, 1559, between the Duke of Chatelherault and Sir Henry Percy. It was a secret meeting. Neither party had any real official authority, but their colloquy was an obvious feeler as to the future policies of England and Scotland, as well as an indication as to the probable course of subsequent negotiations. The conversation is fully reported in a letter from Percy to Cecil, dated Norham, 22nd January, 1559, (1). In his talk with the Duke, Sir Henry, being of course careful to explain that he spoke only "as of himself," exclaimed, "What a happy thing it would be for Scotland if it could cast off all foreign entanglements as England had now done, and live as of old, Dowager to Queen Elizabeth. March 4th, 1558-9.

a realm in itself, in avowed friendship with England."
The Duke admitted that the French alliance was becoming
distasteful, and that the old hatred of England was dying
out, as was obvious from the recent failure of the Queen
Regent to induce a Scots army to invade England. But even
in this early conversation the religious question is put in
the forefront, and both statesmen agree that any alliance
between the two countries must have a religious basis.
Percy reached the crux of the whole matter when he went
on to put before the Scotsman the reasons for an amity
between their nations. "My lord," he said, "seeing God
hath sent a true Christian religion amongst you, as now
the same I doubt not but shall take effect with us, how
could it be better, for the maintenance of God's word, to
join with us of England, and we with you, for mutual defence
against France?" To this the Duke warmly responded. "He
willed me most earnestly," is Percy's report, "that his
lawful friendship should be unto the realm of England,
known, both in the advancement of the honour of the realm,
and the maintenance of the Word of God, which he supposeth
shall be by the Queen's Majesty sett forth."

This was not the only instance of the keen interest of
the English statesmen in Scottish domestic affairs. Their
agents on the Borders were watching the course of events
in Scotland with eagle eyes. On May 19th, 1552, Croft
writing from Berwick reports to the Privy Council great
dissensions in Scotland, and the resort of the nobility to
Knox and others who were preaching at Dundee,(1). On the
22nd, he notes that "there is great appearance of battle,"
but thinks that as, "many of those with the Queen being of
like religion and kindred with the other faction, it will
likely end without battle,"(2). By the 14th June, Croft
seems to have become convinced of the importance of the
developments he was watching. To Sir Thomas Parry, he
reports that he had written twice to the Council and once

(1) Cal. Scot. State Papers. 1, No, 455.
(2) Ibid No, 457.
to Mr. Secretary, of the 'sture' in Scotland which seemed to him to import much, as well for setting forth God's Word, as "for policy"... The nobility (few excepted) had joined forces, and were at St. Andrews in council now to proceed to set forth God's Word. But if "lettyd" in this purpose they intended to resist, and from what he heard would likely seek the English queen's assistance, (1). On the 18th June, Northumberland forwards to Cecil from Alnwick details of the Reformers' doings. Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews had plucked down the images in several churches changed the monks' coats to other apparel, and were presently going to spoil one of the richest churches, (2).

On the other hand, when the news reached Scotland, that England had once more a Protestant ruler, many hearts were again filled with the hope that had been blighted by the accession of Mary Tudor. Knox was one of the first to give expression to it. "My eie," he said," hath long looked to a perpetual concord betwix these two realms, the occasion wharof is now most present," (3). It is interesting to find that the reformer cherished a warm regard for the originator of the scheme of an Anglo-Scottish alliance. To Knox, Henry VIII was, "the most noble and most redoubtable prince of his tym," and the failure of his policy was due to none other than the enemies of the Evangel, (4).

Lord Ruthven also identifies himself with this policy, "It will please you," he writes to Cecil, "to remember the acquaintance betwixt us in London and Wyndsoir, in the times of my lords Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, when I found that friendship and kindness that I shall not forget. Knowing your good and godly mind towards "furthsetting of the truw word of God and the Union of thir realmes, in greater amite nor in tymes bypast has bein," I thought

(1) Ibid No. 465 or Knox vi P. 29.
(2) Ibid No. 469.
(4) Knox vi, P. 87.
expedient to advertise you that since the beginning of this enterprise I have been one of the furthsetters thereof to my power and shall continue God willing, to the end," (1). It was only natural, therefore, that those, who like Knox and Ruthven looked back with pleasure to Henry VIII's interest in the Scottish reformers, should expect great things of his Protestant daughter, (2). The original policy had however developed beyond the fondest dreams of its early founders. In an interview between Henry Balnaves and Sir Ralph Sadler we find this remarkable disclosure. "And here I," Sadler reports, recounting the conversation, put him in remembrance how liberall the king, her majesties father, had been afore tyme to the nobilitie of Scotland, as he knew, and how little they considered it:...he confessed it to be trew:...but he sayed the case is now much otherwise than it was then, FOR THEN WE SOUGHT OF THEM, AND NOW THEY SEEK OF US," (3). We could not have the change that had taken place in the attitude of the two countries to one another better expressed. With the accession of a Protestant queen, to the English throne, a new era had dawned upon Scotland. No longer was English interference resented and suspected, but of all things the most desired. Truly, old things were passed away, and all things were become new!

Kirkcaldy of Grange who was an old friend of the English interest was another who showed himself at once awake to the possibilities opened up by these new developments. On June, 23, he wrote to Cecil that, "Love of my native realm compels me to write. Open defiance is now given to all who maintain idolatry. Twice the professors of God's Word have shown face in defence of their brethren's blood sought for the cause of religion, and they are now in the field to deliver St. Johnston illegally garrisoned by the Queen, whose craft is to bring in the French. If you suffer this,

(2) Knox vi, P. 67.
(3) Sadler's Papers 1, 434.
you will prepare a way for your own destruction," (1).
Again on the 1st of July, in a letter to Sir Henry Percy, he expresses himself even more strongly. "Assure yourself that the professors of God's word in this realm, bear the Queen your maistres'cane unfeaned love, which sell prove in deid or it be long....I wolde wishe that all mynes were sought, and no tyme pretermitted to bind up a perpetual freynship betwene the two Realmes which presently is easy to be done; therefore put yourself owt of dowt or suspition of the conventions of the Congregation, for ... there is nothing ment by them to the hurt of England, but by the contrarie great love and freynship," (2).

Another Scotsman who was one of the first to see the need for co-operation between the two countries was William Maitland of Lethington. He had been a convert of Knox as early as 1558, but remained in the service of the Queen Regent until this time. He had represented her at the treaty of Château Cambresis, and had fully concurred with Cecil in the policy of an Anglo-Scottish Alliance, (3).

But to Knox, must be ascribed the main credit of not only being the heart and soul of the new spirit of friendship with England, but of being one of the first to see the importance for Scotland of the Protestant accession in England. As soon as he received the news he left his retreat in Geneva and set out for home. When he reached Dieppe in April, he at once got into communication with Sir William Cecil, "With quome the said Jhonne had before familiarlie acquainted intending thairby to renew acquaintance, and so to oppen farther of his mynd,"(4). He did not succeed in arranging an interview, but we can safely conjecture what would have been the tenour of his conversation with the English statesman, for soon after,

(2) Knox vi, P. 33. also Cal. Scot State Papers i, No. 430.
(3) Cf. Pussell's "Lethington."
(4) Knox ii, P. 15.
when on his return to Scotland he opened correspondence with Sir Henry Percy, he thus introduces himself, "Richt Honourable, having the opportunitie of this bearer unsuspect I thought good to requyr of you such friendship as that from tym to tym conference and knowledge myght to betwixt us: I mean not my self and you, but betwixt the faythfull of both the Realmes to the end that inconveniences pretended against both may by God is grace and myghty power be avoided," (1).

From the tone of this communication it is very clear that we have now reached the concluding state of the whole matter. The long seed-time has at last borne fruit in definite religious relations between the two countries.

MISCONCEPTIONS REGARDING ENGLISH INTERFERENCE.

The importance of the religious factor in prompting England's interest in Scotland at this time, has not always been recognised, or if admitted, has been regarded as a side issue, only dragged in to serve the ends of the politicians. Roman Catholic historians have naturally been inclined to belittle it. "The designs of the party against the Church," says Bellesheim "were purposely kept in the background, with the object of gaining the support of a larger number of adherents. This fact is particularly noteworthy as illustrating the duplicity of the Protestant leaders, and as serving to dispose of the preposterous theory which would maintain that the Catholic people of Scotland unanimously and spontaneously abandoned their faith and hastened to embrace the new Gospel," (2). He is, of course, but repeating what was a contemporary charge against the reformers, that their quarrel was,"the pretendid quarrell of religion," (3).

(1) Knox vi, 35, 6.
(2) Bellesheim ii, P. 282.
(3) Knox i, 422.
Tytler also gives his support to this view, that the reformers, consented, "to purchase the co-operation of mere human power, by omitting all allusion to the great cause of religious reformation which they had so repeatedly represented as the paramount object for which they had taken up arms."

More modern writers have been inclined to admit the religious motive but give it only a second place. The author of "Politics and Religion in Scotland," admits that the Scottish Reformation was a "movement religious indeed, but less religious than political," and holds that its two outstanding motives were, "the sense of nationality, and the instinct of union." Of Knox, he says, "he was not in sympathy with the patriotic spirit, which with the force of a great tradition behind: it was the really decisive element in the revolution." "Religion," he concludes, "gave place to patriotism as the dominant force till eventually it dropped almost out of sight," (1). But the more strongly the argument is pressed the more ridiculous it becomes.

John Knox, has, of course, been continually and curiously misrepresented and misunderstood, but what could be more wide of the mark than this extraordinary assertion —"There was one thing of vital importance to the view of Cecil and his fellow-statesmen of England -- they must secure the hearty co-operation of John Knox ... He must be made to see that his own cause, and that of England, were one." We are, however, glad to read that "Cecil managed in the end that Knox should be propitiated!" (2).

THE OMISSION OF THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE.

The main ground for support of this contention is the complete silence regarding the religious issue in the

(1) Mathieson, 1, 99.
(2) Hill Burton iii, P. 330.
treaties of Berwick, and Edinburgh. The Contract of Berwick (1) made between the representatives of Queen Elizabeth and the Scottish lords, contained no reference to religion. The English queen merely undertook to support the Scots in defending their independence against French aggression. In the first draft, it is true, the word "for the maintenance of Christian religion," appeared, but the reference was afterwards deleted.

In the final treaty of Edinburgh, (2) the religious question was again conspicuous by its absence. It was simply agreed that English and French troops should be withdrawn, that a Council of Twelve be appointed to rule on behalf of the sovereigns, that no "kirkman" or "stranger" should hold any of the high offices of state, and that Parliament should be convened.

The reason for this silence concerning the religious ends of the Congregation is quite obvious, (3). Elizabeth dared not avow to France and Spain that her help was given to Scotland on religious grounds. She could not run the risk of provoking a Catholic crusade against her. So for the king of Spain's benefit, her support of the Scots had to be represented as a means of defending herself against possible invasion by the French. Caution had also to be exercised, because a large percentage of Elizabeth's subjects still remained Roman Catholic, and it would have been most impolitic to flaunt the fact that she was supporting a Protestant Rebellion.

None, the less, although the religious issue was kept carefully out of sight, religion was the raison d'être of the whole matter. It had indeed intruded itself very

(1) Knox ii, 45-47. or Foederæ XV P. 539.
(2) Knox ii, 78-83.
(3) Bishop Lesley's explanation is rather far-fetched,--that, "the Commissioners of Ingland wald half wished the Congregatione of Scotland to half resavit the discipline and ceremoniess conforms to the Order establishit laity befoir in their Parliament of Ingland, so that both the Realmes might half been uniforme in religions and ceremoniess," Lesley P. 232.
subtly into the treaty of Edinburgh. In the negotiations preparatory to the treaty, the lords had submitted a "Declaration of General Requests," (1). In this they express the hope that when the Estates meet, their sovereigns will approve that they, "Repeal, confirm, alter, eik, or of new establish such laws and ordinances," as they shall find necessary for quietness of the realm," as well anent the civil policy as uniformity of religion, wherein there is such controversy already risen that without order be speedily taken by advice of the Estates, and an uniform rule be devised, the unity of the lieges cannot long continue." This request found expression in the seventeenth article of the treaty, (2) where it was stated that as the deputies could not touch the religious question, Parliament should at their next meeting, chose representatives to put the matter before their rulers. When the Estates met of course there was no doubt as to how they would interpret the Treaty. "The Parliament of 1560," Professor Macewen says "came together with no intention of discussing a situation or considering a problem, but in order to record the fact that Scotland had become Protestant, and to embody that fact in an enactment." (3)

The Treaty of Edinburgh was indeed a most remarkable as it was a most memorable treaty. The object it achieved was never mentioned, and the treaty itself was never ratified. Yet neither of these things seems to have mattered. The situation could not be more succinctly described than in the words of a French historian,—"François et Marie refusèrent en vain leur ratification: l'Ecosse demeura protestante et livrée à l'influence de l'Angleterre: le but poursuivi si longtemps par la politique Anglaise était atteint," (4).

(2) Cf. Knox ii, P. 82.
(3) Macewen ii, P. 146.
(4) Martin, "Histoire de France."
The importance of the religious motive is however, clearly disclosed in the correspondence of those who negotiated the Union between the two nations. A noteworthy feature of all this correspondence, private as well as official, is that the reforming party in Scotland are always referred to as Protestants. They are so called by Sadler and Cecil, and this name is given to them even in the royal commissions of Elizabeth herself. This fact alone would tend to show that England's interest was not confined simply to the insurgent, patriotic element in the reform party. But at the same time it should not be forgotten that the revolt broke out in Scotland without any understanding with the English government, and that it was primarily a religious revolt. When the Congregation in the end approached England, the basis of negotiation was in the words of Knox, "Because that Ingland was of the same religion and lay nixt unto us," (1). In all the "Notes" that passed between the two countries, the religious reason for confederacy is continually and consistently placed in the forefront.

On the Scots side, the bulk of the correspondence is supplied from the pens of Knox, Kirkcaldy and Balnaves, while the letters written in the name of the Lords of the Congregation are usually the work of Knox or Lethington. On the English side, Cecil, Percy and Sadler are the principal negotiators.

Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange has not always been credited with sincere religious feeling. The opinion of Tytler has been frequently echoed that, "His accession (to the reforming cause) appears to have been the result rather of a wish to rescue his native country from becoming an appanage of France, than of a determination to overthrow

(1) Knox 1, P. 382.
the Romish faith," (1). Yet in his letters at this time, he is most explicit as to the importance of the religious question. On July, 1st, he wrote to Percy, "The Congregation have come forward seeking only for a reformation of religion, with goodwill to England, as long as it maintains the Gospel." And on July, 17th, he wrote to Cecil, with whom he is described as having "travelled" as with "an unfeared favourer of Chrystes trew religion and of the libertie of our countrye," (2). His letter is to the effect that if England would join with their common cause of Christ and liberty, then, "all Europe shall knowe that an league made in the name of God hathe an other founda­tion and assurance then pactions made be man for warldly commoditie." From this it would indeed appear that Kirkcaldy's patriotism did not blind him to the religious issue that was bound up with it.

Maitland against whom the same charge has also been made was likewise no less explicit. Writing to an English correspondent in January, 1560, shows how closely connect­ed was the religious with the political issue:- "When in the days of your princes Henry VIII and Edward VI means were opened of amity betwixt both realms, was not at all times the difference of religion the only stay they were not embraced?. Did not the craft of our clergy and power of their adherents subvert the devices of the better sort.? But now has God of His mercy removed the block forth out of the way: now is not their practice like to take place any more when we are come to a conformity and profess the same religion as you," (3).

With men like Knox and Balnaves it is to be expected that the religious issue would bulk most largely. Yet we find that none were more profoundly aware that the

(2) Cal. Scot. State Papers 492.
patriotic element could not be divorced from it. On 19th July, Balnaves, as knowing Cecil’s "earnest love and constancy to the furthersetting and true maintaining of Christ’s holy religion," writes him regarding these two points, "First, Furthersetting God’s glory according to His word, as in your realm begun. Second, Preserving ours from the tyranny of strangers, Frenchmen," and adds, "We must both join to resist our common enemy who, by the Bishop of Rome’s authority pretends no less title to your realm than to this," (1).

With Knox, "concord between the two kingdoms" was only a means to an end, and from the first he never dissembled as to what that end was. Writing to Percy from Edinburgh on 1st July, 1559, he states the whole issue clearly. "The troubles of this Realm ye hear, but the cause to many is not known. Persuaid yourself, and assure otheris, that we mean neyther sedition, neyther yitt rebellion against any just and lauchfull authoritie, but onlie the advance­ment of Christes religion, and the libertie of this poore Realme. Yf we can have the one with the other, it will fare better with England," (2).

This is the constant refrain of all the letters, penned mostly by Knox, which passed between the Lords of the Congregation and England. Their first letter, replying to Cecil’s queries as to their aim and objects, states most decisively that their "Hoille and only purpos (as knoweth God) is to advaunce the glorye of Chryst Jesus, the trew preaching of his evangell within this realm; to remove superstition and all kynd of idolatrie; to brydeill to our poweris the furie of those that heirtofoir have cruellie sched the blood of our bretherin; and to our utermost, to meanteine the libertie of this our countrye, from the tirranie and thraldome of strangeris, as God shall

(1) Cal. Scot. State Papers 495.
(2) Knox vi, p. 33.
assist us," (1). Religion is put forward as the sole basis for agreement, "Our confederacie, amitie, and leigue, shall not be lyke the pactions maid by wardlie men for wardlie proffeit; but as we require it for Goddis cause, so will we incall his name for the observation of the same," (2).

We can safely affirm that the Scots would have sought no help from England, if there had been a Roman Catholic ruler on the English throne. A letter from the Lords to Queen Elizabeth, dated 19th July, after describing the extremity to which they were reduced, explains, "Tharfor we ar compelled to seak remeady against such tyrannye by all such lauchtfull meanes as God shall offer. And know- ing your grace to have enterprised liek Reformation of religion, we could not cease to requyr and crave of your grace, of your counsall, subjectis, and realme, suche support in this our present danger, as may till us be comfortable, and may declar yr grace and counsall un- feanedlie to thrust the advancement of christ Jesus of his glorious gospel," (3). In another letter the Reformation in England was compared to that which was being attempted in Scotland, and the difficulties which the comparison revealed were made the grounds of the Lords' appeal, "Consider, sir," they implore Cecil, "that we have against us the established authoritie which did evir favour you and Denmark both, in all your Reformation, and that without support we cannot bring thame to suche obed- ience as we desyr," (4).

There could be no possible misconception on the part of the English statesmen regarding the object for which their help was required. In the instructions given by the Lords to Knox for conveyance to Cecil's agent on the Borders, the whole sum of their contention is most explicit:

(1) Knox ii, P. 22.
(2) Knox ii, P. 23.
(4) Knox vi, P. 88.
ly set forth. The league with England is desired for two causes, and the first of these is, "That the glory of God, the true preaching of Christ Jesus, with the right ministration of his sacraments, may be universally and openly maintained in this ycle, and that the tyranny and superstition of that Romane Antichrist may be utterly suppressed and abolished in the same," (1). This surely leaves no room for doubt.

But while it was desire for religious reformation that prompted the Scots' request for help, there can be little doubt that it was the real reason for the Englishmen's willingness to interfere. Cecil, (2) in the memorandum he drew up, "of certain pointes meete for restoring the realme of Scotland to the auncient weale," notes as an essential, "That it may be provided by consent of the three estates of the land, that the land may be free from all idolatry, like as England is,"(3). He instructs Sir Henry Percy to assure Kirkcaldy that rather than Scotland should be oppressed, "and especially such as at this present seihe to mayntayne the truthe of Christian religion be expelled," England would do all in her power to help them, (4).

The importance that was felt to attach to the religious issue is clearly borne out by the keen interest which the English statesmen displayed in the fortunes of the Reform party in Scotland. In a report forwarded to Cecil

(2) The mind of the Secretary is, of course, reflected in the correspondence of Sadler. In a communication to the Lords which was penned but never dispatched, perhaps because of its dangerous candour, the attitude of the English statesmen is frankly revealed. "Ye be most hartielie sorie to understande, that your Godly enterprise, tending principally to the advauncement of Gods glorie, and next to the safegarde and defence of your naturall country from the conquest of the French nacion, is thus infortunatly stayed, and interrupted, which we assure you groveth us no lesse then if the cause were our owne," Sadler's papers, 1, 416.
(3) Sadler's Papers, 11, 375 and Cal. Scot State Papers 537.
(4) Knox vi, P. 39.
of Sadler's interview with Balnaves at Berwick the following details are eagerly noted:— "During this means tyme they have had their preachers abroade in the realme, which by their preching and doctrine, have so woone and allured the people to their devotion, as he sayeth, their power is now double that it was, in the cause of religion." But in the same letter Sadler reports how he had to explain to the Scotsman the difficulties in the way of English interference,—"That albeit their cause was grounded uppon a good and Godly foundation, to extirpe idolatry, and to advance Christes trew religion and also for the preservation of the freedom of their country—yet the worlde can make nae other exposycion of it, but that they be as it were a faction gathered togither contending agenst thau­ctoryte," (1). Yet the fact remains that to the English queen, regarded by all Roman Catholics as heretic and illegitimate, it would be no advantage to have Scotland clear of the French, if the Scots still remained loyal to the Papacy.

From all this, it must appear that the religious element was as prominent as the patriotic, in bringing about an understanding between the two countries, (2).

(1) Sadler's Papers 1, P. 431.
(2) All the evidence would tend to prove that so far as the Scottish reformers were concerned the questions of national and religious freedom were equally involved in their struggle with the French. When the Queen Regent was deposed, the accusations brought against her were political, but her accusers were the "Mobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Churche of Scotland," Knox 1, P.446. When the revolutionaries sent their sailors out with authority to attack the French, the reason given on their license was because "the Frenchman was notoriously bent on destroying them and their country, for no other reason, but their embracing the true religion of Christ and rejecting Antichrist. Cal. Scot. State Papers, No. 632. In their negotiations with the Queen Regent the Lords defend their appeal to England by candidly admitting the religious nature of their revolt. "For this we feir nott to confes, that as in this cure interpresse against the devill, idolatrie, and the mensance of the same, we cheiflie and onlie seik Gods glory to be notifieit unto man, synne to be punisit, and vertew to be mentenit; sua quhair power faillis of ourself, we will seik quhoirseover God sall offer the same." Knox 1, P. 427.
Their enemies were, of course, fully aware that the religious question was the crux of the whole matter. In a letter addressed to the Pope by Mary and her husband we gather that his help was requested in defence of the Roman Church, "contre les nouvelles sectes qui commencerent lors a seslever au dict Royaulme par le moyen de leurs voisins suivant l'eglise changee en Angleterre," (1).

**Patriots or Protestants?**

Aspersions have been cast on the genuineness of the religious sentiments of the Lords of the Congregation. Religious language was probably used by many with very little sincerity. But there is also ample evidence to prove that many of them,—and these the heart and soul of the movement, were deeply religious men. Randolph, the English agent, was surprised at their godliness. "Besides that they doubt loss of their lands, lives, and goods, I see many of them have the fear of God," (2). He singles out for special praise the Earls Arran, Argyll, and the Lord James Stewart. But with the Earl of Argyll, he was specially impressed. "In my conscience," he tells Cecil, "I cannot sufficiently commend him to you, and wonder not a little to see a man of his age, life in times past, and bringing up so 'affectioned' to God, and his commonwealth." (3) But no clearer indication of their devotion to the reformed faith could be found than in the wording of their Covenant. By this they bound themselves in the presence of God, "to sett forwart the reformation of religion, according to Goddes Word; and procure be all meanis possibill, that the trewh of Goddes word may haif free passage within this realme, with due administration of the sacramentis, and all thingis depending upoun the said word," (4).

(1) Quoted by Hume Brown "John Knox" ii, P.P. 32 and 300.
(2) Cal. Scot. State Papers, No. 734.
(3) Ibid No. 891.
At the same time we cannot ascribe the issue exclusively to religion. The religious leaders themselves were not blind to the secular forces at work. Knox, in a letter written at the beginning of the struggle, says, "We feare that the tyrannie of France sail, under the cloke of religion, seeke a plaine conquest of us...God move the hearts of such as professe Christ Jesus with us, to have respect to our infancia, and open their eyes that they may see, that our ruine sail be their destruction," (1). Yet some would have us believe that Knox was not in sympathy with the patriotic spirit! He was the very soul of the patriotic movement, and all the more so, because patriotism and Protestantism had now become inseparably united.

Our contention, indeed, is that this new patriotism which was to bring forth the new alliance, was itself the fruit of the new faith. The ancient amity had so completely broken down that the French, before their final departure, had to be protected from the fury of the Scots. On the other hand, there are many evidences of the welcome and the friendship extended to the Englishmen. "I am sure," Maitland affirms, "the people never bore so good affection to any nation as now to the English," (2). Randolph the English agent remarks of the Scots nobility how, "Many of these noblemen are so desirous to show no difference between English and Scottish that they agree to everything proposed, as though there had never been discord between the two realms," (3), and writes, "for a miracle, that since our camp came here, there was never quarrel or discord between English and Scots, that blow was given or sword drawn," (4). Even the Queen Dowager noted how the Lords, and Lairds, and Scottish gentlemen, took each an Englishman of like degree by the hand, when they advanced to the assult, (5). There must surely have been something more than mutual

(1) Knox vi, P. 27.
(3) Ibid No. 713.
(4) Ibid No. 876.
(5) Maitland Club. 41, P. 81.
antipathy to the French invader to inspire such friendship. May we not take it as a testimony to the truth of that assertion on which the Scots reformers based their claim for help, that England and Scotland were now closely bound together by the "earnest embracing of religion?"

**FURTHER EFFORTS AND INFLUENCES.**

England's active interest in the Scottish Reformers was not, however, confined to the supplies of men and money(1) that were sent them at this time.

A most illuminating fact is that a plan to dethrone the Roman Catholic rulers of Scotland, and set up in their place a Protestant king was seriously considered south of the Border. Cecil, in his memorandum on the Scottish question, had observed that so long as Scotland remained

(1) In regard to financial help, an interesting detail is worthy of mention. This is Knox's request for help from his "brethren of London", a fact which throws a curious sidelight on the religious relations of the two peoples at this crisis. Writing on October 23rd 1559, Knox informs his correspondent, one Gregory Raylton, that the Scottish Protestants were determined "to assay the uttermost," and asks him to "gave advertisement therfor to such as favour us, that without delay our support be sent as well all moneth as by men," and further requests him, "to be required to all such as ye know to be unfeigned favorers, and especially to our brethren of London, to have a respect to our necessitie." Knox vi, P. 87. From a letter to Mrs. Anna Loch, dated 18th November, it appears that Knox had appealed direct to his London friends. "I wrote unto you, before, to be better to some faithfull, that they wold move such as have abundance to consider our estate and to make for us some provision of money, to keep us soundours and our companie together: and herein yet againe, I cannot cease to move you." Knox vi, P. 99. The English Protestants, however, do not appear to have given their Scots co-religionists a lesson in generosity. From another letter of Knox to the same lady, we gather that she had sought help from him and low, but without success, as it was supposed that the English would give all necessary support. This call for the rebuke, that support could come by consent of Council and authority, I am uncertain. But suppose that it shall be greater than yitt is bruited, that ought not to ete, the liberal hands of the godlie to support us privately." But whether or not the rebuke was effective, it is interesting to know that English Protestants were given this invitation to contribute individually to the success of the Scottish Reformation. Knox vi P. 103.
at the command of the French, there could be no hope of concord between the two realms, and therefore, suggested that, "for this purpose it were good that the nobility and commons joined with the next heir of the crown (seeing the Queen of Scotland is also Queen of France) to seek due reformation of such great abuses as tend to the ruin of their country." And further, "if the queen shall be unwilling to this (the proposals of the reformers) as it is likely she will, in respect of the greedy and tyrannous affliction of France, then is it apparent that almighty God is pleased to transfer from her the rule of the kingdom for the welfare of it. And then may the realm of Scotland consider, being once made free, what means may be devised through God's goodness to accord the two realms," (1). This idea was fully elaborated into a scheme for the erection to the throne of a Protestant noble, and the English agents were pressed to find out how such a move would appeal to the revolutionaries. Although it was never carried into effect, it shows how anxious were the English statesmen to make the Reform party the dominant power in Scotland.

There can be no doubt that it was due principally to English persuasion that the weight of the Hamilton family was added to the side of the reformers. Their growing distaste and distrust of the French was skilfully used, as we have seen in the conference between the Duke and Sir Henry Percy, to resuscitate their short-lived friendship with England. Now Cecil appeals to the Duke's latent sympathy with reform. "I beseche your grace at this present," Cecil writes on 24th August, "neglect not suche opportunitie of doooyng good to your countray, as the lyke was never offered this hundred yeres...so I take my leave, preying almighty God to make you the instrument of his true honor against Antichrist the perpetuall enemye of his deare sonne, our Saviour Christ." The return to Scotland.

(1) Sadler's Papers 1, P. 375-6.
(2) Sadler's Papers 1, P. 402.
at this time of the Duke's eldest son, the Earl of Arran, was clearly engineered by England. This nobleman had been appointed to the command of the French king's Scottish guard, but having fallen into disgrace on account of his Protestant sympathies had fled the country and taken refuge in Geneva. As early as June 14, 1559, Croft notices the desire in Scotland for the return of this illustrious exile. In a letter to Sir Thomas Parry, speaking of the Protestant nobility, he reports that it was expected that the Duke would join them, and they were also devising how to get his son home from France. "He is very well bent in religion, and next his father the only hope of the realm," (1). On August 20, Sadler and Crofts definitely recommend measures being taken to bring about Arran's return. "It seemeth unto us that nothing might more advance the cause then the presence of the Earl of Arran in Scotland, who should have more esteemacion there then his father, and should be well able to take the matter in hand, if his father wolde refuse; wherefor, it were no evil policy to haste him thither," (2). This was very speedily accomplished. The returned exile was honourably received at the English Court and passed on through the hands of the English agents on the Borders, to undertake on his arrival in Scotland a leading place in the Reform party.

Another proposal that had for its object the strengthening of the Reformers' cause in Scotland, was the Evangelisation of the English Borders. The importance of this work we find advocated by both Scots and English statesmen. Knox outlines the scheme and the points in favour of it, in one of his letters to Cecil. "Trew and faithfull preacheris in the north partes of England cannot but greetlie advance this cause, yf a learned and Godlie man mycht be appointed to Barwick with license also to preach within Scotland, I doubt not to obtain unto him the favour:

(2) Knox vi, P. 72.
of the most part of the gentlemen of the East and Wyddle Bordouris. Advert on thyng, Schir, that yf the hartes of the Bordaris of both partes can be united together in Goddes fear, our victorie shalbe easy. The fear of no man I truist...this day' will cause any of those that have professed themselves enemies to superstition within Scotland till lift thare hand against England so long as it will abyd in the puritie of Christes Doctryn," (1). Sadler also mentions the need for evangelising the north of England. In a memorandum concerning the Border service, he says, "It were mete also that two or three Godlie and well learned men shoulde have convenient interteynment either by yerlie stipend, or by some spirituall promocions of the saide bishoprick (of Durham) to preache and teache the woorde of God, for the better instruction of the ignorant people, which is a thing most nedefull and necessarie in the northe partes and speciallie in the townes of Barwick, where it were to be wished that one of the saide preachers shoulde be placed," (2). In a letter to Cecil dated 19th September, 1559, he notices, like Knox, the advantage to the Scottish movement of a sympathetic feeling in the north parts of England. He complains of the danger to the entente caused by inroads into Scotland of the English borderers, which were connived at by Northumberland and Racre, the Roman Catholic wardens of the Marches, who, in Sadler's opinion, "Wolde be very loth that the Protestants in Scotland, yes or in England, shoulde prosper," (3). These facts are very illuminating, not only as illustrating the difficulties with which Queen Elizabeth had to contend, but also the tender regard that her statesmen evinced for the welfare of the Protestant party in Scotland.

The surrender of hostages must also have been a possible channel of religious influence. These scions of the nobility of Scotland were handed over, in accordance with the negotiations at Berwicke, to the keeping of the

English Queen as pledges of the good faith of the Protestant Lords, and every effort was made to enable the young men to benefit mentally and spiritually from their sojourn in England. We have Lord Ruthven, writing to Cecil in this connection, "After coming to this town (Berwick) I perceive by my Lord Duke, that my son is one of the pledges for the contract betwixt the two realms. As I would have him nourished and brought up in the fear of his Lord God, I will desire you to move the Queen that he may be put into the school in Cambreche upon my expens," and obtain her writing to the Duke to send him there, "because the boy is presentlie heir and dois no guid by tynis tyma;" (1). The desire of this anxious father was apparently echoed by other lords who were similarly situated, for Norfolk writing to Cecil announcing the arrival of the hostages, says, "It would be to the Queen's honour to have them, 'byeng children,' well brought up at 'schole' and have learning either in Cambridge or Oxford, which their parents have earnestly required at my hands. So pray you move her majesty and advertise me of her gracious pleasure," (2). The English Queen was not slow to approve the suggestion. She immediately writes to Norfolk that, "As to the hostages by which be received, and you desyred to be brought upp according to the parents request, in sum universitye, we think it better, to have them distributed heraboute to certeyn our bishops, as of Canterburrye, London and Elye, where they may be both savely kept, and encreasetheir lernynge," (3). In the list of these pledges there is noted in the margin, in Cecil's handwriting, to whose care they were to be committed. The Duke of Chatelherault's son was to be 'lodged' in Canterbury: the Earl of Argyll's cousin and the Lord James, half-brother, in some college at Cambridge; the Earl of Glencairn's son, with Lord

(2) ibid No. 707.
(3) Sadler's Papers ii, No. 236.
Wharton; the Earl of Menteith's son with the Dean of Durham, and the Lord Ruthven's son with the Dean of Westminster. (1)

Cecil, at the same time did his best to influence and control the methods pursued by the Scottish reformers. In his letter of 28th July, 1559, which Knox and the Lords of the Congregation found so unsatisfactory in regard to definite promise of support, he, "doubts if they are taking the right way against the papist kirkmen, who are wise in their generation, bold and rich, but if touched with fear are the greatest cowards. He likes no spoil, but to see good things put to good uses, as enriching the Crown, help of the young nobility, maintenance of ministry, learning in schools,--and knows no better example thereof than Denmark," (2) He assures the Lords, however, that England is not so void of wit and zeal to God, as not to favour their purposes none the less. He writes privately to Crofts, urging him "Anywise kindle the fire, for if quenched, the opportunity will not come in our lives," (3).

Nothing could better express than this sentence the whole policy of England in regard to the Scottish Reformation. The fire which had so long been fanned by English hands, was now become a devouring, flame which would sweep all before it.

CONFEDERACY AND CONFORMITY.

It would be only natural to expect that Elizabeth, who did so much to secure the triumph of the Scottish Reformers, should have tried to influence the character of

(2) Cal. Scot. State Papers 1, 506. Also Knox vi, P. 51.
(3) Cal. Scot. State Papers 1, 483. Given by Tytler in a foot-note. Cecil to Crofts, 3th July, 1559. "In any wise do your endeavour to kindle the fire, for if it should quench, the opportunity thereof will not arise in our lives, and that the Protestants mean to do, would be done with all speed, for it will be too late when the French power cometh. To a wise man few words serve."
their religious settlement. Randolph, the English agent in Scotland, was evidently instructed to find out what could be done to bring about a uniformity of religion in the two countries, for in a letter to Cecil, notifying him of the attitude of the Scots preachers to England, he says, "I have lately talked with them all, to search their opinions, how uniformity might be had in religion, in both realms; they seem willing, as many commodities might ensue, but I find them so severe in that that they profess, and so lothe to remytte any thyng of that that they have receaved, that I se lyttle hope thereof. With others I have dealt more liberally, who say it is so expedient that their good will shall not lack," (1). The complete failure of this enterprise brings us naturally to our conclusion. Religious sympathy there undoubtedly was between the two peoples,—and this thesis is just the account of the gradual development of this bond of union,—but religious uniformity there never had been and never could be.

It is none the less remarkable, that but for an occasional ominous whisper, there was throughout the early period of the Scottish Reformation, anything to indicate the existence of those conflicting views regarding church order and polity which were later to separate the two sister churches. Even Knox, who more than any other was responsible for the type of doctrine Scotland adopted, was statesman enough to overlook for the time being, those features of the Anglican settlement of which he disapproved and to find complete satisfaction in the fact that England was now on the Protestant side. At his instigation, help was implored from England for the simple reason that "England was of the same religion," (2). Cecil's friendship was reckoned to be assured, because he was, "ane unfeaned favorer of Chrystes trew religioun," (3) while

(2) Knox 1, P. 382.
(3) Cal. Scot. State Papers 1, 492.
English and Scottish Protestants were spoken of as, "the faithful in both realms," (1). The negotiators on both sides united in ignoring all possible differences, when Percy sought to sound Chatelherault, as to the likelihood of an Anglo-Scottish alliance; his argument was based on the fact that, "God hath sent a true Christian religion amongst you as now the same I doubt not but shall take effect with us," (2). When the Lords wrote to Queen Elizabeth requesting assistance, they gave as their reason for approaching her, the fact that she had "entered in like reformation of religion," (3). We remember also in this connection, the large number of Scotsmen who were received into the English Church, and held office in it during the persecutions in Scotland. Then, on the other hand, we find that when the English ambassadors, the Secretary Cecil and Doctor Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, were in Edinburgh, they made no scruple of attending the Scots service in St. Giles, (4).

It was however, only natural that difference of detail, as regards questions of doctrine and order should have no place while the end for which the reformers were struggling was still unaccomplished. As to what that end was no Scottish Protestant of the time would have taken any exception to Cecil’s definition of it:—"That Scotland may be free from all idolatry like as England is," (5).

When however, the triumph of the reformers was secured, it was at once apparent that Scotland would not adopt the Anglican settlement. There had been more than a hint, of this inevitable estrangement in the coldness with which men like Knox, Goodman and Balnaves, were regarded at the English Court. Yet these were the men who were now to form and fashion the Scottish Church. Every day.

(1) Knox ii, P. 24.
(2) Keith Appendix xiii, P. 364.
(3) Knox vi, P. 43.
(5) Sadler's Papers ii, 375.
it became: more and more obvious that religious confederacy did not imply religious conformity. Although Knox prayed in St. Giles, "A marvellous vehement and piercing prayer in the end of his sermon for the continuance of amity and hearty love with England," he did not omit in the same sermon to, "give the cross and candle such a wipe," that, as the English agent bitterly adds, "as wise and learned as himself wished him to have held his peace," (1).

Professor Hume Brown has noted that "Between Calvinism and the Scottish genius as it now defined itself, there was a natural affinity which the subsequent religious History of Scotland has sufficiently demonstrated," (2). This is a very important observation to bear in mind in view of certain criticisms as to the truly representative character of the Scottish Church. "The reformed church," it has been said, "which took shape in August 1561, was an institution so exceedingly limited in scope, that it could accommodate, at all events, with comfort, only a very small minority," (3). But how can we reconcile the idea of a "small minority," with Randolph's exclamation, that he never saw such weighty matters,—the church settlement—passed with such speed, and unanimity, and good will? Randolph put his finger on the secret of the subsequent religious divergence, when he said he found the Scots, "so severe in that they profess, so lothe to remit anything of that they have received." He reports that he found them, "better willing to receive discipline than in any country I ever was in,"(4). Here we have the testimony of the Englishman to the Scots' natural inclination towards the Calvinistic system. The type of doctrine and church order which Scotland adopted was indeed that which conformed most accurately to the national temperament. Anglicanism

(1) Foreign Calendar 1561-2. No. 983.
(2) "John Knox" ii, 113.
(3) Mathieson 1, 114.
in Scotland would simply have been an exotic importation which could have made no satisfactory appeal to the Scottish Protestant.

The difference in the manner of Reformation in the two countries also contributed to render conformity in the final settlement improbable. As the Scots reformers pointed out to Cecil, the "authority" which had favoured reform in England, had always been its enemy in Scotland. This circumstance was bound to react on such delicate questions as the Royal supremacy and the royally chosen episcopate. Then the English policy itself which had from the first supported rebels against their rulers, undoubtedly created an atmosphere unfavourable to an Anglican type of Church government.

Our enquiry, therefore, into the influence of England upon the Scottish Reformation naturally comes to an end with the Treaty of Edinburgh. While the Scottish Reformation was in the making, England could assist, protect, and encourage. The moment however the triumph of the reformers was assured, England's work was done. We might liken the Scottish Reformation to a plantation in which England had taken a most jealous interest. She watered and fed it with the utmost care. She sheltered and defended it against its own rulers as well as foreign invaders. She planted in her own ground the fruits of it that were blown down by the winds of persecution, and returned them again to their own soil when they had grown strong and upstanding. But the nature of the plant she could not change. To vary the metaphor,—the Scottish Reformation was but an adopted child of England, clothed and fed and sheltered throughout the difficult early years, but in form and feature, in mind and spirit entirely distinct and independent of the foster mother.
APPENDIX

The Pilgrimage of Grace.
This incident sheds an interesting light on the religious relations of the two countries at the time at which it occurred. Nicknamed the Pilgrimage of Grace, it was a rebellion of Roman Catholics in the north of England. Although speedily suppressed, it was none the less provocative of events that figure largely in the correspondence of the time. Fugitives from the persecution that followed the rising found refuge in Scotland, and it is very evident that the Scottish Government was quite in sympathy with the insurgents. In a letter from Sir Thomas Wharton to the Privy Council is a list of, "Rebelles of Inglond resett within the realm of Scotland," including, "One Doctor Hilyd who, laitly went into the realm of Scotland at Caldstreame, and immediately from thence to the Bushopp of Seynt Androis called the "Crete Cardinall" in Scotland, who enterteyned hym in yoste gentil maner. John Preistman, called himself John Hunter, resett in Newbotilll Abbey -- Nicolas Musgrave resett in Dere Abbey -- Onne Arkrygges chantor of Cartmell, and after the comocion fled and sence haith beyn a broder in the Abbay of Holy Rudus in Edynburghe, where he contynueth," (1). Henry demanded the surrender of fugitives, (2) but the Scottish king refused to hand them over. The Council at York offered to deliver George Putherford then in Carlisle prison, in exchange for Doctor Hilliard, (3). But James declines, as he leaves "Kirkmen" to be dealt with by their ordinaries, by the law of "Halykirk," and in a subsequent letter to Henry he makes a point blank refusal to hand over "religious men", (4). Henry takes the opportunity offered by James's obstinacy to warn him of the danger of exempting the "kirkmen" from all "temporal power." "It toucheth so much the very point of your honour

(1) Hamilton Papers 1, No. 103.
(2) Sadler's Papers P. 12.
(3) Hamilton Papers 1 No. 54.
(4) Ibid No. 55.
and state that it divideth and draweth the same to an imperfection, and by your owne acte and consent setteth uppe in your realme ane newe kyngdoin, to yours superior and most daungerous and prejudiciale," (1).

An interesting conversation showing how these religious troubles in England were regarded in Scotland is recorded in a report by Henry Ray, Pursuivant. In a conversation at dinner between him and the "Bishoppe of Aberdyne, treasurer of Scotland, and ane Mr. Adam Otterburne," the treasurer asked the Englishmen, "How we had done with the commons touching the insurrection? And I saide, 'Thanks be to God, the realme was never in better staye and good order than nowe.' The Treasurer said, 'That is very well, but ye have put downe many good Christian men.' I answered that they were Christian men, but if they had been good men, they had not bee but done.' 'I trowe my Lorde, we ar as good Christian men as any in the world.' He said that he wold not saye the contrary, but that, ye that are powre men ar good, but the heddes ar worst; for if ye Englishe men be so good, than is Frawnce, Italy and many other countries, clerely deceyved.' ... And he said that he wold pray for the King of Englande, and all the realme, that ye may be good men.' And I said, 'ye can not, my lorde, so sone begin your prayer, but it is herde, for we are good alredye.' (2).

Another very illuminating incident that occurred in connection with this rising has also been recorded. When James was returning from France with his Queen in 1537, and off the Yorkshire coast, some of the disaffected gentlemen of the district, took the opportunity to board his ship, and on their knees showed him, "How that they had long looks for him, and how they were oppressed, slain, and murdered, desiring him for God's sake to come in, and he should have all." And on another occasion the same sort of embassy was received, who promised also, "that if the King of Scots would take upon him to come in all should be his," (3).

It is important to bear in mind such evidence as this when estimating the influence exercised by England on the religious development of Scotland. In view of this large Roman Catholic element in England, the influence was bound to come from the conscious purpose, and plan of those who were responsible for the reform in England, and who for political reasons were anxious to have their example copied in Scotland.

This invitation to James to come in, and all would be his, is also very interesting when compared with the almost similar language of malcontents in his own country, who were found ready to transfer their allegiance to the English king. It all helps to accentuate the mistake which has been made of branding as traitors, men whose loyalty had been annihilated by religious persecution.

(1) Cf. Mackinnon's Hist of Liberty. ii. P. 304. "The vast majority of the rural population, especially in the north and west, was at this period staunchly Romanist, revered the Pope, and resented the crusade against the monks. The clergy of the north were equally disaffected. The men of Lincolnshire were equally restive." Also Cal. Scot. State Papers i. No. 73. As late as Oct 31, 1547, we have Gray of Tilton writing from Berwick to the Protector Somerset, — "Vouchsafe us one or two good preachers; these parts need them as much as Scotland, for the people know neither God, nor the King, nor their laws."
Books Quoted and Consulted.

Calendar of Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.  
State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler. 2 Vols.  
Edinburgh 1869.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary,  

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth Vols. 1.  
and 11, London, 1863.

Forbes' Collection of State Papers.

Haynes (Samuel) Collection of State Papers 1542-1570. (1740  
Lemon's

Collections of State Papers by Joseph Stevenson. Maitland  
Club. Vols. 41 and 55. (1837 and 1842).

Illustrations of British History from Henry VIII to James I  
selected by Edmund Lodge. 3 Vols. London 1838


Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Ed. and Abridged  

Edinburgh 1808.

Edinburgh 1882-94.

Rymer's Foedera.

Statutes of the Scottish Church. (1225-1559) Trans. with  
Intro. and notes by David Patrick. Edinburgh 1907.

The Miscellanies of the Maitland, Bannatyne, Spalding, and  
Wodrow Societies.

(1846-64).


Ed. by T. Graves Law, Oxford Clarendon Press 1854  
also Ed. by A.F. Mitchell, 1882.

The Complaign of Scotlande. Ed. by J. A. H. Murray for the  
E.E.T.S. London 1872, with an appendix of contemporary  
English tracts.

Simon Fish's "Supplicacyon for the Beggars" reprinted by  
Professor Arber 1878.

John Gau's "Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Hevine." Ed. by  
A.F. Mitchell for the Scot. Text Society & Bannatyne  
Miscellany Part 3.

Text Society.

The Poetical Words of Sir David Lindsay. Ed. by David Laing.


Keith (Bishop Robert) History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, etc. Spottiswoode Society


Row (Rev. John) History of the Kirk of Scotland. 1558-1637 Wodrow and Maitland Club.


---

Tytler (Patrick Fraser) History of Scotland.
Burton (J.Hill) do do do
Brown (P.Hume) do do
Lang(Andrew) do do

Bellèsheim (Alphons) History of the Catholic Church of Scotland trans. with notes and additions by D. Oswald Hunter Blair. 4 Vols. 1887.


Cunningham (John) Church History of Scotland. 2 Vols.
The Cambridge History of English Literature Vol. 3.
Prof. Mackinnon's Social and Industrial History of Scotland.
Prof. Mackinnon's History of Liberty.

---

Annals of the English Bible by Christopher Anderson.. 2 Vols. 1845.
Archbishops of St. Andrews by Profs. Herkless and Hannay.
Armitage (F.S.) Connections between England and Scotland.
Burton (J.Hill) The Scots Abroad.
Brown (P.Hume) "John Knox."
    do do "George Buchanan."
Fleming (P.Hay) The Reformation in Scotland.
Lorimer (Peter) John Knox and the Church of England.
McCrie (Thomas) Life of John Knox.

do do Life of Andrew Melville.

Mitchell (A.F), The Scottish Reformation. ed. by D. Hay Fleming (1900).

do do The Waddurburns and their work. (1887).


Maxwell (Alexander) Old Dundee (1891.)

Pollard (A.F.) "Henry VIII" 1905.

do do "England under the Protector Somerset" and


Rait (R.S.) Relations between England and Scotland.

Rait (R.S.) Relations between England and Scotland.

Russell (E) Maitland of Lethington (1912)

Rait (R.S.) Relations between England and Scotland.

Smellie (Alexander) The Reformation in its Literature.

Stevenson (Rev. Joseph) Mary Stuart (1886).


Dictionary of National Biography.

Hastings Dictionary of the Bible.