In his own day and age John Knox was a controversial figure, and he has continued to be so down to the present time. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century no one attempted to write a full-length biography of him, probably for this very reason. Yet from the early days of the Scottish Reformation men have taken a position either for or against the reformer, and have expressed their views both verbally and in writing. It has been the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, that have produced the greatest number of interpretations of this man. Despite the views of such historians as Professor Hugh Trevor Roper that he is not worth bothering about, more and more works are appearing either dealing directly with him, or referring to him in connection with other phases or personalities of the sixteenth century. Therefore, on the 400th anniversary of his death, it is perhaps a good thing to look at some of the interpretations to see if we can come to a just estimation of him and his work.

I

We may divide John Knox's interpreters into three different groups. The first consists of his supporters and advocates. Ever since the Reformation there have been those who believed that what he did was right, for he sought to serve God. As Richard Bannatyne, his servant at the time of his death, put it:

What dexteritie in teiching, bauldness in reproving, and hatred of wickitnes was in him, my ignorant dulness is not able to declair; whilk gif I sould preis to set out, wer as who wald licht a candle to lat men sie the Sonne, seing all his vertowis ar better knowin, and nocht hid to the world, a thowsand fold better than I am able to express.¹

And this sentiment has been echoed by many, including his first biographer, Dr. Thomas M'Crie and others, down to the present time. Some have been critical of his attitude towards Mary, Queen of Scots, and others have wished that he had not taken such a drastic stand against the sixteenth century's version of "Women's Lib," but generally they have felt that he was the right man for the right time in Scotland. Archbishop Spottiswoode even went to the length of denying his authorship of his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* in order to prove this point.² Indeed, many of his admirers have tended to see in him no fault at all.

Although Knox has had his admirers, he has had also had his violent opponents. As one might expect, Roman Catholics have always taken a somewhat dim view of him and his work. From his own days when Ninian Winzet and the Abbot of Grossraguel attacked him in print, even into the third quarter of the twentieth century in which Antonia Fraser in her biography of Mary, Queen of Scots, has drawn a very unfavorable picture of him, the attitude has been much the same. Others, however, who seem to have no religious commitments have also criticized him vigorously, usually on the ground of his attitude to Mary or for his violence in the denunciation of the opponents of his plans for reform. Not only did

William Maitland of Lethington in the sixteenth century oppose him on these grounds, but today we find much the same attitude in the opinions of contemporary historians and biographers, such as Professor Hugh Trevor Roper and Jasper Ridley.³ This interpretation has become rather standard as the true and proper view of Knox and his work.

Again there have been those who have sought to take a middle position, neither condemning nor favoring Knox, but just seeing him as he was. Although few in his own day could adopt this stance, in more modern times some have attempted to do so. Prof. W. C. Dickinson of Edinburgh, the most recent editor of Knox's *History*, has been one of the most successful in this endeavour. Pierre Janton, the French historian and author of *John Knox, L'Homme at L'Oeuvre* and *Concept et Sentiment de l'Église Chez John Knox*, as well as Elizabeth Whitley and Geddes MacGregor, recent biographers, has also endeavoured to follow the same course.⁴ But in most cases those who have sought thorough objectivity, have become indifferent or have joined either the advocates or the opponents of the Scottish Reformer. The indifferent, as in Knox's own day, are relatively few, while nearly all have become vigorous protagonists or antagonists.

The question then arises as to why Knox brings forth such strong feelings, either pro or con. No doubt one of the fundamental reasons is that he took a clear-cut religious and theological position with which one either agrees or disagrees. But there is also his general attitude on so many matters. Frequently both what he says and the way he says it so coincides or conflicts with our own thought and ways of expression that we tend to react strongly. We may feel that he says what we would like to hear said even in our own day, or we may so disagree with everything that he says and his way of expressing it that we cannot but reject him and his work completely. In both cases, however, it seems that to obtain a proper understanding of him it is necessary to look more closely at his own social and theological environment. Furthermore, we must seek to relate the experiences of the early part of his life with those of his later days in which many feel he became hard, spiteful and ruthless. At the same time, as Archbishop Spottiswoode pointed out, we must always recognize that he was but a man, or as Knox himself put it, a sinner in need of the grace of God in Jesus Christ.⁵

It is at this point that many of his biographers have failed. They have tended to apply to him the yard-stick of their own theological and cultural situation, demanding that he conform to their standards as though they were universally and eternally valid, while his were not. Therefore, in this lecture I wish to stress certain matters that I feel must be re-emphasized if we are to have a proper perspective on the man.

II

In seeking to understand Knox, probably one of the most important keys to his personality and to his work is that of his social background. He was raised in what one recent French biographer of Mary, Queen of Scots, has called "L'Ecosse Sauvage." He, himself, speaks of his homeland as if it were on the very edge of the world not only geographically but culturally. And there was some reason for such a point of view. Politically, Scotland had for many years been in a constant state of turmoil. From 1406 down to 1567 every Scottish monarch ascended the throne as a minor, the youngest being Mary, who became queen in

1541 at the age of one week. With no strong parliament or even efficient civil service, the outcome of this recurring situation was aristocratic factionalism, the leading nobles and their vassals constantly battling with each other over the regency, which would give them control of royal power and income. The best example of the result of this constant conflict was "Cleanse the Causway" in 1520 in which the Douglasses cleansed the streets of Edinburgh of the Hamiltons, with a number of deaths on both sides.⁶

In such a situation it is little wonder that the church suffered spiritually. Owning at least half the real estate in the country, it was the constant prey of the nobility who, while hesitating to take over its property by *force majeure*, nevertheless succeeded in gaining control of much of its revenues by other means. One way was to intrude relatives into wealthy ecclesiastical positions, an activity at which both the monarchs as they grew up, and the nobility, were very adept. This, however, did not tend to ensure a high level of spirituality or morality among the members of the upper clergy, and they in turn, by virtue of their powers of nomination and provision to benefices lower in the hierarchy, usually appointed others like themselves. The outcome of this situation was that the Scottish clergy were a byword for their ignorance, their greed and their immorality. Consequently, they did little spiritually for the people over whom they were placed, especially the energetic, active element who might be termed the "middle" section of society: the burgesses of the town and the gentry of the countryside.

The burgesses formed a group made up of several elements: skilled artisans, professional men such as lawyers, and merchants. Although not very important in the preceding two or three centuries with the general intellectual and commercial revival taking place in Europe during the latter part of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries, they were beginning to assume a place of unwonted consequence in Scottish society. Centred primarily on the east coast in burghs such as Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen, and to a lesser extent on the west coast in Ayr, Kirkcudbright and even Glasgow, by their commercial and intellectual contacts abroad in the Low Countries, Germany and France, they were acquiring not only goods but new ideas and points of view. The result was that at home they were looking to the church for more than its services in mumbled Latin. When, therefore, the Reformation, first in its Lutheran and then in its Calvinistic form, spread to Scotland, they were among the earliest to give it a favorable hearing.⁷

The other element in this "middle" level of Scottish society was that of the gentry or lairds. Unlike the burgesses, they were not increasing in wealth but were in fact being pushed downwards owing to rising prices, fixed rents and escalating costs. Unlike the upper nobles, they could depend neither upon the wealth of the church nor positions at court to meet their financial needs. The only hope they had was to obtain assistance from the burgesses of the towns from whom they borrowed money; sometimes on the security of their lands and sometimes on the security of the marriage of a son or daughter. This development led to an alliance between the burgess and the laird in which the laird often came under the townsman's intellectual influence. At the same time, however, many of the gentry themselves spent a few years on the continent, either in pursuit of education or serving in the French army, where they, like the middle group in the towns, came in contact with the new ideas, particularly the teachings of Luther and Calvin which they then brought back home.⁸

The burgesses and lairds in the southern regions, however, had a special problem, for

they constantly faced the threat of English border raids. Consequently, the lairds in particular had to be constantly on the alert to protect themselves from their southern neighbors. Their situation was even more complicated when they became Protestant, for they were then caught between the upper millstone of the Scottish ecclesiastical and civil authorities who were prepared to take action against them for heresy, and the nether millstone of the English attacks. Only when England began to realize that these Protestant lairds might be allies because of their religion did they find much relief from their difficulties by becoming "assured" to the English invaders.⁹

This leads us on to one other constituent of Scottish society, the universities. Although small and rather provincial, the three universities: St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen, formed cells in which new ideas from the Continent were being discussed. Many Scots who had studied and often taught abroad returned home to take up teaching positions in their alma maters, bringing with them new ideas which they propounded to their students. Consequently, once the Reformation had begun to affect intellectual circles in Cologne, Paris and other cities, the new religious thought soon appeared in Scottish university circles. St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews University, in particular became well-known for its heretical tendencies; those embracing the Protestant doctrines often being accused of having "drunk at St. Leonard's well."¹⁰

It was the "middle" section of society, the burgesses, the lairds and the professionals, in particular which seems to have found its needs met by the Reformation teachings and which quickly came to form the core of the movement in Scotland. But what is important for our purposes is the fact that Knox came out of this type of background. Born and brought up in Haddington, lying just east of Edinburgh in East Lothian, he probably went to St. Andrews University for his education. Trained for the priesthood and also in Canon Law, he returned upon graduation to his own part of the country where he acted as a papal notary for the local gentry and also as a tutor for their sons. He thus had close contact with all these various groups in society which were being influenced by the new Protestant ideas. It was during this period of his life that he made his decision to take the step of rejecting the Roman Church and of accepting the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, casting his anchor, as he said later, in the seventeenth chapter of John. When, therefore, he began to preach he spoke out of this context and to those who composed it. This is what made him so effective in dealing with those of "the middling sort," but also offensive to the aristocracy and particularly to Queen Mary, trained up in the refined, if hypocritical, atmosphere of the French court.¹¹

III

A second key to an understanding of Knox is his sense of calling. Although he had taken minor orders in the Roman Church, it was not until he had heard the preaching of George Wishart and had known of his martyrdom in St. Andrews, that he may have had some sense of calling to take up Wishart's work. Even then, however, he was unwilling to move until he received a definite and outward summons by God to assume the office of a preacher. This came in St. Andrews, during the siege of the Castle occupied by Norman Leslie and his followers. Knox had joined them in the spring of 1547, because many of them were

Protestants and seemed to offer the one safe place in the country for those who were of this persuasion. Under the influence of John Rough, who was acting as the chaplain of the Castle, the congregation called Knox to become Rough's colleague. Although at first very reluctant to assume this office, partially perhaps through fear of the consequences, partially also because he doubted his own ability, he finally acceded to their request. And to his dying day, this sense of calling remained with him. The detail with which he describes the event some twenty years later in his *History*, shows the deep impression it made on him.¹² As God had summoned him through the congregation, he could not but obey.

His calling was to be a "painfull preacher of the Gospel." He did not seek to be either a writer or an ecclesiastical organizer or official. When his name was proposed for the position of a superintendent he refused, feeling that preaching in St. Giles Kirk was honor and responsibility enough. As he stated in his preface to one of the very few sermons that he ever published:

For considering my self rather called of God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowfull, confirm the weak and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voice in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come, seeing that so much is written (and by men of most singular condition), and yet so little well observed; I declared to contain my self within the bounds of that vocation, whereunto I found my self especially called.¹³

Therefore, his main duty in life was, as he expressed it frequently, "to blawe my maister's trumpet." He saw himself as a preaching, rather than a writing prophet, for it was to the proclamation of the Gospel of God's grace in Jesus Christ that he had been called.

We must note, nevertheless, that during his lifetime his pen was continually in use, producing pamphlets, a history of the Reformation in Scotland and a large number of letters, which all told fill more than six thick octavo volumes. What he would have done had he felt called upon to write, is beyond imagination. At the same time, he was also a church organizer. It was largely under his inspiration and direction that the first *Book of Discipline* was prepared and employed within the church. He also played a large part in the preparation of the first Scots Confession. Then once the church had been established he filled an important role in the General Assembly, while also assisting the various superintendents to carry out their duties. He was a man of many parts who employed all his gifts in the service of Christ's church.

Preaching, however, was always his first and primary interest. For this reason he insisted that the preacher must have complete freedom to speak from the pulpit of God, directed by His Word and Spirit. Neither the civil government nor the universities had the right to tell him what he could or could not say. Only the courts of the church could interfere with him, and then only on the ground that he had contradicted the Scriptures. When Queen Mary suggested that if he had anything to say concerning her policies or actions he should come to her privately, he replied:

I am called Madam, to a public function within the Kirk of God, and am appointed by God to rebuke the sins and vices of all. I am not appointed to come to every man in particular to show him his offence; for that labour were infinite. If your Grace please to frequent the public sermons, then doubt I not but that ye shall fully understand both what I like and mislike as well in your Majesty as in all others.

Later because of his attacks on the Hamiltons while in exile in St. Andrews, the university authorities sought to silence him, or at least have him modify his statements. To their demands he returned a flat refusal. He then wrote to the General Assembly admonishing them "above all things preserve the Kirk from the bondage of the universities." As he explained to the representatives of St. Andrews:

The reason for my protestation is, that I look for no better regiment in times to come than has been in ages passing before us; in the which it is evident that universities, orders well established, and men raised up to defend the Kirk of God, have oppressed it; and the malice of Satan is always to be feared.¹⁴

He would speak as God by the Holy Spirit taught him through the Holy Scriptures.

IV

This brings us to a third element in his thinking: his source of authority. Coupled with his conviction that he had been called primarily to preach went his belief that the Bible is the Word of God and that it was his duty to expound it and apply to his hearers. Repeatedly, from the time of his first sermon in St. Andrews to the last day of his life, he reiterated this belief. While we may not always agree with his interpretations or applications, suspecting that at times his own personal feelings and situation entered into his thinking too fully, we have to admit that this was the firm persuasion which dominated his work as a reformer.

Although he may have known something of Luther's interpretation of the Scriptures, the real guide in his thinking was John Calvin. During his ministry in Berwick in 1550 he was studying Calvin's commentary on Jeremiah, and in 1563 he was asking friends in London to send him Calvin's latest edition of his *Institutes*, along with his recent re-issue of his commentary on Isaiah. It is not surprising, therefore, that he accepted both Calvin's views on Scripture and his interpretations. His reply to the Anabaptist attack on the doctrine of predestination shows this quite clearly. At times, however, he was prepared to go considerably farther than Calvin in carrying out arguments to their logical conclusions and in applying them to the contemporary scene.¹⁵

This appears most distinctly in his use of the Old Testament. Although he did not contemplate the establishment of an Old Testament theocracy in either England or Scotland, he did insist that a nation which had once made public profession of the Gospel had accepted a covenant with God similar to that of Israel with Jehovah. It therefore had the right to demand that its rulers see that this covenant was maintained, and if they failed in their duty the subordinate magistrates, or failing their action, the people themselves could remove the defaulting monarch. If the people refused to take such action, all they could expect was the condign punishment that God had brought upon Israel and Judah for their unfaithfulness. Basing his views on the actions of kings such as Joash and Josiah he insisted that England under Edward VI and Scotland under the parliament of 1560, came into this category.¹⁶

On this basis he constructed a political and social philosophy. He maintained that no woman by hereditary or man-made right could claim to reign over a country, although God in his wisdom – or in his wrath – might set up a female ruler. But he also asserted that

if an unbelieving ruler should attempt to persecute the church, or did not maintain justice and equity, that the people had the right to put him away.¹⁷ Furthermore, as we see in a number of his letters and in the *Book of Discipline*, he constantly took the part of the poor, demanding that Christians should give to their help, and after 1560 that the state should devote part of the old church's lands to this purpose. Similarly, because of his belief in the rights and duties of the individual within the commonwealth, he advocated the establishment of a system of universal free education for all males capable of such training. All these ideas he believed were based on the guidelines laid out for society in Holy Writ.¹⁸ Thus, the Bible was not merely "the right way to the Kingdom of Heaven," as set forth earlier by John Gau; it furnished a distinctive philosophy and life-style for Christians throughout the whole of life. Without an understanding of this aspect of Knox, he cannot but remain a mystery.

V

One other element in the understanding and interpretation of Knox which is so often omitted in the discussion of his activities in Scotland is the cumulative effect of his experiences in England and on the Continent prior to his return in 1559. They undoubtedly impressed him deeply, forming the background for much of his thought when faced with problems in Scotland.

His experience with the English brought him great disillusionment. When released from his slavery on the French war galley he had gone to England with high hopes for the future. He had worked hard in Berwick-on-Tweed and in Newcastle-on-Tyne to make the Reformation a reality in those areas. But he had soon found that even those political leaders who were supposed to be stalwarts in the movement were prepared to compromise their professed principles for their own profit. Moreover, Cranmer and Ridley were so insistent upon their liturgical formularies that they would go so far as to jail John Hooper, one of the staunchest Protestants, in order to enforce his conformity.¹⁹ What was even worse, when Mary Tudor came to the throne in 1553, many of the nobles who had been valiant in the cause of the Reformation, such as Sir William Cecil, in order to keep their lands and their offices, submitted and conformed to re-established Romanism. Probably the hardest blow came, however, when in Frankfort the representatives of the Protestant refugees in Strasburg disrupted his congregation because he would not use the *Book of Common Prayer*, forcing him to leave by frightening the city council with some statements that he had made in a book written on behalf of the Protestant exiles.²⁰ Thoroughly disillusioned with the English, Knox retired to Geneva.

His experiences in France also played an important part in the development of his thought. Nineteen months in a French war galley as a slave could not but influence his outlook on both the Roman Catholic Church and upon the French "establishment." Neither a criminal nor a prisoner of war, he was illegally forced to serve in this capacity until through English intervention he was released. His sufferings came from the fact that he was a Protestant. Later he travelled through France on a number of occasions, and for a time even served as a co-minister in the French Reformed congregation in Dieppe. In this way he gained an understanding not only of the French language, but also of French society.

His knowledge of France also made him very fearful of French influence in Scotland. He had seen the Roman Catholic Church's persecution of the Protestants, and knew how deeply Queen Mary's family of Guise was involved in all of this. Furthermore, even after his return to Scotland he kept in close touch with the situation in France as the persecutions of the Huguenots increased in intensity and violence. For this reason he was very much afraid of what would happen if the young Queen had her way in Scotland. He believed that similar treatment, despite Mary's calls for mutual tolerance, would be meted out to Scottish Protestants. This would be but the first step to the overthrow of Elizabeth and the violent destruction of Protestantism in England. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve which took place in August of 1572 only confirmed his fears. Historians and biographers should keep all this in mind when they discuss his dealings with Queen Mary and his demands for the total suppression of the Mass.²¹

His French experience, however, was by no means entirely negative. Through his visits to such places as La Rochelle, Lyon and perhaps Poitiers and Châtellerauld, he gained a first hand knowledge of the work and problems of the *Eglise Reformée*. Indeed, he may even have been involved in the drawing up of some of the French church's first confession and discipline. If this was the case, he would receive some introduction to problems which he would face when he returned to Scotland. To understand his attitudes and actions when he took up the spiritual leadership of the Scottish movement for reform, therefore, one needs to keep in mind the various influences exercised upon him by the situation in France.

Yet while we must recognize the impact of both France and England, undoubtedly Geneva made the greatest impression. Before he visited Geneva the first time, he had already read a considerable amount of Calvin's writings. When as minister of the English congregation he lived there for some two years, he came under the spell of what he called "the most perfect school of Christ."²³ Not only John Calvin, but also men such as Jean Crespin, the printer, Christopher Goodman, Knox's English colleague, and many others all played a part in his "education." Consequently, when he returned to Scotland in 1559 he carried back with him both the ideas and also documents such as Calvin's Genevan Catechism, probably the French church's *Confession de Foi et Discipline* and his own congregation's *Form of Prayers* to guide him in the organization and work of the new church to be founded in Scotland.

Experiences both positive and negative, therefore, must always be kept in mind as one seeks to understand John Knox.

VI

Finally, having sought to understand Knox's motivation, the drives that made him what he was, we must ask ourselves what he accomplished. We can touch on this subject only very quickly and lightly. Furthermore, how we regard his accomplishments, whether we regard them as "good things" or "bad things" will depend not so much on our research or even our understanding, as upon our agreement or disagreement with Knox's own theological position. Yet, although we may not accept his views entirely, we must admit that he had a great influence on Scotland; an influence which has lasted down to the present time and has been world-wide in scope. Let us look at this, then, in closing.

When he returned to Scotland in 1559 he faced what seemed to be overwhelming odds. On the political front he was opposed by the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, backed by France one of the most powerful nations in the Europe of his day. With her stood a large and strong body of Scottish Roman Catholics. Moreover, as one might expect, she had the backing of the organized church with all its wealth and influence. On his side, it is true, there was a considerable force of Protestants, but most of them were of the "middling sort," without much power or influence. At the same time the Protestant forces were very much divided, since many so-called reformers seemed to be supporting reform simply for what they could pick up in terms of church lands. Nor could they depend upon the English as the Roman Catholics could on the French. Knox's task of attempting a reformation seemed hopeless.

Nevertheless, in the providence of God, although some would attribute it to other powers, he played an important part in strengthening the Protestants' morale, in giving them objectives and in welding their forces together in order that they might overcome. This he achieved not merely by his preaching or by personal persuasion but by his work as a churchman, helping to draw up the first Scots Confession and the first *Book of Discipline*. But probably even more important than these achievements, he succeeded in impressing on his supporters the fact that Christianity is something that applies to everyday life and living. His plans for the relief of poverty and his projected design of a universal system of education for the benefit of "the Commonwealth," show this clearly. His Christianity was not something that was for one day in the week but was to determine every aspect of life.

As we read the subsequent history of Scotland we can see that his ideas exercised a powerful influence on even those who did not agree with him, for they were affected by the climate of opinion of which he had been one of the originators. Robert Louis Stevenson, who was by no means a single-minded follower of the reformer, brings this out very clearly in his essay on "The Foreigner at Home":

About the very cradle of the Scot there goes a hum of metaphysical divinity; and the whole of two divergent systems [English and Scottish] is summed up, not merely speciously, in the two first questions of the rival catechisms, the English tritely inquiring, "What is your name?" the Scottish striking at the very roots of life with, "What is the chief end of man?" and answering nobly if obscurely, "To glorify God and enjoy him forever."²⁴

Whether we approve of John Knox or not, we have to admit that he did much to change and mould anew Scottish character. Largely through his bequest to subsequent generations, the Scots were, as even the English historian Trevelyan has stated, by 1700 one of the best educated peoples in Europe and have frequently been among the most radical in their ideas of democracy and social structure.²⁵

This, however, has by no means been confined to Scotland, for the Scots have proven to be one of the most migratory peoples in human history. Poverty at home no doubt had much to do with this as well as many other factors, but wherever they have gone the same characteristics have manifested themselves, very frequently given physical visibility by the building of a Presbyterian church carrying the name of Knox. Knox's influence in this way continues and his "works do follow him."

Although some may not always approve of Knox's actions, and may even dislike him greatly they will have to admit that he was an important figure in history. He has wielded a very considerable influence not only in his own land, but across the world. Yet he accomplished what he did not by physical might or power, but because he believed sincerely that he was called by God to his role in life, and because he was able to communicate his ideas clearly and distinctly to those who heard him.

If more of Knox's interpreters had taken all the factors which I have mentioned into account we would find less tendency to adopt extreme attitudes with regard to him. His advocates would perhaps have admitted that he had some faults, while his violent critics would have understood him somewhat more clearly and not have condemned him as a pathological monster. They all might take his own estimate of himself a little more seriously when on his death bed he said:

I know that many have complained much and loudly, and do still complain of my too great severity; but God knows that my mind was always free from hatred to the persons of those against whom I denounced the heavy judgments of God. In the mean time, I cannot deny but that I felt the greatest abhorrence at the sins in which they indulged; still, however, keeping this as the one thing in view, that if it were possible I might gain them to the Lord. But a certain reverential fear of my God, who called me, and was pleased of his grace to make me a steward of divine mysteries, to whom I knew I must render account, when I shall appear before his tribunal, of the manner in which I have discharged the embassy which he hath committed to me – had such a powerful effect as to make me utter so intrepidly whatever the Lord put into my mouth without any respect of persons. Therefore I profess before God and his holy angels, that I never made gain of the sacred word of God, that I never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talent intrusted to my care for the edification of the Church over which I did watch.²⁶

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Notes

* In its original form this paper was delivered as the John Knox Memorial Lecture, November 24, 1972, at Knox College, Toronto. It is presented here in a revised text.

1 R. Bannatyne, *A Journal of the Transactions in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1806), pp. 429.

2 J. Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1847), I, 375.

3 While Ridley commences his biography on a fairly objective note, once Knox becomes entangled in his conflicts with Mary, he turns against him, likening him to a jackal and bestowing various other epithets upon him. J. Ridley, *John Knox* (New York, 1968), chaps. XXII ff. Cf. also H. Trevor-Roper, "John Knox" *The Listener*, 80 (1968), 745f who, in his review of Ridley's work, is even more violent.

4 John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, W. C. Dickinson, ed., (Edinburgh, 1949), I, Introduction; G. MacGregor, *The Thundering Scot* (Philadelphia, 1957); E. Whitley, *Plain Mr. Knox* (Richmond, Va., 1960).

5 Cf. Knox, *Works*, D. Laing ed. (Edinburgh, 1864), III, "Epistles to Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes and her daughter Marjorie."

6 For a more detailed description of Scotland at this time see W. C. Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Time to 1603* (Edinburgh, 1961).

7 W. S. Reid, "The Middle Class Factor in the Scottish Reformation," *Church History*, XVI (1947) pp. 137ff; Reid, "Lutheranism in the Scottish Reformation," *Westminster Theological Journal*, VII (1945), 91ff.

8 Reid, "The Lion Rampant in Sixteenth Century

- France," *Proceedings of the Third Colloquium on Scottish Studies* (Guelph, 1970), pp. 8ff.
- 9 M. H. Merriman, "The Assured Scots," *Scottish Historical Review*, XLVII (1968), 22ff.
- 10 Knox, *History*, I, 15.
- 11 Ridley, *op. cit.*, chap. II; Knox, *Works*, VI, 639.
Cf. also his accounts of his interviews and debates with Mary and her courtiers in his *History*.
- 12 *History*, I, 84ff, 182.
- 13 *Works*, VI, 229.
- 14 *History*, II, 71ff; *Works*, VI, 619, 630.
- 15 As for instance in his views on the right of resistance to unjust rulers. *Ibid.*, iV, 261ff; V, 7ff.
- 16 *History*, II, 23, 115ff.
- 17 Cf. his "First Blast of the Trumpet" and also his summary of the proposed "Second Blast."
Works, IV, 349ff, 539ff.
- 18 *History*, II, 295ff.
- 19 *Works*, IV, 36ff.
- 20 *Ibid.*, IV, 39.
- 21 *Ibid.*, III, 27-70, 212, 217.
- 22 Cf. W. S. Reid, "French Influence on the First Scots Confession and Book of Discipline," *Westminster Theological Journal*, XXXV (1972), 1ff.
- 23 *Works*, IV, 240.
- 24 R. L. Stevenson, "The Foreigner at Home," *Memories and Portraits* (London, n.d.), pp. 28ff.
- 25 G. M. Trevelyan, *A Shortened History of England* (London, 1942), p. 342.
- 26 *Works*, VI, 655.