

SCOTTISH LOLLARDY AND ITS CONTRIBUTION
TO THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LOLLARDS OF
THE WEST.

ProQuest Number: 13905452

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 13905452

Published by ProQuest LLC (2019). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(Ph. D. in THEOLOGY).

BY THOMAS MITCHELL AULD MACNAB.

M. A. B. D.

MINISTER OF ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH PAISLEY.

APRIL 1933.

Introduction.

I. Nature, Extent and Character of Material.
pp. iv - xi

II. The Scottish Church.

The Lollard Period - 1400 - 1525.

(a). Formative Influences and Tendencies.
pp. xii - xxiii

III. The Scottish Church.

The Lollard Period - 1400 - 1525.

(b). The Seedbed of Lollardy.
pp. xxiv - xlvi.

I.

**Nature, Extent and Character
of Material.**

The great difficulty with which the student of Scottish Lollardy is faced is the dearth of material with which to reconstruct the history of the movement.

There are several reasons for this. There was no great leader in Scotland comparable to Wyclif in England or Hus in Bohemia. That meant that the Scots, so far as Lollardy was concerned, were receptive rather than creative and consequently had not the same need for self-expression, that is, for a Lollard literature. Again with regard to Scotland, there is a sense in which it is true to say that the roots of this movement were elsewhere, for its inspiration and drive were got from sources outwith the country. Again, as a consequence, there was very little occasion for Lollard literary

activity, but documents connected with the movement in England and Bohemia are invaluable and not to be neglected.

Although from the earliest appearances of the movement in Scotland, St. Andrews seems to have been a centre of Lollard sympathies, yet these were evidently among the students rather than among the teachers, whereas both in England and Bohemia the leaders of the reform movement were among those who were moulding the minds and influencing the thought of the students and found the need for setting forth their teaching in writing. It was only nearer the Reformation that "St. Leonard's Well" became notorious.

Another stream of Lollardy was mainly in the west, particularly in Ayrshire, where in later generations the Covenanters found many recruits. There, while not without the support of some of the chief families in the district, it could in no sense be called a literary movement. Rather was it one of nonconformity, in belief and practice, on the part of folks comparatively humble and obscure, who had neither the training

ner the opportunity to inaugurate or carry through a great national movement.

In the present study three lines of investigation have been followed. These may be classified as follows

- i. the records of the doings of the Lollards;
- ii. the memorials left by the Lollards themselves;
- iii. indirect witnesses to the presence and working of the movement.

i. The Records:- These unfortunately are very meagre indeed. One had hoped that local sources of information, which lie outwith the scope and interest of the ordinary historian might be discovered, but these have proved disappointingly few. Take, for example, the Burgh Records of Prestwick. These have been transcribed for the Maitland Club. A careful perusal of them failed to discover a single reference to a movement that lived and had its being in that very neighbourhood. So too with regard to the Records of Ayr. The Burgh Court Book 1428-78 is unfortunately still only in manuscript, but is well preserved. Such entries in it as the writer was able to examine, through the courtesy

of the Town Council, while telling of the usual incidents in connection with the life of the burgh, are silent regarding anything connected with the Lollard movement. But one cannot consider this source exhausted until the minutes are transcribed and so made more conveniently accessible.

The nearest approach to local documents are the Protocol Books 1512-1532 of Gavin Ros, the Ayr notary, published in one volume by the Scottish Record Society. These have been carefully sifted and the results set forth in the appropriate chapters. These along with the Register of Great Seal and Privy Seal and the Acts of the Lords in Council in Civil Causes, Scotland, practically exhaust all the sources that have yielded information.

Another difficulty confronts us in the fact that while doubtless there were considerable numbers of Lollards, there are very few of whom we know even the name, and regarding these few, it has been exceedingly difficult to discover facts sufficient to clothe the name with flesh and blood. Much that passes for

information has, on examination, been found to be at fault. This undoubtedly has had the effect of making Scottish Lollardy appear somewhat shadowy and led to the temptation to underestimate its strength and importance.

Such sources as Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland and the Diurnal of Occurrents are familiar and no doubt have yielded their data to previous enquirers but they give us something of the spirit of the times and, studied along with the other sources of information, help us to put the movement into better focus.

ii. The Memorials:- The memorials left by the Lollards themselves are also tantalisingly few. Lollardy, of course, was not merely suspect. It was under the ban of the Church as heresy. Prudence, therefore, and an instinct for self-defence would naturally lead the Lollards to cover up their traces as far as possible, and no doubt this furnishes quite a good reason why the material today available is so meagre. Moreover, when the Reformation came, many records were carried off and either lost or destroyed, though some have been recovered, so that it is quite possible the sources

of data, few enough to begin with, were still further diminished.

Two important relics of this movement claim our attention viz. The Nova Scocie by Quintin Folkhyrde and Murdoch Nisbet's New Testament in Scots. Thanks to Professor J.H.Baxter the text of the Nova Scocie is now available for all students in Appendix 6 of his edition of Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree. These letters are undoubtedly Lollard in tone and intention and raise several questions which, if able to be answered, would throw light on an obscure period in the history of our subject.

The New Testament in Scots is unique in as much as it is the only relic of Scottish Lollardy in the vernacular. At first sight it may not seem a specially fruitful source, yet the study of it, particularly in comparison with other translations of the New Testament, is by no means barren of results.

iii. Indirect Witnesses:- A movement like Lollardy could not fail to have its repercussions in the history of the country and this is one of the most profitable fields in which the student may glean. Laws enacted

from time to time; policy modified or determined in the light of known or suspected facts, all are signposts on the way of the history of the movement and the task is to endeavour to reconstruct the historical situation in the light of these facts. For this not only are the Acts of Parliament most valuable, but the Calendars of State Papers and Documents also help to make more intelligible incidents of which we know too little. One of the most interesting of the indirect witnesses is our Scottish Literature. Through it we come into touch with the spirit of the age and become aware of the different interests and tendencies of the times. The voice of orthodoxy and of heresy both can be distinguished, along with others which give the age its character and expression. We get few facts of history here, but we get an atmosphere in which the facts live; and that is no small help.

It is somewhat difficult to find an appropriate boundary line for a movement like Lollardy which passed away by passing into a larger movement. A comparison of the tenets of Lollardy with the teaching of Patrick Hamilton in his "Places" and with that of

John Gau in "The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine,"- both among the earliest fruits of the Reformation in Scotland,- helps us to fix on a line not only convenient but defensible, after which Lollardy really merged in the Reformation. This naturally rules out much, like the Gude and Godlie Ballatis, that is invaluable for the student of the Reformation, but obviously does not lie within the history of the earlier and lesser movement.

II.

The Scottish Church.

The Lollard Period 1400 - 1525.

(a). Formative Influences and Tendencies.

It is hardly possible to emphasise too frequently or too strongly the fact that in the history of movements, dates, however necessary, are at best only conveniences and more or less arbitrary.

The roots of every movement strike deep into the past, deeper than is to be discerned at first glance, and the consequences continue long after the movement itself has been lost in the larger life of history.

Scottish Lollardy is no exception to this rule. Breaking into history about the beginning of the XV century, before 1560, the date of the overthrow of the Roman Church in Scotland, it had run its course

as a distinctive movement and had become merged in the greater movement of the Reformation. Echoes of it persisted down to the very eve of the events of 1560 as the petition,

"Saif vs from schame, and from dispair

From unbeleue, and Lollardis lair,

And Deuillis doctrine mair or les,"

preserved in one of the Gude and Godlie Ballatis, shows. But as a distinct movement Lollardy had really ceased with the return of Patrick Hamilton from Germany in 1525. Knox dates the beginning of Reformation history proper from him.² Yet even before that date reformed teaching known, as "Lutheranism," as distinct from the native dissent, Scottish Lollardy, must have come from the Continent. On October 26th. 1525 M. de la Tour, a Poictevin, man-at-arms in the body guard of the Duke of Albany when the latter was in Scotland, was put to death in Paris by burning because that while he was in Scotland he had disseminated

¹. Gude and Godlie Ballatis, (Scot. Text Soc.), p.13, LL. 10-12.

². John Knox's Works, (Laing's edition), Vol. I. p. 13. See also The Scottish Reformation by P. Lorimer, (1860), p.1.

Lutheran errors.¹ This must have been during Albany's brief return visit which lasted only from November 1521 till October 1525. Further facts regarding the reforming labours of this man are not known.

On 6th. July 1525 Parliament passed a law forbidding strangers who arrived by ships from abroad introducing any books or works of Luther or of his disciples under penalty of imprisonment with the loss of their ships and goods. The claim asserted in the law, that Scotland "ever has bene clene of all sic filth and vice,"² can only refer to direct Lutheran teaching, for heresy had been persistently present in Scotland for more than 100 years before this date, though not of Lutheran origin.

The law of 1525 apparently was not effective enough, for, 10 years later, it was re-enacted with the addition that it became a punishable offence for any one except the clergy to possess any heretical literature or to discuss such opinions except to confute and disown them. The period of Scottish Lollardy, therefore,

¹ Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris (1527), Societe de l'Histoire de France. pp. 326-327, Dr. Hay Fleming points out that 1525 is probably a mistake for 1527, The Reformation in Scotland, (1910), p. 173.

² Act. Parl. Scot. II. p. 295. No. 4.

may be taken to extend approximately from 1400 to 1525.

There is a sense in which a movement like Lollardy was inevitable and many factors conspired to make this period the age of Lollardy in Scotland. These factors it is our task to attempt to elucidate and appraise.

The Church in Scotland was part of the one great Church of Western Christendom, the Church of Rome, accepting her teaching, observing her sacraments, and giving allegiance to the Bishop of Rome as Pope.

This was the age of the great unities. There was the unity or community of peoples, the Holy Roman Empire, that wonderful ideal of the Middle Ages, in which Pope and Emperor were the two heads of Christendom. There was the commonwealth of letters, made possible by Scholasticism. There was the common chivalry of arms that found its bond of union in the Crusades. At best these unities were never more than a dream, only partially realised. In the great days of Gregory VII and again, though to a lesser degree, in those of Innocent III the Papacy reached the zenith of its authority and power. Then a new spirit began mysteriously to manifest itself. A new era was being

born. It was a spirit of enquiry and adventure, a spirit athirst for truth and eager in its quest. With the coming of this spirit the Middle Ages had all but passed. The Renaissance had arrived. Modern History was about to begin.

This new spirit succeeded in breaking up the unities of which we spoke. The Holy Roman Empire lingered on, more a shadow than ever. The splendours of Chivalry grew outworn and faded, and ceased any longer to attract. Scholasticism, perhaps the greatest achievement of the Middle Ages, crumbled at the touch of this new spirit. This solvent drew its potency from many sources: because of that its action was not simple but complex, for it united forces differing from each other in everything except their common reaction against the tradition and authority of the past.

One of the earliest and not the least significant of these influences arose within the nurture of the Church herself in the form of mysticism. Mysticism is hard to fit into a system of authority and law. Even although its end is absorption in the Infinite, it nevertheless begins with the assertion of the individual and

his native right to find his way to God. From time to time mystics appeared in the Church and the Church had borne with them, for the mystics often found it difficult to fit themselves into the ritual and routine of a great organisation like a world Church. They were not unfriendly; but their independence tended to make them troublesome. Their mysticism was a reaction against formality, a plea for a simple, freer religious life, a personal experience of God. It was, therefore, of the very genius of mysticism to set aside the regular machinery of the Church. The mystic was independent of the offices of the Church and priesthood. He stood for the principle, every man a priest; and the final authority, not tradition however venerable, but a man's own conscience enlightened by the Spirit of God.

Such ideas spread. The claim of the Church to sole authority in spiritual things was tested by human experience. There already is to be found an attitude, which in the eyes of the Medieval Church was heresy. Indeed mystical movements, however orthodox they might begin, were notorious for ultimately leading to heresy.

One has only to recall the developments of many of the religious brotherhoods, those lay movements like the Beghards, the Gottesfreunde, the Brethren of the Common Lot, which existed apart from official or Church Christianity especially in Germany; while the Franciscan Movement with its teaching of Evangelical Poverty was perhaps the most fruitful of all as the inspirer of heresies. In Scotland as elsewhere this influence was present.

Another element was the emergence of national consciousness. Streams of new life had broken into the Empire. As a result its homogeneousness was breaking up. Peoples were drawing apart from peoples into separate states, awakening to their own ideals, seeking their own destinies. This was something apart from, yet still within, the Holy Roman Empire, which, as this national consciousness grew stronger, became more of a fiction than ever. It was the birth of modern Europe. This gradual break-up of Christendom into different nations, each seeking the expression of its own genius, eager for the realisation of its own ideals, could not but profoundly affect the older theory of the Papacy. National interests might very well clash

now with loyalty to the Pope. In that clash of loyalties a problem had to be faced, which could only be solved by means of some modification and change in the old presuppositions. This was markedly felt in Scotland. As the old ballad has it,

"And we and Scotland yit art fre -
And of the Paip nothing we hald,
But of the Kirk our fayth of auld."

The Pope, however, was slow to recognise the claim of Scotland even after Bruce's decisive victory at Bannockburn in 1314, and it is significant that in this early struggle for national recognition, the churchmen in Scotland were on the side of the nation.

This was also the age of great discoveries. Men's geographical horizons were enlarged. New worlds were being brought into human ken. Columbus had discovered America. Vasco da Gama had sailed to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. John Cabot and his three sons under charter from Henry VII set sail to unexplored northern seas to win new lands for England. Cortes conquered Mexico. A beginning was made in the settlement

of South America by the Spaniards. Such are a few of the achievements of the spirit of adventure during this period. The effect of these discoveries was equalled only by the revolution wrought in men's thought by the theory of Copernicus who also belongs to this time. Here were a new heaven and a new earth with which men had to reckon.

In addition to these discoveries man's ingenuity had also its prizes to show. This was the age of the invention of printing, an invention which achieved little short of a revolution, making possible the multiplication of books at a price and at a rate not even conceivable before, and this when the newly awakened desire clamoured for them.

The New Learning, too, had displaced the Old, opening new channels of influence, fresh avenues of thought. Side by side with this had come an enlarging of men's mental horizon. But Scholasticism had come to a cul-de-sac and had no strength left to find another way. To change the figure, the foundations on which it rested had crumbled. Even in the Middle Ages there had been daring, original thinkers. There was the author

of "The Introduction to The Eternal Gospel." In the words of Dr. H.B.Workman,

"This book, now lost, met among all classes with unbounded success; yet nothing more revolutionary of the whole order of the Church had ever been penned. Gherardo sweeps away the whole sacerdotal system; love would replace all the sacraments of the Church; contemplation take the place of active life."¹

Mention, too, must be made of Michael of Cesena and William of Ockham. Though they developed their teaching in true scholastic style, it was in no scholastic spirit. They challenged the Papal claim to the moral dictatorship of the world and anticipated the proposals of a later day when they contended for the supremacy of a General Council in preference to that of the Pope. Nor must Marsiglio of Padua be forgotten with his extraordinary book, "Defensor Pacis," one of the most original and provocative books of the Middle Ages. In it he works out his theory of the relationship between

¹H.B.Workman, Christian Thought to the Reformation (1911), p. 216.

Church and State and would limit the duties of the priest to preaching and the administering of the sacraments. For Marsiglio the State must ever be supreme. Such teaching was a powerful ferment, and undoubtedly exerted a very real and potent influence.

But of all the influences that acted as solvents of the old presuppositions the most potent was the Renaissance itself, product as it was of these various forces. The Revival of Learning introduced men to a new world, brought to their acquaintance a civilisation other than that which only they had known; a civilisation that had its own standards and ideals and way of dealing with perennial human interests; a civilisation in which the idea of authority, as they knew it, was absent. The contact quickened the genius of these young nations with their throbbing life. Italy was the first to feel the charm and yield to the inspiration of this new-found world of beauty, and responded with an amazing, creative period. The throb of this movement was felt throughout Christendom, in Scotland as else where, but in Scotland it was not so strong nor so early. Accordingly the movement was more than a

vague tendency, it had attained a definite character, when it did touch Scotland and in the closing years of the XV century the country was well within its sweep.

The

The

(1) The

... ..

It is difficult to give references for the various points in this chapter, rather have impressions and suggestions been received from various sources such as The Cambridge Modern History Vol. I.; Bryce's Holy Roman Empire; Rufus M. Jones Studies in Mystical Religion; H.B. Workman Christian Thought to the Reformation.

III.

The Scottish Church.

The Lollard Period 1400 - 1525.

(b). The Seedbed of Lollardy.

Besides these great formative forces there were other causes at work, partly European, partly local, the result of conditions and circumstances which might well have been otherwise. These latter are very important for our study as they furnish what might not inappropriately be called the "Seedbed of Lollardy," providing the historical environment suitable for the growth and consequences of this movement.

I.

When the XV century began, the great Schism had destroyed for the time being the unity of the Church. The Schism itself was but the aftermath of an earlier

and no less unfortunate scandal, the Captivity, when the papacy had left Rome and gone into "exile." This lasted from 1305 till 1378 and from it the authority and prestige of the papacy has never recovered. For practically all this period the papal headquarters were at Avignon and the papacy itself a partisan of French national interests and a creature of French policy and intrigue. At the same time the Curia became a byword for its immorality, deserving the description, "the common sink of all vices."¹

The Captivity was no sooner over than the Schism took place in 1378. The spectacle of rival popes cursing and anathematising each other was far from edifying, and gave serious reflection to the best spirits of the age, who sought to heal the breach and remove occasion of offence. A practical attempt was made by the General Council which met at Pisa in 1409 and again at Constance in 1414-1418. No sooner, however, was the latter Council dissolved than the

¹ Lea,; A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, Vol. III. pp. 633, 634.

Pope, Martin V, entered upon a policy which quite cut the root of all the attempted reforms. He confirmed the rules of the Papal Chancery issued by John XXIII, and thereby provided a firmer basis for the very abuses of papal power which the Councils strove to eradicate. "Reformation in head and members" was a good slogan and gave the impression of serious purpose; but it never got beyond that. The Conciliar party headed by D'Ailly and Gerson, which apparently had gained the day at Constance, was in the end robbed of the fruits of victory, and after the Council of Basel (1431-1449), at which the death blow to these attempts was finally given, the authority of the papal system became stronger and the possibility of reform from within more remote than ever. This had its reaction throughout Christendom. Nationalistic interests now as never before entered into the contest and made the question more and more a political one. This shifting of the cause at issue to the political sphere made the question of loyalty to the Pope more than ever a political matter and therefore less of a religious interest. That change helped to make for

For this section authorities are Creighton's History of the Papacy, and especially Histoire des Conciles, Hefle et Leclerq. Vol. VII.

criticism of the papal system, as it disentangled the religious interest, and consequently, when the break came, it was a less startling thing than it would have been a century earlier. True these happenings reacted less directly on Scotland than on other countries nearer the storm centre; but the "auld alliance" between France and Scotland against England really drew Scotland in the end into the very maelstrom, with results not then anticipated, and gave her an influence upon the ultimate issue out of all proportion to her size and resources at the time. But this is to anticipate.

II.

With the coming of James I to the throne in 1424, an interesting situation developed in Scotland. King and Pope soon found the relationship between them strained. The trouble, however, was not due to any desire or attempt on the part of the secular power to over-ride the spiritual but really to the collision

¹ Prof. R.K.Hannay makes this quite clear in his article "James I, Bishop Cameron & the Papacy," Scot. Hist. Review, pp. 190f., also in "The Scottish Crown & the Papacy, 1424-1560," published by The Historical Association of Scotland. See also E.W.M.Balfour-Melville, "The Provision and Consecration of Bishop Cameron," in Scot. Hist. Review, XXIII.

between papal centralising policy on the one hand and national aspirations on the other. This situation was not indeed peculiar to Scotland, but with an able, ambitious and energetic ruler like James the clash was inevitable. His first task was to set his house in order. The weakness of the reigns of Robert II and Robert III followed by the maladministration of Albany's regency had created for the new king a situation that demanded immediate attention. To a diminished patrimony was added the burden of annual payments for his ransom and there was the steady drain of money to Rome as the result of papal reservation of benefices. For our present purpose we need concern ourselves only with the last.

James sought to deal with this by having acts passed creating the offence of "barratry." Clerks were forbidden to pass or to send procurators over sea without special leave asked and granted of the king. Clerks were likewise forbidden to purchase a pension out of any benefice secular or religious.

¹Act. Parl. Scot. II. sections 14, 15, under date 26th. May 1424.

In carrying through this policy the king had largely the country behind him, including the Scottish clergy, though individual churchmen may have been somewhat dubious and even opposed to his action like Ingrem Lindsay who purchased in the Court of Rome a pension out of the deanery of Aberdeen, thus "dismembering the benefice".¹

For his purpose the king found an able and faithful henchman in John Cameron, the royal secretary. He promoted him to be keeper of the Privy Seal in 1425 and had him appointed Bishop of Glasgow in 1426 and soon thereafter Chancellor of Scotland. The Pope, however, took exception to Cameron's appointment. Only after the King had sent the Dean of Glasgow and Bishop Crannach to Martin to obtain his consent and Cameron had duly promised to be obedient to papal authority was he appointed. It is not easy to determine what were the grounds for the Pope's action, whether Cameron was not merely persona grata with the Pope but guilty of some serious misdemeanours, or whether the Pope was more concerned to safe-guard his claim to reservation.² In view of Martin's definite

¹ Act. Parl. Scot. II. under date 20th May 1424, sect. 26.
² For discussion on this see Balfour-Melville, Scot. Hist. Review, XXIII, The Provision & Consecration of Bishop Cameron. See also Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters, VII, 10 Martin V. June 7th. 1426.

policy of building up again and strengthening papal authority there is good reason to believe that considerations of general policy helped to dictate his action. Cameron, closely associated with the King in connection with the enacting and enforcing of the barratry laws, certainly did come eventually into papal disfavour. James stood by his minister and then followed a period in which successive details are not easy to determine but evidently it was characterised by moves and counter-moves on the part of King and Pope, Cameron being the King's tool, and William Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, the Pope's.

Towards the close of James's reign it would appear as though the situation became such that some truce was desirable. James appealed to the Pope (Eugenius IV) to send a nuncio. The Pope by his policy of delay seemed to have tried to exploit the situation to detach the King from his minister, and to make it appear it was in the interests of each to support the papal programme. The Bishop of Urbino was ultimately sent as nuncio but the untimely death of James in 1437 had

already closed the episode. The last years of Cameron's life were passed under a cloud. Research has not yet brought all the facts to light. However with the appearance of Bishop Kennedy the situation became somewhat mitigated. He was in favour at Rome as well as influential in the councils of the nation. James II also, like his father, sought to make good the royal claim in presentations to benefices during the vacancies of sees by raising the question through his commissioners at a General Council held at Perth in 1459. He craved the ruling given on this matter by the Council of 1457. On enquiry, the clergy declared on oath that in the Council of 1457 the king's right had been admitted.¹ After Kennedy's death in 1465, we find a strengthening of the national policy against papal claims. In the Parliament which met on 9th. October 1466 at Edinburgh, acts were passed (4) anent commendis of beneficis religious or seculare; (5) of pensionis oute of beneficis; (9) that na Inglis man have benefice within Scotlande; (10) anent the money and for haldin of the samyn within the realme.²

In May 1471 the old familiar complaint of "the gret dampnage and skaith dayli done to al the Realme be elerkis religious and secularis quhilkis purchess

¹ Statutes of the Scottish Church, (Scot Hist. Soc.), (167), pp. 82 and 83. ² Act. Parl Scot. II. pp. 85, 86.

abbasyis and uthr benefice at the court of Rome quhilkis was neuer thar at of befor,"¹ is made again. Free election is insisted on, annexation and union of benefices is forbidden, those guilty of such things being adjudged to be traitors.

In connection with this situation must be understood the incident of Patriek Graham's rise to primatial dignity and deposition therefrom. Without consulting King, nobles or prelates, he went to Rome and had the see of St. Andrews raised to archiepiscopal and metropolitan dignity. This was a recognition of papal authority which James I and his successors had stoutly resisted; and Graham's action called forth the disapproval of King, nobles and prelates. The latter might be not altogether disinterested, especially since the unfortunate Archbishop's successor was none other than his own bitter enemy, William Schevez. Schevez, however, was in favour at Court and the King himself attended the ceremonies of his installation as archbishop.

¹ Act. Parl. Scot. II. p. 99, sect. 4. See also Statutes of the Scottish Church, (Scot. Hist. Soc.), No. 167, p. 83.

and it may well be supposed that Sehevez was the royal nominee for the vacant see.¹ At any rate, in his appointment James III did not feel his rights as king compromised.

In 1481 further laws were passed reaffirming the sovereign's right of presentation in the case of bishoprics, *sede vacante*.² Acts against impetration at the court of Rome for bishoprics, abbeys and other benefices, against the privilege of the king, were also enacted from time to time.³ By the year of Flodden (1513), Scotland had come very near to repudiation of papal authority;⁴ and James IV, who fell on the fatal field, died excommunicate.

It is true this state of affairs had been reached largely as the result of the reaction in Scotland to these tendencies, not peculiar to Scotland, but felt in all the emerging nations in the new Europe that was being created. These tendencies made for the loosening of the bond between the papal authority and the Church in Scotland by

¹ See Herkless and Hannay, *The Archbishops of St. Andrews* (1907), I. pp. 80f.

² Act. Parl Scot. II. p. 135 sect. 7; p. 141 sect. 16, 17.

³ Ibid. p. 166. sect. 9; p. 173 sect. 17; p. 183, sect. 12; p. 209 sect. 13; 14.

⁴ See D. Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* p. 1.

insisting that there were spheres of national life not under the Pope's authority and control. This would never of itself have created Lollardy or paved the way for the Reformation, but within the life of the Church in Scotland were elements that made for its undermining and these now got their opportunity by reason of the political situation within which they were developed.

III.

In the features which she presents at this period, the Scottish Church is not necessarily worse than the Churches of other nations, but history shows conclusively that abuses have ever been the fruitful cause of heresy, as Sir David Lyndsay rightly says,

"Quhat bene the cause of all the heresies
Bot the abusoun of the Prelacies,"¹

for heresy is always a judgment and a protest. That all was not well with the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland every impartial student must admit. She had

¹Poems, (Laing's Ed.), II. Ane Satyre etc. p. 153.

got out of touch with the spiritual needs and aspirations of the people, and had herself become corrupt. The best spirits within her fold were sensible of this and made many attempts to remedy this state of things. Although James I crossed swords with the Pope in the matter of papal and royal privileges, he was ever a faithful son of the Scottish Church. His generosity towards her he showed by founding at Perth in 1429 a Carthusian convent, the only establishment of that order in Scotland. From the first he took the Church under his wing, guaranteeing to her and her ministers their ancient privileges.¹ He further sought to protect her by strengthening the laws against heretics and Lollards, requiring inquisition of heresy to be made by bishops in every diocese, and promising, if need arose, to lend the secular arm in aid.¹

But James was no blind supporter of the Church. He detected some of her most obvious weaknesses and sought to remedy them. Without having any sympathy with

¹ Act. Parl. Scot. II. p. 7 sect. 1, 3.

Lollardy, he was clear-eyed enough to see that the abuses existing in the Church tended to fan the flame of discontent and criticism. Accordingly, on March 17th 1424/5 he addressed a strong letter to the abbots and priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian Orders, calling on them to stir up their numbed minds, to throw off their indolence and to wake up, for their monastic life was as lax as it well could be (in regno nostro monasticae religionis perfectio quam maxime remissa). He promised to support them in all their endeavours and would welcome their help in his. In the commission he gave to his delegates to the General Council at Basel in 1431 he asked to be associated with the Council through his commissioners whom he has authorised to act for himself and his kingdom "in all that concerns the extirpation of heresies and the pacification of the Christian people and the reformation of morals."²

The fact that the King found it necessary to take

¹ Scotich. II. Lib. XVI, cap. xxxii, pp. 508f.

² Statutes of the Scottish Church, (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p.219.

this action is a sure indication that he was dealing with a situation that had become notorious through its being of longstanding. This is fully borne out by the diagnosis of the Church's condition and its causes set forth by one of her General Councils in 1549 thus,

"...there appear to have been mainly two causes and roots of evils which have stirred up among us so great dissensions and occasions of heresies, to wit, the corruption of morals and profane lewdness of life in churchmen of almost all ranks, together with crass ignorance of literature and of all the liberal arts - and from these two sources principally spring many abuses."¹ The statutes of the Church furnish us with the means of testing this statement, for, in the words of Dr. Patrick who cautiously but convincingly sums up their value, "as a whole the Statutes cast a vivid light on medieval and pre-Reformation conditions, even if we duly remember how difficult it is discreetly to use penal codes and disciplinary regulations as a key to the religious ideals and moral character of a past age."²

¹Statutes of the Scottish Church, (Scot. Hist. Soc), p. 84, the preamble to the statutes of the General Council of 1549.

²Ibid. Intro. p. lxiii.

From the General Statutes of the XIII century we discover "that filthy contagion of lustful naughtiness whereby the good fame of the church is shamefully discredited," was not merely not unknown among churchmen, but "exists and in such wantonness that it always shamelessly reintroduces itself."¹ Such a state of affairs was not allowed to go uncorrected, for in the Aberdeen Statutes (63) of the same century, rules were laid down for the guidance of the clergy, that they might live continently and chastely, guarding against every lustful vice.² Bishop David of St. Andrews in 1242³ and the Synodal Statutes of the same see in the XIV century⁴ deal with this very scandal. Such steps, however, as were taken to root out this disgrace were not successful, for, as late as 1549, the Provincial Council of prelates and clergy, "carefully considering how evident it is that very grievous scandals have arisen from the incontinence of churchmen, has therefore for the removal of this blot enacted that the decree of the

¹Statutes of Scottish Church, (18), p. 14.

²Ibid. p. 36. (63), ³Ibid. p. 59 (113). ⁴Ibid. p.68 (143).

Council of Basel De Concubinariis, ..be rigidly observed and given effect to."¹ Yet so ineffective have such endeavours been that the temporal lords and barons brought it as a reproach against the churchmen that "thar hes folowit nan or litill fruit as yitt, bet rathare the said Estate is deteriorate;"² and the Council of 1558/9 re-enacted this statute.³

This was clearly an open sore in the Church's life that baffled all efforts for its cure. At the same time it was clearly recognised that such a state of things encouraged heresy, while the removal of such blots, it was confidently felt, would do much to remove occasions of heresy.⁴ Facts like these from the Church's own witness have just to be set alongside the contention of Michael Barrett, O.S.B. when he says, "If we are to believe the scurrileous charges made by professed advocates of Protestantism, we must be ready to admit that the lives of the Scottish clergy generally were grossly immoral. That, however, in the light of contemporary evidence, cannot possibly be granted."⁵

¹Statutes of Scottish Church, p. 89, (171).

²Ibid. p. 156, (258). ³Ibid. p. 163, (261).

⁴Ibid. p. 98, (188); p. 110, (203); p. 124, (222).

⁵Sidelights on Scottish History, (1918), pp. 94, 95.

The fact that such statutes were necessary at all is surely enough and that they had to be repeated from time to time down to the very eve of the Reformation proof sufficient that the trouble was not only widespread but had become endemic.

Along with such indulgence there inevitably went ignorance and indolence, for it is to be noted that many curates "throughout the whole realm of Scotland are discovered to be so very deficient, as well in learning, morals, and discretion, as in other qualifications requisite for that office."¹ This was no new discovery in 1549 for in the XIV century it was at least common enough to be a source of inconvenience and trouble and call forth an enactment that there be no rector or vicar who does not possess all the synodal decrees, and cannot read and understand them.² With all these efforts to deal with the ignorance of the clergy, churchmen could not yet be trusted to read the ordinary service without practice and rehearsal,

¹ Statutes of Scot. Church, p. 110, (203)

² Ibid. p. 68, (140).

lest they should stammer and expose themselves to the ridicule of their hearers.¹ So defective was the educational equipment of many in the middle of the XVI century. Arehibald Hay in his Panegyricus (1540) lashes out on this scandal. He deals with the churchman, "who boasts he has never meddled with the New Testament and who by his own example teaches that one should abstain from sacred books, who passes his life in the most disgraceful darkness of ignorance and never thinks about the office of a good shepherd."² Continuing he says, "what is most remote from truth pleases most and they who ought to assert it on peril of their life turn all their efforts in the other direction."² Nor does he suffer the prelates to escape for their share in perpetuating such a state of things, "(So that) not seldom do I wonder what entered the mind of the bishops when they admitted such men to handle the holy body of the Lord, men who hardly know the alphabet."³ And this is his conclusion, "for the ignorance of the priests is that most turbulent spring

¹ Statutes of Sect. Church. (253), pp. 143, 144, 146, 147.

² Hay, Panegyricus, Fol. xxxi. ³ Ibid. Fol. xxxiiii.

whence the greatest part of the calamities of the Church pour forth."

With the Scriptures neglected, preaching a lost art, and the evil example of many churchmen, it was inevitable that superstition and ignorance should be rife among the people and with it all a strange lack of reverence for sacred things.

The function of the Church as the guardian and helper of the spiritual life of the people was sadly interfered with also by the system of pluralities, by which several benefices might be in the holding of one individual. Despite attempts to deal with this evil, laws were evaded with the result that benefices were held by pluralists and by foreigners all at the expense of the spiritual well-being of the people. Indeed it had become the recognised way of providing for kinsmen of the royal house who suffered from defect of birth to present them to a Church benefice.

A similar cause which operated in a like direction

Hay, Panegyricus, Fol. xxxiiii.

was the wide-spread practice of monasteries and religious houses drawing the endowments that belonged to the cure of souls. Vicars, poorly equipped and as poorly remunerated, discharged the pastoral duties.¹ To eke out a livelihood many of these administered the sacraments for payment and officiated several times a day at mass. Both practices the Church tried to discourage and put down.² The resulting state of things gave the mendicants their opportunity and made them more popular among the people than the secular clergy.

But not only were the spiritual needs of the people neglected, they were exploited by the avarice of the clergy. One of the most notorious of the exactions demanded by the priests was the mortuary dues in the form of a corpse-present. Originally it appears to have been a gift to the Church on the death of a person; then it came to be an impost exacted by the parish priest as his perquisite. As early as the XIII century it had been enacted that if a man live in two

¹ Statutes of Scot. Church, Intro. pp. lxix, lxx, also p. 11, (9); See also Dowden The Medieval Church in Scotland pp. 114f., also note 1, p. 115, also p. 123.

² Statutes of Scot. Church, (108), p. 56.

parishes and die in one of them, a corpse-present and the upper coverlet will be given to each church, unless he were a free-holder.¹ If he were so poor that he had nothing to leave, and this was attested before two witnesses, then the priest claimed the upper coverlet, sometimes known as the "umest claith." Such dues were a fruitful cause of resentment, especially on the part of the poor, for the grasping callousness of the churchmen was a scandal that made these exactions detested by the people. This state of things continued right through this period. Only when it was too late, at the last General Council held in 1559, before the overthrow of the Roman Church, a scale of mortuary dues was regularised, in the words of the statute, "for relief and aid of the poor, and to put an end to the clamour and murmurs of grumblers at mortuaries."²

It is a dark picture, but one is glad to recall men like Bishop Kennedy and Bishop Elphinstone who were

¹ Statutes of Scot Church, (88), p. 47.

² Ibid. p. 178, (281).

ornaments to their Church and to the country. Their efforts as well as their influence and character did something to mitigate the evils of the age. They could not prevent the certain nemesis that was soon to overtake the Scottish Church. To quote the words of Dr. Patriek once more, "Under the circumstances, nothing seems more probable than that the Council of 1549 was substantially accurate in its interpretation of the prevailing discontents, and in concluding that the greatest scandal to the laity and the largest proportion of the heresy was due to nothing so much as to the ill-regulated lives of the clergy, and the incongruity of persons who were themselves notoriously immoral sitting in moral judgment on others (222), and calmly handing over good men to the civil arm - upon occasion to be burnt to death - for infringement of their arbitrary decrees, while they themselves lived in open defiance of their own vows and of God's law."

¹ Statutes of Scot. Church, Intro. p. xciii.

The Scottish Church stood revealed, corrupt and effete. The religious needs of the people were unmet; their aspirations unsatisfied. Churchmen had come to be despised and their name a byword. Here was a hospitable soil for anything that promised better things. It was such a situation that gave Lollardy its opportunity.

Part I.

Lollardy in History.

- I. John Wyclif, The Evangelical Doctor.
Appendix A. pp. 2 - 19.
pp. 20 - 23.
- II. James Resby, The Herald of the Movement
in Scotland.
pp. 24 - 34.
- III. Quintin Folkhyrde and Nova Seocie.
Appendix B. pp. 35 - 50.
pp. 51 - 64.
- IV. Paul Cwarar - Physician, Propagandist, Martyr.
Appendix C. pp. 65 - 78.
Appendix D. p. 79.
pp. 80 - 83.
- V. The Lollards of Kyle.
(a). Tried and Acquitted. pp. 84 - 96.
Appendix E. pp. 97 - 100.
- VI. The Lollards of Kyle.
(b). Their Later History. pp. 101 - 111.
- VII. The Lollards of Kyle.
(b). Their Later History. pp. 112 - 122.
(continued).

I.

John Wyclif, The Evangelical Doctor.

No study of Scottish Lollardy can hope to do justice to it without some reference to the teaching and influence of John Wyclif, who may quite as aptly be called the Father of Scottish as of English Lollardy.

The times were doubtless ripe for such a movement, and Wyclif was the man who, by training and ability, was destined to fire a torch which, with varying vicissitudes, burned on till the day of Reformation dawned. A detailed account of his life is altogether beyond the scope of our present purpose, but it is necessary to say something about the principles with which his name is connected and how they influenced the religious life of Scotland.

a. His Teaching.

From first to last Wyclif was a schoolman, but he

was more than that. When he stepped out from the seclusion of the college lecture-room, he became a public character, a representative Englishman, who in his stand against papal exactions was the embodiment of an emerging national consciousness which asserted the right of Englishmen to control and determine their own national destiny.

This not only brought him into public notice, it set his feet upon a path which he steadily pursued till the end of his life, with consequences which he scarcely could have foreseen at first in their far-reaching implications.

Wyclif was a man of marked sincerity. He not merely endeavoured to think his convictions out, he was also courageous enough to think them through as far as that was possible for him.¹

His quarrel with the papal exactions raised in his mind the whole question of the rights of possession and property, with the result that he was led to formulate his doctrine of "dominion." In the elaboration of his

¹ See *Dialogus* (edited by Lechler, 1869) Bk. IV. cap. 6. p. 262. *LL.* 15 & 16.

theory, he shows clearly the influence of Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, and of William of Ockham, and perhaps indirectly that of Marsiglio of Padua.

His theory may seem somewhat strange and strained to us but briefly stated it is as follows.

Lordship or Dominion, properly so called, belongs only to God as Creator, and inalienably to Him in that capacity. Just as the vassal holds from his king or overlord, so the individual holds from God, but with this important difference that while the vassal holds indirectly from his overlord, the individual holds directly from God. This does away with distinctions of rank and class based on anything other than virtue, so making all men equal in the sight of God. Human lordship is a gift from God. It is therefore founded on God's grace and really means stewardship. Possession is enjoyed subject to due service being rendered to God. In as much as sin puts us out of relationship with God, all that we have in virtue of this relationship we forfeit through sin. No man therefore in mortal sin can hold dominion or lordship.¹ But a true child of God being

¹ Cf. Fasciculi Zizaniorum (Rolls series), p.2. no.9.

in a state of grace is really lord of all. On the other hand, since sin means the failure to render due service to God, sin involves the forfeiture of possessions.¹ For Wyclif and the schoolmen such a principle was little more than the occasion for intellectual diversion, setting forth an ideal somewhat remote from daily circumstances and experience, but, seized upon and applied by those who were down-trodden and oppressed, it furnished them with an excuse for their greatest excesses. Wyclif himself applied this principle to the question of Church property and endowments and was thereby led to condemn these as unjustifiable and wrong.² Among the 24 conclusions extracted from his writings and set forth at the Blackfriars Synod in 1382, two deal with his doctrine of dominion and its consequences viz. 16 and 17 which read thus:-

16. The assertion that no man is a civil lord, a bishop, or a prelate, whilst he is in mortal sin.

17. That temporal lords may at will withdraw their temporal goods from ecclesiastics

¹Cf. Pecock's Repressor, (Rolls series), Vol. II. part III. cap. xvi. p. 380. LL. 23f.; p. 381. LL. 3f.; also cap. xix. p. 413. LL. 9f.

²Cf. Pecock's Repressor, Vol. I. part III. cap. i. p. 275. LL. 4-19.

habitually delinquent; or that the commonalty may at will correct delinquent lords.¹

Wyclif's views were not gained in their final form easily or all at once. By one circumstance after another he was forced on to new and more advanced positions. One of the most vital and important influences that affected his thought was the great schism which began in 1378. Subsequent to that and in the light of that he developed his criticism of the Church and the Papacy. In his *Triologus* he tells us that the Church is threefold (triplex), there is the Church militans, dormiens, and triumphans. The Church militans is the company of the elect travelling hence to heaven. The Church dormiens is the elect suffering in Purgatory. While the Church triumphans is the blessed at rest in heaven.²

In the Church militans are to be found two classes the praedestinati or elect and the praesciti or fore-known or lost. No one can tell to which class he

¹ Workman, John Wyclif. (1926), Vol. II. p. 417. Appendix T. The XXIV. Conclusions. Compare also Fasc. Ziz. p. 2. no. 9; p. 248. sect. VI. LL. 19f., p. 254. sect. XVI. LL. 2f. p. 255. sect. XVIII. LL. 17f.
² *Triologus*. Lib. IV. cap. 22. p. 325. (Lechler's ed. 1869).

belongs. Even the Pope has no certainty with regard to this. Pope though he is, he may all the while be "a limb of Satan" instead of a member of the true Church. At best the Papacy is an expediency or convenience. After the schism Wyclif would have it abolished altogether. He would also abolish excommunication, a weapon often employed by prelates against those who failed to pay their tithes. In the light of his teaching regarding the *praedestinati* and *praesciti* "excommunication" was meaningless. Besides, the priestly sentence was valid only when it followed God's sentence. It was a man's sin that excommunicated him and not the word of a priest.¹

This teaching was aimed at priestly pretensions. Wyclif's hostility to such pretensions was further strengthened and developed by his criticism of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.² Wyclif approached this question as a Realist. To him, therefore, the contention of the Nominalists that the bread was annihilated, the accidents of it alone remaining, was untenable. But, on the other

¹ Compare Fasc. Ziz. p. 250. sect. VIII and IX., p. 251. sect. X. and XI.

² See Trialogug Bk. IV. cap. 10. p. 280. ~~LL.~~ 12f.

hand, his Realism led him into difficulties no less serious. He suggests the condition of a man entangled but unable to extricate himself. And here may be found one of the reasons why Wyclif, having gone so far on the way of reform, was yet unable to bring in the Reformation.

He was really tackling his problem on the basis of a scholastic metaphysic and from first to last his thought moved within a circle of scholastic ideas and presuppositions. His position approximates more nearly to the Consubstantiation doctrine of Luther than to anything else.¹ Wyclif was being borne steadily away from the moorings in which he, in common with the men of his time, had been wont to rest.

By such different converging lines as his doctrine of Dominion and his attack on Transubstantiation he had come to the position of the priesthood of all believers.

Following inevitably from this principle was the right of each individual of direct access to God for himself and the necessity for him to have available, for the guidance of his life, God's law, as Wyclif's followers called the Scriptures.

¹ Trialogus, p. 255. Lib. IV. cap. IV. LL, 17-25.

But the Scriptures were in the charge of the Church, locked up in the Latin tongue. For whatever the layman knew of them he had to be indebted to the priest, who interpreted them according to the tradition of the Church. Wyclif was impatient with all this, schoolman as he was, for while he recognised, as every schoolman did, the place of reason and authority in determining one's beliefs, yet he differed here again from the common view, in as much as he did not include Scripture and tradition equally under authority. He distinguishes sharply between them. For him Scripture is the one supreme and final authority. In as much as it was God's Word or Law, it was infallible and sufficient. It was the basic document of the Church, its charter. To this position Wyclif had come only in the end. At first he was prepared to accept the Church's interpretation of Scripture, but in the end he was led to see that even it cannot be final. Every man must do this work for himself, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This belief it was that brought home to him the necessity of the Scriptures being accessible to every one in his mother

Triologus, Lib. III. cap. xxxi. p. 238. LL. 19f. and p. 239. LL. 13-21.

Cf. also Pecock's Repressor, Vol. I. part I. ch. 7. p. 36. LL. 24-28; ch. 11. p. 53. LL. 16-35 for references to "Bible men" and "Knowun men."

tongue. This was fittingly the last and crowning task of his life, to launch the plan for the translation of the whole Bible into the vernacular. In carrying this through he was assisted by several disciples who took an honourable share in the actual work, the chief being Nicholas of Hereford, who is credited with translating the larger part of the Old Testament, and John Purvey, who revised and improved the translation of the New after his master's death.

Wyclif's part in this has been questioned by Cardinal Gasquet.¹ His contention is that Wyclif's translations were destroyed owing to their faulty renderings made in the interests of his "heretical" opinions and not because they were in English. The pre-Reformation versions in the vernacular, Gasquet held, were made and authorised by the Roman Church.² And on the other hand, he holds that the records of examination of suspected Lollards show "that the followers of Wyclif could never have made

¹ Gasquet, *The Old English Bible and Other Essays* (1908) p. 110.

² Gasquet, *The Old English Bible etc.* pp. 118, 121, 134.

any very special point of their determination at all costs to have the sacred Scriptures in English¹ In the light of this contention it is rather strange to have Cardinal Gasquet making the further confession that,

"For some years after this ecclesiastical prohibition of Tyndale's translation, demands were from time to time made for an authorized version. It is open to us in these days, perhaps, to regret that no measure to satisfy this want was taken in due time by the Catholic bishops; but their reason for delaying the production was the substantial fear that it would only tend further to spread the ever-increasing flood of erroneous opinions."²

In view of this confession, one is surely entitled to ask, what of the pre-Reformation translations in the vernacular, made and authorized, as Cardinal Gasquet claims them to have been, by the Church?

Miss Deanesly, however, conclusively proves that the

¹ Gasquet, *The Old English Bible* etc. p. 110.

² Gasquet, *The Pre-Reformation English Bible* etc. (1908 Ed.) p. 114.

claim of the Cardinal can hardly be maintained. Referring to the letter written by Archbishop Arundel in 1412 to Pope John XXII¹, Miss Deanesly goes on to say:-

"After describing Wycliffe's iniquity in seventeen vigorous lines, he (Arundel) specified as the climax of his offences that 'to fill up the measure of his malice, he devised the expedient of a new translation of the Scriptures into the mother tongue.' Arundel was aware that old and unreadable Anglo-Saxon translations existed in Abbeys in England, and his words 'new translation' indicated the crown of the offence: that the translations were in a tongue comprehensible to all. There is no hint in the letter that the translation was a bad or false one, but the complaint was merely that such a translation had been made at all. Wycliffe, then 'devised the expedient'; his secretary, John Purvey, did the bulk of the work."²

¹This is obviously a slip for John XXIII.

²The Lollard Bible (M. Deanesly, 1920 Ed.) p. 238.

To the same effect also Miss Deanesly quotes the evidence of Knighton's continuator:-

"In those days," he wrote of the year 1382, "flourished master John Wycliffe, rector of the church of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester, the most eminent doctor of theology of these times... This master John Wycliffe translated into English, (not alas, into the tongue of angels), the gospel which Christ gave to clerks and doctors of the Church, in order that they might sweetly minister it to laymen and weaker men, according to the message of the season and personal need, with the usury of their own minds: whence through him it (the gospel) is become more common and open to laymen, and women who are able to read, than it is wont to be even to lettered clerks of good intelligence. Thus the pearl of the gospel is scattered abroad and trodden under foot of swine, and what is wont to be the treasure both of clerks and laymen is now become the jest of both. The jewel of clerks is turned into the sport of the laity, so that that has become the 'commune aeternum' of laymen,

"which heretofore was the heavenly talent of clerks
"and doctors of the Church."¹

This evidence, as Miss Deanesly shows, is particularly valuable in as much as the writer was "a canon of S. Mary of the Meadows at the same time as Hereford and Repingdon,....and he remained under the new regime, when the converted Repingdon returned as abbot."

"His account was not only likely to be well informed, since he was in touch with Hereford and Repingdon, but because it must have been seen later by Repingdon his orthodox abbot."²

With regard to the other statement by Cardinal Gasquet that Wyclif translations, such as may have been made, were destroyed because of their faulty and heretical character it is sufficient to quote the words of Miss Deanesly, again:-

"Finally, the Wycliffite translations may be justified as a remarkable attempt to produce a scholarly and accurate translation, without any partisan attempt to emphasise particular shades of meaning in certain verses or words by a novel translation:

1. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*. p. 239.

2. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*. p. 239.

"in this it should be distinguished from the
"versions of the sixteenth century reformers."¹

"The Wycliffite translation was faithful be-
"cause its authors were scholars, with no spec-
"ial temptation to mistranslate or modify the
"text."²

Such then was the movement initiated by Wyclif and destined to exert an influence far beyond the boundaries of Oxford, and Scotland, for very natural and obvious reasons, was affected by it.

b. His Influence.

Wyclif's influence reached Scotland both directly and indirectly. Scotland had no university till 1413 when the University of St. Andrews was founded by the authority of the Antipope Benedict XIII, although lectures had been read at St. Andrews on the Sentences, canon law, philosophy and logic since 1410.³ Scottish students had therefore prior to this to turn their steps to universities out with their own country. In Wyclif's day, Paris and Oxford were the leading schools of Europe, and many Scots found their way to both .

¹ Deanesly, The Lollard Bible. p. 230.

² Deanesly, The Lollard Bible. p. 231.

³ Hume Brown, History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 207 note. also Maccewen, A History of the Church in Scotland, Vol. I. p.322.

Balliol College, Oxford, from its connection with the Balliol family, had a real link with Scotland and was the favourite college with Scottish students. Here Wyclif was master for a short time, about 1360, and it is noteworthy, as reference to the *Rotuli Scotiae* shows, that there was a steady stream of Scottish students from this time on. The late Principal Lindsay has reckoned that in 1365 no fewer than 81 safe-conduct passes were given to Scottish students to study in Oxford.¹

It is also to be noted that up till 1364, the safe-conducts were invariably for Oxford or Cambridge or wherever one will (*vel alibi ubi voluerit*),² though there is one in favour of Duncan Clerk de Scot' coming to study in the university of Oxford in 1361.³ Again there is in 1364/5, on 22 February a safe-conduct for Patrick Mautalaunt for study at Oxford; here also there is no alternative.⁴ But while alternatives do occur from time to time, by 1379 it has become uniformly "to study at Oxford."⁵

¹ Lindsay:- History of the Reformation Vol. II. p. 276. Principal Lindsay evidently counts in the unnamed attendants whose numbers are given with the name of the person to whom they were attached.

² *Rotuli Scotiae* Vol. I. p. 927.

³ *Ret. Scot.* Vol. I. p. 857.

⁴ *Ret. Scot.* Vol. I. p. 890.

⁵ *Ret. Scot.* Vol. II. pp. 8, 11,

20, 24.

Wyclif was resident more or less in Oxford till 1380, by which time his opinions as we have them came to be formulated and he had all but embarked upon the great achievement with which his name is associated, - the translation of the Bible into English.

In view of the fact that Scottish students were so numerous at Oxford, when Oxford itself "was seething with Lollardy," to use Principal Lindsay's phrase, it is rather surprising to find there are practically no traces in Scotland of any influential part played by such students on their return. We look in vain for the names of any of them as leaders in the Lollard movement north of the Tweed.¹ Doubtless they had an influence, but it was neither so direct nor so great as has been usually supposed. The influence of Wyclif came mainly otherwise.

On Wyclif's death persecution broke out with fury. One after another of his prominent followers recanted, and in 1401 William Sawtre was burned as a heretic.² As a consequence many of Wyclif's followers sought refuge in Scotland, which till then had been little touched by heretical movements. These were obscure and

¹ See appendix A. p. 20, for list of names of students from Scotland to England to whom safe-conduct passes were granted from 1360 till 1410.

² William Sawtre is usually held to be the first victim under the Statute De Heretico Comburendo, Shirley Intro-

nameless Lollards were much the more effective propagandists, coming into immediate contact with the common people as they did, and their influence undoubtedly we shall discover.

Wyclif's influence also came to Scotland by way of Bohemia.

In 1382, Richard II of England married the Princess Ann of Bohemia and inevitably this led to intercourse between the two countries and with the intercourse Lollard opinions were carried to Central Europe. It came about on this wise. The union of the royal Houses of Bohemia and England took place at a time when Czech national feeling had become very strong and when the idea of a university in Prague, comparable to those of Paris and Oxford, was the dream of Czech nationalists.

Six years later, Adalbert Ranconis de Ericinio founded scholarships for Czech students at Paris and Oxford, and this brought the academic life of the two countries into contact. Lollardy certainly engaged the academic life of Oxford at that time, and Czech students could not be there without having it brought to their notice.

duetien Fase. Ziz. p.lxix. holds that Sawtre was burned before the statute de Heretico comburendo was passed and suffered probably under a special act.

One of the most noteworthy of those students was Jerome of Prague, who took MSS. of several of Wyclif's works to Prague on his return.

Another significant factor tended to further this influence. Bohemia like England, but unlike Scotland, had sided with Urban VI. in the Great Schism. Had they taken different sides, it might not have been so easy for Wyclif's influence to gain a hold in Bohemia, for it is just possible that Czech scholarships would not then have been founded at Oxford. As it was, Wyclif's teaching found ready acceptance with the Czechs, falling in with their strongly nationalistic ideals. By the time the Great Schism was healed, officially at any rate, the Czechs were bethinking themselves of sending out propagandists to as many different countries as possible, and now it was that Wyclif's teaching reached Scotland by way of Bohemia. It is along these two lines, then, our investigations must now go.

Appendix A.

Names of Scottish students to whom safe-conduct passes were given for travelling to England for purposes of study, from 1360 till 1410.

Rotuli Scotiae.

Vol. I.

1360.	May 16.	Duncan Clerc, Scotland.
	Aug. 18.	Master Thomas de Gordon.
1360/1.	Feb. 26.	Walter de Abernytt, Scotland. John de Crauford, canon in Holyrood Church, Edinburgh. Master Walter de Wardlau, archdeacon of Loudon.
1361.	Oct. 20.	Duncan Clerc, Scotland.
1361/2.	Jan. 21.	Andrew de Allyncrom and John de Allyncrom, Scotland.
1362/3.	Jan. 28.	Stephen de I Selere, cleric. Andrew Oxe, cleric, Scotland.
1363.	Dec. 5.	Alex. de Roodwell, chaplain. William de Wardelau, cleric. Gilbert Armstrong, cleric. Simon de Keteneys, cleric, Scotland. William de Grenlau, cleric, Scotland. Mathew de Glendonewale, cleric, Scotland.
	Dec. 5.	David de Bruys, Scotland.
1364.	Mar. 30.	Dougall Peter, Scotland, cleric.
	Nov. 4.	Patrick de Hepburn, rector of Lynton Church, Scotland. John de Caron, rector of Rothen Church. Stephen de Malkarston, canon of Holyrood, Edinburgh. Walter Bell, chaplain, Scotland. Alex. de Lighton, monk of the Order of St. Benedict. John Barber, archdeacon of Aberdeen. John de Wemys, cleric. Thomas Nobill, chaplain. William de Chesholm, cleric. Walter Barclay, cleric.

- 1364/5. Feb. 22. Patrick son of William Mautalaunt,
Scotland.
1365. May 20. Thomas Todd, canon of Glasgow, Scotland.
John Sherere, canon of Holyrood Church,
Edinburgh.
Master William de Spyny, Scotland, cleric.
Richard de Fogou, cleric, Scotland.
Thomas de Ruwe, chaplain, Scotland.
John Wemys, cleric, Scotland.
Thomas de Barry, Scotland, cleric.
James son of Henry, Scotland.
Patrick Mautaland, cleric.
Master William de Chesholm.
Oswald de Botelere, Scotland.
John Darach, Scotland.
Nicholus son of Patrick, Scotland.
- July 15. Master William Boysevill, cleric,
Scotland.
- Oct. 16. Simon de Ketenesse, cleric, Scotland.
James de Goven, cleric.
John Wryth, canon of Cambuskeneth.
John de Bosevill, cleric.
- Oct. 20. John de Bosevill, Scotland, cleric.
1366. July 2. Master Michael de Monymusk, dean of
Glasgow.
- Oct. 2. Simon de Ketenesse, cleric, Scotland.
John Trebron, cleric, Scotland.
William de Fethy, cleric, Scotland.
- Oct. 13. John de Langton, Scotland, cleric.
John de Tonirgayth, parson of Burnok
Church.
Alex. Frissale.
Robert de Smalhame, Scotland, cleric.
Alex. de Redwell, Scotland, cleric.
Friar Walter de Blauntyr of the Order
of preachers, Scotland.
Gilbert Armistrange, provost of St. Andrews.
William de Heton, chaplain.
Thomas de Pebllys.
1368. Nev. 1. John de Langton, cleric.

- 1368/9. Jan. 24. Alex.de Rerrayk, chaplain, Scotland.
 1369. Apr. 20. Thomas Rue, Scotland, cleric.
 May 18. David de Strevelyn, Scotland, chaplain.
 William Broun.
 June 3. John Govane, Scotland, cleric.
 1370. Oct. 15. Thomas Canady, Scotland, cleric.
 1370/1. Jan. 17. John de Caruthris, rector of Revel
 Church, Scotland.
 Gilbert de Carric, canon of Glasgow,
 Scotland.
 1372/3. Feb. 7. John Govan, cleric, Scotland.
 1373. Apr. 30. Roger Wygmer, Scotland, student.
 May 3. Master John Peblys, canon of Glasgow
 and Aberdeen.
 1374/5. Jan. 9. John de Leighton, cleric, Scotland.
- Vol. II.
1378. Apr. 12. Master Simon de Oreyth,
 William de Angus, monk of Lindores,
 John de Merton,
 Gilbert de Musfald,
 John Wyshart, and
 Thomas de Bute, Scotland, students.
 Aug. 1. Donald son of John of the Outer Isles,
 Scotland, cleric.
 1379/80. Feb. 18. Thomas de Kyrkulbryth, monk of Sweet
 Heart (Abbey).
 John de Glasgow,
 William de Angus,
 John de Dalkeith,
 Gilbert de Mousfald,
 Thomas de Bute,
 Thomas de Butyl,
 William Hertesheved,
 Simon de Creyt,
 Alan de Knok,
 John de Renfrew and
 John de Hawick, Scotland, clerics.
 1380. June 7. Thomas de Kirculbryth, monk of Sweet
 Heart (Abbey), Scotland.
 July 12. Gilbert of Mousfald, Scotland, chaplain.
 July 26. Friar Hugh Maigne, monk of the Order of
 St. Benedict, Paslowe, Scotland.

1380. Nov. 20. Master Simon Criche, Scotland.
 Dec. 7. Alex. de Wardelawe and
 Henry de Wardelawe, Scotland, students.
 Master John de Glasgow.
- 1380/1. Mar. 8. Master Simon Cryche, Scotland, student.
1382. May 21. William de Falkirk, Scotland, student.
 John Mercer, Scotland, master of Arts.
1389. Oct. 5. John Martyn, chaplain.
 John Breichyne,
 William Herteshevede, chaplain,
 Thomas de Lawedre.
 Thomas de Wedall, chaplain.
1390. June 4. Laurence de Cornyl, Scotland.
1393. Sep. 12. John Sheves and John Wer, students
 from Scotland.
1400. Nov. 6. John Martyn, cleric.
1404. Sep. 18. Thomas, abbot of the monastery of Sweet
 Heart, of the Cistercian Order.

From this last date on till the end of 1410 there is
 no record in the Rotuli Scotiae of safe-conduct passes
 granted to Scottish students for the purpose of travel-
 ling to England to study.

II.

James Resby.

The Herald of the Movement in Scotland.

The rise and spread of heresy in Scotland is a subject shrouded in obscurity. When or by whom heresy was introduced is not known. In the early Middle Ages especially, Scotland was but on the fringe of Christendom, consequently, many movements that agitated and disturbed other parts of Europe exerted little or no contemporaneous influence upon this frontier post. For instance, the Cathari, Albigenses and Waldensian movements of the XIII. century really did not touch Scotland at all.

The first references we find to heresy in Scotland merely denote the fact of its presence. There is no clue as to its character or prevalence. The earliest document in which the presence of such tendencies is noted is the Regiam Majestatem, in connection with the

privileges of asylum in churches for lawbreakers- de confugientibus ad ecclesiam. An offender was spared in life and limb (nec vitam nec membra amittat) on his shewing penitence and making restitution according to the requirements of the law, but heretics were to enjoy no such privilege - sed haeretici debent comburi.¹

It is generally agreed that this last clause is a later addition to the original text. The law itself belongs to the first half of the XIII. century, but there is good reason to believe the clause in question cannot be dated later than the reign of Robert III.²

More important, however, as a definite landmark, is the Coronation oath of 1329, in which there was inserted a persecuting clause at the instance of Pope John XXII. The whole relevant passage is in the following terms:-

Velumus, autem, quod idem Episcopus, qui premissa exercuerit, ut prefertur, ab eisdem Regibus tempore unctionis et coronationis hujusmodi nostro et eiusdem ecclesiae Romanae nomine corporale recipiat

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Vol. I. 1124-1423. Regiam Maiestatem, Lib. IV. Appendix I. p. 276.

² D. Hay Fleming, The Reformation in Scotland, p. 9. see also note 3 on same page.

iuramentum, quod de prefate regno et aliis
 terris suis sueque ditioni subjectis uni-
 verses haereticos ab ecclesia denotatos
 bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt.

Whether this was merely an anticipatory measure, dictated by way of precaution from the Pope's wider acquaintance with the state of Christendom in general, or framed to meet actual cases of heresy then present in Scotland, we cannot say. No specific instance, certainly, has been found as early as this.

Again in 1398, when Robert III through infirmity was led to delegate his kingly authority to his eldest son, David, Earl of Carrick, whom he created Duke of Rothesay, the Prince was empowered to govern as the King himself would do and was sworn to maintain unimpaired the freedom and rights of the Kirk and to punish all evil-doers and "spally cursit men heretikis and put fra the Kyrke at the requeste of the Kyrke to restreyne."¹

¹ Act. Par. Scot. I. p. 573.

The nature of the heresy against which such pains and penalties were invoked still remains undefined.

Another sign of the times is furnished by the Register of Kelso Abbey. In this register are two summonses issued by Walter, Bishop of Durham, one dated February 8th. 1402/3 against James Notyngham and Robert, Deacon of Roxburgh, priests suspected of holding perverse and erroneous doctrines against the Catholic faith,¹ the other dated March 14th. of the same year against John Wythby and James Notyngham on the same charge.² The value of this testimony, however, is somewhat weakened by uncertainty as to whether these three priests had actually sought refuge in Scotland or whether the scribe in Kelso Abbey had merely copied the form of process, names included, from the records of the bishopric of Durham. Even if the two entries are taken only as transcriptions, it is significant that it was thought advis-

¹..mandamus quatinus citetur peremptorie Jacobum Notyngham & Robertum diaconem de roxburgh presbyteros de Catholica fide suspectos & de doctrina perversa & erronea nobis denunciatos in eorum propriis personis... Liber S. Maria de Calchou, (Bannatyne Club), II. p. 435

²..Nuper nos Johannem Wythby & Jacobum Notyngham presbyteros in articulis fidei nobis valde suspectos et de doctrina peruersa ac fidei cathelice contraria nobis sepius denunciatos peremptorie citare fecimus.... Ibid. p. 437.

able to have an official form of procedure engrossed in the register of a Scottish abbey, apparently to be ready against a certain and imminent need. Echoes of Lollardy, at least, were reaching Scotland from England. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first explicit mention of this heresy north of the Tweed should belong to this period. It is found in Andrew of Wyntoun's Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland. Referring to the Duke of Albany, brother of Robert III, and, on the death of the latter, regent of the kingdom during the absence of James I as a prisoner in England, he says:-

" He luvit and honouryt his creature:

At Goddis service and at his Mes,

In all tym rycht dewote he wes

He wes a constant Catholike;

All Lollard he hatyt and heretike."¹

Lollardy by this time had come to be a recognised movement in Scotland and its adherents were classed with heretics and practically identified with them, seen after this date.²

¹Wyntoun's Orygn. Cron. of Scotland Vol. III. Bk. IX. p. 100.

²John Major, History of Greater Britain, Bk. VI. chap. ix. p. 342. (Scot. Hist. Sec.).

It is at this time there emerges the historical figure of James Resby, a presbyter of the school of Wyclif. He was tried at the instance of Laurence of Lindores, inquisitor of heretical pravity, condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake, at Perth in 1406/7.¹ In the Breve Chronicon the following entry occurs:-

327. Combustio Jacobi Henrici apud Perth A.D. 1407.² In all likelihood this is a reference to Resby's death. The manner of it, the Christian name, the place, the date, all agree with such particulars regarding him, and 'Henrici' may even be a mistaken copying of 'Hertici.' At any rate no other case of burning for heresy is known in Scotland in 1407, so that it is reasonable to conclude that the reference is to this Lollard from England. He had no doubt come to Scotland to escape the consequences of holding the religious opinions he did, for the passing of the statute De Haeretico Comburendo in 1401 in England made it dangerous for any one to identify himself with heretical tendencies.

¹ Scotichron. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p. 441.

² Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, (Maitland Club), II. p. 316.

It is not known when Resby arrived but his practice appears to have been to propagate Lollard doctrine by preaching. In an unlettered age, preaching was an all essential means of instruction and the failure of the bishops in this became a cause of criticism and complaint against the Church, and accounted largely for the popularity and influence of the preaching friars. Wyclif had copied the method of the friars by sending out his poor preachers who preached the gospel in the common speech and his disciples continued his practice as a means of propagating their doctrines. In all probability Resby was one of these preachers. It was in this way, at any rate, he gained the ear of the simple and unlettered by whom he was held in high esteem.¹

Alexander Laing in his book, "Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh," makes mention of a tradition regarding Resby's personal appearance, he "was extremely tall, spare, of commanding aspect and with an eye which burned with earnestness and enthusiasm,"² but as he does not

¹ Scotichron. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p. 441; see also Prof. Baxter, *Cepiale Prioratus S. Andree* p.3. No. 2.
² p. 104. (Maitland Club).

give the source of this tradition its value is of little moment.

We are indebted to Walter Bower, the continuator of Jehn de Ferdoun's Scotichronicon, for all the facts we know regarding Resby. He tells us that the English missiener mingled most dangerous conclusions with his teaching of which the first article was:-

"The Pope is not de facto the vicar of Christ,"¹ and the second:-

"No one is Pope or vicar of Christ unless he is holy."¹ Forty other opinions, not further specified, were laid to his charge,¹ all of which opinions he had taken from Wyclif's doctrines which had been condemned in London in 1380.

That the Roman Catholic authorities feared this menace to their doctrine and practice found in Lollardy is seen in the description which Bower goes on to give of this challenging and growing heresy. At the time of his writing it clearly had some considerable hold in Scotland.

¹Scotich. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p. 441.

Resby's "conclusions and his heretical pamphlets are still held by some Lollards in Scotland and are carefully preserved, from a devilish impulse, by those to whom stolen waters are sweeter and secret bread more pleasant."¹

Threats, and such an example as Resby's own fate furnished, were useless as deterrents or as arguments to shake the persistency of the Lollards. Bower's experience was, "Whoever have been once imbued and confirmed in the school of this most impious doctrine seldom or never arrive at the unity of the faith. Seldom even if ever do I remember having seen such fall asleep in the Lord in a Christian manner, and that is not to be wondered at because such are Gog and Magog, secretly and openly spiteful against the flock of the Lord and against the Pope, as worshippers of Antichrist."¹

This challenging of the Pope's authority was viewed as an offence of special gravity, (*Quid igitur haereticabilius est, quam dicere, quod Papa de facto non est Christi vicarius?*)² Bower is at pains to set forth

¹Scotich. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p. 442.

²Ibid. p. 443.

at length the arguments by which Laurence of Lindores sought to combat this 'heretical' teaching. Some one must be really Christ's vicar, otherwise the Church were headless so far as a head to its ministry is concerned. That head must be the Pope, therefore the Pope is de facto the vicar of Peter. This office carries with it the power of loosing and binding as the Pope alone has plenitude of power. It is no objection that the present Pope is not like Peter in life or morals, otherwise any one might be Peter's vicar because he was holy as Peter. It would follow, then, that it would not be lawful to elect a Pope unless he were holy because he would not be able to loose or bind as the vicar of Peter. Consequently no one could be elected Pope, or if elected he could not exercise Peter's office, since it cannot be said of any one he is holy and free from mortal sin.¹

Two other charges, which can well be believed, were brought against these heretics which clearly show their

¹For Laurence of Lindores' arguments summarised above see Scotich. II. Lib. XV. cap.xx. p. 443.

connection with Wyclif.² They are spoken of as destroying the sacrament of penance (sacramentum paenitentiae restinguentes), and of making vocal confession null and void (vocalem confessionem enervantes).¹ As though that were not enough, Bower goes on to speak of them as those, " who err in heart, who do not believe with the heart to justification nor make confession with the lips to salvation."¹ "They are those of whom it is written in the Apocalypse, they are neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm;"¹ and much more in like strain.

Resby's death, however, was not the end of the movement in Scotland, rather did it mark the beginning of a new stage in the conflict which ended only with the Reformation of 1560.

¹. Scotich. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p. 442.

². See Werkman, John Wyclif, II. appendix T. p. 416.

III.

Quintin Folkhyrde and Neva Seecie.

While Resby and other unnamed disciples of Wyclif were carrying the torch into Scotland, the latter's influence was being felt strongly in Bohemia. The times there were peculiarly favourable to it. A spirit of nationalism had arisen which sought reforms not only in the body politic but in the Church as well. The teaching of the English master was, therefore, welcomed by many. Among these was John Hus who came to the front as one of the leaders of the movement.

On its religious side, this movement was concerned primarily with Christian practice rather than with Christian doctrine and it was to this aspect of it to which Hus devoted himself. From 1402 till 1408 he had preached in the Bethlehem Chapel, Prague, in the vernacular and with the approval of the Archbishop, Sbínek.

So long as he confined himself to attacking abuses in a general way, no outcry was raised against him, but as soon as he exposed and denounced the immoral lives of the clergy, he was suspected and accused of heresy.¹ In 1410, when this religious and political excitement was rising, four letters, entitled *Nova Scocie*, purporting to have been written by a Scot, Quintin Folkhyrde or Felkhard, were taken from Scotland to Prague.²

Although the MS. of these letters was known as long ago as 1793,³ historians have either been ignorant or neglectful of them. The few brief references one finds quite fail to do justice to their contents. The letters merit consideration, at least to the extent of testing their claim to be news of Scotland. If their claim is made good, we have in them documents of real importance for the history of Scottish Lollardy.

To come to the letters. In them a certain squire, (quidam armiger), Quintin Folkhyrde by name, describes himself as a "poor servant of God," and tells how he

¹ Cf. Jan Herben, *Jan Huss and His Followers*, (1926), p. 20.

² Miss Deanesly in "The Lollard Bible," (1920), p. 240, says: "...the tracts of a Lollard, Clement Felkhirde, were brought to Bohemia in 1410," The reference is evidently to Quintin Folkhyrde, though the Christian name is given incorrectly.

³ Communicated in a personal note by Prof. Baxter of St. Andrews.

rede through his native land, proclaiming in the language of the people what he sets forth in the letters. Fear for his own eternal salvation constrains him thus to stir up war against the enemies of God. His criticism of the clergy is characteristically Lollard in its tone and nature and is to be found in his first letter.

Epistle I. After touching briefly on the duty of the common people and the lords temporal, he goes on to discuss and criticise the clergy who, with the two former classes, constitute the three parties which compose the Church.¹

" For this section (the clergy) ought completely
 " to forsake the world and anxiety for it, and
 " by study, intelligence and preaching the truths
 " of the word of God to quicken both the former
 " sections, to administer without price and free-
 " ly the sacraments of God, and to follow Christ
 " very closely in every respect. But because
 " that section falls away and by doing what is
 " contrary, culpably neglects its duty, it
 " seems that none of these classes is more
 " hostile to God, because the Apostle

¹ Compare Luther's division of Christian society into *Lehrstand*, *Wehrstand* and *Nahrstand*. See H. Boehmer, Luther, (English translation), p. 254.

" says:- 'He who has no concern for his own
 " and especially for those of his own house-
 " hold, denies the faith and is worse than
 " an infidel.' And since the Apostle says
 " this about any parent who ought to cherish
 " concern for his family, a fortiori, it holds
 " true concerning the priests. These have a
 " spiritual care over the house of God, and on
 " this account receive tithes and offerings in
 " place of pay for their toil. Nevertheless,
 " they do no work, as Gregory says, but live
 " blameworthy lives in their pleasures and rob
 " God's poor in the following things, viz. in
 " not teaching them the law of God, the articles
 " of faith, the Lord's Prayer, the commandments
 " of God and the gospel of Christ in the mother
 " tongue, in not distributing the goods of the
 " Church which remain over beyond their scanty
 " need for the relief of the poor, the blind,
 " the lame, the infirm, the feeble, widows and
 " orphans, as Gregory says:- 'Bad priests are
 " a cause of a people's ruin.' And because

¹ Evidently a long-standing abuse see Statutes of the
 Scottish Church, (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. 9 No (3),
 a statute of XIII century.

" all this iniquity, and much greater, is
" displayed senselessly, negligently and
" blindly, and left practically uncorrected
" by these who are ordained by God for this
" purpose, viz. the prelates themselves and
" especially the lords temporal and kings
" and dukes, earls, barons, knights and squires
" who for this reason carry the sword, as says
" the Apostle, therefore I, Quintin Folkhyrde,
" most poor servant of God, fearing these tem-
" peral lords, and for the fear which I have
" of eternal damnation which will befall me
" unless I do what is in me for the amending
" of these evils and for the remission of all
" my sins, openly stir up a holy war upon these
" enemies of God and all their allies, as far
" as God will deign to show me His favour, with-
" out which no good work can be begun, honestly
" pursued or perfectly accomplished. In the
" name therefore of the Father and the Son
" and the Holy Spirit, Amen. If any one is

" for the Lord let him place his sword upon
 " his thigh and join himself to me. This
 " speech Moses uttered when he made war in
 " the cause of God as it is in Exodus XXXII."¹

There is no thought as yet of breaking with the Church, for the criticism is by a faithful son whose concern for her well-being leads him thus to speak out against these flagrant abuses. As was to be expected, this criticism and challenge could not be allowed to go unnoticed. The clergy in their indignation, as he tells us in the preface to epistle II, sought to stir up the temporal lords to punish him, while they themselves proceeded against him with ecclesiastical censures. But the bold critic is neither to be overawed nor silenced. He returns to the charge and to his own defence in a letter addressed to the Bishop of Glasgow² and his accomplices and to all the clergy of Scotland.

Their answer to his charges is that they are mistaken and heretical. In reply Folkhyrde asks them either to

¹ See appendix B. pp. 51f. for Latin text of Nova Scocie.

² There seems to be an uncertainty in the text of the letters here. Sedlák, whose text has been followed, reads "Glatonensi," giving in the margin as an alternative reading "Glasgoviensi." Prof. Baxter in *Copiale prioratus Sanctiandree*, p. 232. reads "Glacovensi." Considering that the letters profess to have come from Scotland, it seems to be an attempt to give a Latin form to "Glasgow." See also pro. Workman, John Wyclif I. p. 10 following Loserth.

Summary of disprove what he has alleged, and he will
 Epistle II. accept correction, or if his charges prove
 to be well founded, to change their mode of life - as
 they are in duty bound to do - and he will interfere no
 more. But if they will not deign even to answer, they
 will show themselves to be haughty, foolish and obstinate,
 not willing to be reformed. He reaffirms his determina-
 tion to accept the consequences of what he has said, be-
 cause "they are exiles from God, His enemies, priests
 not in deed but only in name," to be treated as greedy
 wolves in sheep's clothing. Their unjust and evil op-
 pression of God's law and of the common people he cannot
 abide. He is prepared to die for the correction of
 such abuses rather than continue to live under them.

Summary of In his third letter he summons the secu-
 Epistle III. lar lords and the people, as they value
 their eternal well-being, to rally against all priests
 who step beyond the bounds of God's law and spend their
 lives in luxury, indulgence and in those abuses that
 have become notorious. To hold back is to be a part-
 aker with them in their sins and at the last such will
 be sharers with them in their punishment.

Summary of Epistle IV. Finally he addresses himself to the curates, each and every one. After recalling his warnings to the three sections of the Church, he exhorts them to amend their past errors, to give up all worldliness, to instruct their parishoners in God's commandments in their mother tongue (in materna lingua), and, at least on Lord's days, to preach the Gospel and read the Epistle to those gathered in the church, to dispense the sacraments freely, and, as good stewards, to administer the tithes and offerings of the people, retaining for themselves a portion sufficient for the necessaries of life, devoting a second portion to what is exacted by God's law, and a third to meet the needs of the poor. In thus admonishing them he claims to speak as their friend but should they disregard his warning he threatens war more fierce than that waged on Jews or Saracens.

The first question to be considered is, can the Nova Scocie be accepted as being what they profess to be viz. letters from Scotland about 1410? At first sight it may seem strange that letters should be sent from Scotland, which, up till that time, had shown no particular

interest in Bohemia. Had they come from England, one would not have been surprised owing to the close connection between these countries and their common interest in Wyclif's teaching. But the unexpectedness of the claim really tells in its favour as there is no reason why letters should profess to come from Scotland unless they really did. The onus of proof lies rather with those who question this. It is for them to show why Scotland could not be the place of origin and to suggest some other source that answers the facts better. A good case, therefore, can be made out for their genuineness.

But a further question has to be faced as regards the writer of these letters. According to the letters themselves he is Quintin Folkhyrde, a certain squire.¹ Can this man be identified? There is one individual of this name of whom something is known. The details, it is true, are very meagre, but they are so attested as to leave no room for doubt. In the Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry IV. Volume III. A.D. 1405 - 1408, there occur the following entries:-

¹See also English Historical Review VII. pp. 309-311.

1407.

Membrane 9.

Aug. 16.

Nottingham Castle. Safe conduct, for one month, for Quintin Folkhard of Scotland, now within the realm, going to London on divers business and returning to the king's presence, and his horses and harness. By K.

Sept. 11. Beverley. The like, until Christmas, for the same, going to Scotland, and returning to the realm with three servants, horse or foot, in his company and bringing certain animals of his into the realm for his necessary expenses. By K.

No further notices of safe-conducts in favour of Folkhyrde have been found. But in the course of the travels of which we have notice, he must have passed through districts strongly infected with Lollard teaching, and may even have met Bohemian sympathisers who were then not uncommon in England. Dr. R.L. Poole suggests that the Nova Scocie "were carried out to Prague in 1410, possibly by the hands of the same bearer as the two letters of 8th. September of Wyche to Hus and of Oldecastle to Wok of Waldstein."² Be this as it may, the undoubted facts

¹See also Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland IV. p. 144, where, however, the date given is 1405.

²Eng. Hist. Review, VII. pp. 309-311.

regarding Felkhyrde not only strengthen the conclusion that the Neva Seecie did come from Scotland, for they supply an obvious and reasonable explanation for an otherwise unlikely event, but they also support the contention that the letters could very well have been written by one who had travelled in Scotland and in England when and where he did.

But what of the man himself, "this interesting Scots cattle-drover and evangelist," as Dr. Workman calls him? That he was something more than a cattle-drover is obvious, and the perusal of his letters supports this conclusion. But on the other hand, he never discloses his own rank or status in so many words. Where he is described as "armiger" is in the editorial notes and comments in the introductions to epistles I and II and in the post-script to epistle IV. That he wrote in Latin, making charges which have every evidence of being based on wide yet intimate knowledge likely to have been gained in such journeys as he is known to have undertaken,

¹ John Wyclif, (1926), I. p. 10.

proves that he was a man of education and some social standing. Then to the second and fourth letters he affixed the seal of his office, (sigillum nostri officii fecimus hic apponi), (in omnium istorum testimonium hiis literis sigillum nostri officii est appensum).² It is surely not to be expected that a common "drover" should possess an official seal. And what was the office the seal of which is so minutely described at the end of the second letter? Here is the description, "Forma autem sigilli sui est circulus et in medio circuli scutum cum figura crucis cum tribus clavis cruci affixis; in vacuo autem circuli supra scutum forma corone spinee, scriptura vero circularis in circumferencia circuli est hec: Adiuva, domine deus omnipotens." If we think of his office as the rôle he felt himself called upon to take up, viz. that of the reformer of the Church and guardian of her welfare, the symbols and motto of the seal become suggestive and obviously self-chosen. He

¹ See Appendix B. p.59, Nova Scocie, Secunda epistola.

² Ibid. p. 64. Nova Scocie, Epistola quarta.

wrote as the protector of the truth of God, - the shield enclosing the cross. Yet he was fully aware of the risk he ran and the consequences he might have to face, even torture and death, - the crown of thorns surmounting the shield. While the motto on the circumference, "Help Lord God Almighty," was most appropriate on the lips of one embarking on an enterprise so hazardous. When it is remembered, too, that in those days surnames were only beginning to come into general use, this man's name might well point in the same direction as his seal, and could be assumed by him in a way not possible today. He was God's Flock-herd, and one might be tempted to conclude he was a churchman did not several very definite considerations lead one to decide otherwise. The title "armiger" is quite in keeping with the internal evidence of the letters. In epistle II he describes the function of the lords temporal thus, " ..to be acquainted with the law of God and to defend it; to protect the servants of Christ and to crush the agents of Antichrist. This is the reason of their carrying the sword." This is a perfectly just description of the

rôle he took upon himself and his appeal at the end of this letter is the appeal of a man raising a crusade.

Again, it is to be noted that in epistle II the clergy reply to his indictment by calling upon the temporal lords first of all, (primo), to deal with an unruly member of their own order evidently. Had Folkhyrde been a churchman he would have been tried in the first place by a Church court and then, if found guilty of heresy, handed over to the secular arm for punishment by death. Further, in his appeal in epistle II he says, " and so we, and all Christians but especially the lords temporal, are compelled to treat you not as good priests but as ravening wolves in sheep's clothing," manifestly including himself among the lords temporal.

All the indications of the letters, their point of view, their appeal and seal, confirm one in the conclusion that Folkhyrde was one of the smaller barons or lairds who came to be looked on later as the third and lowest class among the land-holders.¹

¹ See Cosmo Innes, *Scottish Legal Antiquities* (1872), p. 135.

No information is available, so far, as to what part of the country claimed this early squire-reformer. Could it possibly have been Ayrshire? It is an interesting speculation to think that Folkhyrde may have been one among the nameless band who sowed the seed there that came to harvest before the century closed. In his journeyings to and from England he would almost certainly at some point or other pass through that southern district of Scotland that has played so great a part in the struggle for religious liberty.

Nothing more is known of him after 1410. One would like to know what fate befell this outspoken reformer, whether or not he was called upon to show the sincerity of his confession and the strength of his conviction by paying with his life for the courage of his pen. That his warning words were unheeded history clearly shows. But it shows also that the leaven of Lollardy was working. The Church authorities in Scotland had come to realise the presence of a grave danger in their midst and determined to check its progress. In 1416 it was required of Masters of Arts in St Andrews that they take an oath to resist all who adhered to the sect of

the Lollards.¹ Further, it is on record that about the year 1420 some Wyclifite heretics were arrested in Scotland though of their fate also nothing is known.² It is evident that measures were being taken against the followers of Wyclif's doctrines in increasing severity. Can Folkhyrde possibly have met his fate at this time at the hands of William Lauder, Bishop of Glasgow from 1408 till 1425, to whom with his clergy the provocative words of the second letter were addressed? One can only wonder, and regret that the "Scrollis of Glasgw" have not been preserved. Perhaps here is the nameless Glasgow martyr of 1422?³

¹ In his *Life of Andrew Melville*, (1856), p. 405. Dr. M'Crice quotes this article from the *University Records*.
² *Raynaldi Annales Ecclesiastici* Vol. VIII. (1752), p. 523 xxi *Wicleffistae in Scotia*.
³ Prof. Mitchell in his *Baird Lectures* 1899, *The Scottish Reformation*, makes a similar suggestion p. 15,

Appendix B.

Text of Nova Scocie from the appendix of M. Jan Hus, (1915), by Jan Sedlák.

I am indebted to the Librarian and Committee of the Institute of Historical Research, The University of London, for their kindness in giving me access to their copy of Jan Sedlák's book.

Listy Škotské.

1.

Hec sunt Nova Scocie a. 1410 Pragam portata.
Z. rkp. budyš VIII^o 7 (A) cal. s praž univ.
X E 24 (B).

Est quidam armiger nomine Quintinus Folkherde,¹
qui insurgit in causa dei manu forti equitando
per patrias et palam publicando in materna lingua
ista que sequuntur in epistolis, ea per cartulas
et cedulae dividendo et cuilibet manu extendenti
porrigendo.²

¹A nad tim: i.e. pastor populi, B v. textu.
A piše Folkherde.

²B que secuntur in data et divisa per cedulae
cuicunque manu extendenti.

Epistola prima.

Quintinus universitatē christianorum. Fiat voluntas dei nunc et semper Amen. Cunctis pateat evidenter, quod ecclesia Christi hic militans in hac miserabili vita adversus diabolum, mundum et carnem, integratur ex tribus partibus. Quarum prima et infima perfeccione est vulgus vivens de laboricio vel arte mechanica et ista pars est bona et segura, si servet mandata dei et labori sit fideliter intenta, suis superioribus ewangelice obediendo.

Secunda pars ecclesie sunt domini temporales et ista pars perficiens quod incumbit suo officio est melior sed periculosior. Officium autem suum est legem dei cognoscere et eam defendere, servos Christi protegere et antichristi ministros opprimere. Hec est enim causa, cur portant gladium, et rex secundum Augustinum est vicarius deitatis. Est autem iste status periculosus et pronus, ut superetur a superbia, cupiditate mundana et voluptate accidiosa. Tercia vero

¹A in marg:- ex dyalogo Wik.

pars ecclesie et optima est clerus, dum perficit quod incumbit suo officio. Debet autem iste status mundum et eius sollicitudinem perfecte relinquere et studio, intelligencia¹ et vera verbi dei predicacione ambas priores partes vivificare, sacramenta dei gratis et libere ministrare et undiquaque proxime sequi Christum.

Sed quia ista pars apostatat et faciendo contrarium suum officium culpabiliter omittit, videtur quod nulla harum parcium deo plus inimicatur, quia apostolus dicit: " Qui suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet, fidem negavit et est infideli deterior." Et cum apostolus dicit hoc de quolibet patre et matre familias, qui sue familie curam gerere debet, a forciori verificatur de sacerdotibus, qui spiritualement habent curam domus dei et propter hanc recipiunt decimas et oblationes quasi pro mercede laboris et opus non faciunt, ut ait Gregorius, sed dampnabiliter vivunt in suis voluptatibus et defraudant pauperes dei in hiis que secuntur,

¹ B. studio intelligencie.

vid. in non docendo eos legem dei, articulos fidei, oracionem dominicalem, mandata dei et ewangelium Christi in materna lingua, in non disponendo bona ecclesie, que remanent supra eorum parcam necessitatem, relevacioni pauperum cecorum, pauperum claudorum, pauperum infirmorum, pauperum debilium, pauperum viduarum, pauperum orphanorum, sicut ait Gregorius, quod causa ruine populi sunt mali sacerdotes. Et quia hec tota iniquitas et multo maior vecorditer, negligenter et ceciter passa est et relicta minime emendata ab hiis, qui a deo ordinantur ad hoc, vid. ab ipsis summis sacerdotibus et specialiter a dominis temporalibus sc. regibus et ducibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, et armigeris, qui propter hanc causam portant gladium, ut ait apostolus: ideo ego Quintinus Folkhyrde, servus dei pauperrimus, in defectu horum temporalium dominorum et pro timore, quem habeo eterne dampnacionis, que michi poterit evenire, nisi faciam quod in me est ad emendacionem horum malorum et in remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum palam moveo¹ guerram divinam

¹ B. movere.

super istos dei inimicos et eorum cunctos auxilia-
tores, in quantum deus suam gratiam michi exhibere
dignabitur, sine quo nullum opus bonum poterit in-
iciari, veraciter prosequi neque perfecte consumari.
In nomine ergo patris et filii et spiritus sancti,
Amen. Si quis est domini, ponat gladium super femur
suum et iungatur michi - hunc sermonem dixit Moyses,
quando adivit bellum in causa dei, ut habetur Ex. XXXII.

Secunda epistola.

Cum autem hec ad aures cleri pervenirent, graviter
ea ferebant et cum maxima indignatione primo monebant
dominos temporales sibi faventes in dicti Quintini
finale[m] destruccionem et secundo contra ipsum infid-
eliter processerunt censuris suis indiscretis². Quibus
per dictum Quintinum sic auditis, tali forma que se-
quitur specialiter eis perscribebat:

Quintinus episcopo Glatonensi³ cum suis complicitibus
totoque⁴ clero regni Scocie.

¹. A psane: esse furis.

². Prof. Baxter reads "indirectis."

³. Tak rkpp. misto Glasgoviensi.

⁴. B. toto sc.

Fiat voluntas dei nunc et semper Amen. Per querundam fidelium relacionem plane intelleximus, quod mirabiliter grave capitis cum proposito nostro assumpto in purgacionem ecclesie per auctoritatem spiritus dei, qui spirat ubi vult et dat libere sua dona singulis¹ prout sibi placet. Sic quod videtur tum per vestram crudelem regni temporalis procuracionem super nos tum per vestrum infidelem processum, quem fatue ducitis super nos, quod occultare nitimini a christianorum noticia veritatem, informando eos quod totum illud, quod veraciter scripsimus in nostra communi cedula de officio vestro et de defectibus per vos factis in vestro² officio, sit erroneum et hereticum, cum sit plana veritas.

Quapropter requirimus vos et monemus ex parte dei, ut in manifestacione veritatis pro communi³ comodo rescribatis nobis et inprobate, si scitis et potestis, per auctoritatem vite et doctrine Christi et suorum

¹ B. singulis singulariter.

² Rkpp: vestri.

³ B. omni.

apostolorum et per sensum et scripturas vestrorum primitus approbatorum doctorum et sacre scripture expositorum id, quod de vobis scripsimus et de vestro officio, quo facto obligamus nos corrigi, secundum quod Christus et sua lex corrigi statuit quemcunque hereticum hominem et errantem. Et ex altera parte si id, quod diximus de vobis vestroque officio, reperiatur firmum et verum per auctoritates scripture, tunc non feratis hoc graviter, sed prudenter et humiliter prout decet corrigite¹ errores vestros anteaactos, ut et nos et omnes homines clare videamus vestram emendacionem per operum vestrorum atestacionem manifestam. Et hoc eciam per vos facto promittimus vobis supersedere a nostro interponere penes vos et vestra. Et si defeceritis dedignando respondere huic nostre rationabili promissioni, testes manifestos vosmetipsos exhibetis et nobis et cinctis hac presencia scripta visuris vel audituris, quod superbi, stulti estis et obstinati, qui nulla² tractacione vultis emendari, quousque divine ulcionis gladius potenter

¹ B. tunc facite ad hoc prudenter et humiliter, prout decet et corrigite.

² B. vnech: exhibetis...nulla.

cadat super vos.

Provideatis igitur et scire nos faciatis per presencium pertitorem,¹ quid agere proponitis in premisis, scientes deo volente quod non proponimus nostrum dimittere propositum, donec vixerimus, et quod firmiter cogitamus mori in isto proposito, cum oportet, et nunquam vobiscum tractare de falsa pace seu treuga in deceptionem communis populi, quemadmodum faciunt omnes vos sustentantes et succurrentes in vestra vita maledicta et non exclamant super vos crudelius quam super fures et latrones, quia exules estis a deo et eius inimici et non sacerdotes in opere, sed solum in nomine. Ideoque nos et omnes christiani, sed specialiter domini temporales tenemur tractare vos non sicut bonos sacerdotes, sed sicut lupos rapaces in pellibus ovinis coopertos.

Et non miremini, quod tam austere vobis loquimur, quia scitete firmiter, quod ex habundancia cordis ad hoc artamur; namque cor nostrum tam graviter et dire

¹A. presencium per tenerem.

vulneratur, queciens occurrit memorie vestra iniqua et maledicta oppressio legis dei et communis populi, per vos et per vestros diucius perpetrata,¹ quod potius eligimus mori pro ea destruenda, quam vivere et non facere quod in nobis est ad eius correptionem.² Et in huiusmodi rei testimonium in literis tripartitis³ una vobis, alia communitati, pro cuius comodo laboramus, et tertia nobismetipsis, sigillum nostri officii fecimus hic apponi.

Forma autem sigilli sui est circulus et in medio circuli scutum cum figura crucis cum tribus clavis cruci affixis; in vacuo autem circuli supra scutum forma corone spinee, scriptura vero circularis in circumferencia circuli⁴ est hec: Adiuva, domine deus omnipotens.

Epistola tertia Folkhyrde.⁵

Quintinus Folkhyrde omnibus secularibus dominis et communitati.

¹A. pertracta.

²B. correccionem.

³A. videntur litere tripartite.

⁴B. sigilli.

⁵A. Folkharde, B. Folkherde.

Fiat voluntas dei nunc et semper. Omnibus dominis christianis et militibus et armigeris, gladium armaverentibus in legis dei defensionem aut terram tenentibus per fidem et veritatem a domino summi celi, supplicamus ex parte dei necnon et eosdem requirimus et omni communitati et subiectis fidei christiane istud onus iniungimus auctoritate spiritus dei et periculo, quod quilibet hic necnon in die iudicii terribilis consequetur, quod sacerdos quilibet in sacerdotali ordine constitutus, ubicunque fuerit repertus, qui noscatur a vobis contineri extra limites legis dei, qui quoad mundi pompam¹ ut dives in corpore apparatur indumentis et penulis preciosis, cultellis et cingulis perornatis auro aliquo vel argento aut qui indutus est pro temporali defensione, ut² diploide, pileo, gladio, pelta, sicca, dagardo, lancea, arcu et sagittis aut armorum aliqua parte pugne pertinente, vel qui communis est mango, venditor aut emptor, aliter quam veraciter censetur suo victui necessario pertinere,

¹ B. pompalis.

² B. cum.

exercensque thabernas communes¹ vini aut alterius potus: insuper sciatis omnes sacerdotes esse extra limites preassumptos, qui sunt in plateis tripudiatore, in feris contuberniones aut ex consuetudine luxurie dediti, inhabitatores domorum cum mulieribus inhonestis, sustinentes viros et feminas luxuriosas, aut equitantes superbe cum sellis, frenis aut calcaribus deauratis aut cum pompa hominum armatorum exhibitorum sumptibus eorundem in destruccionem bonorum, que pauperes possiderent; aut si aliquis reperiatur sacerdos, qui magni et boni beneficii est possessor aut redditus alicuius, non trahens moram ad eius ecclesiam nec disponens bona dei remanencia² ultra eius victum necessarium pauperibus fide dignis, ut in nostra cedula declaratur conversacionem trium statuum explicante, sed in locis residet defensivis, civitate, castro, burgo³, ubi exercet vendiciones et empciones mercimoniorum, bona latenter cumulans a profectu aut comode communitatis, vitam

¹B. thabernam communem.

²A. permanencia.

³B. aut castro sive burgo.

ducendo in pigricia, gula vel luxuria: talem quemlibet agnoscatis a lege domini deviantem et in extremo residentem cornu dei.¹ Super quos cornua flamus et adhuc flabimus² de die in diem, donec viderimus eorum correccionem in foribus apparentem. Et voluntas est domini, quod consimiliter vos agatis, cum in lege dei virtutum sit, quod qui talibus se miscet vel qui talem ut hospitem recipit talibusque favet aut cum tali comedit aut potat aut ei vultum exhibet aliqualem aut eos salutat in plateis, nisi ob eorum emendacionem, est eorundem particeps peccatorum et qui non quantum ad eum pertinet eorum mala corrigit, eis consentit et partem penarum eorundem est finaliter recepturus. Quilibet ergo vitam ducens in hac via, caveat³ et quantum potest nitatur,⁴ ut dei voluntas fiat nunc et semper Amen.

Epistola quarta.

Quintinus Folkhyrde⁵ suo curato, omnibus et singulis aliis.

¹ A. resident., B. in extremo cornu residentem.
² B. flavimus ut adhuc flamus ³ A. teneat.
⁴ A. nitet, B. iuvet ⁵ A. piſe Folkherde.

Fiat dei voluntas nunc et semper Amen. Non est tibi ignotum, quomodo premonuimus¹ omnes tres status ecclesie in generali, quid sit officium cuiuslibet status eiusdem, et super quo proposito fundamur, donec ab hoc seculo exeamus auctoritate spiritus dei. Et tibi in speciali talem damus premonicionem¹ ex parte dei et periculo, quod in hac vita necnon in futuro² consequitur, quod tu te ipsum disponas cum omni festinancia ad tuos errores preteritos emendandos, sic quod non videamus eos per te amplius sustineri, sed quod hec perficias manifeste que secuntur, h.e. dicere quod dimittas omnem assiduitatem mundanam et domi, ubi tua est ecclesia, moram trahas³ quodque dei mandata in materna lingua tuos vere doceas parochianos⁴. Insuper predica manifeste tempore competenti ad minus diebus dominicis ewangelium et⁵ epistolam in facie ecclesie omnibus accedentibus ad eandem, et quod a te sint sacramenta libere ministrata sisque decimarum et oblacionum, que

¹ B. premunivimus premonicionem.

² B. futura.

³ B. jesté: quod studeas solum in lege divina nec non Pater noster et Credo omniaque.

⁴ V.A. psáno parochiales a opraveno.

⁵ B. aut.

sunt pars dei, fidelis dispensator, primo tibi accipiens alimenta et tegimenta necessaria, non tamen omnia illicite delectabilia, residuum vero bonorum dei disponas discrete, cum aliqua eius parte tibi libros emendo legis dei aliquamque eius partem dando pauperibus parochianis et aliis habentibus necessitatem¹, sic quod considerato modo vivendi cuiuslibet christiani in suo genere² in tuo sis gradu minimis sumptibus contentus. a mundo maxime longinquus, in tua vita Christo magis propinquus. Et istis in te ad effectum deductis iuxta scire atque posse nos recognoscas tibi amicum plenarium contra volentes te nequiter³ impedire. Contrario vero contingente, quod nullatenus affectamus, vid. quod inobediens sis isti precepto nostro edito auctoritate spiritus dei, tibi notum sit, quod super te et tibi pertinentes faciemus bellum erigi manifestum cum maiori vehementia quam affectamus super Iudeos aut sarracenos bellum inducere⁴ quaecumque, quia te peiorem tali quocumque tuis operibus es ostendens.

In omnium istorum testimonium his literis sigillum nostri officii est appensum.

Finis epistolarum Quintini armigeri socie.⁵

¹ B. indigentibus. ² B. gradu. ³ B. in predictis nequiter.
⁴ B. introducere. ⁵ B. iuste: fidelis Amen.

IV.

Paul Cwawar - Physician, Propagandist, Martyr.

The next figure that looms up out of the mists of the XV. century is that of Paul Cwawar.¹ But it is not till 1433 that his presence in Scotland is noted. Why he came is not really known.² His coming may have been a belated response to the twenty year old appeal of Felkhyrde. The ascertained facts regarding him, however, are few. It is difficult to say to what nationality he belonged. Professor Bartoš believes his birth place to be somewhere in Moravia though his family was quite distinct from the Lords of Kravař, a prominent noble family resident in Moravia at that time.³ Professor Bednář also supports this view.⁴ Bower,⁵ who

¹ Cwawar is the usual English form of the name. The native form is Kravař (pronounced Kravargh).

² Prof. Bednář, Časopis Matice Moravské, (1915), p. 74.

³ Communicated in a personal letter by Prof. Bartoš.

⁴ Bednář, Čas. Mat. Morav. p. 72.

⁵ Scotich. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p. 495.

is our chief informant, calls him a Teuton. Possibly his being for a time at Thern, a town now in Poland but then in Prussia, gave grounds for this conclusion. We know also he was for a period in the service of King Vladimir Jagiello of Poland,¹ but it was from Prague in Bohemia he was sent when he came to Scotland.² It seems therefore very reasonable to conclude that he belonged to one of the Slavonic peoples.

He is found at St. Andrews in the summer of 1433.² Professor Bednář holds he could hardly have got there before 1430.³ But it can be argued that even 1430 is too early. Perhaps the Czech historian is influenced by his belief that Cwar was able to speak to the people in Scots. This, if true, would give an obvious explanation of the circumstance reported by Knox that while he was at the stake a brass ball was put into his mouth. This report Professor Bednář is disposed to believe.⁴ With Cwar's martyrdom three years later

¹ See Appendix D. p.80

² Scotch. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p. 495.

³ Bednář, Čas. Mat. Morav. p. 74.

⁴ Ibid. p. 75. The writer is indebted to Dr. Odložilík of Prague for a summary of Prof. Bednář's Časopis Matice Moravské.

it would have been quite possible for him to have acquired sufficient of the vernacular to speak to those who did not understand Latin, but we know that in January 1432 Czar was at Thorn for a letter dated 11th. January 1432¹ sent by him to King Vladimir of Poland is extant. The question, therefore, resolves itself into whether Czar was in Scotland prior to 1432,- in 1430 as Dr. Bednář suggests,- or did he pay only one visit which resulted in his death in July 1433, regarding which latter date there is general agreement? Of the former possibility there is no clear evidence whatever. All that can be said is that the visit which ended in Czar's death, - the only visit of which the record so far is known,- must have lasted within 18 months.

It is not surprising that Czar, having come to Scotland, should find his way to St. Andrews. St. Andrews was then the only university town in Scotland and already among its students were to be found

¹ This is the same year as in our modern reckoning as Dr. Odložilík writes in a personal communication, "In this country (Bohemia) & very likely also in Torun, the New Year was beginning either on 25.xii., or 1.i., but not on 25.iii." for date see Appendix D. p.83.

many sympathisers with Lollard teaching. It was natural, therefore, that Cwarar should turn his steps thither. His Lollard tenets, together with his academic training, warranted his believing that he would be welcomed there.

Bower seems to have been dubious regarding his standing as doctor, for he speaks of him as recommended from the heretics of Prague "tanquam praececellens arte medicinae,"¹ and Sir D.O. Hunter Blair, in his version of Bellesheim's History, in rather partisan fashion, summarily disposes of his profession of medicine as "nothing but a cloak to conceal his real occupation as a teacher of heresy."²

It is on record, however, that Paul Cwarar was admitted to the Faculty of Medicine in Prague in 1416 on his producing authentic letters with the official seals appended thereto, showing that he was an accredited Master of Arts of the University of Paris and likewise a Bachelor of Medicine of Montpellier.³

¹ Scotch. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p. 495.

² A. Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church of Scotland, (1887), translated by D.O. Hunter Blair, O.S.B. II. p. 56.

³ Mon. Univ. Prag. I. i. p. 439 n. See Appendix C.p.79.

Corroborative evidence is also to be found in the letter, already referred to, sent by him under the date 11th. January 1432 to the King of Poland.¹

This letter has apparently escaped the notice of writers on Scottish Church History but is of interest and importance enough to deserve more than a passing reference.² From it we learn that Crawar had been the recipient of many favours and gifts, as well as a salary of 16 marks a year, from King Vladimir, though he complains that for the past four years he had not received a penny of his salary because of false and wicked stories about him carried by flatterers to the king. He signs the letter as the king's doctor thus:- "Paulus Crawar, arcium Magister Parisiensis et baccalarius in medicis, vestre serenitatis et regni vestri Polonie medicus indignus." His good standing as a physician, therefore, is established beyond question.

While this letter does not furnish us with materials

¹ Monumenta Medii. Aevi Histor. Poloniae XIV. (1894) pp. 513-4. See Appendix D. pp. 80-83 for text of letter.
² The only reference to this letter I have succeeded in finding is in the notes of Prof. Baxter's Copiale Prioratus Sancti andree p. 460.

sufficient for a biography of Czar, it throws some light upon his character. From the programme he outlines in it, he is evidently an idealist, a man conscious of divine leading, (est enim quidem spiritus cor meum movens et pulsans rationem a multis annis tam elapsis), and obviously prepared to go any length for his beliefs. This is the man whom Bower describes as the "arch-heretic,"¹ although he came from the more moderate of the reforming parties of Bohemia, viz. the Praguites.

It is therefore very clear that Bower attaches great importance to Czar, quite out of proportion to the definitely known period of his activities in Scotland. He was obviously no chance visitor, no solitary missionary. He may have come alone, though even regarding that there is no evidence one way or the other. He certainly did come as an apostle from the Hussites and Wyclifites of Bohemia¹ and to a country from which an appeal had already come to his own people. It is

¹ Scotch. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p. 495.

significant, too, that he was in Prague when national and religious feelings were deeply stirred after the death of Hus in 1415 and of Jerome in 1416¹. He could not fail to have been influenced by these events and made more tenacious of his opinions and eager to propagate them.

When we turn to examine his teaching we find that it is detailed to a less extent than even Resby's. In his letter to the King of Poland he gives little clue to his beliefs. He certainly shows his facility in quoting Scripture but there is only one reference to the presence of heresy in Bohemia. It occurs in connection with his complaint that false and malicious stories had been circulated about him. He pretexts his innocence and declares that he has been labouring for the past ten years to confer and treat with His Highness on difficult, secret and divine mysteries touching the standing and honour of the kingdom of Poland and the neighbouring lands of Christendom. He claims that thereby dangers might have been avoided

¹ Men. Univ. Prag. I. 1. p. 439 n.

and even the heresies in Bohemia countered and as many heathen as possible, as well as Jews, converted to the Catholic Faith. In line with this same idea, farther on in the letter, again expressing his desire that all nations, including the Jews, should be converted to the Faith of Jesus Christ, he concludes with the hope that "the darkness of vice and error may be driven far away, the wicked consumed and destroyed and so the whole world will gladly rejoice to blessen with the flowers of the virtues of the Catholic Faith."¹ There is no suggestion here of any break with the Roman Church. In thus desiring reform within the Church Cramer is quite in the succession of Wyclif and Hus.

When we pass to the specific charges brought against him at his trial for heresy we find that Knox, in his account, says simply:-

"His accusation consisted principally that he followed Jehanne Husse and Wyckleif, in the opinion of the sacrament, who denyed that the substance of braid and

¹ Appendix. D. pp. 80f.

wyn war changed be vertew of any wourdis; or that confessioun should be maid to preastis: or yitt prayeris to sanctes departed." ¹

Bishop Leslie in his history with equal brevity says:-

" Evin than the haereticks of Boheme, of the haeresie of Wicleffe, directed ane, Paul Crau, to Scotland, to spred throuch al the nuickes of Scotland Wickleffes doctrine." ² Then he pictures him stealthily entering the country that "he may saw his venomous poyson."

Archbishop Spottiswood is almost as brief though somewhat more detailed. " Some twenty-four years afterwards," (i.e. after Resby's death), "Paul Craw, a Bohemian, came into Scotland, and for venting certain opiniens touching the sacrament of the supper, the adoration of saints, and auricular confession, he was also condemned and burnt at St. Andrews in the year 1432." ³

In Bellesheim's History we read that, " Bower has recorded the principal heads of the doctrine of Crawar

¹ Works of John Knox, I. p. 6.

² Bishop Leslie, Historie of Scotland II. pp. 40, 41. (Scot. Texts Sec.).

³ Archbishop Jn. Spotswood, History of the Church of Scotland (1847), I. p. 112.

and his adherents."¹ But all that Bower does say regarding the Bohemian reformer's religious beliefs is,

"Hic in sacris literis et in allegatione Biblicae promptus et exercitatus erroneos Pragenses et Wikliuenses pertinaciter tenebat."² This is quite in harmony with what we found in his letter.- Bower then goes on to tell of the three sects into which the heretics of Bohemia at that time were divided.

1. The Taberites, presided over by a certain priest, named Procopius.
2. The Orphanics, the head of which was one, Peter Crek, "haeresiarcha," a renegade Englishman who had turned Bohemian.
3. The Praguites² or Praguers as they were sometimes called. They were also known as the Calixtines because they claimed the cup (calix) for the laity. This last was the sect to which Crawar evidently belonged. Bower, while distinguishing them by name, slumps them together in the matter of heretical beliefs. He

¹ Bellesheim, Hist. of the Catholic Church of Scotland, translated etc. by D.O.Hunter Blair. II. p. 56.

² Scotich. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p. 495.

says, "These insidious sects proclaimed perfection in words but belied it in deeds." ¹ Passing on to describe in more detail their peculiarities, he tells how Procopius officiated, clad in a tunic reaching to his ankles, with long sleeves, like the brothers minor, and having something like a doctor's cap on his head. He celebrated mass after a style of his own, without sacred vestments. He dispensed with the Epistle and the Gospel and all other things customary in the mass. He began with the Lord's Prayer, adding "The Lord Jesus after He had supped etc." on to the words of consecration of the body and blood inclusively. He summarises their beliefs thus; "They do not believe in Purgatory; they detest all religion; they abhor pilgrimages; they despise orders and Church authority; they deny the resurrection of the dead;" ¹¹¹ a sect of these Praguites was fortunately destroyed through the wisdom of the Council of Basel, these, as was said before, cared nothing for sacraments or holy orders

¹ Scotch. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p. 495

but completely subverted these and the holy places of the religious."¹ They claimed for the secular power the right to judge and to punish the spiritual if need be, and other things they taught undermining the authority of the Church, pandering to the pride and self-importance of the secular lords. Thus craftily such heretics and Lollards enter in sheep's clothing but within are found to be more dangerous than wolves. Accordingly, as often as "heretical Lollardy" or "Lollard heresy" began to sprout in the kingdom, the inquisitors, by the help of the secular arm, strove to cut it down.¹ The Church authorities were evidently greatly alarmed at the presence and spread of this heresy and instinctively felt that it struck the death knell of the old system with which their own fate and fortunes were identified. They could believe nothing too bad or too extravagant about it and labelled its adherents false prophets, the foxes of Samson, a brood of vipers, snakes in the way, horned snakes in the path, hypocrites, Sadducees, Stoics and Epicureans, Wyclifites,

¹ Scotich. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. pp. 495f.

Hussites, Procopiani, Praguites, disciples of the Arch-dragon, and more to like effect.¹ It was as an ambassador from these that Crawar had come to Scotland.

There is also an article of Hussite propaganda, viz. *Sermoes de Antichristo* or *Anatomia Antichristi*, written in 1420 and printed in *M. J. Hus et Hieron. Prag. Monumenta* I. 1556 (2nd. ed. 1715), which is thought likely to have been the work of Crawar, certainly of a doctor like Crawar, but Professor Bartoš², while holding that it could very well be the work of Crawar says, "It is meantime impossible to prove his authorship since the writing is on purpose anonymous and the MS. quite lost or unknown."² But even apart from this, the fact is that Crawar was a portent. He was a dangerous man to turn adrift in a country where Lollard opinions were so strong and widely spread that it was thought necessary to pass an act enjoining upon all bishops to search out by inquisition of heresy all

¹ Scotich. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xxi. p. 496.

² Communicated in a letter by Prof. Bartoš of Prague.

suspected of Lollard leanings and have them punished in accordance with the law of Holy Kirk, calling in, if need be, the help of the secular arm.¹ This Bible-loving, Bible-quoting disciple of Wyclif must be silenced and that speedily. On Laurence of Lindores, as inquisitor of heretical pravity, again devolved this responsibility. He was soon on his track and, fully justifying Bower's description of him, "qui nusquam infra regnum requiem dedit haereticis vel Lolardis,"² quickly had him arrested, convicted, condemned and sent to the stake. No further traces of Bohemian missionaries continuing the part played by Crawar have been found, nor was there anything distinctive enough in Bohemia's contribution to persist as a distinguishable strain in the reform movement in Scotland. The emphatic claim of the Praguites for communion in both kinds found a place in the Reformation everywhere, but there is little doubt that the influence of Bohemia did augment the influence of Wyclif and on that account deserves to be recognised as an auxiliary but by no means negligible factor in the Reformation Movement in Scotland.

¹ Act. Parl. Scot. 1424/5. II. p. 7. sect. 3.

² Scotich. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p. 495.

Appendix C.

I am indebted to Dr. Otakar Odložilík, formerly of the School of Slavonic Studies, London, now of Prague, for transcribing the reference to Paul Cwarar in the Monumenta Historica Universitatis Pragensis I. i. p. 439. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to him.

The entry is in the following terms:-

Item anno ut supra (id est 1416) die 4 mensis Maji facta plena congregatione magistrorum facultatis artium. Paulus de Cwarar, universitatis Parisiensis magister et baccalarius medicinae universitatis Montis Pessulani, susceptus est ad gremium magistrorum dictae facultatis studii Pragensis post determinatam quaestionem sub mag. Procopio de Plzua et ad alia facienda iuxta statuta dictae facultatis liberrime se submitit et sufficienter docuit se esse magistrum studii universitatis Parisiensis et similiter baccalarium in medicinae studii universitatis Montis Pessulani et adeo secundum gradum processisse secundum ritum et consuetudinem dictarum universitatum, exhibuitque litteras authenticas cum sigillis pendentibus circa praemissa. Item dedit 40 grossos pro bursa consueta.

Appendix D.

Text of the letter sent by Paul Czarar to Vladimir Jagiello, King of Poland in January 1432.

Serenissime princeps et domine mi graciousissime.
 Serenitati vestre acciones omnimodas refero incessanter de beneficiis, honoribus et muneribus michi impensis et censu XVI marcarum annuatim michi dato per vestram serenitatem. De quibus tamen nullum denarium percepi in 4 annis proxime elapsis quibusdam emulis meis et vestre serenitatis capitaneis impediens et adulatoribus, qui false et inique ad vestre serenitatis aures detulerunt et accusarunt me innocentem coram Deo. Sciat igitur serenitas vestra una cum consiliariis vestris, quod ego a 10 annis iam elapsis gravissimis laboribus et sumptibus attentissime laboravi, quod potuissem, cum vestra serenitate quamvis indignus, quedam ardua et secreta misteria divina secreta et sub silencio conferre et tractare, statum et honorem regni vestri Polonie et terrarum circumiacencium, tocus christianitatis et tocus mundi tangencia, ad quod tamen faciendum usque in hodiernam diem per vestros consiliarios et regni vestri

incelas minime sum admissus. Quia ex hoc multa pericula inter Poloniam, Prussiam et Litwaniam fuissent evitata, que nunc habentur in foribus et in practica, et eciam hereses in Bohemia fuissent annullate et pagani quamplurimi et Iudei fuissent ad fidem catholicam conversi. De quibus Deo omnipotenti et omnibus sanctis et vestre serenitati omnibusque aliis regibus et principibus, dominis, nobilibus et civibus tocius christianitatis et paganismi et eciam Iudeis dolorose conqueror, lamentabiliter et lacrimose. Est enim quidam spiritus cor meum movens et pulsans racionem a multis annis iam elapsis, et si sit ex Deo an non, unicuique fidelium derelinquo prebacioni iuxta illud: "Omnia probate, et quod bonum est, tenete et probate spiritus autem ex Deo sint." Id spiritus dicit intra cor meum, quod nisi serenitas vestra, dux magnus Litwaniæ et magister generalis Prusie cum consiliariis vestris aliqua stulta et fantastica per me vobis narrari in secretis et ea, tanquam a Deo omnipotenti vobis intimata consulta, precepta et mandata cum summo honore et reverencia, qua decet, gratantissime susceperitis, ad veram pacem inter terras vestras

minime pervenire poteritis, sed sanguinem christianorum innocencium crudeliter effundetis, orphanos, viduas, mendicos, fures, latrones, predones, spoliatores et vespiliones multos et innumeros facietis et terras desolabitis et indignacionem Dei omnipotentis et omnium sanctorum hominum et angelorum sanctorum incurretis heu, heu, heu dolorose et lamentabiliter sine fine puniendi et cruciandi in vinculis tenebrarum iehenne infernalis. Si vero audieritis et susceperitis pretaeta, prout dictum est, tunc sciatis vobis misericordiam et gratiam divinam, omnium sanctorum tam hominum quam angelorum sanctorum divinitus suffragari; quia habita vera pace amicabili et non ficta inter vos et terras vestras exinde cum Dei auxilio ac aliorum regum et principum ac dominorum christianitatis, tota christianitas poterit faciliter pacificari et reuniri, pagani quoque et Iudei ad fidem Iesu Christi convertentur procul pulsas tenebris viciorum et errorum, maleficiis, contritis et destructis et sic totus mundus virtutum floribus catholice fidei letabitur gaudenter germinare. Si vero dicta audire placuerit a me misere indigno, tunc vestra serenitas

dignetur intimare fratri vestro domino duci magno
Litvanie Swidergali, ut ipse pro me dirigat ad mag-
istrum generalem Prussie, rogando ipsum, ut me ad
eum dirigat, et sic ulterius ad vestram serenitatem
petere pervenire.

Scriptum in Thoron feria VI infra octavas epiphaniæ
A.D. MCCCCXXXII meo sub sigillo.

Paulus Czarar, arcium magister Parisiensis et baccal-
arius in medicis, vestre serenitatis et regni vestri
Polonie medicus indignus.

I am indebted to Professor F.M. Bartoš, of the Hussite
Seminary, Prague, for bringing this letter to my notice
and for furnishing me with the transcription of it
which I have used. I gratefully make my acknowlege-
ments to him. This letter is printed in *Monumenta
Medii Aevi Hister. Poloniæ XIV. 1894, pp. 513-4.*

V.

The Lollards of Kyle.

(a). Tried and Acquitted.

There is no evidence that the death of Crawar checked in any way the spread of Lollardy in Scotland, rather does such evidence as is available suggest that the situation was far from reassuring from the point of view of the Church. We find that in July 1436, Pope Eugenius IV sent Anthony, Bishop of Urbino, to Scotland as nuncio from himself and from the Apostolic See, with authority "to visit and reform all churches, monasteries, etc. exempt and non exempt, bishops, abbots etc. rectors etc. and with the necessary powers to punish, deprive, suspend, make fresh provision and collation etc."¹

¹ Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters 6. Eugenius IV. p. 288.

It was a wholesale task, not inappropriately described as "arduous business of the pope and the Roman Church."¹ No doubt with these efforts for reform James I would be in sympathy but his death in 1457 before the nuncio had been received, cut short all possible support from him and plunged the country into the trouble and intrigue inevitable when the one personality, strong enough to keep things in hand, was removed. But even in the confusion of the first years of regency the state of the Church was such as to demand attention.

At the instance of Robert Mallore, Prior of the Hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem in England, a safe-conduct was granted to Andrew Meldrum, knight of the same order, to pass to Scotland "for the advantage and profit of religion."² In the same year he was followed by Alfonso de Cancifrubeis, nuncio of the Apostolic See,² and in 1440 by William Croyser,² who had incurred the displeasure of James I for the part he had played as the nuncio of Pope Martin V. In this

¹ Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters. 6 Eugenius IV p. 288, (f.103d.).

² Retuli Scotiae. II. p. 311.

capacity he had served citation on Bishop Cameron to appear in Rome to answer for his part in the passing of the acts of Parliament of 1427, which Martin held to be a curtailing of the Church's liberty and rights.¹ Now that the King who was the real author of the barratry laws was dead, these visits of papal representatives were no doubt concerned with the healing of the breach as well as with the desire to reform some of the abuses of which James I had complained in his letter to the clergy in 1424.

Apparently these efforts were only partially or temporarily successful, for in 1443 further indications prove that steps had to be taken by the Three Estates in Parliament assembled to protect the Church against sectaries and spoilers.² The terms are very general. While the acts would bring the Lollards within the law, they seem primarily to have been aimed at those who were tempted to acknowledge Felix V as Pope in preference to Eugenius, rather than against the followers of

¹ See Introduction pp. xxxix. f

² Act. Parl. Scot. II. p. 33, sect. 1 & 2.

Wyclif.

Better days came for the Church when James Kennedy became Bishop of St. Andrews. He was statesman as well as prelate and served the country eminently in both capacities.¹ The scheming and counter-scheming of the Livingstones and the Crichtons, meantime, had brought at last into the contest the House of Douglas, and, as the latter grew stronger at the expense of allies and enemies alike, it was led to try conclusions with the royal power itself.

The Crown had but emerged victorious from the struggle when the country was plunged once more into confusion through the death of James II. Well was it that the nation had the benefit of the wise and prudent government of Bishop Kennedy at this time of regency.¹ But in 1465 the worthy Bishop died and that was the occasion for faction-rivalry to break out once again. Kennedy was followed at St. Andrews by Patrick Graham whose ill-governed ambition and ill-balanced

¹ Pitseottie's Chronicles of Scotland, (Scot Text Sec.), I. pp. 159-160

conduct led to his deposition for various crimes against the Church.¹ It has sometimes been represented that Graham was the victim of his own reforming zeal, but facts do not seem to bear this out.

With the attention and energies of the country occupied in this way, little, apart from general measures reaffirming halykirk in the enjoyment of her ancient privileges and freedom,² was done by way of definite persecution. But on the other hand, there was apparently no leader capable of rallying the forces of reform. The leaven of Lollardy, nevertheless, was at work so that a Lollard tradition was to be found continuing among the nameless common people.

One district where these doctrines persisted with considerable vigour was Ayrshire, especially the part known as Kyle, "that receptacle of Goddis servandis of old," as Knox called it, for we hear that in 1494 no fewer than thirty persons were accused of heresy before

¹See Intro. p (xxxii) also Herkless & Hannay, The Archbishops of St. Andrews, I. pp. 53, 61, 63, 65, 68.

²Act, Parl. Scot. II. pp. 85 (1), 94 (1), 99 (1), 103 (1), 106 (1), 111 (1), 118 (1), 170 (1), 181 (1), 206 (1), 214 (1), 218 (1). Other acts passed during the same period are:- Anent purchase of Commends 85 (4), English holding benefices in Scotland 86 (9), Anent sending of money out of the realm 86 (1), Anent right of Crown to present to vacant benefices 133 (7), 141 (1), 166(9). Anent purchase of pensions from benefices secular or religious 144 (9), Barrators 171 (9).

the King and his Great Council by Robert Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow. He, however, was unable to prevail upon the secular arm to come to the assistance of the Church against these heretics who are known as the Lollards of Kyle.

For the account of their appearance we are indebted to Knox.¹ There is no need to retell the incident for which he is our sole authority. Nor is there reason to doubt his story, although the spirited dialogue carried on between the King, James IV, and Adam Reid of Barskimming, the spokesman of the accused, may not have suffered in Knox's telling of it.

Unfortunately, Knox gives the names only of six of the persons involved, but these were all of social standing and influence in Ayrshire. The other names he must have passed over as they are certain to have been found in the official records of the trial now unfortunately lost. This would indicate that the rest were of humbler rank in life, possibly more or

¹Knox's History, (Wodrow Soc. Ed.), I. pp. 7-12.

less connected with those named, as tenants or servants. This is in line with the statement of the late Principal Lindsay that "Lollardy had infected the universities in the east and the peasantry in the west."¹ As a generalisation this statement is accurate enough, but, as will be seen, there were several influential families in the west identified with the movement and to them it owed a very great deal. Yet in the main its adherents were drawn from the peasantry.

As Knox gives the names of the leaders they are as follows:- George Campbell of Sesnok, Adame Reid of Barskymming, Johne Campbell of New Mylnes, Andro Shaw of Polkemmate, Helen Chalmour Lady Pokillie, (Marion) Chalmours Lady Stairs.²

Thanks no doubt to the intervention of the king, no punishment was inflicted on the Lollards.³

The charges brought against them were thirty-four in number. These Knox has also noted in detail.⁴ It is

¹ Religious Life in Scotland from the Reformation till the Present Day, ASymposium (1888). p. 13.

² Knox's History. I. p. 7.

³ See p. 107.

⁴ Appendix E, pp. 97-100.

clearly evident from the articles that they can in no sense be described as a creed or formal statement of Lollard doctrines. From the casual manner in which they are set down, it is rather suggested that, as the result of observations over a longer or shorter period, statements, thought to be at variance with orthodoxy, were duly noted down from time to time, and on the appropriate occasion were preferred against them. Although making no pretensions to a formal creed, they furnish us with quite a good summary of Lollard beliefs.

Taking the articles as a whole they are a protest against many of the practices as well as doctrines of the Roman Church. They deny the authority and power and exclusiveness of the priest; the Roman Catholic doctrine of Apostolic succession; the doctrine of Transubstantiation; the payment of tithes; the right to grant indulgences; the power of the Pope to forgive sins or remit the pains of Purgatory; the efficacy of excommunication, and of the mass for souls in Purgatory; that faith should be given to miracles or worship to the Virgin Mary, or to images and relics of saints; the power of the Church to effect divorce; that prayer

should be offered nowhere but in churches; that the doctors are to be implicitly believed. They also asserted that true Christians receive the body of Christ daily; that priests should be allowed to marry; that the Pope and his ministers were murderers and the Pope himself the head of the kirk of Antichrist.

Sir D. Hunter Blair in a note which he has inserted in connection with Bellesheim's account of the articles of belief held by the Lollards of Kyle fastens upon the article:-

"That Christ at His coming abrogated the power of secular princes,"

and characterises this as the "article which lay at the very root of the Lollard and other heresies."⁴

This is precisely one of the articles which Knex takes leave to doubt was ever held by the Lollards. One can easily understand how the defenders of the old faith could give this article the turn which we find in Bellesheim and so justify Knox's complaint. The

⁴ Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church of Scotland, Hunter Blair's trans. II. p.112 note.

Lollards certainly were deeply concerned about the question of authority but raised it not in an anti-nomian sense but with regard to the nature and manner of authority taught and enforced by the Church of Rome, which, they felt, set aside the authority of the Scriptures and of conscience.

No doubt they were prepared to stand by their principle of the supremacy of the Word even against kings, for the Church of Rome ever relied on the secular arm to defend and enforce its authority even to the carrying out of the penalty of death in the case of "obstinate heretics." It therefore suited the kirkmen to give this article of Lollard belief such a turn as to suggest that those who held it were out to subvert all ordered authority and government. The Lollards did raise the question of the nature and seat of authority, but their quarrel was not primarily with kings but with the Church. This the defenders of the old order understood; and they also realised that this struck at the roots of all their pretensions and power and therefore was to be resisted by all means. Consequently

they sought to disguise it in such a way as to conceal its true cause and objective, and gave it a form such as to suggest that the Lollards were the enemies of all law and order and the Churehmen the only true patriots and guardians of the commonweal. It is of course to be recognised that Lollardy, being dissent, attracted many who might have little religious sympathy with it. Their main interests were political or social. Such interests might be kept in their true place when held in check by religion but might prove extreme and even dangerous if not made to subserve a religious ideal.

There is, however, one remarkable omission in the charges brought against the Lollards here. There is no mention of the Bible nor of Bible reading. Professor MacEwen, while admitting that this fact may be pressed too far, points out that it deserves to be noticed.¹ From the days of wyclif on, Lollard practice had always been to put the authority of the word over against that claimed by the Church.² For them the authority of the

¹ A.R.MacEwen, A History of the Church in Scotland, I. p. 385, note 4.

² Cf. Peacock, Repressor, I. Part I. ch.i. pp. 5,6 and 7.

Word was supreme. It was therefore essential that all should have access to it, that its authoritative guidance might be available for all. The Lollards, therefore, claimed the right to have the Bible translated into the vernacular that all who wished could read it.

It is certainly deserving of notice that there is no reference to this fundamental principle of Lollardy in this charge. It cannot be deduced from this silence that the Lollards of Kyle did not practise or inculcate Bible reading or were indifferent to the need of vernacular translations. On the contrary, we know that soon after this the Lollard New Testament in Scots was in use in Ayrshire.¹ But there was the mechanical difficulty in the way of producing books. Though Caxton was printing in England in 1477, it was not till 1508 that Andrew Myllar and Walter Chepman set up the first printing press in Scotland. The difficulty of multiplying books was therefore great

¹ This is to anticipate a subsequent chapter. The subject is treated at length in Part II chap. IV pp. 180f.

and when one remembers the large proportion of peasant folk who made up the Lollard following in Ayrshire, one need not be surprised to know that very many of them could not read at all. A reasonable case can therefore be made out along these two lines.

Appendix E.

Extract from Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. I. pages 8 to 10.

Thei (the Lollards of Kyle) war accused of the Articles following, as we have receaved thame furth of the Register of Glasgw.

I. First, That Images ar not to be had, nor yitt to be wirschepped.

II. That the Reliques of Sanctes are not to be wirschepped.

III. That Lawis and Ordinances of men vary frome tyme to tyme, and that by the Pape.

IV. That it is not lauchfull to feght, or to defend the fayth.

V. That Christ gave power to Petir onlie, and not to his successouris, to bynd and lowse within the Kyrk.

VI. That Christ ordeyned no Preastis to consecrat.

VII. That after the consecratioun in the Messe, thare remanes braid; and that thair is nott the naturall body of Christ.

VIII. That teythes aught not to be given to Ecclesiasticall men.

IX. That Christ at his cuming has tackin away power from Kingis to judge.

X. That everie faythfull man or woman is a preast.

XI. That the unctioun of Kingis ceased at the cuming of Christ.

XII. That the Pape is not the successour of Petir, but whare he said, "Go behynd me, Sathan."

XIII. That the Pape deceavis the people by his Bulles and his Indulgenses.

XIV. That the Messe profiteth not the soules that ar in purgatorye.

XV. That the Pape and the bischoppis deceave the people by thare pardonis.

XVI. That Indulgenses aught not to be granted to fecht against the Saracenes.

XVII. That the Pape exaltis him self against God, and abus God.

XVIII. That the Pape can nott remitt the panes of purgatorye.

XIX. That the blessingis of the Bischoppis ar of non valew.

XX. That the excommunicatioun of the Kirk is not to be feared.

XXI. That in to no case is it lauchfull to swear.

XXII. That Preastis mycht have wieffis, according to the constitutioun of the law.

XXIII. That trew Christians receive the body of Jesus Christ everie day.

XXIV. That after matrimonye be contracted, the Kyrk may mack no divorcement.

XXV. That excommunicatioun byndis nott.

XXVI. That the Pape forgevis not synnes, bot only God.

XXVII. That fayth should not be gevin to miracules.

XXVIII. That we should not pray to the glorious Virgyn Marie, butt to God only.

XXIX. That we ar na mair bound to pray in the Kirk then in other plaices.

XXX. That we ar nott bound to beleve all that the Doctouris of the Kyrk have writtin.

XXXI. That such as wirschep the Sacrament of the Kyrk committis idolatrie.

XXXII. That the Pape is the head of the Kyrk of Anti-christ.

XXXIII. That the Pape and his ministeris ar murtheraris.

XXXIV. That thei which ar called principallis in the Church, ar thevis and robbaris.

Calderwood, in his History of the Kirk of Scotland Vol. I. pages 50 and 51, reproduces the articles practically verbatim from Knox. He however transposes XI and XII and in VII he omits "and that thair is nott the naturall body of Christ."

VI.

The Lollards of Kyle.

(b). Their Later History.

The result of the trial of 1494 was a distinct victory for the new opinions and the Church authorities were not inclined to let the matter end there. In the Diocesan Registers of Glasgow, under date 9th. March 1503/4, We find the Archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Blackader, again on the track of heresy, for he held "copies of the attestations produced in the case of heresy against George Campbell of Sesnok and John Campbell in New Mylns and declared that he was ready to give the said copies to the said George and John or their procurators wishing to receive the same."¹

¹. Diocesan Registers of Glasgow, (Grampian Club), Vol. I. p. 298, No. 66. See also Vol. II. p. 50, No. 66 for Latin text.

Whether these were the statements of witnesses in connection with the old charge ten years before, or the grounds of a new one, is not quite clear from the entry. They can hardly have been the old charges still hanging over them, else why should the Campbells have been singled out and the others passed over?

On the other hand, it may have been that, after the trial of 1494, these two continued more active in the propagation of heretical opinions, so that to all intents and purposes this was a new charge.

Be that as it may, there is again no evidence that they either recanted or were condemned, and no other reference has been found to further trouble owing to their religious beliefs. They evidently took their place again in the life of their respective districts.

I. Campbell of Cesnock.

George Campbell of Cesnock was a man of considerable substance and influence in his day. Robertson found difficulty in tracing this family to its origin,¹ but, taking the Registers of Privy Seal and Great Seal and

¹ W. Robertson, *Ayrshire Families*, Vol. II. p. 223f.

the Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, it is possible to glean considerable information about this man and his family.

On 26th. February 1490/1 at Edinburgh, his name appears among those of the witnesses to a deed by Alexander Hammyltoun of Kyntwod (Birntwod), by which the lands of Sornbeg in Kile Stewart, in the lordship of Galstoun in Ayrshire were granted to William Schaw of Polkamet and Margaret Campbell his wife.¹

In 1504/5 he is found to be Sheriff-Depute of Ayr, as letters were directed to him in that capacity to distraint Thomas Somervale of Braxfeld for 500 merks to be paid to Jonet Kennedy, Lady Boithuil (Bothwell).² Before the end of April 1508 George Campbell was dead, for in the Register of Privy Seal of Scotland, there is the following entry:-

1508.

1563. At Strivelin. 29 Apr.

A Lettre made to George Campbele of Sexnok (Cesnok), dischargeand him of the hale releyf of his landis of Sexnok, with thair partinentis, quhilkis pertenis to

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1424-1513, No. 2315.

² Ibid. No. 2836.

the King be the deces of his fader, sa that he may
 intromett thairwith, and dispone thairapon as he think-
 is maste expedient,-dischargeing al schireffis and
 balzeis of thair offices in that parte...Per signaturam
 manu Regis subscriptam. X.S. Solut.

per acquittantiam in mense Novembris proximo sequentis.¹

His son and heir, therefore, was George Campbell²
 whose death is noted as having occurred some little
 while before 6th. February 1521/2, for under that
 date we find the King, as Steward of Scotland, confirm-
 ing a charter to John Campbell, son and heir of the
 late Geo. C. of Sexnok.³ This John Campbell was the
 grandson, therefore, of the Lollard laird.

The latter had another son, John, as is proved by
 an entry in the Register of Great Seal of date 8th.
 December 1507.⁴

In his Responsio ad Cochlaeum Alesius speaks of a
 John Campbell, Laird of Cesnock, who in the time of
 the King's father, James IV, set an example of house-

¹ Reg. Sec. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1488-1529, No. 1663.

² Dr. Hay Fleming, in "The Reformation in Scotland," p. 27
 says that John Campbell was the son and heir. Strangely
 enough he has overlooked R.S.S.R.S. 1488-1529, No. 1663.

³ Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1513-1546, No. 218.

⁴ Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1424-1513, No. 3158.

hold piety by reading the Word daily and earning the commendation of James IV for the practice.¹ As James fell at Flodden in 1513, the person referred to must have been a son of George, the Lollard laird, or perhaps the Lollard laird himself, as Dr. Hay Fleming suggests it might be if Alesius has made a mistake in calling him John.² Certainly if the one meant was the laird of Cesnock his Christian name must have been George not John, -for there was no laird of the name John from 1491 till 1521-and he must have been either the Lollard laird himself or his son and successor, George. If the Christian name as given by Alesius is correct, then he could scarcely be laird of Cesnock. Perhaps the title Dominus Sēsnoensis, which Alesius uses, is not to be taken to mean more than that he belonged to the chief family of the name. But whether George or John be correct, it is evident that Lollard principles found hearty support in the family of Campbell of Cesnock.

¹. See Appendix pp. 139. f.

². Dr. D. Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland*, (1910) pp. 29f. See passage here for discussion on basis of Davidson's remark that the Laird of Cesnock

"Professed Christ's Religion plaine:

Yea eightie yeares sensyne and mare" *Three Scottish Reformers* (1874) edited by Rev C. Rogers, pp. 105f.

II. Chalmers of Gadgirth.

Another family that played an important part, not only in the incident of 1494, but in the subsequent history of the reform movement is that of Chalmers of Gadgirth, (de Camera de Gadgirth).

According to Knox this family had two representatives among the Lollards of Kyle, viz. Helen Chalmour Lady Pokillie, and Marion Chalmours Lady Stairs.¹

It is no easy matter with the data available to fit the facts into a self-consistent account of this influential family that played no unworthy part in pre-Reformation as well as Reformation struggles. Sir John Chalmers, Dominus de Gaitgirth, was one of those called by the Crown to sit and vote in Parliament after the attendance of the lesser barons was dispensed with. He was clearly a man of standing and influence and is ranked officially between Dominus de Ker and Dominus de Balcomy.² He survived at least until the close of 1500.³ He was therefore alive in 1494 and

¹ Knox's Reformation, I. p.7, see also notes 4 and 5 on same page.

² Alexander Nisbet, Heraldry, II. Appendix p.20.

³ Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, Scotland, 1496-1501, pp. 446f.

there is no doubt his influence with the king had much to do with the result of the trial of 1494.

But what was his relationship to the Lollard ladies?

According to Nisbet, "John Chalmer of Galdgirth, the younger, in the year 1491 married Marion Hay, daughter to Peter Hay of Minzon."¹ By her "he had a son, James and three daughters, -Margaret, married to George Campbell of Cesnock; Helen to Robert Mure of Polkellie; and Martha, who was married to Sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, and Isabel, married to William Dalrymple of Stair."¹

This clearly cannot be correct. According to Nisbet's account neither of the ladies could have been old enough by 1494 to have played the part for which they are remembered. As a matter of fact Lady Polkellie's Christian name was Margaret not Helen, and her husband was William not Robert Mure.² By 1502 she was a widow with a daughter, Margaret, of marriageable age at that time.² This daughter, Margaret, married Robert Cunyngham of Cunynghamhead.² It is very probable that Nisbet confused

¹Alexander Nisbet, Heraldry II, Appendix p. 20. This account is followed in Knox's Reformation I. pp.7f, notes 4 and 5, also by James Paterson, History of Ayrshire, Kyle, Part I. p. 232.

⁺According to R.M.S.R.S.1424-1513, No. 2054, the wife of John Chalmers, the younger, was Mariote Hay, daughter of William Hay de Menzain.

²Reg. Sec. Sig. Reg. Sect. I. 1499-1500, No.267.

Margaret Chalmers, who on her marriage became Margaret Mure, with her daughter Margaret Mure and this would also lead to his giving her husband's Christian name as Robert.

In his appendix p.19, he gives what is a much more likely account. He speaks of "James, who gets sasine of the lands and barony of Gaitgirth, Culraith, and Chalmer-house....as heir to his father, Sir John Chalmers, upon a precept of the Chancery, dated the 1st. of October 1501." This would imply that James not John was the heir of Sir John. It is on record also that James "compeared for himself, his father and his brother, John, in an action raised against them by the King's advocate and George Montgumry of Skelmorlie, William Fergushill and Agnes Bruse, on 24th. November 1500.¹ He is elsewhere described as "son and appearand are to Schir Jhone of Chawmer etc.," on January 1498/9.² He evidently succeeded his father, as we find a George Chawmir, son and heir to James Chalmers of Gaitgirth

¹ Acts of Lords of Council in Civil Causes, Scotland 1496-1501, pp.446f.

² Ibid. p. 312.

signing as a witness a charter of date 24th October 1505.¹ Sir John Chalmers, then, had two sons, James, his heir and successor, and John. Besides these, he had two daughters, Margaret, who married William Mure of Polkellie, and Marion,² who married William Dalrymple of Stair.

It is worthy of note that James Chalmers, laird of Gadgirth at the Reformation, a great-grandson of Sir John's, signed the Band at Ayr in 1562.⁴ He was strongly attached to the Reformed religion and was a personal friend of John Knox who stayed with him at Gadgirth in 1556, in the course of his sojourn in Kyle when he preached and taught in several of the homes of the country gentlemen,"and in some of thame ministrat the Lordis Table."³

Another name on the Band is that of James Dalrymple of Stayre.⁴ He was a direct descendant of Marion Chalmers, Lady Stayre, and therefore also of Sir John of Gadgirth. Besides the two already mentioned, other

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1424-1513, No. 2892.

² In a personal letter from the Stair Estate, it is certain that the Earl of Stair holds that the name of his Lollard ancestress was Marion.

³ Knox's Reformation, I. p. 250.

⁴ Knox's Reformation, II. p. 349.

three who signed the Band were direct descendants of the Laird of Gadgirth. These were Sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, John Fullarton and Allan Cathcart of Carleton.

III. Andro Shaw of Polkemmate.

It has not been possible to discover anything about this man beyond what Knox tells us in his History. His name does not appear in protocol books nor in the Registers of Great Seal or Privy Seal. In 1494 the Laird of Polkemmate must have been William Schaw who with his wife, Margarete Campbell was granted the lands of Smowdane, Hirst and Dalloy in Kile-Stewart in 1491.¹ References are made to him in 1498,² again in 1501,³ and in 1509⁴ he seems to be still alive. Only one person is found bearing the name of Andrew. According to Nisbet "he was served and retoured heir, in special, to Wm. Shaw of Sornbeg and Polkemmet, his grandfather, in the five-pound land, of old extent, of Helington..." This was in 1547.⁵ On Nisbet's authority we find he survived

¹Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. (1424-1513), No. 2067.

²Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. (1424-1513), No. 2466.

³Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. (1424-1513), No. 2639

⁴Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. (1513-1546), No. 218.

⁵Nisbet, A System of Heraldry, (1816), II. p. 293.

until 1590, so that he could not have been the Andro Shaw of 1494. The latter must have been a near kinsman of William's, perhaps even a son, though not the heir. If he were a member of the House of Polkemmet that would be sufficient grounds for Knox describing as he did.

Andro Shaw of Bannockburn or Bannockburn, son of the
 second of the name of the first of 1494, was the
 first who bore the name of Shaw in the country
 of Scotland. His name was also written Shaw or Schaw
 in the records of the time.

VII.

The Lollards of Kyle

(b). Their Later History (continued).

IIII. Adam Reid The Lollard Spokesman.

Adam Reid of Barskimming or Sterquhite,¹ the spokesman of the Lollards at the trial of 1494, was one of many who bore the surname of Reid in the Ayrshire of that day. Chief among these was Martin Reid or Rede, who was appointed Chancellor of Glasgow Cathedral, Prebendary of Campsie and Canon of Glasgow, on 12th. June, 1505 on the death of Martin Wan.²

There is every probability that Adam and Martin were related³ and we find them associated in several legal

¹Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1546-80. No. 628. See also Paterson, History of Ayrshire, Vol.I. Kyle, Part II. p. 716.

²Dioc. Reg. Glas. Vol. II. p.120, No. 155, p.121, No.156.

³Dioc. Reg. Glas. Vol. I. p.360 note.

transactions, as when the Chancellor appoints Sir William Rede chaplain to serve and minister at the altar of St. Nicholas, founded by him in the Parish Church of Ayr,¹ or when Sir John Symontoun appoints Martin his procurator to resign in his name his perpetual chaplaincy of the Chapel Royal of Dundonald.²

From the numerous references to Adam Reid of Sterquhite, we discover that he was a man of some standing and influence in the West.

In September 1498³ and again in August 1499,³ the king, James IV, granted to him and his heirs for his good service the fortalice of Ardcardane and land at Glencardane in North Kintyre (1498), and at Glencarden, Auchinsauull, Ranydoch, Auchinbrek, Keironasche, Auchinreauch etc. near Arkerden in North Kintyre (1499), and in return he was to be ready to render defence and furnish a certain quota of armed men in the King's wars against the Islesmen.

¹Dioc. Reg. Glas. Vol.II. pp.156 and 157, No. 203.

²Dioc. Reg. Glas. Vol.II. pp.369 and 370, No. 476.

³Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1424-1513, Nos. 2454, 2500.

In 1511/12, on 23rd. January, we find "A Lettre maid to Adam Rede of Starquhite, his airis and assignais," of a gift of lands and their profits in Carrik and Kilestewart.¹ Adam Reid of Starquhite was also "wardatarius" of the lands of Camraggane and, according to an entry in the Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, gave full powers to Duncan Dalrimple of Lacht, evidently a neighbouring laird, whose lands were being wasted by the inhabitants of that district, to take such action as he thought fit, before any judge temporal or spiritual.²

We find him also coming to the help of William M'Carmyk to pay 'the sum of 10 merks money,' if he or his son Andrew, wittingly or unwittingly, should transgress against Thomas Davidsone of Grenan. This was on 29th. June 1519.³

His standing in the community is also shown by the fact that he was one of several, chosen mutually by the parties concerned, to act as arbiters in a dispute

¹Reg. Sec. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1488-1529. No. 2358.

²Protocol Bk. of Gavin Ros, No. 278.

³Protocol Bk. of Gavin Ros, No. 342.

between Mathew Crauford and John Reid in Rogertoun at Ayr on 17th. January 1519/20.¹ The matters in dispute must have been somewhat involved and difficult to adjust, for, when the arbiters met according to appointment at Ochiltree, a week later, they "continued their sentence until the feast of Carnispruium (Lent), next to come."²

Further evidence of the confidence with which he was regarded by his fellows as a just and fair-minded man comes to light in the fact that questions at issue between David Kennedy and William M'Ruttir, regarding the lands of Corrochba were referred to a Committee of fifteen, to be chosen by Adam Rede of Starquhyte, and this on the suggestion of Thomas Corry who acted for Kennedy and bound Kennedy to stand by and obey the decree and deliberation of the arbiters so chosen.³

There is rather an interesting entry in the Diocesan Registers of Glasgow of the year 1510. In that year, Martin Rede, the Chancellor, acting as procurator for Sir John Symontoun, who held the chaplaincy

¹. Protocol Bk., G. Ros, No. 367.

². Ibid. No. 369.

³ Ibid. No. 471.

of the Chapel Royal of St. Ninian's of Dundonald resigned for him this office into the hands of the King, James IV. The King, who was 'patron, donator and disposer thereof,' without delay, on 6th. November of the same year, in the royal palace, within the Abbey of Holyrood, appointed Mr. John Rede, brother of Adam, as Symontoun's successor, and subscribed the writ of appointment with his own hand. The witnesses who signed the writ were Alexander (Stewart) Archbishop of St. Andrews; James (Betoun) Archbishop of Glasgow; David (Arnot) Bishop of Candida Casa; Master Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews; Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow; Richard Bothwell, Canon of Glasgow; and Adam Rede of Sterquhite.¹ A week later John Rede presented his credentials at the Chapel of St. Ninian's, Dundonald, and took possession of his benefice.²

This is indeed strange company in which a Lollard **should** be found and naturally raises the question of the religious beliefs of this man, Adam Rede, though

¹Dioc. Reg. Glas. Vol. II. pp. 379 and 380, No. 492.

²Ibid. pp. 380 and 381. No. 493.

perhaps the fact of the close family relationship to the chief figure in the incident is sufficient reason for his being found associated with the Scottish prelates as a fellow-witness. But there is an earlier and a still stranger reference concerning him. It is to be found in the Register of Privy Seal of date 8th. February, 1506/7.

1506.

1425. At Edinburgh 8th. Feb.

A Respitt maid to Johne Kennedy of Blarequhan, knycht, Adam Rede of Starquhite and M. Uchtred Adunnale, to pas in thair pilgramage to Sanct Thomas of Canterbery in England, and Sanct Johne of Ameas in France etc. fra thair passing furth of this realm quhill thare returnyng agane in the samyn and xl dayis thairefter etc.

subscripta per Regem

XXXS.

III 99.¹

The Lollards, of course, claimed to be true sons of the

¹ Reg. Sec. Sig. Reg. Scot. I. 1488-1529, No. 1425.

Church. They sought her reformation from within and only the utter futility of all their endeavours and the disappointment of their hopes forced upon them as inevitable the break which finally took place in 1560. But however that possibility might have been envisaged by them as a final step, they were not faced with it yet. On the other hand, while there were many things they might accept, many things even in which they might unwillingly acquiesce, there would be a limit beyond which acceptance or acquiescence would take away all point from their criticism and protest. This, with good reason, can surely be taken as one.

It is frankly difficult to fit this incident into a Lollard history, especially in view of the second article in the charge brought against Reid and his friends in 1494, viz. "That the Reliques of Sanctes are not to be wirschepped," for the very purpose of a pilgrimage was to go to a shrine in order to worship the relics of the saint.⁴ Is it possible that Adam Rede, like so many of the immediate followers of Wyclif in England, after some years of fearless support of Lollard views, cooled off and finally lapsed and

⁴ Cf. Pecoock's Repressor, I. Book II. ch. 7, p. 175, also pp. 191-199, 221f, 223.

was reconciled with the Church of Rome? No mention has been found of such an occurrence but this note in the Register of Privy Seal may well be a reference to something connected with the penance associated with his reconciliation.

The question to be answered is, Can we be sure that this Adam Rede of Starquhite, whose career we have tried to trace by the help of these discontinuous references is the Adam Reid of Barskimming who figured in the famous trial of 1494?

There is really very little to help us directly. Apart from those references which raise the problem for us, there is no mention whatever of the subsequent religious beliefs of Reid. On consideration, that is not to be wondered at when it is recognised that the sources of our information have been limited to Registers of Great Seal and Privy Seal and the Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, in no sense histories or diaries. There is no presumption from the fact of their silence that therefore he did not lapse.

On the other hand, it is to be noted that in England, on Wyclif's death, his followers were subjected

to a bitter persecution, but no such happenings occurred in Scotland in the reign of James IV to serve as an explanation for a possible relapse; and that certainly raises a presumption against Reid's relapsing.

Is it possible that we have been following the history of a different man entirely? That there were many Reids in Ayrshire we have seen, and the probability of more than one having the same Christian name is very great. We do know of one such, at least. But all the references we have used as data, speak of Adam Reid of Starquhyte, which of course was Barskimming. Consequently we can say that we have been concerned at least with the history of Adam Reid and his successors in Barskimming. There is still another possibility to consider. Is there any evidence to show that the Adam Reid of 1494 died before 1508 and so could not have been the Adam Reid who was given respite in connection with his pilgrimage? In consideration of this last possibility the following points have to be

¹G. Ros, Protocol Bk., Nos. 725, 726, 727, in which is mentioned a certain Adam Reid elected to the parish clerkship of Machlyn. In No. 725 Adam Reid of Barskimming is mentioned as one who gave his vote in favour of Adam Reid, the parish clerk.

noted. There is no mention anywhere of the year of his birth, so that his age in 1494 is merely a matter of conjecture. At that date he could very well have been a young man. James IV himself at that time was but 21 years of age. In May 1522, we hear of an Adam Reid of Starquhyte arranging a dowry for his daughter, Egidia, on her marriage with James Campble.¹ This Adam must at least have been between 20 and 30 years of age in 1494, and could well have been the Lollard spokesman. Further, by 17th. May 1532 he was evidently dead, and that recently, as we find Barnard Red, son and heir of the late Adam Red of Starquhite, being granted "sasine of the nine merklands of Starquhite (alias Bar)skymmyn, with....mills of the same to the said Barnard as son and heir of Adam, according to the old infeftment. Done on the lands 17th. May 1532."² While still another entry narrates that "sasine also in terms of a brieve, was given to the said Barnard R. as son and heir of Adam R. of the lands of Ballachveteis of Lochbradanholm...inthe

¹G. Ros, Protocol Bk. No. 556.

²Ibid. No. 1313.

earldom of Carrik and the sheriffdom of Air...On the lands...May 1532."¹

These latter were the lands gifted in January 1511/12 to Adam Reid, as noted in the **Register** of Privy Seal.¹

From these data it seems very probable that the Adam Reid, whose fortunes have been traced in this disconnected fashion is one and the same person as the Lollard of Kyle, but it is not quite certain. What we certainly can conclude is that the Lollard tradition did not persist unbroken in the family of Reid of Barskimming. Yet there is one rather significant fact still to be noted. The son and heir of Barnard Rede was another Adam Rede,² who apparently succeeded to the estate some time before 1570,³ and his name appears among the list of signatures in the famous Band signed at Ayr in 1562, so that the House of Barskimming is found finally on the side of the Reformation.

¹ G. Ros, Protocol Bk., No. 1314. See also Reg. Sec. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1488-1529, No. 2358.

² Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1546-1580, No. 628.

³ Ibid. No. 1923.-in note, the name of Adam Reid of Barskymming appears second among the names of the Assize.

Other references to A. Reid of Starquhite are as follows, G. Ros, Protocol Bk., Nos. 203, 210, 276, 316, 548, 1097, 1182 merely a probable reference, 417, 459, 460, 469, 539, 550, 553, 556, 748, 1033, 1156. Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. 1424-1513, No. 3520. Dioc. Reg. Glas. II. Nos. 406, 648.

Part II.

Lollardy and Literature.

I. The "Makaris."

Mostly Anonymous. pp. 125 - 142.

II. William Dunbar, The Rhymer of Seotland.

pp. 143 - 161.

III. Sir David Lyndsay of The Mount.

Lyon King-at-Arms, Satirist, Reformer.

pp. 162 - 179.

Part II.

Lollardy and Literature.
(continued)

IV. The New Testament in Scots.

(a). Murdoch Nisbet and the Succession

in which he stood. pp. 180 - 188.
Appendix F. pp. 189 - 190.

V. The New Testament in Scots.

(b). The Copy Murdoch Nisbet took in Writ.
pp. 191 - 200.

VI. The New Testament in Scots.

(c). Its Light on Lollard Usage and Teaching.
pp. 201 - 209.

VII. The New Testament in Scots.

(c). Its Light on Lollard Usage and Teaching.
(continued). pp. 210 - 225.

VIII. The New Testament in Scots.

(c). Its Light on Lollard Usage and Teaching.
(continued). pp. 226 - 231.

I.

The "Makaris."

Mostly Anonymous.

Mere quotations, however they may serve to illustrate different points, cannot really do justice to the part played by literature in the history of Lollardy. The literature must be studied as a whole for it reflects the spirit of the age. It is itself in part created by it and in turn also modifies it.

Of the work of Lollard writers in Scotland there is practically nothing extant, nevertheless echoes of Lollard beliefs, Lollard teaching, Lollard criticism of the Church and of churchmen in their doctrine and practice are to be found in the popular works of the age, even in the writings of those who, when they refer to Lollardy or heresy, always do so in terms of condemnation. But alongside of their repudiation of it they

show undoubted traces of its influence and spirit. It was in the air, so to speak, and could not be escaped. Books certainly were few and the number who could read must necessarily have been small, but these references are to be found in popular ballads, interludes and satires which lived on the lips of the people and were thus handed on from one generation to another. Their influence was on this account the more subtle and pervasive because so often unsuspected. Many of these popular works are anonymous but that does not in the least take from their influence.

For example, in that whimsical production, "The Tale of Colkelbie Sow," a poem to which reference is made by William Dunbar,¹ and thought by some to date from before the middle of the XV. century,² we have references to churchmen not at all of a complimentary kind. But to get the full force of such references it is necessary to know the whole poem. The setting and atmosphere count for much.

¹Dunbar's Poems, (Scot. Text Soc.), No. XIV. p 83. L. 57; also No. LXIII. p 222. L. 66.

²Early Popular Poetry of Scotland, (Laing 1895), Vol. I. p 180. See also The Poems of William Dunbar edited by W. Mackay Mackenzie (1932), p 205. notes on No. 17.

Colkelbie....."had a simple blak sow

And he sald hir bet how

For pennis thre....."

One of the pennies was lost but was found by a man
 who bought a little pig with it. The pig was stolen
 by a harlot in order that she might make a feast.
 Then follows an enumeration of the different guests who
 accepted her invitation.

"..scho callit to hir cheir

On apostita freir

A peruerst pardonier

And practand palmailr

A wich and a webstare

A fond fule a fariar

A cairtar a cariar

A libbar and a lyar

.....

And mony uthir in that hour

Of all evill ordour

First wt. a fulisch flour

An ald monk a lechour

A drunken drecheur
 A dowble toungeit counsalour

.....

A lunatik a sismatyk

A heretyk a purspyk

A lumbard a lolard

Ane usurar a bard

Ane ypocreit in haly kirk

.....

And two lerit men thame by

Schir Ockir and Schir Symony."

truly a " cursit cumpany

And mensles mangery."

The writer of this poem was not without his religious beliefs, as the confession of faith with which he concludes the poem shows.² But the fact that he brought churchmen into "this cursit cumpany" and described them with words that are meaningless unless they have some substance of fact to suggest and justify them, is a clear

¹ Early Pop. Poetry of Scot. I. pp 186,187,188, LL 52-113.

² "God that ws bocht wt. his awin blissit blud
 Both yow and me to consarue he deden
 Throw meik mirreitis of his only sone Amen." Ibid p 211.
 LL. 906-908.

indication that, besides a spirit of unquestioning acceptance, there was also abroad a temper discerning and critical that created an atmosphere in which Lollardy and every other heresy could thrive. It is significant, too, he puts the "lolard" into this company, a fact that is more eloquent than any explicit judgment of him could be on the writer's part. He at least has no sympathy with these heretics.

In another anonymous production, "The Freiris of Berwik,"¹ we find churchmen again the subject of criticism and farcical satire. In the characters of the two White Jacobin Friars Allane and Robert, and the abbot, Freir Johine,—"an Blak Freir he wes of grit renown,"—they are held up in their weaknesses and boisterous fun to be laughed at by the ordinary man. Men thus exposed could not be revered by their fellows, nor the ceremonies here burlesqued² command the unquestioning respect of the worshippers. The deception practised by Freir Robert upon the "gudemen", Symone, and

¹ The question of the authorship really does not concern us here. It may have been by Dunbar, it may not. As it is a moot point the poem may well be considered here, for it is its contents, not its authorship with which the student of Lollardy is concerned. See Dunbar's Poems (Scot. Text Soc.), I. p. Lxxxiv., also T.F.Henderson, Scottish Vernacular Literature (1910), p. 278; and Poems of Wm. Dunbar, (Mackenzie), p. 231. notes No. 93.

² Poems of Wm. Dunbar (Scot. Text Soc.), II. p. 296, LL. 339-346.

camouflaged by appropriate religious rites, might be a cause of merriment to the hearers; yet one cannot help thinking that it must have reacted in a way to shake their faith in the sincerity of churchmen and in the validity of their claims. They are here taken behind the scenes, as it were, and made wise as to how the trick is done. An effect like this cannot be measured but it is none the less very real.

The ritual and practices of the Roman Church, again, are burlesqued in a somewhat different way in "The Laying of Lord Fergus's Gaist." The whole system of belief that turns on the idea that sacred symbols and formulae are potent as protection against the evils that lurk in the spirit-world, is held up to ridicule. Phrases from the Church Service are mixed up in an irreverent fashion with ludicrous and trivial charms.

"To coniare the littill gaist ye men haif
 Off ted tailis ten thraif
 And kast the grit haly watter
 Wt. pater noster, patter patter
 And ye man sitt in ane compass
 And cry, Harbert tuthless,

Drag thow, and thiss draw,
 And sitt thair quhill cok craw.
 The compass mon hallowit be
 With Aspergis me Domine;

.....

And quhen ye se the kittill gaist,
 Cumand to yow in all haist,
 Cry lowd Chryste eleisone,
 And speiris quhat law it leivis on?
 And gif it sayis on Godis ley,
 Than to the littill gaist ye say,
 Wt. braid benedicitie;
 Littill gaist, I coniure the,
 Wt. harie & larie,
 Bayt. fra God, & Sanct Marie,
 First wt. ane fischis mowth,
 And syne wt. ane rowlis towth,

Then eftir this coniuratioun,
 The littill gaist will fall in soun,

And thr. eftir doun ly,
Cryand mercy petously;"¹

The whole thing is grotesque and ridiculous in the extreme and, whether it was in the intention of the writer or no, is in effect much more deadly than any length of argument, however cogent it might be.

In the same spirit is "The Cursing of Sr. John Rowlis upon the Steilaris of his Fowlis." In this poem we have held up to ridicule the readiness of churchmen to call in all the terrors at their command to avenge wrongs more or less personal and paltry. Thus did they bring the Church's authority into disrepute by making commonplace what was a very terrible ecclesiastical weapon, a weapon that should have been used, if used at all, only in exceptional cases and against the most obstinate and perverse sinners. This was one of the great grievances felt by Wyclif and his followers against the churchmen.² But in his day folks had not begun to laugh at it. When, however, such

¹Early Pop. Poetry of Scotland, I. pp. 285-287, LL. 17-26; 45-56; 61-64.

²See Peacock's Represser, (Rolls Series), II. The Third Part p. 324.

things came to be an occasion to provoke mirth and amusement and could be laughed at, their power was on the wane. It was no great step then to pass to the criticism of the system of thought and belief of which they were a part, and when the whisperings of such criticism were heard they were listened to, answering as they did to questionings and possibilities with which all and sundry had been made familiar through just such popular poems as these.

Another tale in which light is thrown upon the Church and churchmen of the times is "The Thre Prestis of Poblis." This also is an anonymous work, not written to further heretical views of any kind although it is didactic all through, but the considered opinion of a faithful son of the Church. In the stories told in turn by each of the three priests, Johne, Master Archebald, and Schir Williame, there is a plea for the need and cultivation of a more practical and thoughtful morality than characterised life in Scotland

⁴ The Thre Prestis of Poblis, (Scot. Text Soc.), p. 55. LL. 1335-6.

towards the close of the XV. century. Indeed, if we are at liberty to read any motif into it, the consensus of its teaching would suggest the note struck in the story of John in which the passing of the good old days is bemoaned, not in one phase of life but in all. Kirkmen, lords and burgesses alike have fallen on evil times. Our interest is especially in the kirkmen. The king's complaint is that in the old days kirkmen were active and eager in good works and withal were men of prayer who by their prayers wrought wonders. But it is different now, and the king is anxious to know the reason of this and asks his clergy for their opinion. In due course this is given. The old way of choosing bishops has been changed. Formerly the "lawit folkes" gathered in the church and with fasting and prayer besought God to give them wit "be the halie Gaist." Now the king makes choice instead with the result that it has to be said,

"Thir Bishops cums in at the North window
 And not in at the dur nor yit at the yet,
 But ouer Waine and Quheil in wil he get.
 And he cummis not in at the dur

Geds pleuch may neuer hald the fur,
 He is na Hird to keip thay sely sheip,
 Necht bot ane Ted in ane Lambskin to creip."¹

.....

"Fer science, for vertew or for blude
 Gets nane the Kirk, bot baith for gold and gude.
 Thus, greit excellent King, the halie Gaist
 Out of your men of gude away is chaist;
 And, war not that doutles, I yow declair
 That now as than wald hail baith seik and sair.
 Sic wickednes this world is within
 That Symonie is countit now na sin;
 And thus is the caus, baith al and sum,
 Quhy blind men sicht, na heiring gets na dum;
 And thus is the caus, the suith to say,
 Quhy halines fra kirkmen is away."¹

It is an echo of the familiar story. Symeny was the curse of the Pre-Reformation Church, stifling all too effectively its spirituality and making it a creature to be exploited by the greed and ambition of unprincipled men. And the best and wisest within the Church

¹ The Thre Prestis of Peblis, (Scot. Text Soc.), pp. 26, 27. LL. 408-414; 419-430.

were sensible of this and sought its remedy.

Before concluding this section, it falls to consider two poets whose orthodoxy at any rate cannot be suspected, Walter Kennedy and Gavin Douglas.

Kennedy was born in Ayrshire probably somewhere about 1460, he therefore came from a district which was something of a storm centre in the religious history of Scotland. By the time of the Lollard trial in 1494, he had more than come to man's estate and could not have been ignorant of this movement which had a considerable following in his native county. Whatever his points of contact with the movement may have been, his loyalty to the ancient order remained unshaken. There is no taint of heresy in him, no note of criticism of Church or churchmen, but a deep concern for its future, threatened and assailed by heresy as it was.

"This world is sett for to dissaive us evin,

Pryde is the nett, and cuvatece is the trane;

For na reward, except the joy of hevyn,

Would I be yung in to this world agane.

The Schip of faith, tempestuous wind and rane

Dryvis in the see of Lollerdry that blaws;

My yowth is gane, and I am glaid and fane,
 Honour with aige to every vertew drawis."¹

This may not be very heroic, but at least it shows the serious extent to which the new opinions were making their way into men's minds. One gets an idea, also, of the light in which Lollards were regarded by the orthodox of that day when he turns to such a poem as "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie."

Although it is only a battle of words and therefore not meant to be taken too seriously, nevertheless, it is to be noted that when an opprobrious epithet is wanted "lollard" is among those chosen, for, when Kennedy wishes to heap execration upon Dunbar, he can think of nothing more effective than to call him,

"Judas, iow, iuglour, Lollard laureate;

Sarazene, symonite, provit Pagane pronunciate."²

While his final thrust is,

"Deulbere, thy spere of were, but feir, thou yelde,

Hangit, mangit, eddir-stangit, stryndie stultorum,

To me, maist hie Kenydie, et flee the felde,

Pickit, wickit, conwickit, lamp Lollardorum.

Defamyt, blamyt, schamyt, Primas Paganorum."³

¹ Poems of Dunbar collected by D. Laing, ed. 1834. Vol. II. p. 90. LL. 25-40.

² Poems of Dunbar, (Scot. Text Soc.), II. No ii. p. 28. LL. 524 and 525. ³ Ibid p. 29. LL. 545-549.

Dunbar was quite as orthodox as Kennedy; but so dangerous was it to criticise anything connected with the Church that if one ventured to do so he inevitably laid himself open to being suspected of heresy of the Lollard type.

Gavin Douglas was a younger contemporary of Kennedy having been born about 1474/5, so he, too, lived through those stirring days when Lollardy was something to be reckoned with. He was of noble blood, which placed him among the chief men of his day, and, as he held high position in the Church in Scotland, his interests and inclinations naturally lay with the maintaining of the old order. He played his part, too, in the intrigues of the day. He was a rival of Hepburn's for the see of St. Andrews on the death of Archbishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen who had been nominated to succeed Alexander Stewart, who, Archbishop though he was, fell with his royal father at Flodden in 1513. The Pope, however, intervened, and St. Andrews was given to Andrew Forman, while Gavin Douglas became Bishop of Dunkeld. Douglas is chiefly noted as a poet and in his poems has left unmistakable evidence of what

he thought of the churchmen of his day. In his chief work, his poetical translation of Vergil's *Æneid*, there was not much scope for throwing light on the conditions of the times, but in the prologues to the various books he does touch on these subjects. For example in the prologue of the Eighth Book, there is this brief but vivid picture:-

"The preist for parsonage,
The seruand eftir his wage,
The thrall to be of thrillage
Langis full sayr."¹

Again the incompetence of some of the clergy is hinted at thus,

"Clerkis for oncunnandness mysknawis ilk wycht."²

Continuing in the same prologue, he goes on:-

"Preistis suld be patereris and for the peple pray,
To be Papis of patrimone and prelatiis pretendis;
Ten tendis ar a trump, bot gif he tak ma
Ane kinrik ef paroch kyrkis cuppillit with commendis.

¹ Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, edited by John Small, (1874), Vol. III. Prologue of the Aucht Buik, p. 143.

² Ibid. p. 145. L.9.

Quhay ar wirkaris of this weir, quha walknaris of wa,
 Bot incompetabill clergy, that Cristyndome offendis?
 Quha revis, quha ar riotus, quha rakles bot tha?
 Quha quellis the puyr commonis bot kyrkmen, weil kend is?
 Thar is na stait of thar stile that standis content,
 Knycht, clerk nor common,
 Burges nor barroun
 All wald haue vp that is dovne
 Weltrit the went."¹

The most telling judgment he passes on churchmen is in a short poem entitled "Conscience," in which by playing with the word "conscience," he tells the story of the Church's fall from her former high estate. The device he employs is a very mechanical one, but the points he makes are fully borne out by history. We quote the whole poem.

"Quhen halie Kirk first flurist in youthheid,
 Prelatis wer chosin of all perfectioun;
 For Conscience than the brydill had to leid,
 And Conscience maid the hale electioun,
 Synne eftir that come schrewit correctioun,

¹Poems of G. Douglas, edited by Jn. Small (1874), Vol. III. Prologue of the Aucht Buik, pp. 145 f. LL. 27 f.

And thocht that Conscience had our large ane weid,
 And of his habite out cuttit thay ane skreid.

And fra Conscience the Con thay clip away,
 And maid of Conscience Science and na mair;
 Bot yit the Kirk stude weill, full mony day,
 For it wes rewlit be mene of wit and layre;
 Syn eftir that Sciens began to payr,
 And thocht at Sciens was our lang ane jaip,
 The Sci away fast can thay rub and sraip;

And fra Sci of Science wes adew,
 Than left thai nocht bot this sillab Ens,
 Quhilk in our language singnifies that schrew
 Riches and geir, that gart all grace go hens;
 For Sciens baith and faythfull Consciens
 Sa corruptit ar with this warldis gude,
 That falsot joukis in everie clerkis hude.

O hungrie Ens! cursit with cairis calde,
 All kynd of folk constreins thow to wirk;
 For the that thief Judas his Maister sald;
 For the Symon infectit Halie Kirk;
 To poysoun Justice thow dois nevir irk;

Thow fals Ens, go hens, thou monsture peralous,
God send Defens with Conscience in till ws."¹

Ne Lollard could condemn the spirit of worldliness in the Church more strongly than that. It is a sweeping judgment to pass on the religious to say there is not one sincere among them, too sweeping, one is glad to hope, to be true, but it does point to a state of things indicative of the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of the clergy on the eve of the Reformation, a state of things vouched for by one within the ranks of the clergy himself.

¹Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, edited by Jn. Small, (1874), Vol. I. pp. 121 and 122 but numbered 121. 124.

II.

William Dunbar, The Rhymer of Scotland.

William Dunbar, Churchman, Poet, Courtier, is another who indirectly helped to create the environment in which the spirit of Lollardy could flourish and thereby had his share, though undesignedly, in furthering the movement that led to the overthrow of the ancient Church in Scotland.

He belongs partly to the XV and partly to the XVI centuries, although neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is definitely known. It is known, however, that a William Dunbar was a Determinant or Bachelor of Arts of St. Andrews in 1477 and a Master of Arts in 1479, and it may be accepted as very probable that this is our poet.¹ The date of his birth

¹ E.J.G.Mackay is quite sure it is the poet, see *Poems of William Dunbar*, (Scot. Text Soc.), Vol. I. Intro. p. xxii, so also T.F.Henderson in *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p.145. Dr. W.M.Mackenzie concludes the circumstantial evidence leads to a result "rather too neat to be explained as a coincidence," see his edition (1932) of *Poems of William Dunbar*, Intro. p. xx. See also Art. "William Dunbar" in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1929).

is reckoned, accordingly, to be somewhere about 1460.¹ The last appearance of his name in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer appears to be under May 14th. 1513. That Dunbar survived by some years this date is quite certain if, as is most likely, the poem "Quhen the Gouvernour past in France"² is his, for the Duke of Albany, the Governor of Scotland during the minority of James V, returned to France in 1517. Sheriff Mackay suggests that, since Dunbar's name appears in Lyndsay's list of deceased poets³ before that of Gawin Douglas who died in 1522, he must have died before that date. His death, therefore, would take place sometime between 1517 and 1522. It is not necessary, however, to fix the date more definitely. This is near enough for our present purpose. It is certain Dunbar must have been a man in the enjoyment of his powers at the time of the trial of the Lollards of Kyle in 1494. The Scotland of his day was a small country so that he could not but have been conversant with these

¹See The Poems of Wm. Dunbar, (Mackenzie), Intro. p. xix.

²Poems, Scot. Text Soc. II. No. LXX. pp. 235f.

³Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, (D. Laing 1879), II. p. 62.

happenings, churchman as he was, while as Court Poet he had special opportunities for putting his hand on the pulse of the times. Indeed there is good reason to believe that he was closely associated about this very date with one of the chief actors in the Lollard incident, viz. Archbishop Blackadder, at whose instance the Lollards of Kyle were tried. It is pretty well assured - at any rate as assured as circumstantial evidence can make it - that he accompanied Blackadder to France in 1491¹ in the embassy sent to renew the "Auld Alliance," and perhaps to Spain in 1495 in quest of a bride for James V, and most certainly to England in 1501. He therefore could not have been ignorant of the danger that was threatening the Church in Scotland.

As a poet, too, he found his interests in all human concerns and experiences. Though only some ninety poems, definitely believed to be his, have been preserved, the variety of their themes shows the catholicity of his interests. In these he proves himself

¹ Poems (Scot. Text Soc.), II. No. II p. 26, L.449, lends support to the suggestion.

a keen and critical observer of men and affairs, yet there is an evident sincerity and truthfulness in the pictures he gives us. He holds up the mirror to his times.

a. The Orthodox Churchman.

It is to be noted that all through his life Dunbar remained a staunch and loyal son of the Church. He seems to have entered the Observantine Branch of the Franciscans,¹ becoming in due course a preaching friar travelling in England and France² as well as in Scotland.³ He evidently ceased to be a friar though still remaining in holy orders,⁴ a practice not unknown but highly disapproved by the friars. From this time on he appears as Court Poet, "the Rhymer of Scotland," in the enjoyment of a modest pension from the royal purse, at first £10 in 1500 for life or until he received a benefice of £40 a year or more,⁵ but increased finally, in 1510, to £80 a year payable at Martinmas and Whitsunday, until he be promoted to a benefice of £100 or more.⁶

¹ Even this is by no means certain as Dr. Mackenzie points out in his edition of Dunbar's Poems Intro. p. xx.
² Poems, (Scot Text Soc.), Vol. II. No. XXX. p. 132, LL.36-40.
³ Ibid. II. No. II. p.25. LL. 425-426.
⁴ Ibid. II. No. XXX. p.132, LL. 41 & 42.
⁵ Reg. Sec. Sig. Scot. Vol.I. No. 563. ⁶ Ibid. No. 2119.

It is true Kennedy in the "Flyting" calls Dunbar
"Lollard laureate"¹ and

"Pickit, wickit, conwickit, lamp Lollardorum,"²

but these epithets need not be taken for anything more than terms of abuse. They are Kennedy's answer to Dunbar's calling of him "herretyk,"³ and Kennedy, no less than Dunbar, was a staunch supporter of the Church. From numerous references throughout his poems, it is clear that Dunbar conformed to the practices and beliefs of the Roman Church. He went to mass.⁴ He not only believed in prayers for the dead, but asked them on behalf of Lord Bernard Stewart, on the death of the latter.⁵ In one of his many appeals to the king to gratify his desire for a benefice, he shows his belief in the efficacy of prayers to the saints.⁶ His attitude to the Virgin Mary is the usual one of veneration characteristic of Roman Catholics, as when he appeals to her for protection, "Defend me Jhesu, and his moder Marie!"⁷ In "Ane Ballat of our Lady" he manifests at greater length the same orthodox spirit of adoration. In this

¹ Poems, (Scot Text Soc.), Vol. II. No. II. p. 28, L. 524.

² Ibid. Vol. II. No. II. p. 29, L. 548.

³ Ibid. Vol. II. No. II. p. 19, L. 247. ⁴ Ibid. No. LXXVIII. p. 264, LL. 6f. ⁵ Ibid. No. VIII. p. 64, LL. 25-32. ⁶ Ibid. No. LXII. p. 219, LL. 29-32. ⁷ Ibid. No. LXXXI, p. 257, L. 15, see also No. LX. p. 212, L. 6 and No. LXXXV. p. 270, LL. 47 & 48.

last poem also he shows his belief in the virtue of the sign of the cross to ward off evil,

"All thing maling we dovne thring,
Be sicht of his signakle."¹

In the "Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis," he finds a subject congenial to his grimmer moods and succeeds in handling this traditional theme in an impressive way, despite the fact that he accepts without question or criticism those ideas with which the Church had for long familiarised her people.

"! Lat se, ' quod he, 'Now quha begynnis;'
With that the fowll Sevin Deidly Synnis
Begowth to leip at anis."²

So the grim pageant begins, and Pryd, Yre, Invy, Auarice, Sueirness, Lichery, Gluttony, each in turn appears in fitting character.

Dunbar accepted also the Church's teaching about Confession and inculcated it as a duty, to be neglected or done carelessly only at one's peril.³ Closely connected with Confession is her teaching regarding

¹Poems, (Scot. Text Soc.), II. No. LXXXV. p.269, LL.17 & 18.

²Ibid. II. No. XXVI. p.117, LL. 13-15.

³Ibid. II. No. XC. p.280, LL. 8-14.

Penance and this also Dunbar accepted in the approved orthodox manner and in "Ane Ballat of the Passioun of Christ,"² shows the importance of the place assigned to it in the discipline of repentance by the Church. In one of his longer poems, "I cry The Mercy and Lasar to Repent," generally reckoned to belong to the closing period of his life, he gives what is practically a confession of his sins and of his faith, making mention of the sacraments and the cardinal doctrines of the Church and acknowledging his acceptance of her authority.

"I trow in to the blissit Spreit,
And in the Kirk, to do as it commandis."³

Then he goes on to enumerate the commands of the Kirk.

("The seuin commandis of the Kirk, that is to say,
Thy teind to pay, and cursing to eschew,
To keipe the festuall and the fasting day,
The mess on Sunday, the parroche kirk persew,
To proper curat to mak confessioun trew,
Anis in the yeir to tak the sacrament;")⁴

Nothing could be better as an expression of loyal

¹ Poems, (Scot. Text Soc.), Vol.II. No.X. p.72, L.17; also No.LXXX. p.236, LL.33-36.

² Poems, Vol.II. No. LXXII. pp.239f.

³ Ibid. No.IX. p.67, LL.65 & 66. ⁴Ibid. p.68, LL.81-86.

orthodoxy than this.

In concluding the discussion of Dunbar, the orthodox churchman, reference must be made to what are generally reckoned to be the latest poems he wrote. These, dating from the closing years of his life, are practically all religious in their themes, dealing with Festivals of the Church. There are four Christmas hymns, one of which certainly came from his pen;¹ a hymn for Lent;² one for Ash Wednesday;³ one for our Lord's Passion;⁴ two Easter hymns⁵ and one in honour of the Virgin.⁶

It is abundantly clear that nowhere has Dunbar any quarrel with the Church's doctrine. He was obedient to her authority and careful with respect to her services and claims. These he not only accepted without question for himself, but inculcated upon his readers. He was a true and faithful son of the Church.

b. The Critic.

There is, however, another and very significant side to all this. In many of his allusions and

¹ Poems, (Scot. Text Soc.), II. No.X. pp. 72 & 73.
² Ibid. No.XC. pp.280-282. ³ Ibid. No.XI. pp.74 & 75.
⁴ Ibid. No.LXXII. pp.239-243. ⁵ Ibid. No.XXXVII. pp.154f. and No.XXXVIII. pp. 156 & 157.
⁶ Ibid. No.LXXXV. pp.269-271 & No.LXXXVI. pp.272 & 273, see also Poems, (Scot. Text Soc.), Vol.I. Intro. p. cxxxviii.

comments there is clear-eyed and fearless criticism, but it is criticism of conduct not of creed.

He is particularly indignant at the way in which benefices are bestowed and has a great deal to say by way of exposing this persistent abuse,

"Vertow the court hes done dispyiss,
 Ane rebald to renoun dois ryiss,
 And cairlis of nobillis hes the cure,
 And bumbardis brukis the benifyiss:"¹

or again,

"Sum givis parrochynnys full wyd,
 Kirkis of Sanct Barnard and Sanct Bryd,
 To teiche, to rewill and to ouirsie,
 That he na wit hes thame to gyd:
 In geving sowld discretioun be."²

This system resulted in many anomalies and abuses which could not escape the notice of so keen and critical an observer as Dunbar; and he was not afraid to tell what he saw. One of the most shameful consequences was the

¹ Poems, (S.T.S.), II. No. XXI. p. 101, LL. 21-24.

² Ibid. No. XVI. p. 89, LL. 56-60.

system of pluralities that had sprung up.

"I knaw nocht how the kirk is gydit,
 Bet beneficis ar nocht leill devydit;
 Sum men hes sewin, and I nocht ane;
 Quhilk to consider is a pane."¹

This was a very sore point with the poet, especially as his expectations had been so often disappointed; and he returns to it time and again.

"Than com anon ane callit Schir Johne Kirkpakar,
 Off many cures ane michtie vndertaker,
 Quod he, 'I am possest in kirkis sevin,
 And yitt I think thai grow till ellevin,
 Or he be seruit in ane, yone ballet-maker.'²

It is in this bitterness of spirit he comes to the conclusion, "Quha na thing hes, can na thing gett." Were the holders of benefices always men above reproach, qualified by character and learning for such responsibility, the point of Dunbar's complaint would have been somewhat blunted, but the fact was the character and attainments of many were very far from worthy; nevertheless,

¹Poems, (S.T.S.), II. No. LXVI. p.227, LL.45-48.

²Ibid. No. LXXXI. p.260, LL.86-90.

"....sum, vnworthy to browk ane stall,
 Wald clym to be ane cardinall,
 Ane bischoprick may nocht him gane;"¹

Yet it would be a mistake to think that these are merely the self-pitying petulances of a man disillusioned and disappointed, who, himself passed by, grudges the gifts he covets but is denied, to those more fortunate than he is. It is not something great he seeks. Little would satisfy him. The covetousness he rebukes in others² he would himself avoid.

"Vnworthie I, amang the laif,
 Ane kirk dois craif, and nane can haif;
 Sum with ane thraif playis passage plane;
 Quhilk to consider is ane pane.

Greit abbais grayth I nill to gather,
 Bot ane kirk scant coverit with hadder;
 For I of lytill wald be fane;"³

His disappointment only serves to sharpen his observation, and he has good grounds for his complaint when

¹Poems, (S.T.S.), No.LXVI. p.228, LL.49-52, see also p.227, LL.41-44; & No. XXII. p.106, LL.66-69
²Ibid. No. XXVI. p.119, LL.55-65.
³Ibid. No. LXVI. p.228, LL.53-56 & 85-87.

he thinks on some of those who have received promotion while he has been passed over. One of the most notorious cases was that of John Damian, the "French leich," who, by his glib tongue and arrogant assurance, gained the favour of the king. James IV, for the latter was always attracted by anything novel or new. Damian was an adventurer who apparently had come from Italy, through France, and claimed to be able to change base metal into gold. He also attempted by means of feathers to fly from Stirling Castle to France with consequences rather ludicrous if painful to himself. Yet he is one of the favorites whose rapid rise called forth the invective of Dunbar,

"Vnto no mess pressit this prelat,
 For sound of sacring bell nor skellat;
 As blaksmyth bruikit was his pallatt,
 Ffor battering at the study.
 Thocht he come hame a new maid channoun,
 He had dispensit with matynnis channoun,
 On him come nowthir stole nor fannoun,
 Ffor smowking of the smydy."⁶

⁶Poems, (S.T.S.), II. No. XXXIII. pp.140 & 141, LL.49-56.

Nor was he the sole example. Ecclesiastical preferment became the prize sought by ambitious schemers who looked on the Church as offering a career for them and wasted no thought on their spiritual qualifications or responsibilities. As a consequence, piety became a matter of routine and ritual,

"Sum at the mes levis all devotioun,
And besey labouris for promotioun,"¹

This worldly spirit, so prevalent among churchmen, Dunbar felt was a shameful reproach in the Church life of that day.

"Sum causless clekis till him ane cowll,
Ane gryt convent fra syne to tyss;
And he him-self exampill of vyss:
Enterand for geir, and no devotioun,
The dewell is glaid of his promotioun;
Sum ramys ane rokkat fra the roy,
And dois ane dastart destroy;
And sum that gaittis ane personage,
Thinkis it a present for a page;
My lord quhill that he callit be."²

¹. Poems, (S.T.S.), II. No. LVII. p.206, LL.17 & 18.

². Ibid. No. LX. p.213, LL.28-38.

The methods of intrigue resorted to by many destroyed the last shred of spirituality they possessed and brought, as an inevitable result, moral bankruptcy. No wonder Dunbar's lash descends in fierce satire on the religious of his day.

"Sic pryde with prellattis, so few till preiche and pray;
 Sic hant of harlettis with thame bayth nicht and day,
 That sowld half ay thair God afoir thair ene;
 So nyce array, so strange to thair abbay,
 Within this land was nevir hard nor sene.
 So mony preistis cled vp in secular weid,
 With blasing breistis casting thair clathis on breid,
 It is no neid to tell of quhome I mone;
 So quhene the Psalme and Testament to reid
 Within this land was nevir hard nor sene."¹

In the same strain is the picture he gives of the general condition of things in "Tidings from the Session,"

"Religious men of diuers placis
 Cumis thair to wow and se fair faces;
 Baith Carmelites and Cordilleris
 Cumis thair to genner and get ma freiris,

¹ Poems, (S.T.S.), II. No.XIV. p.81. LL.6-15.

And ar vnmyndfull of thair professioun;
 The yungar at the eldar leiris;
 Sic tydingis hard I at the Sessioun."¹

One can hardly conceive a state of things more tragic and deplorable. Many churchmen, so far from shepherding their people and helping them by their influence and example, have evidently no thought for them at all. Their whole concern is for themselves and the gratification of their own selfish desires and passions.² Nor can this selfish indifference be accidental or rare, for he touches on it more than once.

"The clerkis takis beneficis with brawlis,
 Sum of Sanct Petir, and sum of Sanct Pawlis;
 Tak he the rentis, no cair hes he,
 Suppois the diuill tak all thair sawlis:"³

By the note he sounds he means to rouse the people to appreciate the true significance of the situation, for all through Dunbar is preacher as well as poet, and never loses an opportunity of applying the lesson of his text.

¹Poems, (S.T.S.), II. No.XIII. p.79, LL.43-49, see also No.LXVI. p.227, LL.41-44.

²Ibid. No.LVIII. p.209, LL.21-25.

³Ibid. No.XVII. p.90, LL.6-10.

Perhaps his most daring stroke is in his Dream of the Appearance of St Francis, inviting him to become a friar.

"This nycht befoir the dawing cleir,
 Me thoct Sanct Francis did to me appeir,
 With ane religiouss abbeit in his hand,
 And said, 'In thiss go cleith the my serwand;
 Refuss the warld, for thow mon be a freir."¹

After arguing with the saint for a time, the poet at last makes the discovery that,

"This freir that did Sanct Francis thair appeir,
 Ane fieind he wes in likeness of ane freir;"²

The poem is really a trenchant satire upon the order of Friars, which, however lofty and worthy had been the motive and aim inspiring the movement at the first, had sadly degenerated till it became one of the greatest reproaches of the Church that such a system should be perpetuated, belying as it did its foundation principles, professing poverty yet accumulating possessions, and

¹. Poems, (S.T.S.), II. No.XXX. p.131, LL.1-5.

².Ibid. p. 133, LL.46 & 47.

subverting the discipline of the Church by being out-with episcopal control. Dunbar had intimate personal knowledge of the ways and wiles of the friars and knew too well in what light they were regarded. He would not spare them.

"In haly legendis haif I allevin,
 Ma sanctis of bischoppis, nor freiris, be sic sevin;
 Off full few freiris that hes bene sanctis I reid;
 Quhairfoir ga bring to me ane bischopis weid,
 Gife evir thow wald my saule gaid vnto Hevin."²

In all this the doctrines and authority of the Church remain unquestioned. The poet was concerned solely with the actions and character of churchmen as individuals.

In the "Twa Cummeris" and "The Dregy", however, we have the nearest approach to an attack by Dunbar on the Church. In both of these works he parodies the Church services.

In the former, two women converse in the coarse manner not uncommon at that period and openly chafe at the

¹ Poems, (S.T.C.), II. No. XXX. pp.132 & 133, LL.41-45.
² Ibid. P.132, LL.21-25.

fast enjoined by the Church during Lent because it interfered with their comfort and self-indulgence.¹

In "The Dregey", he goes further and parodies part of the Funeral Service in a way that is offensive to modern ears.² But we may be tempted to draw conclusions more sweeping than the facts, in light of the spirit of that age, warrant. Such "irreverence" was an expression of the boisterous, youthfullike spirit of those times, which found delight and diversion in such rough and crude pleasantries as the Abbot of Unreason although the Church for long frowned on such proceedings before they were finally suppressed.³ That such things were possible at all is strange to us, but the Church allowed a great deal of latitude and even criticism of a kind so long as her authority and claims were unquestioned. To question these latter was heresy,- the one unpardonable sin. No word of such criticism ever falls from Dunbar. He lived and died an orthodox churchman. Abuses he saw and would

¹ Poems, (S.T.S.), II. No.XL. pp. 160 & 161.

² Ibid. No. XXV. pp. 112- 116.

³ See Statutes of the Scottish Church, (S.T.S.), (108), p. 56. Compare also Bishop Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, (1910), p. 145.

have had reformed but such reformation was quite compatible with submissive acceptance of the Church's authority and doctrines. The one thing he did was to turn men's eyes questioningly upon churchmen. In an age when a new spirit of enquiry was abroad it was but a step, inevitable and imminent, to pass from the criticism of churchmen to that of the Church's claims and creed. This step Dunbar helped to make easy. To that extent he had his part in creating the atmosphere in which criticism of the whole Church system was inevitable. That, rather than any constructive criticism or definitely heretical teaching, is Dunbar's contribution.

III.

Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount.

Lyon King-at-Arms, Satirist, Reformer.

One cannot deal with this period of Scottish history without making more than a passing reference to Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, for of all the writers who had a share in helping on the cause of Reformation in Scotland, chief place is, by common consent, awarded to him. Knox in his History speaks of the support given by Lyndsay to the Regent Arran,¹ Row, in referring to the "more particulare means whereby many in Scotland get some knowledge of God's trueth, in the time of great darkness,"² mentions some books such as these of Sir David Lyndsay. But to Sir

¹ Works of John Knox, (Laing's ed.), I. p. 106.

² Row, Histerie of the Kirk of Seotland, (Wodrow Sec.), p. 6.

Walter Scott we are indebted for the most familiar reference of all in which he speaks of Lyndsay's

".....satiric rage,
Which, bursting on the early stage,
Branded the vices of the age,
And broke the keys of Rome."¹

It is our purpose to consider Lyndsay's relation to the Lollard movement.

The date of his birth is somewhat uncertain. It must be somewhere in the last decade of the XV century. 1490 is often suggested as the probable year. It is thought he went to St. Andrews University, for the name, 'Da.Lindesay,' appears in the roll of incorporated students of St. Salvator's College for 1508-9 above that of 'Da.Bethune',² who was afterwards Cardinal and one of the great protagonists in his day of the old order. The date of his death, likewise, is not known. He certainly did not live to see the overthrow of the ancient Church in 1560 and he apparently

¹Scott's Marmion, Canto IV, sect. vii. LL. 8-10.

²T.F.Henderson, Scottish Vernacular Literature (1910), p. 202, see also note 1 on same page.

was alive in 1552¹; accordingly 1555 is a date favoured for his death. Lyndsay's life was therefore spent almost equally in the Lollard period and in the period of the Reformation movement proper. His first poem, "The Dreame," appeared in 1528 so that all his literary labours belong to the Reformation period. Over against that it is to be recognised that his roots were in the Lollard age. The formative influences, which must have left their mark on his life and thought, were operative in the earlier period. This can also be said of Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart and John Knox; but there is this notable difference, notwithstanding the part that has justly been assigned to him as a pioneer of the Reformation, Lyndsay never really was part of the Reformation movement proper. He was associated with the reformers. He was among those who invited Knox to preach in the Castle of St. Andrews in 1547. Knox and Row both acknowledged his influence, but we never hear of his having broken with the ancient

¹ Poems, III. p.179 for date 1552; see also Vol.I. Memoir pp. xliv-xlv.

Church. There is no evidence that he died other than within her fold. On three fundamental Reformation principles he is strangely silent. In all his comments, criticism and references to the Church, he has practically nothing to say regarding justification by faith, the priesthood of believers or a doctrine of the sacraments. It is arguable, of course, that it was not his business to furnish a creed for a Reformation. He was no theologian. He was a courtier, poet, man of the world. His interest was not dogmas but men and women. Yet, in so far as it is so, he belongs to the pre-Reformation side of the movement. His outlook is more Lollard than Lutheran or Reformed. One reason for this may simply be the fact that, unlike Dunbar, Lyndsay was not a churchman. He was, nevertheless, a man of shrewd and critical eye, a keen observer of men and manners, a man of genuine religious sympathy and undoubted courage. As a layman, he was able to look at the Church in a more detached and disinterested fashion. His position of intimacy and frequent responsibility at Court gave him an undoubted opportunity of making his observations over as wide a field as possible. His poems furnish

us with an admirable mirror of the times. They are pictures of the life and manners of his day. So persistent is the criticism of the Church and churchmen in his poems that there is no alternative but to conclude that the poet is very deliberately directing the popular mind to the abuses he records and is uttering his own judgment upon them even although he is constrained to say,

"Sirs, thocht wee speik in generall,

Let na man, into speciall,

Tak our wordis at the warst:

Quhat ever wee do, quhat ever wee say,

I pray yow tak it all in play,

And judge ay to the best:"¹

Nevertheless there is a deep and serious purpose behind the play. He deals with actual abuses and he illustrates them to the life. In his first work, the "Dreme", He shows us churchmen suffering punishment because of their covetousness, lust and ambition.² The picture he draws is indeed a dark one. The covetousness and greed

¹ Poems, II. Ane Satyre etc. p. 80, LL 1506-1511.

² Poems, I, The Dreme p. 8,

of the clergy had become one of the most shameful scandals of the Church. Many of the churchmen seemed to have no thought of their pastoral responsibility or duty but with a greediness that would have shamed an ordinary man they outraged all sense of decency, claiming their legal rights to the last penny. Fungently he exposes the whole iniquity of mortuary dues which were matters of sore vexation especially to the poor.¹ This selfish, mercenary-mindedness of the clergy he further holds up to scorn by his references to the offices of the Church being sold for money and withheld until the price be forthcoming.² They are not even faithful stewards of the Church's patrimony, but endeavour to draw everything to themselves.³ With delightful irony he pictures the churchmen hurrying from Rome laden with benefices and evading the law of the Church by her own dispensations.⁴

But Lyndsay does not stop at criticism of her ministers, he turns his scrutiny upon the Church herself,

¹ Poems. II, pp. 102, 103, LL. 1976-2005.

² Ibid. II, p. 139, LL. 2747-2752 see Vol. III. p. 111, LL. 4684-4689.

² Ibid. II, p. 103, LL. 2007-2009, see also III. p. 111. LL. 4704-4733.

³ Ibid, I. p. 9, LL. 197-224. ⁴ Ibid. II. p. 144, LL. 2861/74.

and upon such beliefs and practices, sanctioned by her, as he felt were productive of injury to the commonweal. One of the principles of the Church's polity was the celibacy of the clergy. That the practical consequences of the adoption of this principle were such as to be deplored, the statutes of the Church, and the confessions of churchmen themselves amply testify.¹ Lyndsay is fully alive to this state of things and with a kind of merciless gusto exposes it with biting satire, sparing none, however high their birth or exalted their rank in Church or state.

"Paipis, patriarks, or prelats venerabill,
Common pepill, and princes temporall,
Ar subject all to me Dame Sensuall:"

It is a sweeping indictment. But Lyndsay is conscious that the moral life of the times is rotten, indeed is worst where should be found the example and encouragement of all the virtues,

"First, at the Romane Kirk will ye begin,

¹ See Introd. pp. xxxvii. f

Quhilk is the lemand lamp of lechery:"

That such could be said even in a play is a sad reflection upon the state of morality at the time. With Lyndsay it was no passing thought but a fixed conviction born of wide knowledge. So strongly does he feel about it that he leaves nothing unsaid or undone to bring it home to the conscience of his day. The means employed may be, according to the canons of our day, coarse and crude, but they certainly were extraordinarily effective for the times.

Another practice enjoined by the Church was auricular confession. By means of it the priest gained a great influence over the faithful; and in Lyndsay's day, it was one of the most powerful weapons in the Church's armoury. Statutes had been enacted for the guidance of priests in the confessional.¹ That this had been found necessary is an indication that abuses had occurred. In *Kitteis Confessioun*, Lyndsay pours ridicule upon the practice. The utter futility of it,

¹ References are to be found generously sprinkled throughout his works but especially in *Ane Satyre*. e.g.

II. p. 32, LL. 507-513; pp. 65, 66, LL. 1200, 1207

² II. pp. 67, 68, LL. 1246-1255, 1256.

Statutes of Scot. Church. pp. 33f.

is piquantly shown then, finally dropping burlesque, the poem concludes with sentiments that may well be considered the poet's own.

"Freiris sweiris, be thair professioun,
 Nane can be sair, but this Conressioun,
 And garris all men understand,
 That it is Goddis awin command;
 Yit it is nocht but mennis drame,
 The pepill to confound and sehame.
 It is nocht ellis but mennis law,
 Maid mennis mindis for to knaw,
 Quharethrow thay syle thame as thay will,
 And makis thair law conforme tharetill;
 Sittand in mennis conscience,
 Abone Goddis magnificence;
 And dois the pepill teche and tyste
 To serve the Pape the Antechriste."

No Lollard could have spoken more pointedly or convincingly than this, while the sentiments he goes on

¹ Poems, I. p. 137. LL. 95-108.

to express are quite in the line of Reformation teaching.

A kindred matter that Lyndsay did not spare was the sale of indulgences and relics. In the Interlude of the Puir Man and the Pardoner he introduces him in a way that could not fail to impress his audience with the shameless assurance and effrontery of this exploiter of human credulity and gain their interest and sympathy at once. Then he shows the pardoner commending his wares,¹ but in a way that lets men see the roguery of the business. Then he goes on to recite the various relics he carries. And what relics!² Burlesque could hardly go further. And the inference which could not fail to be drawn is that all other relics are no whit better. The worshipping of saints and images, and the making of pilgrimages for that purpose he likewise does not spare.³

Most trenchantly does he criticise the Church's attitude to the Scriptures and to Scripture reading. There

¹ Poems , II. p. 106, LL. 2049-2083.

² Ibid. II. p. 107, LL. 2084-2107.

³ Ibid. I. p. 136, LL. 71, 72, 79, 80.

is something unanswerable in the picture he gives us of churchmen with the Bible bound on their back on the day of their consecration to office, yet protesting they never read the New Testament nor the Old, and never heard of any good that ever came of reading them.¹ To possess the Scriptures, especially the New Testament in the vernacular, was to lay oneself open to the suspicion of heresy.² Lyndsay felt the crass fatuity of such a situation and, with grim humour, in which there is no little sting, he pictures the perturbation among the clergy when it is announced that Truth, New Testament in hand, has arrived in the kingdom.³ Lyndsay puts the churchmen in a very vulnerable position in the eyes of the people when he represents them as conscious of the weakness of all their pretensions and claims, hating the light, because they knew their deeds are evil.⁴

Purgatory, too, comes within the sweep of his criticism, as he exposes the roguery of the pardoner trading

¹ Poems, II. pp. 147f. LL. 2920f.
² Ibid. I. pp. 134f. LL. 19f.
³ Ibid. II. p. 61, LL. 1097-1103.
⁴ Ibid. II. pp. 61f. LL. 1113f.

on the ignorance and credulity of the poor man whom he mulcts of a groat that can ill be spared. The poor man with his practical sense soon realises he has made a questionable bargain. To him the one obvious fact is, that he is now minus the only groat he had, in return for the promise of a not too scrupulous pardoner.¹ The longer he thinks about it the more he is convinced that he has been fooled in the transaction. The Church's teaching regarding Purgatory had generously enriched her coffers, had strengthened the power of the priest over the people, and had extended his authority beyond this world into the next. It was indeed a profitable doctrine for the Church--at a price. Lyndsay had come to believe that the very existence of the Church, as he knew it, was bound up with this belief in Purgatory. Indeed he goes the length of suggesting that with the doctrine of Purgatory discredited and discarded, a death-blow will be struck at the whole system of monks and nuns and friars.² From this he goes on to direct his satire

¹Poems, II. pp. 116f. LL. 2265-2274.

²Ibid. III. pp. 114f. LL. 4780f.

against all priestly and papal authority and privilege. In Lyndsay's eyes the clergy have lamentably fallen from grace.¹ No contrast, as he sees it, could be greater between the disciples and the Roman clergy² and he can find no sanction nor support in the teaching or example of Jesus for the pretensions of the Pope or the worldly magnificence he enjoyed or the worldly weapons of which he so frequently made use.³ The Pope he bluntly names Antichrist.⁴ Yet he is no enemy of the Church. He has no quarrel with churchmen as such. Though he is unsparingly critical of what he believed to be abuses and wrongs in the Church, he desired to see her purged of all weaknesses and faults, regain her power for good and be restored to the affection and honour of men.

Here and there, also, he reveals something of his own religious beliefs, as when, for example, he counsels

"To the greit God Omnipotent
Confess thy syn, and sere repent;

¹Poems, III, p. 98, LL. 4296-4305;
²Ibid. III, p. 104, LL.4480f.
³Ibid. III, p. 106, LL.4522f.
⁴Ibid. III, p. 131, LL. 5230, 5243.

And traist in Christ, as wrytis Paule,
 Quhilk sched his blude to saif thy saule,
 For nane can thee absolve bot He,
 Nor tak away thy syn frome thee."

Along the same line of belief and conduct is the mode of life enjoined by the Doctour in the Thre Estaitis, "Luife bene the ledder, quhilk hes bot steppis twa;

By quhilk, we may clim up to lyfe againe,
 Out of this vail of miserie and wa."²

This is in strongest contrast to the known practices of the churchmen; and it is in the light of such faith and ideals Lyndsay proceeds to make some practical suggestions. These we find scattered throughout his writings, usually without any attempt at a formal programme of reform. In "The Thre Estaitis," however, when John the Commonweill has restitution done to him for all the privation and oppression he has suffered, and, gorgeously arrayed, is given a voice in Parliament, Divyne Correction sees the dawn of a better day for Church and State.

¹ Poems, I. p. 137, LL. 109-114.

² Ibid. II. p. 173, LL. 3506-3508.

The poet evidently was convinced that reforms in Church and State hung together and the common-weal could be secured only by the reformation of the abuses which had so long disgraced the Church. His thoughts, therefore turn first to the king, for it is his prerogative to see that suitable candidates are chosen. This power had not always been used wisely in the past; accordingly some of the blame for the sad state of things must be laid at the door of the kings, (for the trouble is not peculiar to Scotland).¹ As appointments to other posts are made with due regard to the fitness of the candidates for the position, so in the Church, men should be appointed who are fitted by character and attainments for the duties of the office.² Therefore, "Mak hym Byschope, that prudentlie can preche,

As dois pertene tyll his vocatioun,

Ane Persone, quhilk his parischoun can teche:

Gar Vicaris mak dew mynistratioun.

And als, I mak you supplycatioun,

Mak your Abbotis of rycht religious men,

Quhilk Christis law can to thair Convent ken:"³.

¹Poems, I. p. 152, LL. 344-350.

²Ibid. I. p. 152, LL. 350-364.

³Ibid. II. p. 171, LL. 3455-3456.

As the old order had failed so signally in the matter of preaching and teaching, Lyndsay puts these kindred duties right in the fore-front of the reformation he desires to see. Kings, however, too often had proved to be broken reeds, sometimes being parties with the prelates in exploiting their own subjects when it suited their selfish purpose. The rise of the power of the people in Parliament was for Lyndsay an omen of new hope and it is there the acts are passed which are to bring in the better times.¹

What would Lyndsay's position been had he been spared till 1560? One cannot say with perfect certainty. It is to be noted, and must be given full weight in seeking to arrive at a just conclusion, that he had been associated with several of the leading reformers in the stirring days before the old order was overthrown. It is most probable, therefore, that his place would have been with them to the last. There is no hint, nevertheless, in his poems that he foresaw the possibility

¹For details of Lyndsay's proposed reforms see Poems II. pp. 187-195.

of a break-away from the ancient Church, with the latter continuing shorn of much of her wealth and worldly possessions, a dismembered fragment of a venerable institution, and alongside, a new Church, reformed on the very lines he wished, owing allegiance to no Pope. In the new Church all that Lyndsay contended for was realised, and much else besides. One feels, however, that his programme would never have achieved the Reformation of itself, but its significance is this, it was a recognition that something positive and constructive was necessary after exposure, criticism and protest had done their work; and to that extent Lyndsay was far ahead of Dunbar and the other "Makarists," who might ridicule, protest, criticise, but went no further.

Lyndsay, being of later date, lived when Reformation principles were knocking loudly at the door, and something of their spirit had influenced him. Giving full credit, therefore, to the positive contribution he endeavoured to make, it must be conceded that his greatest service was as critic. He tore the mask aside and set forth the religious condition of Church and State

that ordinary men could see it as he did. Both in his criticisms and reforms he reminds us of the Lollards; and especially in this that they were specific attempts to deal with specific abuses, within the accepted framework and constitution of the Church. Such changes as he and they contemplated were quite compatible with the continuance of the Church very much as constituted. With the reformers it was otherwise. Abuses no doubt urged the need for change and made it imperative that the change should be as radical and complete as possible, but the Reformation position implied a new orientation of the idea of the Church. The Lollards certainly had a glimmering of this as their doctrine of the priesthood of believers shows. Lyndsay, on the other hand, did not reveal even so much, so far as his known writings are concerned. His position, then, is more akin to that of the Lollards than to that of the reformers, while his poems carried his influence and teaching to all classes in the land and went to swell the gathering volume of popular opinion that swept the Reformation movement to its goal.

IV.

The New Testament in Scots.

(a). Murdoch Nisbet And The Succession In
Which He Stood.

The great service to be put to Wyclif's account is that he conceived and had carried through the first translation of the whole Bible into English. No doubt the translation of the Bible into the vernacular was inevitable and only a question of time, but it is the merit of Wyclif that he was the first in England to attempt to meet this need. He was brought to this purpose by the principles he held regarding the responsibility of the individual before God and his need of "God's Law" for the guidance of his life. It was but a short step from this to arrive at the conclusion that this law must be accessible to all, which meant that it must be not only in every man's hand but in every man's speech as well, that it might be known and understood

by the humblest. In the realising of his scheme, some of his personal followers, particularly Nicholas of Hereford and John Purvey, played an honourable part.¹ The appeal to Scripture became a characteristic of Lollardy and is to be noted in connection with the history of Scottish Lollardy too.

One of the facts told us, as we have seen, about James Resby is that he made use of heretical pamphlets in the course of his labours. These were greatly treasured by the people.² Gospels or portions of them must have been thus scattered by him as it is certain that copies of translations of holy writ were astonishingly multiplied for an age before the invention of printing.³

In the case of Quintin Folkhyrde this same insistence is to be noted. One of his complaints against the churchmen of his day is that they did not teach the common folk the gospel of Christ in their mother tongue,⁴

¹ See p. 10.

² Scotich. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p. 441.

³ Rev. J. Forshall and Sir Fredric Madden in editing "The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books in the earliest English versions made by John Wycliffe and his followers" evidently collected various readings from some 170 MSS. See New Test. in Scots, (Scot. Text Soc.), I. Intro. p. xviii.

⁴ See p. 38. also Appendix B. p. 54.

and he exhorts them to read to their people the Gospel and Epistle in the vernacular. Nor is it otherwise with regard to Paul Cregar. His command of Scripture gained the admiration of his accusers; and the remembrance of that remained with Bower, who remarks not only on his extensive knowledge but also on his facility for apt quotation.¹ As evidence of the practice nearer to Murdoch Nisbet's own day there is the incident told by Alesius in his *Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias* in which John Campbell, a descendant of the Lollard of Cosnock, figures with his wife.² It was Campbell's practice to have the Bible read in his home by a priest, a habit for which he gained the approval of James IV. When he and his wife were standing their trial for heresy, the Lady Campbell put up so spirited a defence, quoting effectively from the Scriptures, that the king's admiration was gained and their release secured.

This was not something unique on the part of John Campbell, for Wodrow in his *History of the Sufferings*

¹ Scotch. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p. 495.

² Appendix F. pp. 189f. for text of the story from the *Responsio* of Alesius.

of the Church of Scotland, in recording the death of "that excellent person William Gordon of Earlston" at Bothwell Brig in 1679 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 Earlston House."

Another who frequented such secret Bible-readings was Alexander Stewart, the eldest son of Stewart of Garlies. His name appears as "The Laird of Gairlies, Younger, for the Kirks of Nithsdale," among the commissioners to the first General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, December 1560.²

Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill was, therefore, only true to type in his love for the New Testament. His story is told in Wodrow's Select Biographies Vol. I. pp. 377f.³ From it, as Dr. T.G.Law points out, it is evident that soon after the trial of 1494, - for it was some time before 1500, - Murdoch Nisbet was won for the new faith and threw in his lot with the Lollards. Owing to the

¹Book III. Chap. ii. p. 108, (Blackie & Son's Ed. by Rev. Robert Burns D.D.).

²Sir H. Maxwell, A History of Dumfries & Galloway, (1896), p. 191.

³Not Wodrow's Miscellany as the reference is given in The New Testament in Scots, (Scot. Text Soc.). Vol.I. Intro. p.x.

out-break of persecution during the reign of James V, he fled overseas. Dr. Law thinks he went to England, as some refugees from Scotland did, but Principal Lindsay favours the idea that he went to the continent, to one of the Low Countries.¹ Certainly Wodrow's account favours the latter. The year of his flight is not known nor the length of his voluntary exile, but when he returned he brought with him his precious New Testament in Scots, which he himself had copied. At the time of Nisbet's return there seem to have been circumstances favourable to the Lollards, for others like himself availed themselves of the opportunity. Wodrow's account mentions two such, Hieronymous Russel, a former Franciscan friar, and Ninian Kennedy of Ayr, "quho had not past the eighteenth year of his age; a man of good witt and excellling in Scotish Poesie."² Nisbet's return must have taken place before 1525, in which year Parliament passed on 6th. July an act forbidding the introduction of heretical books into Scotland on pain of loss of ship and goods and of personal imprisonment.³

¹ Scottish Historical Review Vol. I. pp. 271. f.

² Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, (Ancient) in Scotland, Maitland Club, Vol. I. p. 215.

³ Act. Parl. Scot. Vol. II. p. 295, sect. 4.

But the leaven of the new faith was working. Its adherents were increasing and sterner measures were adopted to crush it. Patrick Hamilton, a man of noble birth and still nobler character, having embraced the new doctrines had gone to Wittenberg and Marburg to sit at the feet of Luther and his disciples. He had now returned to Scotland and, having been persuaded to come to St. Andrews for conference with Cardinal Beaton and his party, was apparently allowed liberty to proclaim his beliefs but really for the purpose of furnishing his enemies with a case against him. He was finally summoned to appear before the Primate on the charge of holding and teaching heretical views. He was tried and condemned for heresy and burned at the stake the same day. But that could not stay the onward march of the new faith, for, in the graphic phrase of the time, "the reik of Patrick Hamilton infected all upon whom it blew." Accordingly on 7th. June 1535, Parliament reaffirmed the Act of July 1525 against the unlawful possession of heretical books.¹ That Scriptures

¹ Act. Parl. Scot. Vol.II. p. 341. section "For eschewing of heresy within this realm etc."

in the vernacular were included in these acts is to be understood for possession of the New Testament, or part of it, in the ordinary speech at once raised the suspicion of heresy. Thus, for example, Robert Forestare, William Forestare, Walter Cosland, David Grahame and James Watsoune had to find surety "to underly the law for Breking of his hienes Proclamationes in haifing and using of sic bukes as ar suspect of Heresy, and ar defendit be the Kirk."¹ This was in January 1538/9. The very next month Martyne Balkesky had to find caution to appear and to underly the law for the same offence.² Another notable case was that of Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dolor (Dollar).³ It was his custom to preach every Sunday to his parishoners the Epistle or Gospel, showing "the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English." He was summoned more than once before the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld to give an account of his doctrine. But he gave such reason and answer that he escaped "till the cruel cardinall David Beton got the upperhand." At the place of

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, (Maitland Club), p. 216, Vol. I.

² Ibid. Vol. I. pp. 213, 214.

³ Ibid. Vol. I. p. 217.

execution a copy of the New Testament was found in his possession and held up for all to see with cries of "Heresy, heresy." Whereupon the crowd shouted "Burn him." His accuser is reported to have addressed him as follows:- "Knowes thow not, Heretick, that it is contrare to our acts and expresse commands, to have a New Testament or Byble in Englische, (quhilk is enough to burne the for)?" The record proceeds, "Then the counsall of the Clargie gave sentence on him to be burnt, for the using of the same buik, the New Testament in Inglis. For these, and the lyke sentences, was he taken to the Castell Hill in Edinburgh and most vnmercifullie Brunt."

Such was the risk Murdoch Nisbet ran had he been discovered with his copy of the New Testament. Not only were such acts passed as those noted in 1525 and 1535, but active search was made to track down all who had come under suspicion of sympathy with Lollard heresy. In 1537 under date 25th April there is found

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, (Maitland Club), Vol. I. p. 214.

the following notice:-

" Item - to Thomas Hammiltoune, maser for his
lauboris done in serching of Heretikis in the
west land. XXX. s." ¹

Whether Hammiltoune had anything to do with the arrest of Russel and Kennedy is not known, but these former associates of Nisbet were arrested in the diocese of Glasgow, tried, condemned and put to death in 1539. As a matter of fact, however, the Lollard movement had really run its course. With the return of Patrick Hamilton from Germany the full-blown Reformation doctrine of justification by faith began to be preached, and with that the Reformation proper in Scotland had begun. Much had yet to happen and much to be done before it became thoroughly established, but it was now underweigh. The characters that from this time on dominate the stage and the events that happen belong to Reformation history.

¹ Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, Vol. I. Appendix p. 287.

Appendix F.

Extract from

Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias

by Alexander Alesius.

Fuit enim in regno tuo uir nō solum genere, sed etiam eximia pietate clarus Iohannes Cābelius Dominus Sesnociensis. Huius domus exemplum Christianae disciplinae esse poterat. Nam & sacerdotem domi habebat qui ipsi & familiae nouum Testamentum lingua uernacula praelegebat, et mores cum ipsius tum familiae Euangelio congruebant. Itaq; omnib. officiis iuuabat pauperes & quanquā ex Euangelio didicerat Deo supersticionem et hypocrisin displicere, tamen ne cui ordini uideretur iniquior, monachos etiam solitus est hospitio excipere. Ibi cum aliquoties de Christiana doctrina cū hospitib. amanter confabularetur, forte hypocritae quidam animaduertunt eum taxare quasdam ipsorum supersticiones. Ad extremum sepius pertentato eius animo, monachi uiolato iure hospicii & ut dicitur *παρὰ βαινον ἵερ τὴν τράπεζα μ καὶ ἄλλας* deferunt eius nomen episcopo. Accusant hereseos. In eo iudicio cum post longum certamen uideret & se & coniugē de uita periclitari prouocat ad Regē. Quanquam

monachi aegre patiebātur Regē ad se reuocare causā
tamen Rex putauit ad fidem atq; humanitatem suam per-
tinere ne bonis et nobilib. hominibus deesset. Audit
igitur benigne utranq; partem cumq; uir & alioqui
natura modestus & terroribus monachorum non nihil
perturbatus, responderet uerocundius, iubet Rex mul-
ierem dicere causam. Haec igitur obiecta crimina ita
perspicue & grauiter diluit, citatis scripturis, ut
Rex non solum absoluerit reos cambelium cum coniuge
ac sacerdote, sed etiam surgens complexus sit mulierem,
& collaudauerit eius studium in doctrina christiana
& seure obiurgatis monachis comminatus sit se grauiter
in eos animaduersurum esse si unquam posthac periculum
crearent huiusmodi honestis hominibus & innocentibus.
Ipsi vero cābellio pagos quosdam donauit, ut extaret
clara significatio iudicii sui ac beneuolentiae erga
ipsum nequa existimaretur in eo herere suspicio de
mente cambelii propter monachorum criminationem.

V.

The New Testament in Scots.**(b). The Copy Murdoch Nisbet took in writ.**

There was a tradition in the family of Murdoch Nisbet, that this New Testament which he had copied was none other than Wyclif's version, indeed it was known by the name of the Wyclif New Testament.¹ This remained the accepted opinion of historians,² for all trace of this interesting book had been lost and the claims of tradition could not very well be tested. Nearly forty years ago, however, the MS. of this copy was discovered among the Auchinlek papers.

On a blank page occur several signatures of owners with the date, the last of such memoranda being by

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta* III. p.518.

² M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, (1857), p. 404, Note D.

one Johne Neisbitt in 1645.¹ The fate of the MS., therefore, from that year till the time of its recent discovery is a blank.

Bound in with the MS. copy of the New Testament, as Dr. T.G.Law also tells us in his Introduction written for the Scottish Text Society's edition of the New Testament, is a copy of "A True Relation of the Life and Sufferings of John Nisbet in Hardhill," in which the now familiar facts about Murdoch Nisbet are set forth.¹ This, of course, led to the identification of the MS. New Testament with the Wyclif New Testament which Murdoch Nisbet had copied. Further examination revealed that it was something even more interesting than a copy of Wyclif's New Testament. It was nothing less than Purvey's version of Wyclif done into the Scots of the early XVI century.

In view of the utter dearth of literary remains of Scottish Lollardy,² the importance and interest of this discovery were very great.

¹ N.T. in Scots, (Scot. Text Society), Vol. I. Introduction pp. viii - x.

² Scottish Hist. Review Vol. I. A Literary Relic of Scottish Lollardy, in which Principal Lindsay speaks of the N.T. in Scots as "the only literary relic we possess of the Scottish Lollards," thus ruling out in his opinion the Nova Scocie as the production of a Scottish Lollard.

The work consists of three parts:-

I. Introduction, which includes the Prologue to the New Testament and the "Summe" of the Four Evangelists, together with the "Summe" of the Acts, (chapters 1-V), I and II Peter, I, II, and III John and Jude.

II. The Biblical text of the New Testament together with the "Epistles of the Auld Testament."

III. Appendix including the Prologue to the Romans and the "Summe" of Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I and II Thessalonians, I and II Timothy, Titus, Philemon and Hebrews.¹

Dr. Law, discussing the probable dates of the various portions, in his Introduction, concludes that "Internal evidence points to the years 1513-22 as the extreme limits of time within which the text (or section II) was probably begun and finished."² And again, "Whatever may be the date of these prefaces and additions, the transcript of the TEXT may be assigned with great probability to about 1520." And the character of the handwriting agrees with the date.³

¹ New Testament in Scots, (Scot. Text Soc.), Vol. I. Introd. p. xiv.

² Ibid. pp. xiv, xv.

³ Ibid. p. xvi.

Accordingly we may reasonably take 1520 as the date of the New Testament in Scots.

In as much as the Prologue is largely a translation of Luther's, first printed in 1522, the date of Nisbet's lies somewhere between 1522 and 1526 by which later date Tyndale's preface, also a translation of Luther's, had been printed and circulated. The Prologue to the Romans is a still later addition and therefore has been added at the end of the work.¹

How widely used was this translation in Scots, it is not possible to say. It was evidently made by Nisbet for his own use and, as we learn from Wodrow's account, he was glad to share it with those who had access to him.² But those were difficult times. Access to him could not have been too easy and the multiplication of copies, however desirable, would be both difficult and dangerous in those times of persecution. As Dr. Law indicates, there is no sign of his work ever having been copied.³

¹ For the argument regarding these dates see Dr. Law's Introduction, New Testament in Scots, (Scot. Text Soc.), p. xv.

² Wodrow's Select Biographies Vol. II. p.378.

³ New Testament in Scots, (Scot. Text Soc.), Intro. p. xvi.

Reference has been made to Gordon of Earlston and Alexander Stewart of Garlies, both of whom had a New Testament in the vernacular, but whose version it was we can only hazard a guess. If it were prior to 1526 it would almost certainly be of Wyclifite origin. Were it subsequent to that date, it is just as certain to have been one of the books introduced by the merchants from the Low Countries¹ and therefore very probably to have been Tyndale's.

The fact is the New Testament in Scots was not without rivals. Tyndale's New Testament was introduced in 1526 and soon met the demand for the Scriptures in the vernacular. This translation had come from the printing press of Wittenberg. Printing in Germany had been established for more than half a century before it was attempted in Scotland, consequently there was little difficulty with regard to multiplying copies of Tyndale's translation. Alongside of this the New Testament in Scots was at a distinct disadvantage, copying being a slow and laborious task. Then differences in language

¹ See Act. Parl. Scot. Vol. II. vi die Julii, A.D. MDXXV. p. 295. section 4.

were not formidable. William Dunbar, who certainly wrote during the first two decades of the XVI century, claimed to write in English and looked on Chaucer and Gower as writing the same language as himself.¹ Sir David Lyndsay likewise considered English the common speech of his day.² From this time, too, dates the possibility of closer and more cordial relations between Scotland and England. Reformers in both countries were beginning to see that alliance instead of antagonism would serve the interests of the faith better. Such circumstances conspired to make natural and easy the acceptance of Tyndale's translation and soon the New Testament in Scots became little more than an object of interest till even that seemed to fade and it was lost sight of and forgotten till its welcome recovery within recent years.

Another work not without interest in this connection is John Gau's "The Richt Vay to The Kingdom of Heuine." It is a translation, generally close but not literal, of Christien Pedersen's "Den Rette Vey

¹ Dunbar Poems, (S.T.S.), p 10. LL. 253-255, also p. 15. LL. 110-112.

² Lyndsay's Poems, (Laing's Ed.), Vol. II. p.171. LL. 3455 & 3456.

Blessed are they that morne for they shal
be cōforted. (T.).

Mat. I. 1. this is ye bwik of ye generacione of Iesus
Christ/ ye sone of Daudid/ ye sone alsua
of Abraham/ (R.V.)¹
the buke of the generacion of Jesu Crist,
the son of Daudid, the sonn of Abraham.(L.N.T).
Tys is the boke off the generacion off Ihesus
christ the sonne of David the sone also of
Abraham. (T.).

I. Cor. VI. 18. fle fornicatione et ce. (R.V.)²
Fle ye fornicatoium; (L.N.T.).
Fle fornicacion. (T.).

Mat. XXVIII. 18. Al ye power in hewine and zeird is
giffine to me/ (R.V.)³
Al powere in heuen and in erde is gevin
to me. (L.N.T).
All power ys geven vnto me in heve[̄] and
in erth. (T.).

¹.Richt Vay, p. 106. LL. 34, 35.

².Ibid. p. 23. L. 22.

³.Ibid. p. 79. LL. 6, 7.

Mat. XVII. 5. This is my deir sone in quhom I delit
 heir hyme. (R.V.)¹.

This is my deare sonne in whom I delite
 heare hym. (T.).

This is my dereworthe sonn, in quham

I haue wele pleisit to me; here ye him.
 (L.N.T.).

Mat. I. 21. he sal saiff his pepile fra thair sinnis. (RV)².

he shall save his people from their synnes. (T).

he sal mak his pepile saif fra thar synnis. (L.N.T).

Acts. VIII. 15. thay prait for thayme that thay mycht

resaeue the halie spreit. (R.V.)³.

prayed for them that they might receaue

the holy goost. (T.).

thai prayit for thame, that thai suld resaeue

the Holigaast. (L.N.T.).

Mat. III. 2. Repent ye kingdome of hevine is at ye
 also IV. 17.

hand. (R.V.)⁴.

Repēt the kyngdom of heven is at honde. (T.).

Do ye pennaunce: for the kingdom of heuenis

sal neire. (.L.N.T.).

¹ Richt Vay, p. 29. L.16.

² Ibid. p. 36. LL. 18f; also p. 63. LL. 5,6.

³ Ibid. p. 55. LL. 2,3.

⁴ Ibid. p. 64. L. 24.

Rom. VI. 12. \bar{a} d lat notht sine ringe in our mortal
 bodis. (R.V.).¹

Lett nott synne raigne therfore in youre
 mortall bodyes. (T.).

Tharfore regne nocht synn in your deidlie
 body. (L.N.T.).

In all these instances similarity of translation can be accounted for by the fact that it was practically the same original the different individuals were translating.² It does not require any common basis more than that. It is therefore perfectly clear that in the New Testament in Scots, Tyndale's Version and the Richt Vay with respect to such quotations as occur in the latter, we have three independent translations of the Scriptures.

¹ Richt Vay, p. 98. L.12.

² It is to be noted, of course, that the New Testament in Scots is a translation of Wyclif's version which in turn is a translation of the Vulgate, whereas Tyndale translated from the Greek. Gau's while independent of Tyndale's may have been from the Greek or from the Vulgate or even from Pedersen's New Testament in Danish. See Richt Vay, Introduction p.xx. note.

VI.

The New Testament in Scots.

(c). Its Light on Lollard Usage and Teaching.

In view of the great lack of literary data for the student of Scottish Lollardy, the New Testament in Scots acquires an importance which, were circumstances otherwise, it would not have. Here is a genuine Lollard relic which at least deserves a close and careful examination for the light it may throw on Lollard usage and teaching.

There is one rather noteworthy translation, due really to Wyclif's version. It occurs in Matthew XI, 5: pure men ar tane to preching of the gospell. It is found again in the parallel passage in Luke VII, 22: puremen are takin to preching of the gospell.¹ For

¹ Wyclif's rendering of Mat. XI, 5 is: poremen ben taken to prechyng of the gospel and of Luke VII, 22: pore men ben take to preche the gospel.

both verses the Vulgate reads: *pauperes euangelizantur*. Is it justifiable to take "euangelizantur" as a deponent verb and translate it as in the active voice as is done in the New Testament in Scots? Du Cange gives "evangelizare - Scripturas probare." This indicates that the form in the Vulgate is passive here. Including the two references in question there are in all some 39 instances of the use of evangelizare in the Vulgate. Of these, four are instances of the verb used unquestionably in the passive form. These are

Luke XVI, 16: *Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem:*

ex eo regnum Dei euangelizatur

Gal. I. 11: *Notum enim uobis facio, fratres, euangelium quod euangelizatum est a me,*

I. Pet. I, 25: *Hoc est autem uerbum, quod euangelizatum est in uobis.*

I. Pet. IV, 6: *Propter hoc enim et mortuis euangelizatum est:*

In each of these cases there is no doubt as to the translation. What is preached is the subject and the verb is therefore passive. If the Lollard rendering in Matthew XI, 25 and in Luke VII, 22 is correct, these

two would be the only instances of the use of the verb in a deponent form. This is strong reason against such a possibility and the conclusion is still further strengthened when it is noted that there are 12 instances of "euangelizare" being followed by the dative of the word denoting the person or persons to whom the message is preached and only one instance in which it takes the accusative of the person. This solitary instance is Luke III, 18: multa quidem et alia exhortans euangelizabat populum. In view of these facts, Wyclif's translation, retained in the New Testament in Scots, is unwarranted. No doubt his practice of sending out "poor preachers" determined him in his rendering, for his preachers had been sent out before his translation of the Bible had been begun. But even so, the rendering can hardly be taken as an instance of heretical teaching. At most it would be a plea for "evangelical poverty" which was recognised among the Franciscans within the Roman Church itself.

More instructive for the light cast on Lollard teaching is the rendering of certain words that had come to be official or technical terms in the Church.

There is for example the word "Pasche." This word occurs 29 times in the Lollard New Testament, following "paske" in Wyclif's version, as a translation of "pascha" which occurs 27 times in the Vulgate. In Matthew XXVII, 62, the Vulgate "post Parasceven" is translated by "eftir pasche even"¹ and in John XIX, 31, "quoniam Parasceve erat" by "for it was the pasche even,"² in both instances following Wyclif's rendering. Tyndale translates "pascha" by "ester", 12 times.³ In Luke II, 41, his rendering is "the feeste of ester," and in John XIX, 14, "the eater fest." Eleven times he uses the phrase "the ester lambe."⁴ In Mark XIV, 12, he translates "Pascha" in the first instance by "pascal lamb" and in the second by his more frequent "ester lamb." In John XVIII, 28, he departs quite from his usual practice and gives as his rendering "pascha." In Matthew XXVII, 62, he renders by "good fryday" and John xix, 31, by "sabot even." In the Authorised Version the translation is always "passover" except in three instances,

¹Wyclif: "pask evenynge."

²Wyclif: "paske even"

³Mat. xxvi, 2; Mark xiv, 1; Luke xxii, 1; John ii, 13, 23; John vi, 4; xi, 55; xi, 55; xii, 1; xiii, 1; xviii, 39; Acts xii, 4.

⁴Mat. xxvi, 17, 19; Mark xiv, 12, 14; Luke xxii, 7, 8, 11, Luke xxii, 13, 15; I. Cor. v, 7; xi. 28.

Matthew XXVII, 62, "the day of preparation"; John XIX, 31, "the preparation"; and Acts XII, 4, "Ester." It is significant also to note in passing that Dunbar always uses "Pasche."¹ What can we gather from these facts? They are not of doctrinal significance. Their interest is rather linguistic. The Reformation evidently brought with it a change of vocabulary. Pre-Reformation thought was apparently partial to one form of words (pasche). When the Reformation movement came a different form was adopted, as instanced by Tyndale. The form of words favoured by Lollardy places it on the pre-Reformation side of the line.

Another indication of the same kind is the translation of the Vulgate "stola." All the instances - five in number - are to be found in the book of Revelation.² In each case the Lollard New Testament has "stolis" following Wyclif's "stoolis." In Revelation VI, 11, the word "stole" is repeated in the Lollard translation though there is not a second "stola" in the Vulgate.

¹ Dunbar's Poems, (S.T.S.). Vol. II. p. 152. No. XXXVI L. 19 "Paiss"; p. 194. No. L. L. 49, "Pasche"; p. 282, No. XC. L. 63, "Fra Pasche to Pasche."
² Revelation VI, 11; VII, 9, 13, 14; XXII, 14.

Tyndale uses the phrase "longe whyte garmentes" in the first three instances. In Revelation VII, 14 he has "made their garmentes large \bar{a} d made them whyte," while at Revelation XXII, 14 the Greek version he followed is quite different from the Vulgate and he translates "that do his commandments." At Revelation XV, 6, in Wyclif's version we find "a stool clene and white," in the Lollard New Testament "stole" is deleted and "staan" added in the margin. Tyndale's version reads "pure and bryght lynnyn," and the Authorised Version, "pure and white linen." The Authorised Version and, it is worth noting, also the Douay Bible favour as their usual rendering "white robes."

Again it would be easy to suggest more than the facts warrant. "Stola" means a long loose robe but by the early Middle Ages it had come to be used particularly of a priestly vestment and is still so used. Now it is significant that in translations of Reformation and post-Reformation times when the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers came to be emphasised the word with the priestly associations was dropped in

favour of one quite untechnical and once more Lollardy has its place with the pre-Reformation system of things.

This is further borne out by the translation of I. Peter V, 3, "neque ut dominantes in cleris." This is translated in the Lollard New Testament "nouthir as hauynge lordeschip in the clergie." The Douay version is in the same line, "neither as lording it over the clergy." With the Reformation we note a change here also. Tyndale renders the verse, "nott as though ye were lordes over the parishes," which is more akin to the Authorised Version, "neither as being lords over God's heritage."

Bearing on the same idea, as tending to magnify the "religious" life as a life exclusive and apart the translation of "presbyterus" deserves to be noted. There are five instances of this word in the Vulgate.⁴ In each case the Lollard New Testament has "preestis," following Wyclif, while the Douay version invariably has "priests." Tyndale, as usual, breaks with this usage and in each case has "seniours," and the Authorised

⁴ I Tim. V. 17; V, 19; Tit. I. 5; Acts XIV. 22; XV. 2; James V. 14.

Version "elders." In line with this usage also, we find the word "presbyterium" in I. Timothy IV, 14, translated by "presthede" in the Lollard New Testament, (prist or pristhode in Wyclif), and by priesthood in the Douay Testament. Tyndale translates by "a seniour" while the Authorised Version has "presbytery."

The translation of two other words must be noted to complete this part of our study. In the Vulgate the word "praepositus" occurs in Hebrews XIII, 17, 24. In the first instance Wyclif translates "proustis" or "prelatis" in Hebrews XIII, 24 "souereynes." The Lollard New Testament in both cases renders by "soueranis," while "thē that have the oversight of you," is Tyndale's rendering in both instances. The Roman Church's understanding of the verses is shown in the Douay translation which in both cases is "prelates," although in Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism this verse is translated "obey thame that hais the reule our you."¹

The other word is "neophytus" found in I Timothy III, 6. Following Wyclif, Nisbet's version has "new conuertit,"

¹ The Catechism of John Hamilton 1552, edited by T.G.LAW, p. 81.

in no sense a technical phrase denoting status or rank in the Church. Tyndale likewise uses simply "yonge man." Again the Roman Church's understanding of the word is given in the Douay rendering "neophyte."

From these cases considered it is evident that in thought and language Scottish Lollardy belonged to the pre-Reformation system of things, while the last two instances show that Lollardy was not wholly of the pre-Reformation way.

VII.

The New Testament in Scots.

(c). Its Light on Lollard Usage and Teaching.

(continued).

More important for the elucidation of Lollard teaching than the linguistic characteristics just considered are the doctrinal questions involved in certain translations. Take for example the renderings of "paenitet" and the various phrases in which "paenitentia" occurs. Bishop Challoner, in his note in the Douay Bible on Mat. III, 2, the first instance of the phrase in the New Testament, says:-

"Do penance. Paenitentiam agite, *μετανοήτε*.

Which word, according to the use of the scriptures and the holy fathers, does not only signify repentance and amendment of life,

but also punishing past sins by fasting and such like penitential exercises."

This is quite in line with the account given of penance in the Catholic Encyclopedia where it is said to designate:-

- I. A virtue.
- II. A sacrament of the New Law.
- III. A canonical punishment inflicted according to the earlier discipline of the Church.
- IV. A work of satisfaction enjoined upon the recipient of the sacrament.¹

Then the article continues:-

"These have as their common centre the truth that he who sins must repent and as far as possible make reparation to Divine justice."¹

"For," as the Catechism of the Council of Trent² reminds us, "as no man can be cleansed without baptism, so, whoever desires to recover the grace of Baptism, forfeited by actual mortal guilt, must have recourse to the sacrament of Penance, which is another means instituted

¹Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. XI. p 618.

²Catechism of Council of Trent, Eng. trans. 1839, p. 115.

by God to cleanse from sin."

Penance, therefore, according to the teaching of the Roman Church, is more than repentance. It includes the due performance of such officially recognised exercises as are imposed by the Church upon the penitent. And the due performance of these exercises is as important to the true meaning of penance, and as essential, as is repentance.

In the Vulgate there are 63 instances in which the words "paenitet" and paenitentia" are used in various combinations and phrases. Two of these, Mark I, 4, and I, 15, drop out as verses 1 to 21 of Mark I are missing in the New Testament in Scots. There are, therefore, in all 61 instances to be considered. Of these 61 it is found that 50¹ are rendered by "penance" in Nisbet's version, following Wyclif's translation in these cases. In Tyndale's, however, the rendering is invariably "repent" or "repentance," never once "penance." So also is it in Gau in such instances as occur in the Richt Vay, but in Archbishop Hamilton's

¹ Instances in which paenitet or paenitentia in Vulgate is translated by penance in Scots New Testament:-
 Mat. III. 2, 8, 11; IV. 17; XI. 20, 21; XII. 41.
 Mark VI. 12; Luke III. 3, 8; V. 32; X. 13; XI. 32.
 Luke XIII. 3, 5; XV. 7, 7, 10; XVI. 30; XVII. 3; XXIV. 47.
 Acts II. 38; V. 31; VIII. 22; XI. 18; XIII. 24; XVII. 30
 Acts XIX. 4; XX. 21; XXVI. 20; 20; II Cor. VII. 9, 10;
 II Cor. XII. 21; Hebrews VI. 1, 6; XII. 17;
 II Peter III. 9; Rev. II. 5, 5, 16, 21, 21, 22; III. 3, 19;
 Rev. IX. 20, 21; XVI. 9, 11.

Catechism again "penance" is used in the passages he quotes. It is interesting also to note that in three of these cases, while the New Testament in Scots prefers "penance," the Douay version has "repent." These three cases are Acts V. 31; Acts XI. 18; Revelation II. 21. The most instructive examples for our purpose are, of course, those in which the Scots New Testament departs from its usual practice and employs words or phrases other than "penance" or its combinations. The eleven instances are as follows, Mat. XXI. 29, 32; XVII. 3; Luke XVII. 4; Acts III. 19; Romans II. 4; XI. 29; II Cor. VII. 8, 8; II Tim. II. 25; Heb. VII. 21.

Let us consider each in turn noting the translations in Nisbet's Testament (LNT), Wyclif's version (W), Tyndale's translation (T), the Authorised Version (A), the Vulgate (V) and the Douay (D).

Mat. XXI. 29. bot eftirwart he forthocht and went

furth. (LNT).

aftirwarde he stiredo by penaunce.(W).

(Purvey reads forthouyte).

but afterwarde repented and went. (T).

But afterwards he repented and went.(A).

Postea autem paenitentia motus abiit.(V).

But afterwards being moved with re-

pentance he went. (D).

There is clearly no question of any technical religious meaning here in "paenitentia." It means simply he thought better of it. Still, it is to be noted that in one of the Wyclif versions "penance" is used, although Purvey substitutes another word.

Mat. XXVII. 3; Than Judas, that betrayit him, saw that he was dampnet, he repentit. (LNT).

Thanne Judas that bitrayede hym, seyng that he was dampnyd, he led by penaunce (or forthynkyng, Purvey's rendering). (W).

Thē when Judas which betrayed hym/ sawe that he was cōdempned/ he repented himsylfe/ (T).

Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented. (A).

Tunc uidens Iudas qui eum tradidit, quod damnatus esset paenitentia ductus. (V).

Then Judas, who betrayed him seeing that he was condemned, repenting himself etc. (D).

The departure from the use of the word "penance" in the Scots New Testament is due to the fact that Purvey used

"forthynkyng." But again, there can be no question of penance in the sense understood by the Roman Church, for penance accompanies forgiveness and is imposed by the Church. Forgiveness was just what Judas despaired of and therefore he was not yet at the stage when "penance" would have been appropriate. The Roman Catholic doctrine does not emerge here.

Luke XVII. 3;...Gif thi bruther has synnyt aganes thee, blame him; and gif he do penance, forgeue him. 4. And gif vii tymes in the day he do synn aganes thee, and vii tymes in the day he be conuertit to thee, and say, Jt forthinkis me; forgeue thou to him. (LNT).

3. ..if thi brother hath synned ayens thee, blame him; and if he schal do penance, foryyue to him. 4. And if seuene sithis in the day he schal synne ayens thee, and seuene sithis in the day he schal be conuertid to thee, seyinge, It forthenkith me, foryyue to him. (W).

3. ..if thy brother trespass agaynst the/
rebuke hym: and if he repent/ forgeve hym.

4. And though he syn agenst the seven tymes
in won daye/ and seven tymes in a daye
tourne agayne to the, sayinge, It re-
penteth me, forgeve hym. (T).

Luke XVII. 3. ..if thy brother trespass against thee,
rebuke him, and if he repent, forgive
him. 4. And if he trespass against thee
seven times in a day, and seven times in
a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent;
thou shalt forgive him. (A).

3. Si peccauerit frater tuus, increpa illum;
et si paenitentiam egerit, dimitte illi.

4. Et si septies in die peccauerit in te,
et septies in die conuersus fuerit ad te,
dicens: Paenitet me: dimitte illi. (V).

3. ..If thy brother sin against thee, reprove
him: and if he do penance, forgive him.

4. And if he sin against thee seven times
in a day, and seven times in a day be
converted unto thee, saying: I repent:
forgive him. (D).

It is instructive to take these two verses together in

view of the fact that "do penance" is used in the one, and "forthink" in the other, both in the Wyclif version and in the Scots New Testament, which distinction is retained in the Douay Bible. In the Vulgate, whatever be the connotation we give to the Latin words, there is, at any rate, no verbal distinction made, while Tyndale and the Authorised Version also agree in making no distinction. With regard to verse 4, no question of "penance" in the technical sense may be said to arise as the person at fault is merely describing his own frame of mind. But in the translation of verse 3 given by Wyclif, Nisbet and the Douay version, there is the tacit assumption of the traditional teaching of the Roman Church, the idea here being, that if the one at fault has carried out all that the Church has enjoined in connection with the fault, forgiveness cannot then be withheld.

Acts III. 19. Therefore, be ye repentand, and be ye
 conuertit, that your synnis be done
 away. (LNT).

Therefore be yee repentaunt and be yee
 conuertide that youre synnes be done
 aweye. (W).

Acts III. 19. Repēt ye therfore and turne that youre
synnes maye be done awaye. (T).

Repent ye therefore, and be converted,
that your sins may be blotted out. (A).

Paenitemini igitur et conuertimini ut
deleantur uestra peccata: (V).

Be penitent, therefore, and be converted,
that your sins may be blotted out. (D).

In this case also there can be no question of a reference to the sacrament of Penance for, according to the form of the verb used in the Vulgate, "paenitemini," thought is focussed upon the feelings rather than upon the actions of the subject, upon the frame of mind which, according to Roman Catholic teaching, is the prerequisite for penance rather than upon the acts of penance.

Romans II. 4. Knawis thou nocht, that the benignitee
of God leidis thee to forthinking? (LNT).
Knowist thou not that the benyngnyte
of God ledith thee to forthinking? (W).
(another Wyclif version reads penance).

Romans II. 4. ..and remembreth not how that the kynd-
 nes of God ledith the to repentaunce? (T).
 ..not knowing that the goodness of God
 leadeth thee to repentance? (A).
 ignorans quoniam benignitas Dei ad
 paenitentiam te adducit? (V).
 Knowest thou not that the benignity of
 God leadeth thee to penance? (D).

This is clearly a case where the Lollard translation has departed from the traditional Roman idea, yet the fact that in one of the Wyclif versions, earlier certainly than Purvey's from which Nisbet worked, "penance" is used is an indication that Lollard thought on the subject was just groping its way towards a new position. It is further of interest to note that in Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism¹ this verse is quoted thus:-

"Kennis thow nocht that the gentilness of God leidis the to pennance?"

Romans XI. 29. And the giftis and the calling of God
 ar without forthinking. (LNT).
 Sothely the yiftis & clepyng of god
 ben with outen forthinkyng. (W).

¹The Catechism of John Hamilton 1552, (1884 ed.), by Thomas Graves Law, p.217.

Romans XI. 29. For verely the gyftes and callynge
of god are soche/ that it cannot
repent hym of them. (T).

For the gifts and calling of God are
without repentance. (A).

Sine paenitentia enim sunt dona et
uocatio Dei. (V).

For the gifts and the calling of God
are without repentance. (D).

There is clearly no question of "penance," as the
Roman Church understands it, in this instance.

II. Cor. VII. 8. For thouch I made yow sarie in a
pistle, it repentis me nocht; thoucht
it repentit, etc. 9. Now I haue ioy;
nocht for ye war made soroufull, bot
for ye war made soroufull to penance..
10. For the sorow that is eftire God
wirkis pennance into stedfast heill; (LNT).
for yif I made you soory in a pistle,
now it rewith not me, and yif it rewide..
9. nowe I haue ioye not for yee weren
made soroweful; but for yee weren made

sorrowful to penaunce. 10...forsothe
that sorowe that is aftir god; worchith
penaunce into stidefast helthe. (W).

II.Cor. VII. 8. Wherfore though I made you sory with a
letter I repēt not: though I did re-
pent...9. but I nowe reioyce/ not that
ye were sory/ but that ye so sorowed/
that ye repented...10..for godly sorowe
causeth repentaunce vnto health/ not
to be repented off: (T).

For though I made you sorry with a letter,
I do not repent, though I did repent:
9. Now I reioyce, not that ye were made
sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repent-
ance;...10. For godly sorrow worketh
repentance to salvation not to be re-
pented of... (A).

Quoniam etsi contristauī uos in ep-
istula, non me paenitet: etsi paenit-
eret...9. nunc gaudeo: non quia con-
tristati estis, sed quia contristati
estis ad paenitentiam...10. Quae enim

secundum Deum tristitia est, paenitentiam in salutem stabilem operatur: (V).

II. Cor. VII. 9. For although I made you sorrowful by my epistle, I do not repent. And if I did repent....9. Now I am glad: not because you were made sorrowful, but because you were made sorrowful unto penance...10. For the sorrow that is according to God worketh penance, steadfast unto salvation: (D).

These verses are important for the light they throw upon the principles governing the use of the different words used to translate "paenitet" and "paenitentia." When St. Paul is speaking of his regret for having written the painful letter, there is no question of "penance." But the sorrow which he sought to produce in the hearts of the Corinthians in order to lead them to a better way of life was a different matter. "Penance," in the Roman Catholic sense, would at least have a meaning there, apart altogether from the question whether such a connotation were just. The Lollard renderings are therefore quite in accordance with the teaching of

the Roman Church. But Tyndale, as usual, indicates a departure from it.

II.Tim.II. 25....repreving thame that aganestandis the
 treuth, that sum tyme God geve to thame
 forthinking, that thai know the treuth, (LNT).
 ...reproyunge hem that a enstonden treuthe.
 that sumtyme god yyue hem penaunce for to
 knowe the treuthe. (W).
 and can informe them that resist/ yf that
 god att eny tyme will geve thē repent-
 aunce for to knowe the trueth: (T).
 ...instructing those that oppose them-
 selves; if God peradventure will give
 them repentance to the acknowledging of
 the truth. (A).
 cum modestia corripientem eos qui re-
 sistunt: ne quando det illis Deus paen-
 itentiam ad cognoscendam ueritatem. (V).
 ...admonishing them that resist the truth:
 if peradventure God may give them repent-
 ance to know the truth. (D).

It is quite plain that the reference here must be to the

mental state of "all men" and not to any orthodox or conventional way of expressing outwardly that state. Yet it is significant that the only version in which the word "penance" occurs is a Wyclif version, though it is also to be noted that Purvey's rendering is "forthenkyngge," pointing surely to the fact that Lollardy had not yet broken with the old faith completely.

Hebrews VII. 21. ..The Lord suore, and it sal nocht
repent him. (LNT).

..the lorde swore & it schal not rewe
hym. (W).

The lorde sware, $\bar{a}d$ will not repent. (T).

The Lord sware and will not repent. (A).

Iuravit Dominus et non paenitebit eum; (V).

The Lord hath sworn and he will not
repent: (D).

Again there can be no question of penance in the technical sense of the Roman Church, as repentance is here predicated of God.

These eleven examples then are the only instances in which the Lollard New Testament deviates from the practice, followed in the case of the other 50 instances,

of rendering the Vulgate by "penance."

It is worth noting also that of the 50 instances above referred to, no less than 27 are forms of "paenitentiam agere" in the Vulgate, and, without exception, these are translated in the Scots New Testament by "do penance."

There are also two rather striking instances viz. Luke X. 13, and Rev. II. 21, in which the verb "paenitet" is used in the Vulgate and translated by "do penance" in Murdoch Nisbet's version. These are the only two instances of such usage. In all other cases "paenitentia" is used in combination with some other word or words, when the translation in the Scots New Testament is "penance". From these observations it is clear that however the Lollards may have criticised the teaching and practice of the Church of their day with regard to auricular confession and priestly absolution for sins, they had not yet completely broken with the Roman penitential system.

VIII.

The New Testament in Scots.

(c). Its Light on Lollard Usage and Teaching.

(continued).

Another clue-word in the Vulgate meriting attention is "sacramentum." It occurs 8 times as a translation of "μυστήριον" which, in other 19 instances, is rendered by "mysterium."

With regard to these 19 instances,⁴ no particular point of interest emerges, though it may be noticed in passing that I Cor. IV. 1, in the Scots New Testament following Wyclif, reads "Sa a man gesse vs, as mynisteris of Crist, and dispensaris of the ministerijs of God." The vulgate here has "dispensatores mysterium

⁴ Mat. XIII. 11; Mark IV. 11; Luke VIII. 10; Romans XI. 25; Romans XVI. 25; I Cor. II. 7; IV. 1; XIII. 2; XIV. 2; I Cor. XV. 51; Ephes. III. 4; VI. 19; Col. I. 26; II. 2; Col. IV. 3; II Thes. II. 7; I Tim. III. 9; Rev. X. 7; Rev. XVII. 5.

Dei."

On the very threshold of a consideration of the instances in which "sacramentum" is used, there lies the prior question of the adequacy or otherwise of "sacramentum" as a rendering of "μυστήριον." But as this question really lies outwith the scope of our present purpose, our concern being with the text of the Vulgate as it stands and not with the consideration whether the Vulgate is an accurate rendering of the Greek original, it is sufficient if we merely mention it.

The instances that now claim our attention are as follows:- Ephes. I. 9; III. 3; V. 32; Col. I. 27; I. Tim. III. 16; Rev. I. 20; XVII. 7.

It is to be noted with regard to every one of these that the rendering in the Scots New Testament was originally "sacrament" but was changed into "sacrait," sometimes in darker ink as in Rev. I. 20, sometimes by a later hand as in Rev. XVII. 7.¹

¹New Testament in Scots, (Scot Text Soc.), Vol. II. pp. 228, 233, 234, 242, 262, 295; also Vol. III. pp. 202, 238.

It is also to be remarked that in the Wyclif version the rendering is uniformly "sacrament" while in Tyn-dale's "mystery" is used with one variation, Ephes. V. 32. It is significant, too, that in the Douay Bible "mystery" is used in seven out of these eight cases, the exception again being Ephes. V. 32.

This latter is really a crucial case. In the Scots New Testament the verse reads:-

"v 31. For this thing a man sal forsake his fader and his moder, and he sall draw to his wijf; and thai salbe ii in aa flesch. v 32. This sacrait (a) is gret; ye, I say in Crist and in the kirk."

Wyclif's version of course reads, "Forsothe this sacrament is greet." Archbishop Hamilton in his Catechism, commenting on this verse, writes:-

"Thairfor S. Paul sais spekand of the band of matrimonie. Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in ecclesia. Matrimonye is ane gret sacrament, bot I say in Christ and in the kirk."¹

(a) "sacrait corrected out of sacrament," note in New Testament in Scots, (S.T.S.); Vol. II. p. 242.
¹The Catechism of John Hamilton, 1552, edited by T.G. Law, p.236.

This idea is perpetuated in the Douay version which has, "This is a great sacrament." Tyndale's rendering is, "This is a grett secrete." It is just possible that the correction of "sacrament" to "sacrait" in the Lollard New Testament is due to the influence of his translation. Gau has no translation of this verse in *The Richt Vay*, but he clearly indicates his position in a reference in which he says, "S. Paul in ye v chaipthur to ye Ephesias/ callis ane greit halie secreit thing quhair with al chrissine men ar maid ane body with Iesu Christ."¹

From these examples it is obvious that two different points of view are indicated. On the one hand, there is that of the Roman Church, according to which matrimony is a sacrament.² On the other, there is the Protestant position, as represented by Tyndale and Gau, which does not recognise a sacrament of matrimony. The Lollard standpoint is not so clearly defined. When the translation was first made by Murdoch Nisbet, he, at least,

¹John Gau, *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine*, (S.T.S.), p. 57. LL.10f. This is his only reference to the verses discussed above.

²See Catechism of Council of Trent, Eng. trans. 1839, p. 327, "Marriage a Sacrament."

accepted the older position, but it is just as certain that Lollard opinion was not satisfied nor stable but tended more and more to what became the Reformed doctrine. This is the explanation of the alteration of "sacrament" to "sacrait."

There is another trace of Reformation influence similar to the textual alteration just mentioned. In the text of the Scots New Testament itself, the beginning of the lessons in the Epistles and Gospels usually read in church is marked in Nisbet's MS. with a red cross✠ and the end with a half-cross✠ also in red. These correspond generally with those in Tnydale's editions and are evidently later additions to the Lollard text.¹

It only remains to add that it is clear there was no schismatic intent behind the copying and use of the Scots New Testament. The Epistles of the Old Testament, which had been included at the end, were those "quhilk ar red in the Kyrk aponne certane dayes of the Yeir,"² and the attempt was clearly one to provide in

¹New Testament in Scots, (S.T.S), Vol. I. Intro. pp. xv and xvi. See also frontispiece in same volume for reproduction of MS.

²Ibid. Vol. III. p. 256, see also note (a) on same page.

the vernacular a faithful copy of the Scriptures for the ordinary man to read. To sum up in Dr. Law's own words:-

"So it may be said of Purvey's version that though the translator was a disciple of Wycliffe, his text bears no trace of theological bias. It was a very literal, very honest English reproduction of the Vulgate of his day; and Nisbet's Scottish recension is, in turn, no less honest and faithful." ¹

With this estimate we entirely agree. At the same time, this product of the early XVI century is not without its witness to the great changes in religious thought that were yet to mark out this century in the history of western civilisation.

¹ New Testament in Scots, (S.T.S), Vol. I. Introduction pp. xxxiif.

Part III.

Scottish Lollardy.

I. Lollardy :- Its Tenets and Teaching.
pp. 233 - 244.

II. Lollardy and Reformation Tenets.
A Comparison. pp. 245 - 258.

III. Lollardy and the Reformation.
pp. 259 - 264.

I.

Lollardy :- Its Tenets and Teaching.

At the very beginning of our enquiry into this part of our subject, we are met with the difficulty that practically all our knowledge of Lollard tenets and teaching comes to us through channels which are hostile to the movement.¹ This is true even of the list of beliefs preserved for us by Knox in his account of the Lollard trial, for, as he tells us himself, "They were accused of the Articles following, as we have received them forth of the Register of Glasgw."

Again, there is nothing anywhere that claims to be a formal and exhaustive statement of Lollard beliefs

¹ Excluding the Nova Scotia and the New Testament in Scots which are all the works of Scottish Lollardy extant. See Appendix E. pp. 97 - 100.

or that can reasonably be held to be such. The references which we have, not excluding the 34 articles which formed the indictment against the Lollards of Kyle, are all more or less of a casual or incidental character. This was inevitable, for Lollardy was a protest, the expression of dissent from accepted traditional principles. Consequently, only such points were enumerated as the Lollards held in opposition to, or in criticism of, the orthodoxy of their day. There was no need to quote those points on which they and the Church were agreed. Nevertheless, it is precarious to argue from such silence, that on all points of Church doctrine and practice, to which no reference has been made, Lollard doctrine and practice could be held to be identical with Church orthodoxy.

It depends therefore on the nature of the tenets and teaching of the Church which Lollardy challenged - whether these were central to the faith or mainly on the fringe - as to whether or not we are able to get at the heart of this movement, for differences from orthodoxy however slight on fundamental issues are much more significant and therefore take us much nearer to the

essence of Lollardy than differences, however great, on non-essentials.

Another line of investigation, however, comes to our help in the light which the known practice of the Lollards - even though for it also we are indebted to unfriendly testimony,- throws upon their beliefs and teaching. Now Lollardy did raise very important and fundamental issues which the Church could not allow to go unchallenged and retain her authority and doctrine unimpaired. Yet even in this the Lollards attacked what they held to be particular abuses or errors.

They repudiated papal and priestly authority. The two specified charges recorded by Bower against Resby deal precisely with this point. It was as vicar of Christ the Pope claimed authority, but Resby declared that the Pope was not de facto Christ's vicar.¹ Folkhyrde, in so far as an indirect reference to such authority is present in the Nova Scocie, would have it exercised for the reformation of churchmen, that they might be made more faithful in their duties.² In the case of Crawar, it is not specifically mentioned, but

¹ Scotichronicon, Vol. II. Lib.XV; cap.xx. p. 441.

² Appendix B. p. 60.

the charges brought against him involve that as their motive, while the account Bower gives of the Wyclifites and Hussites of Bohemia, whose representative Crawar was, points in the same direction. The Lollards of Kyle were very emphatic on this as is testified by Articles V, VI, XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXV, XXVI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV.¹ They ring the changes upon it. This is a clear indication of the importance of this tenet, both in the eyes of the Lollards and of their accusers.

Another important tenet held very uniformly by the Lollards, was a denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Here again they do not appear to have raised the general question of sacraments. There is never any dispute as to the number of them. In this they follow Wyclif. There is no mention of this either in Resby or Folkhyrde, but in Resby's case, though some 40 charges were preferred against him, only two are specified, while the doctrine of Transubstantiation did not fall

¹Knox's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. pp. 8-10.
See also Appendix E. pp. 97f.

within the scope of Folkhyrde's purpose at all, which was a practical rather than a doctrinal one. His complaint was that the priests did not dispense the sacraments freely.¹ With regard to Paul Cwawar it is different. All who recount the story of his mission and martyrdom either refer to his propagating the errors of Wyclif and Hus, which included, on Wyclif's part at any rate, a denial of Transubstantiation, or else in so many words refer to it. Of the 34 articles brought against the Lollards of Kyle VI, VII, X, XXIII, all have a bearing upon it.² This was in fact one of the points in which Lollardy broke most completely with the old orthodoxy. Wyclif had been very emphatic about it, though his own theory was lacking somewhat in definiteness. This lack of definiteness might well have characterised Scottish Lollardy also, for there is no formal statement of Lollard teaching in this matter, but it would appear that Scottish Lollardy was more akin to the teaching of Wyclif in this than to that of Hus. Nevertheless the Utraquist

¹See pp. 42f.

²Knox's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. pp. 8-10.

controversy which evoked such a furore in Bohemia did not so much as find an echo in Scotland, yet when the break-away from Rome took place, the change to communion in both kinds was evidently made as a matter of course, though the statute 294, one of the General Statutes of 1559, may have been aimed at "reformed" irregularities which had been introduced.¹

There is an interesting reference in the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Raynaldus to the teaching of certain followers of Wyclif (*haeretici Wicleffistae*) who were arrested in Scotland about 1420, and as it is concerned with baptism and confirmation it might well be noted here. It is evidently not baptism and confirmation as sacraments that is the issue but the administering of them to the infants of the faithful. According to this record "they were wont to teach that the children of faithful parents need not to be purified by baptism, because they assert that the grace of the Holy Spirit was poured upon them; and that the sacrament of confirmation should not be administered because they were

¹ Statutes of the Scottish Church, (Scot. Text Soc.), p. 187.

amply confirmed by the Divine word."¹ There was a tendency, apparently, to minimise their sacramental value and an implied criticism of the "opus operatum" theory in as much as these sacraments were being relegated to a secondary place. There was, therefore, a distinct break-away in this from orthodox belief and tradition.

The Lollards were also opposed to several practices, not only sanctioned but encouraged by the Roman Church, as for example penance and the associated practice of auricular confession. These gave the priest a great hold over the people, and reformers and satirists alike were not slow to recognise this and sought to bring that power to an end. It was a count brought by Bower against Resby,² and also against Crawar,³ while echoes of it may be found in articles V, XIII, XV, XVIII, XXVI.⁴

Yet the Lollards had not by any means broken wholly with the penitential system of the Roman Church, as we saw from the study of the New Testament in Scots.⁵

¹ Raynaldi Annales Ecclesiastici (1752 ed.), Vol. VIII, p. 523, xxi, Wicleffistae in Scotia.

² Scotch. Vol. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p. 442, ³ also Lib. XVI, cap. ~~xx~~, p. 495.

⁴ Knox's Reformation, Vol. I. pp. 8-10.

⁵ See pp. 224. f

They were doubtless dissatisfied and critical and were groping towards another point of view, but had not yet come to an assured and stable opinion.

Further they were opposed to pilgrimages, the worship of relics and images, and prayers to the saints. Bower specifies these in the account which he gives of the Bohemian heretics; and the Lollards of Kyle maintained a like testimony, as articles II, XXVII, XXVIII, and XXXI show.¹

Nor did they accept the doctrine of Purgatory as held by the Church. The followers of Wyclif in Bohemia, again on the testimony of Bower, denied it altogether.² Crawar too is therefore likely to have denied it, and certainly the Lollards of Scotland did not hold the orthodox view regarding it, as article XIV proves.

These beliefs fostered by the Lollards tended to weaken the authority and power of the priests and of the Church and naturally called forth the sympathy of

¹ Knox's Reformation I. pp. 8-10, Cf. Pecock's Repressor, I. Part II, ch.vi, p. 169; especially part II ch.ix.pl9lf.
² Scotich. II.Lib. XVI. cap. xx, p.495.

many who supported these views, not on religious grounds at all, but because, for political or other considerations, they wished to see the power of the Church and of the priests destroyed.

Another tenet which would surely call forth such support would be the refusal on the part of the Lollards to pay tithes, article VII.¹ This, of course, goes back to Wyclif's doctrine of Dominion, and was very popular with certain sections of the community, attracting to the Lollard camp many who had little interest in the religious spirit and principles of Lollardy, but were prepared to support what they believed to be its political programme, or at least, what in the way of a political programme it seemed to sanction.²

In addition to these tenets just considered, all of which are of a negative character, there were positive positions, important though few, also taken by the Lollards. Foremost among these was their claim

¹ Knox's Reformation I. pp. 8-10.

² Cf. Fasciculi Zizaniorum (Rolls series), Intro. pp. lxviii.

to the right of private judgment. It was not, perhaps, spoken of in these words, but the principle was one on which the Lollards had acted from the first. Wyclif took his stand on it. It was the exercise of it that brought Resby and Crawar within the reach of the law and sent them to the stake. The Lollards of Kyle have only one rather indirect reference to it in article XXX, "That we ar nott bound to beleve all that the Doctouris of the Kyrk have writtin."¹ But it was just for the very exercise of this right that they were brought to trial in 1494, so that it really was a fundamental principle with them.

Another tenet, closely connected with it, is the priest-hood of believers. Wyclif again had stood for this through his doctrine of Dominion, and his followers uniformly accepted this principle, thereby striking another blow at priestly privilege and exclusiveness. The Lollards of Kyle put their seal to this too in article X, and in article XXIX we have a consequence of it.¹ It made them independent of official

¹ Knox's Reformation I. pp. 8-10.

ritual and machinery, as the practice of Murdoch Nisbet, and the Laird of Cesnock and of Gordon of Earlstoun in holding services with their friends, illustrates.

Another very characteristic tenet and very closely connected with the previous one is the right of every man to have access to the Scriptures in his mother tongue. Granted the right of private judgment and the priest-hood of believers, it was inevitable the Lollards should claim the right of access to the word of God in their own tongue. Crawar was versed in the Scriptures.¹ Resby, too, had his books and pamphlets.² Folkhyrde appealed to the authority of Scripture.³ While it was not brought as a charge against the Lollards of Kyle, we have already referred to Scripture-reading as a known practice, while the fact that there is extant a copy of the New Testament in Scots is itself sufficient proof of this claim. To have a New Testament in the vernacular in one's possession was to

¹ Scotch. II. Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p.495.

² Ibid. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx. p.442.

³ Epistola II. "Et ex altera parte si id, quod diximus etc. p. 50. LL. 4-6.

come under suspicion at once for heresy.¹ This state of things continued until 1542 when, on the proposal of Robert, Lord Maxwell, "It is statute and ordanit that it salbe lefull to all Or souirane ladyis lieges to haif the haly write bait the new testament and the auld in the vulgar toung In Inglis or Scottis of ane gude and trew translatioun and tht thai sall Incur na crimes for the hefing or reding of the sam̄ Prouidīg alvayis that na mā despute or hald oppunyeonis undr the panis contentit In the actis of pliamēt."²

In view of this examination of Lollard tenets and teaching, it may be said that in brief the Lollards stood for:- i. Religion as a personal affair;

- ii. The assertion of the rights and responsibility of the individual.
- iii. Emphasis on the spiritual rather than on ritual and sacraments.
- iv. Freedom of the individual from the ecclesiastical system, with the consequent weakening of the Church's authority and control and denial of priestly privilege and claims.

¹ pp. 185f. See also *Memoirs of His Own Life* by Sir James Melville, (Abbey Classics ed.), p. 5.

² Act. Parl. Scot. II. p. 415, section 12.

II.

Lollard and Reformation Tenets.

A Comparison.

Two products of the early Reformation, by reason of their special connection with the movement in Scotland, deserve consideration here. These are "Patrick's Places"¹ and John Gau's Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine.²

However far Patrick Hamilton had already travelled towards the position of the reformers before he fled to the Continent in 1525, his contact with such leaders as Lambert, Luther and Melanchthon won him completely over and the doctrinal statement of his reformed beliefs he gives us in his "Places." This treatise, as Dr. Hay Fleming indicates, may very well have been theses submitted

1. "The earliest doctrinal production of the Scottish Reformation." see D. Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* (1910), p. 186.

2. *Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine*, (S.T.S), Intro. p. xi. "the first treatise in exposition and defence of the Reformed faith which appeared in the Scottish tongue."

by him at Marburg University.¹ The work was originally in Latin and the English version we owe to John Frith, who himself was martyred at Smithfield, London in 1533. We can be quite sure, however, that it furnishes us with the pith of Hamilton's teaching. It is short and concise, and while it cannot lay claim to covering all the reformer's religious beliefs, it gives us quite clearly his theological position.

The Richt Vay, though by no means a large volume, is yet larger and more discursive than the "Places." It traverses very much the same ground as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism of 1551/2, though of course its teaching is in the spirit of the Reformation. In the concluding chapter, which takes the form of "ane epistil to ye nobil lordis/ ād barōs of Scotlād," there is a reference to the martyrdom of Hamilton.² The Richt Vay is therefore later than Hamilton's "Places" as a doctrinal statement and, in as much as there are certain definite features due to Luther's influence, it also

¹ D.H.Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* p. 186, also Peter Lorimer, *The Scottish Reformation* (1860), pp. 9 & 10.

² Richt Vay, p. 104, LL. 26f.

clearly belongs to the Reformation movement.¹ This is an important fact regarding both works in as much as it indicates that in them we have passed from the Lollard movement in Scotland to the Reformation proper. In these two works then we have, at this early stage in its history, a Reformation standard to which we can relate Lollard teaching.

One of the most obvious differences which cannot fail to be noticed is the large place the doctrine of faith has in both treatises, but especially in Hamilton's, compared with the place given to it in Lollard teaching. In the indictment of 1494 there are three references to faith, the last one only very indirect, the word "faith" not being mentioned at all. In the first (IV) "faith" is used really for the Christian religion. In the second (XXVII) the faith referred to is faith in images. In the third (XXX) the Lollards are accused of teaching "that we are not bound to believe all that the doctors of the kirk have written." In none of these instances

¹ For Luther's influence see Richt Vay, Intro. pp. xxxiv, xxxv. xxxvi. xxxvii.

is "faith" used in the evangelical sense of the "Places" or the Richt Vay. In both of these it is fundamentally different from "faith" in the sense understood and taught by the Roman Church as it is to be found, for example, in Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism 1551/2 and in the Catechism of the Council of Trent. According to the "Places" and the Richt Vay, "faith" is to believe God;¹ is the gift of God;² is not in our power;³ is the root of all good;⁴ only maketh a man good and righteous;⁵ alone makes a man a member of Christ;⁶ all that is done in faith pleaseth God;⁷ "faith" is a "suirness."⁸

On the other hand, "faith" as understood by the Church of Rome is, "ane vertue quharby we beleif nocht allanerly that thair is ane trew levand God, quhilk is eternal, almychty, mercifull, rychteous and faithful, bot alswa we gif ferme credit to his word, quhilk is sa trew that na thing can be trewar."⁹ Then after quoting St. Augustine, "Ego non crederem evangelio nisi me ammoneret ecclesiae autoritas," the Catechism goes on. "I wald

1	Knox's Reformation	I. p.25;	Richt Vay.	p.73.	L.10.
2	"	"	"	"	p.74. L.10.
3	"	"	"	"	p.75. L. 8.
4	"	"	"	"	p.75. LL.3,4.
5	"	"	"	"	p.74. LL.9,10.
6	"	"	"	"	p.74. LL.2-4.
7	"	"	"	"	p.75; LL. 4,5.
8	"	"	"	"	p.74. L. 32.

⁹Archb. Hamilton's Catechism 1551/2, p. 40.

nocht gif credence to the evangel except that the universal kirk warnis me sa to do. And tharfor leir thir twa lessonis. The ane is, quhatsaever the haly spirit revelis and schawis to us, other in the bukis of haly scripture, or in the determinatiouns and dif- finitiouns of general counsellis lawfully gadderit for the corroboracion and maintenans of our fayth, we suld beleif the same to be the trew word of God, and thairto gyf ferme credens as to the verite that is infallible. The secund lesson, ye that ar simple and unleirnit men and wemen suld expresly beleif al the artickils of your Crede, as for al uthir hie mistereis and matteris of the scripture ye aucht to beleif generally as the kirk of God beleiffis."¹

In the Catechism of the Council of Trent, faith is defined as that "by which we yield our entire assent to whatever has been delivered by Almighty God."² Such faith is essential to salvation and, since it is beyond the reach of human understanding, it is necessary it should be made known to men by God. "This knowledge

¹ Archb. Hamilton, Catechism 1551/2, p. 41.

² Catechism of Council of Trent, Eng. trans. (1839), p. 11.

then is nothing else than faith, by which we yield our unhesitating assent to whatever the authority of our Holy Mother the Church teaches us to have been delivered by Almighty God; for the faithful cannot doubt those things of which God, who is truth itself, is the author."¹ Faith, therefore, according to the Roman Church, is assent to certain articles contained in "the Word of God which includes Scripture and Tradition"² and accepted on the authority of the Church. With the reformers faith denotes a personal relationship to Jesus Christ. It is clear there is a very radical difference between the teaching of the two parties regarding faith, so radical is the difference that the two conceptions form the bases of two opposing systems of religious thought and practice. Therefore, making all allowance for the precarious nature of "the argument from silence," it is surely reasonable to conclude that since no charge is recorded against the Lollards in a matter so fundamental as this, their position clearly must have been nearer to the orthodox

¹. Catechism of Council of Trent, Eng. trans, (1839), p.11.

². Ibid. p. 9.

belief of the Church than to that of the reformers. Therefore, we may conclude confidently that the doctrines of faith and of justification by faith had not the central place and importance in Lollardy which they had in Reformation teaching.

Closely connected with the doctrine of faith is the teaching both of Romanist and reformer regarding forgiveness. The Lollards, including Resby and Crawar, did not accept the Church's machinery for forgiveness. They were opposed to auricular confession, the doing of penance, the granting of indulgences and they expressed their disbelief in the power of the priest, by means of masses, to remit the pains of purgatory.¹ Hamilton, although he never once in the "Places" mentions "penance", "indulgence," or "mass", is very explicit and emphatic. In his section (The Doctrine) of the Gospell, he sets forth the Reformation teaching regarding the all-sufficiency of Christ for our salvation.² The same subject is continued in the short

¹ Knox, Reformation I. p.9, XIII, XIV, XV, XVIII, XXVI. Compare Gatechism of Council of Trent, (Eng. tran.1839), p. 112 (a), also p.113 (c).

² Knox, Reformation I. p.23.

section headed A Disputatioun betuix the Law and the Gospell,¹ and again all the emphasis is laid on the work of Christ. He returns to develop the consequences of this teaching in his section on (The Doctrine) of Good Workis,² where again without mentioning "penance" he completely overturns the whole penitential system of the Roman Church, condemning not good works but false trust in any works.³ In view of such teaching it can readily be believed that among "the articles and opinions objected agaynst M. Patrike Hamelton, by James Beton, Archbysop of S.Andrewes", he should be accused of asserting "that there is no Purgatory;" "that all Christians worthy to be called Christians, do know that they be in the state of grace;" "that it is deuillishe doctrine, to enioyne to any sinner, actuall penance for sinne;" "that auricular confession is not necessary to saluation."⁴

In agreement with this is the teaching of the Richt Vay. Here, when passages are quoted from the New Testament "repent" and "repentance" are used instead of

¹Knox's Reformation, I. pp. 24f.

²Ibid. pp. 31f.

³Ibid. p. 35.see also Richt Vay, p.22, LL. 19, 20.

⁴Ibid. I. p.509.

"penance" and in one instance the less familiar "forthinkis" is Gau's rendering. In their standpoint regarding forgiveness the Lollards had moved away from the orthodox position definitely in the direction of what came to be the reformed teaching, but nevertheless, their doctrine neither went so far nor was so radical as that of the reformers.

There is one rather remarkable omission in the "Places." There is no mention of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This was one of the points in which the Lollards differed most acutely from the Church. In the 34 articles brought against them in 1494, there are three pointed references (VII, XXIII, XXX) to this sacrament. These indicate the manner in which they differed from orthodox teaching. Resby and Crawar are quite at one with their followers in Kyle in this.¹ In the Richt Vay also the Reformation position is given quite clearly. "We trow that the bodi and blwid of our lord Iesus christ is contenit veralie in the sacramēt of the alter onder the forme of breid and vine."²

¹ Scotich. II. Lib. XV.. cap. xx. 442. also Lib. XVI. cap. xx. p. 495.

² Richt Vay, p. 27, LL. 23-25 see also p. 58. LL. 32r.

This omission on Hamilton's part manifestly shows that he did not attach the importance to the Sacrament which the Roman Church did.¹ With the latter it is all important, for it is bound up with priestly claims and privileges and therefore to be safe-guarded with the utmost jealousy. In Hamilton's system of religious thought it is faith in Jesus Christ to which he gives the place that the Romanist gives to the Sacrament of the Altar. Membership in Christ is conditioned by faith.²

This brings us, naturally, to the doctrine of the Church - the very citadel of the Romanist's position. For him everything turns on one's relationship to the Church. *Nulla salus extram ecclesiam.*³ Only within its fold are the benefits and grace of Jesus Christ to be enjoyed. These are conveyed through the sacraments,⁴ which, to be regular and valid require a duly accredited ministry.⁵ From the pale of the Church but three classes are excluded, Infidels who never belonged to the Church; heretics and schismatics, because they

¹ Catechism of Council of Trent, Eng. trans. (1839), p. 204; also p. 319 Effects of the Sacrament of Order II.

² Knox's Reformation, I. p. 29. "Faith only maketh a man the member of Christ."

³ Catechism of Council of Trent, etc. pp. 99f.

⁴ Ibid. p. 137, III. ⁵ Ibid. p. 150, also p. 301, On the Sacrament of Order. See also Archb. Hamilton's Catechism. p. 231.

have separated themselves from the Church; the excommunicated because excluded by her sentence till they repent.¹ From those within her pale she exacts implicit obedience to her authority and even with regard to heretics and schismatics, "it is not, however, to be denied, that they are still subject to the jurisdiction of the Church, whereas they may be cited before her tribunal, punished and anathematised."¹ In the exercise of her authority "the Church" means the prelates and pastors,² all in turn acknowledging the headship and authority of the Pope, the visible head of the visible Church.³ This is essential.

Now it is noteworthy that the Lollards were not accused of any heresy with regard to their doctrine of the Church. Consequently we are left very much in ignorance as to what they actually believed and taught concerning it. That they had definitely broken with the orthodox view we know, for they asserted the priesthood of all believers,⁴ and questioned priestly

¹ Catechism of Council of Trent, (Eng. trans. 1839), p. 98. ² Ibid. p. 98 (g).

³ Ibid. p. 101, also p. 316, V.

⁴ Knox's Reformation, I. p. 9, article (x).

claims and pretensions, not sparing even the papacy itself.¹ This was true of Resby² and Crawar.³ They, also, refused to accord the Bishop of Rome the place claimed for him by the Church.

Neither has Patrick Hamilton anything to say about the Church in his "Places." - but with him it is from a different reason..His concern is not with the Church but with the Lord of the Church. For him it is faith that "makith God and man freindis, bringith God and man to gither,"⁴ and not a man's relation to a visible organisation.

In the Richt Vay also there are several significant references which clearly indicate the difference between the Roman and the reformed point of view. The writer rings the changes on the thought "the halie kirk, quhilk is the congregatiōne of chrissine pepil."⁵ "ād this halie chrissine kirk is gadrit ād gwuernit with the halie spreit ād it is spiritualie dailie fed with our lord Iesus Christis word and his halie sacrament And he is alanerlie ye heid of this halie

¹ Knox's Reformation I. p. 8, articles v, vi, p. 9, articles xii, xv, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxv, xxvi, also p. 10, articles xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv.

² Scotch. II. Lib. XV. cap. xx, p. 441, also p. 443.

³ Ibid. II. Lib. 495. ⁴ Knox's Reformation I. p. 29.

⁵ Richt Vay, p.45, L.36-p.46, L.1; p.55, L.28-p.56, L.6; also p. 56, LL. 22f.; P. 58, LL.15,16; p. 79, LL. 18,19, 31f.

chrissine kirk and na mortal sinful man quhedir he be pape or patriarch or ony oder as mony ignorant prechours hes prechit befor/"¹. To quote one more passage, " In ye halie chrissine kirk thair is ane lord ane faith ane baptyne ane God ane fader to al thing ād ower al thing ād abune al thing and in al thing as S. Paul writis in ye iiii chaiptur to ye Ephesians/ quhair ye halie vangel is prechit and rasaut thair is ane part of ye halie chrissine kirk/ The halie chrissine kirk is noth bwnd or set in ony special place for quhy it is ane spiritual congregat-ione ower al ye vardil...."². The true Christian Church, according to the reformers, is not an organisation nor a hierarchy. It is a spiritual body. Its marks are the faith of its members and the preaching of the gospel. The Lollards, however, had not reached out to a new doctrine of the Church like the reformers. They stopped short with their denial of priestly cliams and pretensions.

¹ Richt Vay, p. 80. LL. 1-6.

² Ibid. p. 57. LL. 23- 29.

From this comparison of the teachings of Lollardy with the doctrines taught by Patrick Hamilton and the writer of the Richt Vay, it is clear that by the time we reach Hamilton we have really passed from a position of protest to one of systematic, constructive belief; from the criticism of individual claims and articles of belief to fundamental issues.

III.

Lollardy and The Reformation.

The task that now concerns us is to attempt to sum up the Lollard Movement and relate it, so far as we can, to the greater movement of the Reformation of which it has given us some anticipations. Professor MacEwen rightly reminds us that, "this Lollard movement in Scotland has a claim to be recorded, as the first open severance from the Roman Church."¹ But he continues:-

"In itself, however, it was not an important movement. For an effective appeal to a nation or community, some clear doctrine or some strong sentiment is requisite, and the leading tenet of

¹A.R. MacEwen, A History of the Church in Scotland, (1913), I. p.385.

"the Lollards in their best days, that the Bible should be read independently by every Christian, does not become a vivifying or guiding doctrine until the teaching of the Bible is centralised and its appeals to conscience are defined. Although the maxim, that 'every faithful man and woman is a priest' gained gracious and evangelical significance when combined with the truth that man is justified by faith, it was in itself a barren maxim, fruitless except in controversy. Since that is the only positive belief with which the Scottish Lollards can be credited, they cannot be regarded as forerunners of the Lutheran Reformers."¹

This is a very sweeping statement, and if true would mean that Scottish Lollardy was a self-contained movement, that made no contribution at all to the Reformation. This we would beg leave respectfully to question. On the other hand, we would not suggest that Lollardy

¹A.R. MacEwen, A History of the Church in Scotland, (1913), I. pp. 385 and 386.

contained all the elements of the Reformed Faith, though undeveloped. The relationship is not so simple as either of these alternatives would suggest. Its limitations are apparent and must be duly appraised. While it was a break away from the old order, Lollardy was not fundamental or constructive enough to inaugurate a new movement capable of replacing the old. As a matter of fact, it never cut itself wholly free from Medievalism but remained entangled with the old system of thought. Our study of the Scots New Testament unmistakably shows that. In trying to answer the question why it should be so, one rather suggestive fact meets us. Scottish Lollardy produced no creative mind like Wyclif. Indeed there was no man, either in England or Scotland, on whom his mantle could be said to have fallen. The work of translation was continued by Purvey on the lines laid down by Wyclif, but no thinker arose to continue the work he had begun in that sphere. The constructive thinking was done by Wyclif, and later Lollardy shows no new development of his principles. Consequently it became more and more a peasant movement and

never got beyond being transitional. Its positions were too negative. No less than 21 out of the 34 articles brought against the Lollards of Kyle are negative statements. The movement was a protest and did not get beyond that; but as a protest it was both important and valuable. A constructive programme, however, requires something more than protests. It is only positive beliefs that can meet the growing demands of experience and life. Now Lollardy made two very important positive claims. It claimed the right of access for all to the Word, and it stood for the priesthood of believers. These were amazing discoveries and claims to be made and maintained in face of a system whose very *raison d'être* was the denial of them. Nevertheless found as they are in Lollardy they are not without being an occasion of weakness to the movement. They tended to weaken and certainly to minimise the corporate authority of the Church, and that at a time when such corporate authority was very necessary. As Miss Deanesly puts it, "since he (Wyclif) disregarded the consensus of findings of individual consciences, as expressed in the visible

and historic Church, he left himself open to the objection that the Bible can be very differently interpreted by individuals, and claimed as final authority for widely differing ecclesiastical and social systems."¹ Until the emergence of some great evangelical principle, which could supply both direction and unity, there was a real danger lest order should be replaced by confusion and authority by each one becoming a law unto himself. That evangelical principle was found in the doctrine of justification by faith, and is the real differentia of the Reformation. The Lollards had no principle so radical as this. Whereas they attacked particular practices and beliefs, this principle went to the very root of the old system, and by so doing involved all the doctrines and practices that were most characteristic and expressive of that system. As we have already seen, Patrick Hamilton was the first in Scotland to give clear expression to this doctrine, and it was only on his return from Germany, after his contact with the forces of Reformation there. This, then, is the true boundary

¹ Miss Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, p.228.

line between Lollardy and the Reformation movement proper. To step from the one side of the line to the other is to step into a new order of things entirely. Lollardy failed to take this step. In so saying we do not mean to imply that Lollardy had no idea of this truth. It had glimmerings of it, but there was no steady, burning flame, as in the Reformation itself. Lollardy had served its day. What now happened was this. The stream of reform, represented by Lollardy, was met by the larger stream that flowed in from the Continent, mingled with it, was swept along with it, and so ceased to pursue a separate or distinguishable course. It was naturally absorbed in this larger movement which made it one with the reforming movement in other lands and held out richer promise than Lollardy, with its inevitable limitations, could ever hope to realise. But its service was neither negligible nor unimportant. In unmistakable terms it proclaimed the failure of the old order to meet the needs and aspirations of men. It marked, therefore, an inevitable stage in human progress.

Bibliography.

i. Original Documents.

Acts of Parliament of Scotland. Vols. I and II.

Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes
(Scotland), 1496 - 1501.

Annales Ecclesiastice, Raynaldi.

Calendars of Papal Registers.

Calendar of State Papers (Scotland).

Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree, edited by Prof. J.H.
Baxter, (1932).

Folkhyrde, Quintin, Nova Seecie. See Copiale Prioratus
Sanctiandree pp. 230f.

Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris (1527), Societe de
l'histoire de France.

Liber S. Maria de Calhou. (Bannatyne Club).

Monumenta Medii Aevi Histor. Poloniae XIV.

Monumenta Universitatis Prag. I.

Monumenta, Vetera, Hib. et Scot. edited by Theiner.

Nisbet, Murdoch, New Testament in Scots, (Scot. Text
Soc.).

Protocol Books of Gavin Ros, 1512-1532, (Scot. Rec. Soc.).

- Records, Burgh of Ayr, 1428-1478. unpublished.
- Records, Burgh of Edinburgh. (Maitland Club).
- Records, Burgh of Prestwick. (Maitland Club).
- Records, City of Glasgow. (Maitland Club).
- Register of Great Seal of the Kings of the Scots,
2 vols. 1424-1513; 1513-1546.
- Register of Privy Seal of the King of the Scots, 1488-1529.
- Register Diocesan of Glasgow, (Grampian Club).
- Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, (Maitland Club).
- Rotuli Scotiae, Vols. I and II.
- Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticae, edited by Joseph Robertson.
- Statutes of the Scottish Church, (Scot Hist. Soc.),
edited by David Patrick.
- Wyclif John, Translation of New Testament.
- Wyclif John, Trialogus, edited by Prof. Lechler.
- ii. Writings wholly or practically contemporary.
- Alesius, Alex. Responsio ad Cochlii Calumnias.
- Boece, Hector Scottish History.
- Catechism of Council of Trent, Eng. trans. 1839.
- Complaynt of Scotland, (English Text Soc.).
- Douglas, Gavin Poems edited by John Small.

Dunbar, William Poems, 3. vols. (Scot Text Soc.).

Poems edited by W.Mackay Maekenzie, 1932.

Fasciculi Zizaniorum, (Rolls Series).

Gau, John Richt Vay into the Kingdome of Heuine,

(Scot. Text Soc.).

Hamilton, Archb. John Catechism 1551/2 edited by

T.G.Law.

Hamilton, Patrick "The Places."

Hay, A. Panegyricus.

Major, John History of Greater Britain, (Scot Hist. Soc).

Lyndsay, Sir David Poems, 3 vols. edited by D. Laing.

Peececk, Bishop Reginald The Repressor of over much

Blaming of the Clergy, (Rolls Series).

Poetry, Early Popular of Scotland, 2 vols. ed, by D. Laing.

Prestis, The Thre of Peblis, (Scot Text Soc.).

Scotichronicon, Walter Bower.

Tyndale, William Translation of new Testament.

Valgate, New Testament.

Wynton, Andrew de Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland.

iii. Secondary Documents and Writings.

Buchanan, George History of Scotland in 4 vols. trans.
by James Aikman. Vol. II.

Calderwood, David History of the Kirk of Scotland
8. vols. Wedrow Society.

Diurnal of Occurrents, (Maitland Club).

Foxe, John The Acts and Monuments of the Church.

Knox, John History of the Reformation, Vols. I and II
of Works.

Leslie, Bishop John The Historie of Scotland, (Scot.
Text Soc.).

Melville, Sir James Memoirs of His Own Life.

Piteairn, Criminal Trials (Ancient) in Scotland,
(Maitland Club).

Pitseottie, Cronicles of Scotland, (Scot Text Soc.).

Reformers, Three Scottish ed. by Charles Rogers, (Eng.
Reprint Soc.).

Rew, Jehn Historie of the Kirk of Seotland, (Wedrow Soc).

Wedrew, Robert The History of the Sufferings of the
Church of Seotland.

Wodrow, Robert Analeeta.

Wodrow, Robert Miscellany.

Select Biographies, 2 vols.

iv. Modern Writings.

Anderson, Christopher The Annals of the English Bible
2 vols. 1845.

Barrett, Michael, O.S.B. Sidelights on Scottish History 1918.

Bednář, F. Časopis Matice Moravské (1915) in Czech.

Bellesheim, A. History of the Catholic Church of Scotland,
trans. by D.O.Hunter Blair. (1887).

Beehmer, H. German ed. 1904, Eng. trans. 1930, by
E.S.G.Potter.

Brown, P.Hume History of Scotland vol. I.

John Knox 2 vols.

George Buchanan.

Scotland before 1700.

Bryce, James The Holy Roman Empire (1912).

Cambridge Medieval History VII. (1932).

Cambridge Modern History vols. I and II.

Carrick, J.C. Wycliffe and the Lollards (The world's
Epoch-makers series).

Cranz, David History of the Brethren (1780) trans.
by B.La Trobe

- Coulton, G.G. **The Roman Catholic Church and the Bible.**
- Creighton, Bishop **History of the Papacy during the Reformation.**
- Cunningham, John **Church History of Scotland.**
- Deanesly, Margaret **The Lollard Bible.**
- Dictionary of National Biography.**
- Dowden, Bishop **The Bishops of Scotland.**
- The Medieval Church in Scotland.**
- Encyclopedia Britannica (1929).**
- Encyclopedia, Catholic (1911).**
- Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.**
- Fleming, D. Hay **The Reformation in Scotland.**
- Gairdner, James **Lollardy and the Reformation in England.**
- Gasquet, Cardinal **The Pre-Reformation English Bible, (1906).**
- Hannay, Prof. R.K. **The Scottish Crown and the Papacy 1424-1560, (The Historical Association of Scotland).**
- Hefle et Leclereq **Histoire des Conciles, vols. VII. VIII.**
- Henderson, T.F. **Scottish Vernacular Literature, A History.**
- Herben, Jan **John Huss and his Followers, (1926).**
- Herkless and Hannay, **The Archbishops of St. Andrews.**

- Hewison, J.King The Covenanters.
- Innes, Cosmo Sketches of Early Scotch History, (1861).
 Scotland in the Middle Ages, (1860).
 Scotch Legal Antiquities, (1872).
- Jones, Rufus Studies in Mystical Religion.
- Laing, Alex. Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh.
 (Maitland Club).
- Lea, H.C. A History of the Inquisition of the Middle
 Ages, vol. III. (1887).
- Leeher, Prof. John Wycliffe and his English Precursors
 trans. by Prof. P. Lorimer.
- Leith, W. Forbes, S.J. Pre-Reformation Scholars in
 Scotland, (1925).
- Lindsay, Lord Life of The Lindsays.
- Lindsay, T.M. History of the Reformation, 2 vols. (1909).
- Lorimer, Prof. P. The Scottish Reformation.
- Loserth, Johann Wielif and Hus trans. by W.J. Evans.
- Lutzow, Count Life and Times of John Hus.
- Lyon, C.J. History of St. Andrews. 2 vols.
- McCrie, Chas. John Knox, (1855).
 Andrew Melville. (1856).
- MacEwen, A.R. History of the Church in Scotland, (1913).

- Maxwell, A. Old Dundee prior to the Reformation.
- Maxwell, Sir H. History of Dumfries and Galloway (1896).
- Mitchell, Prof. A.F. The Scottish Reformation, Baird Lectures 1899.
- Morton, A.S. Galloway and the Covenanters.
- Nisbet, Alexander Heraldry 2 vols. (1816).
- Odležílík, Otakar Wycliffe's Influence upon Central and Eastern Europe (in English) Slavonic Review (1928).
- Paterson, James History of Ayrshire (1863).
- Poole, R.L. Wycliffe and Movements for Reform (Epochs of Church History).
- Primrose, James Medieval Glasgow.
- Renwick and Lindsay, History of Glasgow.
- Review, English Historical, vol. VII.
- Review, Scottish Historical, vols. I. XV. XXIII.
- Robertson, William Ayrshire Families.
- Sedlák, Jan Jan Hus (1915) in Czech Latin text of Nova Scocie.
- Spettiswood, Archb. History of the Church of Scotland.
- Stewart, R.M. The Church of Scotland, 1070-1560.
- Studies, Quatercentenary of George Buchanan.

Symposium, The Reformers by ministers of the United Presbyterian Church (1884).

Symposium, Religious Life in Scotland from the Reformation till the Present Day (1888).

Taylor, I.A. The Life of James IV.

Tytler, History of Scotland vols. I - V.

Turberville, A.S. Medieval Heresy and the Inquisition (1920).

Vaughan, Robert John de Wycliffe (1853).

Workman, H.B. The Age of Wyclif.

The Age of Hus.

Christian Thought to the Reformation.

John Wyclif, 2vols. (1926).