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# Scripture in the Scottish Reformation

## I. Historical Statement

GEORGE JOHNSTON

### I

THE FIRST FAINT STIRRINGS doubtless derived from John Wycliffe, the "Morning Star of the Reformation," for it seems that about 1520 Murdoch Nisbet produced *The New Testament in Scots*, a version of Purvey's revision of the Wycliffe New Testament. On the other hand, the latest historian of the Church of Scotland declares that "the influence of Wyclif's teaching in Scotland is altogether obscure"<sup>1</sup> and he finds Knox's tale of Lollards in Kyle "quite extraordinary and very obscure."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Burleigh is right to affirm that there are profound differences between the early Wycliffite emphasis on the precepts of the Gospel for the Church's clergy, and the Lutheran discovery that the Pauline justification by faith is applicable to all Christians. But we need not on that account deny altogether the influence of the English New Testament derived from Wycliffe, on the Catholics of Kyle and on the Reformers who followed them in that area.

Here and there also one can detect in the records evidence that there were scholars in the unreformed Roman Kirk who studied the Bible and pondered its message, though there is little enough to suggest that their religion was in any significant sense biblical. Much more important was the rise of Martin Luther, whose pamphlets arrived surreptitiously at east coast ports in bales of merchandise from the Low Countries. So Parliament in 1525 forbade the importation of the Lutheran books "under the pane of escheting of their schippis and gudis and putting of their persounis in presoun."<sup>2</sup> By 1527 Tyndale's New Testament was circulating,<sup>3</sup> and within twelve months we find young Patrick Hamilton, first of the martyrs, newly home from Marburg, expounding a system that is dependent on Scripture, as well as on Luther's teaching. *Patrick's Places* consist of the theses he was ready to defend at Marburg, and it was later translated into English by John Frith.<sup>4</sup>

In 1535-36 the Black Friar, Alexander Seton, raised disturbing questions at St. Andrews. He quoted Isa. 56:10, Zech. 11:17, and 1 Tim. 3:2, and

1. J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 119.

2. *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland* (11 vols., Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1814-44), Vol. II, p. 295, cap. 4. Cf. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen* (2 vols., Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1871-72), Vol. I, pp. 110f. G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), is a valuable guide to the whole story.

3. Cf. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (6 vols., London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1862-70, in Calendar of State Papers, Rolls Series), Vol. IV, Pt. ii, No. 2903.

4. They are printed in W. Croft Dickinson, *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland* (2 vols., London: Nelson, 1949), Vol. II, pp. 220ff.

wittily taunted his foolish opponents as donkeys "who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zechariah, Malachi and Friar Alexander Seton."<sup>5</sup> Soon after, we hear of Henry Forrest, David Stratoun, and Norman Gourlay as being persecuted for possessing the New Testament or for accepting reformed doctrines and becoming "evangelical" believers (cf. Matt. 10:33). Parliament in 1541 prohibited the holding of meetings in private homes for the discussion of Scripture "without thair be theologis apprevit be [by] famous universiteis or admittit therto be thame [them] that hes lauchfull power."<sup>6</sup> Then in 1543 it was legislated that all might read the Scriptures in Scots or English, so long as there was no disputing about their contents. At this point in his *History* Knox breaks out into the familiar passage that begins: "Then might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table."<sup>7</sup> It is likely that it was the Great Bible of 1540 that circulated. By way of contrast we hear of the Bishop of Dunkeld who told Forret, the vicar of Dollar: "I thank God, that I never knew what the Old and the New Testament were! Therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise [breviary] and my pontifical."<sup>8</sup>

It is quite certain that the coming of the Scriptures in English or Scots and the civic liberty to read and study them privately or in small groups brought a freshening breath of new religious vitality into Scotland. It is difficult today to appreciate what it was like to be deprived of this source of spiritual light, comfort, and power, or to know that its secrets were locked up in the Latin Vulgate and handed over for safekeeping to the most corrupt clergy in Europe. The failure of the Roman Church in this regard is evident, however true it may have been that, in spite of the erastianism and venality of the time, "the proper work of the Church was expected to go on" in preaching, administering sacraments, hearing confessions, and making available to those who could afford it the entire papal system for ensuring salvation.<sup>9</sup> What happened to Martin Luther happened also to thousands of the Scots nobility, clergy, and people, once the Bible was opened; and the effects of this have not vanished to this day. The Bible seems to have attained almost at once, in a dramatic resurgence, a quite unique hold on the Scots imagination and mind.

## II

The old Church, of course, resisted the winds of change, either by denying the exegesis of the Reformers or by reaffirming on supposedly scriptural grounds its own authority. As the great debate between Quintin Kennedy

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 20. (Hereafter this invaluable edition of Knox will be cited as Dickinson.)

6. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, Vol. II, pp. 370f. Cf. *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (6 vols., Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1850-55), Vol. III, xl. 1542-48; the *Registrum* provides several references to heresy. Cf. also Dickinson, Vol. I, p. 43, n. 6.

7. Dickinson, Vol. I, p. 45.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 43, n. 1.

9. Cf. Burleigh, *Church History of Scotland*, p. 112. There were also two official preachers of the true Word of God at Aberdeen; cf. *Extracts from the Council Register*, Vol. I, p. 189.

of Crossraguel and John Knox was to show, even the Romanists (or the best among them) admitted the need to find biblical "warrants" for their faith and practice.<sup>10</sup> On the Protestant side a notable figure was George Wishart, who appeared about the time when it became lawful to read the Bible in a vulgar tongue. He taught also the Greek New Testament, and he expounded Romans. Wishart had imbibed the pure milk of Lutheran doctrine, so that his exposition of Paul's central letter exhorted the Scots listeners to discover in "faith" personal trust in the mercy and grace of God, all apart from our own merits. Like Luther, Calvin, and Knox after him, Wishart taught that faith is no simple assent given by the intellect of man to the Word of God. Early in the First Book of the *Institutes* Calvin underlines the work of the Spirit in the deep places of human hearts.<sup>11</sup>

Knox was the companion and disciple of Wishart. He tells us that Dean John Winram, who was not unsympathetic to the reforming cause, preached at Wishart's trial from Matthew 13. He first gave a brief declaration of the Evangelist, defined the "seed" as the Word of God and heresy as the "evil seed." The cause of heresy in Scotland (here he has passed already to the "application" of his text) is the ignorance of the pastors, the very men who should understand God's Word and employ the sword of the Spirit (Eph. 6: 17) against heresy. "The true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God" is the touchstone whereby we can detect heresy. If this be so, the civil magistrate and the law should put down heretics, in spite of the Gospel saying: "Let them both grow unto the harvest."<sup>12</sup> Such a position was not satisfactory, as Calvin insisted at the beginning of the *Institutes*.

Is the Word self-evident? If it requires interpretation, on what grounds should Mother Church's view be accepted rather than Martin Luther's or George Wishart's, men in whom the Spirit of the Lord might be found by honest disciples? Winram accepted the duty of the civil ruler to act at the request of the Church, since this was settled mediaeval doctrine, partly based on Romans 13. When it came the turn of Wishart, he rehearsed the same view of the pure and sincere Word. He had, he claimed, taught only the Ten Commandments, the Creed in twelve articles, and the Lord's Prayer in Scots, besides the Epistle to the Romans at Dundee. Whereupon the prosecutor interrupted him. "If we give him licence to preach," he cried, "he is so crafty, and in Holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."<sup>13</sup> Clearly he perceived the nub of the problem: the Protestant reformers will undertake to show from the Scriptures that Roman teaching and practices have no authority. The Canon of the Bible had been established long before by the early catholic Church, and the reforming parties insisted that the Canon must therefore (by the Church's own admission) be reckoned the only final rule

10. Cf. David Laing (ed.), *The Works of John Knox* (6 vols., Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1846-64), Vol. VI, pp. 157ff. We may notice here the willingness of the Roman bishops, in the debates of 1560 in Parliament on the *Scots Confession*, to remove abuses that were not agreeable to Scripture.

11. See, for example, Calvin, *Inst.*, I, vii. 4-5; ix. 3.

12. Dickinson, Vol. II, pp. 233f.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

of faith and life. To be contrary to Scripture meant to be contrary to Truth. God had set his Word and Revelation, the whole duty of man, and the right ordering of his Universal Kirk, in the received Scriptures. That was why they had to be opened up in the vulgar tongues.

This is the position we find John Knox defending over and over again. He was never dilatory nor uncertain in his demonstrations of the primary principles of biblical authority. (There is no necessity at this point to outline his career, his Gospel call to the Ministry in St. Andrews castle, his exile and return as Wishart's disciple, or the subsequent fluctuations in his fortunes until the great drama 1559-60 was enacted.) Knox in his frequent controversies makes plain what position the Scriptures held among the Scots Reformers. For example, at St. Andrews after the murder of Cardinal Beaton (May 29, 1546), when he was forced to assume the public defence of reformed doctrine, Knox told Dean Annand: "Before we hold ourselves, or that ye can prove us sufficiently convicted, we must define the Church, by the right notes given to us in God's Scriptures of the true Church. We must discern the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ [cf. Eph. 5:22ff.], from the mother of confusion, spiritual Babylon [cf. Rev. 17:5, 9], lest that imprudently we embrace a harlot instead of the chaste spouse."<sup>14</sup> This unseemly language about the unreformed Roman Kirk comes, of course, from Scripture itself! It is Scripture as interpreted in that terrible time of corruption and incivility. We are offended by the words and yet more by the harsh spirit, and rightly, for they are intemperate, ungracious, and unworthy of Jesus Christ. The Reformers, however, no doubt thought that if St. John the Apostle could lambaste a synagogue of Jews as a synagogue of Satan (Rev. 2:9, 3:9), they might apply his words to a corrupt Church that had forfeited their respect. The Pope, said Knox, is "the Man of Sin" (2 Thess. 2:3). "Yea, I offer myself, by word or writ, to prove the Roman Church this day further degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the Apostles, than was the Church of the Jews from the ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ."<sup>15</sup> Thereafter he proceeded to Daniel 7, where he identified the last Beast with the Church of Rome. Knox belonged to a rough age, and we would repudiate this polemic today. The one fact that stands out is that he and his party so readily turned to the Holy Scriptures for their teaching.

### III

We pass on to a remarkable letter dated July 7, 1556, "A most wholesome Counsell . . . touching the daily exercise of God's most Holy and Sacred Word."<sup>16</sup> It is an epistle from Knox to the people of the reformed faith, and it is an epistle of his love.

14. Dickinson, Vol. I, pp. 83f. Here, as elsewhere, I have added the biblical references.

15. Dickinson, Vol. I, p. 84.

16. Laing, *Works of John Knox*, Vol. IV, pp. 133ff.

Knowledge, godliness, and fervency depend, he writes, on the use of "God's mooste sacred and holy Woorde," for it is the beginning of life spiritual; the lantern of our feet, the foundation of faith. "So it is also the onely organe and instrument which God useth to strengthen the weake, to comfort the afflicted, to reduce to mercy by repentance such as have slydden, and, finally, to preserve and kepe the very lyfe of the soule in all assaults and temptations." He admits that reading the Bible may be boring (!), yet the chosen children of God may not "despise or reject the worde of their salvation of any longe continuance, neither yet lothe it to the end." After all, we have to eat every day, and every day may drink wine, and every day behold the brightness of the sun! Why not also every day study the Word of God? Hence his dear brethren must exercise themselves in the book of the Lord their God. "Let no day slyppe or want some comfort receyved from the mouth of God. Open your eares, and he will speake even pleasant thinges to your hart." At home the faithful men are bishops and kings who must govern wives and children and servants. "And therefore, I say, ye must make them partakers in readyng, exhorting, and in makyng common prayers, which I would in every house wer used once a day at least." They will profit best from the Bible if they study to practise the life that is commanded in the Word of God (a most worthy piece of advice, we may add). Besides home reading, there should be assemblies of brethren for Scripture study. After confession and invocation of the Spirit, "then lette some place of Scripture be plainly and distinctly red," with questions and discussions, noting any difficult points for some interpreter who may be available. But, he warns them, prolix discussion is a waste of time.

In view of the contemporary interest throughout the world (including now the reformed Roman Church) in Bible Study Weeks and other methods of group study, it is of interest to see more of John Knox's wisdom in this matter. His idea is that the brethren should join some books of the Old Testament and some of the New, studying the whole book, and so being comforted by the "harmony and weill-tuned song of the Holie Spirit speiking in oure fatheris frome the begynnyng."

If anyone (e.g., the Queen, Mary, who adhered to the still unreformed Church of Rome) shrewdly complained that "ye interpret the Scriptures in one manner, and they [i.e., the Pope and his Cardinals] in another. Whom shall I believe? And who shall be judge?" Knox would answer:

Ye shall believe God that plainly speaketh in his word: and further than the word teaches you, ye neither shall believe the one or the other. The word of God is plain in the self; and if there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, which is never contrarious to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places: so that there can remain no doubt but unto such as obstinately remain ignorant.<sup>17</sup>

17. Dickinson, Vol. II, p. 18. Cf. also *Scots Confession*, ch. xviii, where it is said that we should look to "that which Christ Jesus himself did, and commanded to be done. . . . For we dare not receive and admit any interpretation which directly impugneth to any principal point of our faith, [or] to any other plain text of Scripture, or yet unto the rule of charity." Knox is probably much indebted here to Calvin.

That is how Knox justified taking Old and New Testaments together, and there he found the ground for his assertion of harmony and one well-tuned spiritual song throughout the Bible. We could not rest in his position today, for it is plainer to us that there are passages that cannot be harmonized with the Gospel of Jesus by any ingenuity, spiritual or otherwise. Nonetheless, Knox's view of the unity of the whole Bible is to be reckoned with seriously.

To return to his "wholesome Counsell": "Be frequent in the Prophetis and in the Epistillis of St. Paul," he wrote; and the assemblies should conclude with prayers:

So walde I that thay wer finissit with thankgiving and common praiers for princes, rulers, and magistrates [cf. 1 Tim. 2:1f.]; for the libertie and free passage of Chrystes Evangell, for the comfort and delyverance of oure afflicted brethren in all places nowe persecuted, but most cruelly within the realme of France and England; and for such other thinges as the Sprite of the Lorde Jesus shall teache unto you to bee profitable, eyther to your selves, or to your brethren wheresoever they be.

Like Paul, he would have them to walk as the sons of light in the "myddes of this wicked generation" (cf. 1 Thess. 5:5, Acts 2:40, and Matt. 5:14-16). He asks too for their prayers, that they may remember his own weakness.

This surely is an apostolic letter, filled with the mind and the letter of Scripture; and it shows what a large place Knox and his congregations gave to the Bible. They "waled a portion wi' judicious care"<sup>18</sup> in the home as in the kirk, and they started Bible Study groups long before the S.C.M. or the Kirchentag had been heard of. Similar views are set forth in the Letter to the Commonalty of Scotland in 1558.<sup>19</sup> "Long silence of Goddes Worde" had produced ignorance, and ignorance begat superstition; therefore he wished to be allowed to preach freely and to teach in Scotland. He begs also that "ye would compell your . . . Bishoppes and fals teachers to answer by the Scriptures of God to such objections and crimes as shal be laid against their vaine religion, fals doctrine, wicked life, and slanderous conversations." Ancient error, he says, is still error. Jesus Christ himself had sent his adversaries to Moses and the Scriptures (cf. John 5:45-47; Luke 16:29-31), and the apostles had made similar appeals. Knox quotes John 3:20 (the wicked come not to the light). Corrupt doctrine, he adds, must lead to corrupt behaviour. We are all one in Christ (Gal. 3:28), yes, and the one way of life is "a lively faith working by charitie" (Gal. 5:6). In this regard "al man is equal," no less the kings or princes than the common people or the clergy. In the true Church we have "the true preaching of his Worde, and right administration of his Sacramentes" as the signs "of his owne presence with us, his Spiritual tabernacle" (cf. John 1:14).

By 1560 the lines were clearly drawn, multitudes of the nobility, the clergy (one of the Estates of the Realm), and the magistrates, the burgesses,

18. Robert Burns, *The Cottar's Saturday Night*.

19. Laing, *Works of John Knox*, Vol. IV, pp. 523ff.

and the peasants of Scotland had been instructed in the faith, thoroughly educated in the Scriptures in either Scots or English,<sup>20</sup> and the Protestant leaders, with Knox pre-eminent among them, were prepared to state the Confession of the true Faith of Jesus Christ on the basis of the divine revelation in the Old and New Testaments. For the *Scots Confession* is described "as wholesome and sound doctrine, grounded upon the infallible truth of God's Word."<sup>21</sup> In the same spirit the professors of this faith invited any man who noted "any article or sentence repugning to God's holy word, that it would please him of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake, to admonish us of the same in writ; and We of our honour and fidelity do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God (that is, from his holy Scriptures), or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss."<sup>22</sup> Chapter xix deals with the authority of the Scriptures:

As we believe and confess the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfect, so do we affirm and avow the authority of the same to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels. We affirm therefore that such as allege the Scripture to have no [other] authority, but that which is received from the Kirk, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the true Kirk, which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own Spouse and Pastor, but taketh not upon her to be mistress over the same.

(To this quotation we may append as references: 2 Tim. 3:16f., Gal. 1:8f., John 10:4, and Eph. 5:23.)

#### IV

Before we leave this historical sketch we ought to note some of the examples in Knox's *History* of men and women who used the Scriptures as weapons in their spiritual warfare. It may appear to some to be a surprising list.

There is Arbuckle, the Grey Friar, who argued with Knox about 1 Cor. 3:11-13 and ended by blurting out that "the Apostles had not received the Holy Ghost, when they did write their Epistles; but after, they received him, and then they did ordain the ceremonies" (that is, the various rites against which the Reformers protested).<sup>23</sup> There was the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, mother of Mary Queen of Scots, who could quote Ps. 44:21 and Mark 12:30.<sup>24</sup> William Cecil, the counsellor of Elizabeth I, in his communications with Knox quotes or alludes to Ps. 34:8, Prov. 3:26, Rom. 12:4f., 1 Cor. 12:12, and Gal. 3:28.<sup>25</sup> The doughty Quintin Kennedy of

20. Sir David Lindsay, the famous satirist, quoted 2 Thess. 3:10 in commenting on the fatness of friars; and the *Beggars' Summons* of 1559 quotes Ephes. 4:28: "Lat hym therefore that before hes stollin, steill na mare; but rather lat him wyrk with his handes, that he may be helpfull to the pure."

21. Dickinson, Vol. II, p. 257.

22. *Scots Confession*, pref.; cf. Dickinson, Vol. II, p. 258.

23. Poor John Winram, when he heard this stupidity, cried out: "God forbid that ye affirm that; for then farewell to the ground of our faith!" (Dickinson, Vol. I, pp. 91f.). Cf. Hugh Watt, *John Knox in Controversy* (London: Nelson, 1950), p. 20.

24. Cf. Dickinson, Vol. I, pp. 127, 237.

25. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 295f.

Crossraguel tried to prove that Melchizedek had offered bread and wine and that this justified the sacrificial elements in the Roman Mass, which he properly enough calls "the Sacrifice of Commemoration of Christ's death and passion." Knox in their debate agreed that the Lord's Supper is such a Commemoration, but only if it be rightly administered. He failed to pin down or to refute the reference to Melchizedek. Dr. Hugh Watt has suggested that Kennedy found the reference in the Canon of the Mass itself, and not in the Bible.<sup>26</sup>

Others who appear are Adam Wallace, whose defence quotes or alludes to Gen. 17:23, Ezek. 3:18, Matt. 5:13 and 7:2, Mark 9:50, Luke 16:15, and Acts 20:28; Elizabeth Adamson, who at her martyrdom had her sisters and friends sing the psalm, "My soul, praise thou the Lord always" (the 103rd in Knox, but said to be the 146th in the 1551 edition of the Sternhold collection<sup>27</sup>); the Earl of Arran, who protested against the celebration of Mass even in Queen Mary's royal household—in 1561 the Queen had proclaimed that there should be no alteration or innovation in the state of religion, although Parliament had recognized the Reformation the year before—quoting Lev. 20:10 (death to the idolater, a favourite of those days) and Rom. 12:18<sup>28</sup>; and, finally, the Earl of Argyll, who in 1558 replied to the Archbishop of St. Andrews who had directed to him nine articles anent religion. This great nobleman has Scripture at his command, and quotes from Ezekiel, Galatians, Acts, and the Gospels. God is to be obeyed rather than man. There is one true Gospel, as Paul says, and any other is anathema.<sup>29</sup>

These are simply a few of the examples to hand in a single book, namely, Knox's *History*, and there can be no doubt that a complete survey of the period would confirm the contention that Scripture was familiar, that it was a household word among the gentry as well as the common folk. For the sake of Knox's reputation we may here conclude this part of the paper with a remarkable tribute by Lord Eustace Percy to Knox the mystic, who first cast his anchor in John 17:

In the whole sweep of Old Testament and New what first caught his ear was a voice which almost passes the range of human hearing: neither the word of God to man or the words of man to God, but a fragment of "the huge soliloquy of God" Himself. Once, and once only, at the close of an evening spent in a new communion, men had been allowed to overhear that voice, as they listened to the Son speaking alone to the Father. On the events of that evening Knox's contemplation was fixed. Here, in the Last Supper, in the teaching that followed it, and above all in the prayer of intercession that followed the teaching, he found the secret of all human worship and of all human hope.

26. *John Knox in Controversy*, pp. 48–68. See also pp. 26ff., for a good chapter on Ninian Winzet (according to Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 1, "John Knox's ablest opponent").

27. Dickinson, Vol. I, pp. 114, 119, and n. 3.

28. Dickinson, Vol. II, p. 11.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 249–54.

Yet he could not utter this in public. "He lived by faith and preached the law; the Christ whom he knew as Saviour and Intercessor became on his pulpit lips the Judge of nations."<sup>30</sup>

That John Knox was in some sense a mystic grounded in the Gospel, and chiefly in the Johannine evangel and the Pauline doctrine of it, is entirely possible. It explains the man's incredible hold over the nobles and people of Scotland, and it gives the lie to the worst slanders of twentieth-century writers who lack the basic sympathy with which a character like Knox must be evaluated.<sup>31</sup> But Percy fails to see the simple solution to the dual emphases in Knox: that the Old Testament is the Word of God, that the Law accordingly must be taken seriously. Knox was prophet as well as evangelist. The Christ of the Upper Room was for him, as for John the Divine of the Apocalypse, the Christ of Mount Sinai. There could be no real contradiction. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the Lord is infinitely gracious and full of compassion. Our century has forgotten the Wrath from which Grace has had to ransom mankind. Knox on the other hand was too literalist; what he needed was a sound dose of liberal, historical scholarship, but that (as we all know) had to wait until 1750 and the years thereafter.

*(To be concluded)*

30. Eustace Percy, *John Knox* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1937), pp. 59f.

31. Cf. Edwin Muir, *An Autobiography* (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1954), p. 231: "As I read about him in the British Museum I came to dislike him more and more, and understood why every Scottish writer since the beginning of the eighteenth century had detested him: Hume, Boswell, Burns, Scott, Hogg, Stevenson; everyone except Carlyle, who like Knox admired power. My book was not a good one; it was too full of dislike for Knox and certain things in Scottish life." It is not at all surprising that some of the writers named disliked John Knox. That is hardly to his discredit. They might well have disliked St. Paul or any great moralist. But one regrets that the poet Muir did not rise above the great lie of this century about the evils of Calvin and especially the devilry of Knox. Mary Queen of Scots has bewitched the critical judgment of men who should know better, and poor Knox, the saviour of Scotland in the sixteenth century, is blamed for all the narrow bigotry and stubborn provincialism that mar much of the Scots character.