



Scotland and the example of Geneva

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For most Scots the anniversary of John Calvin's birth in 1509 will bring a vague impression of 'Calvinism' and of its founder; austere at best and tyrannical at worst. For a man so firmly against the cult of personality and resting deliberately in an unmarked grave, it is one of the ironies of history that his name and image remain so firmly part of Scottish cultural mythology. Geneva is also part of this image and the example of Geneva is assumed to be the Calvinist model. On their visits to Geneva, Scots feel no incongruity seeing the 'Reformation Wall' with its statues of the three Genevan Reformers, Farel, Calvin and Beza joined by their own John Knox – the founding fathers of Presbyterianism standing together. If this seems 'natural' from a modern perspective, it was not inevitable that Scottish Protestantism became so clearly associated with the Genevan Reformation. The Wall portrays in stone a particular version of the example of Geneva and, as will be argued, a slightly misleading one.

It is often forgotten that Calvin (and Farel and Beza) were all exiles and that Geneva was a city packed with exiles, especially during the 1550s. Most, like the three main Reformers, were from France, with Geneva becoming their city of refuge and their hope and powerhouse in their monumental efforts to convert their native land to Protestantism. The city also welcomed non-Francophone religious exiles from Italy, Spain, Germany, and from Scotland and England. Their experience was of a church under the cross and they were eager to learn what a church within a more settled environment would be like. This great meeting-place for those who were escaping religious persecution became, in their eyes at least, the biblical 'city on a hill'. After 1555 when Calvin gained full control of the City Councils he was able to

provide a fine working model of a church in harmony with the city authorities and striving together for the same goal.

Calvin never lost his sense that persecution was an ever-present reality and he was deeply sympathetic to other religious exiles. He helped secure a place of worship for the new wave of English-speaking exiles (mainly English but with some Scots) who arrived in Geneva in the autumn of 1555 led by William Whittingham and Christopher Goodman. Calvin expressed the hope which had sustained Christian writers since the early church in the preface to Whittingham's translation of the New Testament published in Geneva in 1557:

Let us not be discomforted as thogh all hope were lost, when we se the true servants of God dye and destroyed before our eyes: for it is saied by Tertullian, and hath alwaies bene so proved, and shal be to the ende of the worlde, that the bloude of Martyrs is the sede sowing of the Church.¹

William Whittingham was a prominent exile from the England of

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elected John Knox and Christopher Goodman as its ministers. This group felt they had become double exiles, first they had left their homeland, but following a major dispute within the English exile congregation in Frankfurt, they had felt forced to leave and find a new home in Geneva.

For Knox this felt like his third exile. He had been sentenced to the French galleys after the fall of St Andrews Castle in 1547 and on his release, being unable to return to Scotland, served within the Protestant Church of England during the reign of King Edward VI. He did well, first in the garrison town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, then moving to Newcastle and finally attracting sufficient attention to be moved to the royal court and given a roving commission as a preacher. He was faced with a major dilemma when Edward died and his Roman Catholic half-sister Mary succeeded. Being a Scot and therefore a foreigner in England, Knox became *persona non grata* with the authorities. He decided to go into exile again and on his

journey in search of a ship met for the first time his future colleague and great friend, Christopher Goodman. Walking together around the Chester city walls they discussed whether at a time of persecution it was acceptable to go into exile. Since neither had pastoral care of a flock, Knox strongly urged Goodman to leave the country. Ten years later Knox recalled he had sought,

to praye youe not to remayne within Satans bludy clawes then horribly usyd within this land, alledging that god no doubt had preservyd youe for an other tyme to the great comfort of his Church.²

In a typical colourful Knoxian phrase, ‘Satan’s bludy clawes’, the Scot sums up the effect of the Marian persecution upon the Protestants in England. It appeared as if it were a stark choice between martyrdom or flight. The list of those willing to die for their faith was considerable, led by the famous bishops Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer but encompassing a host of other clergy and lay men and women whose sufferings were immortalised in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*. Those who fled found refuge within European Protestant cities, mostly those along or close to the Rhine or within the Swiss cantons. After their discussion in Chester both Knox and Goodman went into exile on the Continent, though initially they went different ways.

The two men were brought together in Frankfurt where some English exiles had obtained the use of a church and had established a congregation. Knox had answered the congregation’s call to be one of their ministers but a dispute arose over liturgical matters. One group within the congregation were anxious to continue the use of the Second Edwardian Prayer Book of 1552 with very few changes whereas Knox, Whittingham, Goodman and their supporters wanted to continue to reform English worship and bring it in line with best Reformed practice. The dispute escalated and drew in English exiles based in other European cities. Some dubious tactics were employed such as the treason accusation levelled against Knox which forced him to leave Frankfurt. Knox headed for Geneva where he was most

impressed by Calvin's city. Writing to his friend Anne Locke in London the following year he made the remark which has subsequently become so famous:

this place, [Geneva] whair I nether feir nor eschame to say is the maist perfyt schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostillis.

The second part of this quotation has frequently been ignored but it was the section containing the crucial sentence.

In other places, I confess Chryst to be trewlie preachit; but manneris and religioun so sinceirlie reformat, I have not yit sene in any uther place.³

The operation of a systematic and comprehensive system of discipline made an abiding impression upon the Scot. Knox had no hesitation in identifying discipline as the third mark which distinguished the 'true church'. Here he parted company with Calvin who would only permit two marks both directly God-given and divinely dependent, the preaching of the Word and the right administration of the sacraments. For Calvin, discipline provided the sinews which held a church together and was essential for the good running of a church but it should not constitute a 'mark' of the church.⁴ Knox's departure from Frankfurt did not end the liturgical dispute and the group who advocated further change finally decided to secede and establish a new congregation in Geneva. With Calvin's help they obtained the Auditoire or St Marie la Nove as their place of worship and held their first service in November 1555 taken by Christopher Goodman.⁵ Knox had been elected as Goodman's co-minister but he was away in Scotland when it was first constituted.

When Knox returned to Geneva, now with his newly-wed wife Marjorie Bowes, he entered one of the happiest periods of his life. He was ministering to a remarkable congregation composed of committed religious exiles.⁶ City regulations prevented most of the congregation from working, which left them time on their hands. In Frankfurt leisure had encouraged disputes, while in Geneva that

pent-up energy resulted in remarkable productivity. The congregation existed for just over three years [Nov 1555–c.Jan 1559] and during that time it produced a new order of worship; a complete new metrical psalter; a new translation of the New Testament and then the entire Bible; a range of polemical tracts and running congregational affairs with great efficiency.

Evidence of some of its internal affairs have survived because when Whittingham left the city he presented the congregation's record book to the Genevan Council and it has remained in the Genevan city archives to this day.⁷ The book contained the membership list showing how the successful congregation attracted an increasing number of other English exiles to come to Geneva to join them. Baptisms and deaths were also recorded, revealing the loss of a number of children born to the exiles in Geneva.⁸ The records contained the annual elections of the minister, elders and deacons, signalling a radical new departure for British Protestants. The authority to appoint and the method of appointing ministers and other church officials had formed part of the disputes or 'troubles' of Frankfurt. Some had argued for a modified form of episcopal authorisation, with the 'senior' or 'best learned' clergy of the former Edwardian Church of England making an appointment. Others wanted election by the entire congregation with no special authority given to the clergy. The Geneva congregation was the first English-speaking church to adopt the practice of election by the congregation which became standard in the post-Reformation Scottish Kirk.⁹

Unfortunately, no records have survived concerning the exercise of discipline within the Genevan congregation. A short passage in the *Forme of Prayers* explained discipline was necessary and a stray reference to someone excommunicated by the English church in Geneva indicated that discipline was indeed exercised, but nothing else is known about the process.¹⁰

In Frankfurt the main 'trouble' had been over the order of worship and whether the Book of Common Prayer should be retained or it should be the starting-point for further modifications. The famous exchange between Richard Cox and John Knox had encapsulated the argument as to whether worship would have the face of the English church or

the face of Christ's church.¹¹ Once in Geneva the new congregation were determined to vindicate their Frankfurt stance by compiling a complete order of worship and demonstrating how well it worked. They published the *Forme of Prayers* in February 1556 in English and Latin versions, ensuring their order was known and available to other European Protestants as well as those who could read English. The book was self-consciously and deliberately written as a model for the future Protestant churches of the British Isles. In 1560 it was adopted in Scotland where it became known as the *Book of Common Order*.¹²

The metrical psalter accompanied the order of worship, being published alongside the *Forme of Prayers* in 1556, with an enlarged version produced in 1558 and work continuing after that date which became incorporated into the Scottish edition of 1564/5 as well as English editions of 1561/2.¹³ The use of metrical psalms within church worship was also a break from previous English practice of plainsong or spoken psalms in the Book of Common Prayer services. The very act of congregational singing of the psalms had been a matter of contention, with the Zürich tradition favouring no singing during worship whilst Strassburg and Geneva sang metrical psalms.¹⁴ The Genevan congregation strove to produce a full metrical psalter, starting from and revising the existing English metrical versions by Sternhold and Hopkins of some of the psalms. They were particularly anxious to align their new psalm translations more closely with the original Hebrew, though such a concern for the literal text made some metrical versions awkward or ponderous and has attracted much subsequent criticism on literary grounds.

The most impressive product of the English-speaking congregation in Geneva was its biblical translation. The Geneva Bible, as it became known, was first printed in 1560, running into many editions for the next century and was the translation adopted by the Scottish Kirk.¹⁵ Though not given official status, it was by far the most popular edition in England, becoming the bible of Shakespeare and Donne and one of the badges of the 'hotter sort' of English Protestants.¹⁶ William Whittingham was the driving force behind the translation project and he remained in Geneva until 1560 seeing the new Bible through the presses. In 1557 he had published his own New Testament translation, though the entire testament was re-translated for the Bible. Geneva was

a city full of biblical scholars and translation projects and the English version benefited greatly from this scholarly milieu. The newly-discovered Greek text, the Codex Bezae, was attracting much interest and was employed to improve the translations of passages from the New Testament. The Hebrew scholarship of Anthony Gilby and others was employed to improve the Old Testament and translate directly from the Hebrew instead of using the Greek Septuagint.¹⁷ In addition to their textual work, the producers of the Geneva Bible were very conscious of the need to make the bible as ‘user-friendly’ as possible. They adopted the recent innovation of using dividing the chapters into verses, the first English edition to employ this convention, and they added indexes, maps and illustrations. Displaying considerable modesty, the translators’ names were not given, though a core group has been identified.

The Geneva Bible was framed within a particular view of the church which had developed out of the exile experience, especially the view emanating from Geneva. Although rolling off the presses after the death of Mary Tudor, it had been composed during persecution of her reign and was filled with the awareness of being a church under the cross. The title page graphically demonstrated the central theme of God’s deliverance of his persecuted people. The central picture shows Moses and the children of Israel standing at the banks of the Red Sea with Pharaoh’s chariots and soldiers bearing down upon them.¹⁸ The same illustration was used at Exodus 14 where the incident was described. The Geneva Bible carefully explained the significance for the contemporary church of divine deliverance at the Red Sea.

1. the Church of God is ever subject in this worlde to the Crosse & to be afflicted after one sort or other
2. the ministers of God following their vocation shalbe evil spoken of
3. that God delivereth not his Church incontinently out of dangers, but to exercise their faith and pacience continueth their troubles
4. when the dangers are moste great, then Gods helpe is moste ready to succour.¹⁹

The Geneva Bible was equipped with a remarkable range of interpretative apparatus to ensure a clear expository framework accompanied the biblical text. A complete theological viewpoint was to be found within this one set of covers. Each biblical book began with an ‘argument’ summarising the main message of the book and in particular applying it to the life of the church. Every chapter started with key verses providing ‘bullet points’ of meaning. Finally, specific notes were attached to particular words or phrases. Some notes gave linguistic or textual information, offering a comment on the meaning of the Greek or Hebrew words or noticing a variant reading. Many notes offered an interpretation, explication or application of the text. Through these notes a clear and all-pervasive Reformed perspective was given to the reader. Given the context of the translation, the notes tended to emphasise the themes of tyranny and persecution. In their polemical tracts the English exiles had not been reticent about calling Mary Tudor ‘Jezebel’, and the Geneva Bible’s notes for 2 Kings contained explicit references to the links between tyranny and idolatry. The story of Jezebel’s death was portrayed as a source of hope for those suffering persecution and an assurance that God would intervene to deliver his people from a tyrant. After the dogs had left Jezebel’s body unrecognisable, the Geneva Bible noted with a certain satisfaction,

Thus God’s iudgements appeare even in this worlde against them that suppress his word & persecute his servants.

An even more radical comment was made concerning Jehu’s role in Jezebel’s assassination, which gave explicit approval for the deed and underscored its divine authorisation since Jehu had been given a direct command by the Holy Spirit to kill the Queen.

This he did by the motion of the Spirit of God that her blood should be shed that had shed the blood of innocents, to be a spectacle and an example of God’s iudgements to all tyrants.²⁰

The same theme of resistance to tyrants was the main focus for a series of polemical tracts written by members of the Genevan congregation

and published in Geneva during 1557–8. The most famous and notorious of these tracts were written by the two ministers, Christopher Goodman with his *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd of Their Subiectes* and John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*.²¹ Since these tracts were published at the beginning of 1558, their timing proved unfortunate when in November of that year Mary Tudor died and was succeeded by her half-sister Elizabeth. The new monarch did not take kindly to Knox's generalised attack upon her gender, something which Goodman had also briefly included in his tract. Not being a lady easily inclined to forgive or forget, Elizabeth ensured that neither author was welcome back in England. As a result, both ministers went to Scotland, with momentous consequences for the Scottish Reformation.

The embarrassment caused by the attack on female rule and the advocacy of resistance to rulers presented an irresistible opportunity for the Roman Catholic polemicists. In 1566 Peter Frarin published an interesting volume entitled *An Oration Against the Unlawful Insurrections of the Protestants*. Most of its text was a polemical attack upon all Protestants, labelling them rebels and traitors to their lawful rulers. At the back of the book explicitly directed at those who could not read, was printed a set of woodcuts each with a couplet below pointing out the message of the picture. Knox and Goodman were given their own woodcut showing them both with a trumpet and blowing a blast against two Queens sitting on thrones before them and Knox was shown carrying a bible under his arm.

No queene in her kingdome can
or ought to syt fast
If Knokes or Goodmans bookes
blowe any true blast.²²

Having been refused permission even to enter England, Knox sailed to Leith and was able to play a vital role in the Scottish Reformation crisis, sparking the iconoclastic riot in Perth in May 1559 which began the Wars of the Congregation. He was also highly influential in the settlement achieved in the summer of 1560 when the Reformation Parliament outlawed Roman Catholic worship and sacraments and

the new Protestant Kirk was established. Although not a member of the Scottish committee of six Johns who drew up the First Book of Discipline, Goodman was undoubtedly an important and continuing support and influence upon his friend and colleague Knox and his other new colleagues in Scotland. He was deemed the best person to take charge in St Andrews, the former ecclesiastical capital of Scotland, while Knox took his place as minister in the political capital of Edinburgh. Being the first properly settled minister in St Andrews which had a strong Protestant base, Goodman could furnish an example and a model of best Reformed practice for the nation, something easier to achieve in St Andrews than in Edinburgh.²³

Knox and Goodman brought invaluable experience to the new Scottish church because they had previously run a fully-Reformed congregation in Geneva and they were confident they could transpose its achievements to the kingdom of Scotland. This was something of a mixed blessing for the new Scottish Kirk since the deeply-embedded ‘example of Geneva’ left Knox with a sense of unfulfilled promise on his return to his native land. His large Edinburgh parish had a very different complexion to the hothouse atmosphere produced by the religious exiles in Geneva. Knox could not resist drawing comparisons and thinking nostalgically of his old charge in Calvin’s city.

Knox and Goodman brought to Scotland a ‘start-up kit’ for the new Kirk which would prove of greater long-term significance than their special experience as ministers in Geneva. The productivity of the Genevan congregation had ensured the Kirk possessed ready to hand most of the major items it needed: a new biblical translation; an order of worship; a metrical psalter and models for the exercise of discipline and of the smooth running of a Reformed congregation. The Geneva Bible was adopted as the official version for Scotland with editions printed in Geneva and London circulating at first and, after a couple of false printing starts, Thomas Bassandyne produced in Edinburgh in 1579 the first Scottish edition. Whilst an excellent translation in 1560, over time it became dated and King James VI announced his intention at the 1601 General Assembly held in Burntisland kirk to commission a new translation. When the King James or ‘Authorised’ Version of 1611 appeared it took a considerable time to replace the Geneva Bible as the popular choice. The king having taken a marked dislike of the

Geneva Bible's marginal notes, especially those discussing tyranny, had insisted explanatory notes be omitted from his version. However, he was unable to prevent the printers satisfying popular demand by lifting the Geneva Bible notes and placing them in the Authorised Version!

The helpful apparatus of the Bible and its self-contained nature ensured that the strong theme of exile, persecution and the church under the cross passed into Scottish Presbyterian consciousness and helped construct the particular mentality which dominated the outlook of the Presbyterian party in Scotland from the end of the sixteenth century. An unforeseen drawback to the Scottish adoption of the Geneva Bible was its English, rather than Scots, language. Since the Bible, or part of it, was the most important single printed book in the country, it provided the chief model for a printed language and in the long run this had a detrimental effect upon the language of print in Scotland and helped to displace Scots with English.²⁴

The Bible became an important physical object in early modern Scotland which could convey a wealth of meaning by its placement and use. When self-consciously carried in public, usually tucked under the armpit or oxtar, the Bible rapidly developed into a badge of Protestant identity. The Frarin woodcut with Knox having his bible tucked under his arm possibly provided the first visual representation of this badge. In 1572 during the Marian civil wars the minister John Brand returned in triumph with his supporters to Edinburgh. They marched into the burgh with Brand, 'having on his [preaching] gowne and a byble vnder his oxstare'.²⁵

In a similar defiant mood when summoned in 1592 to the king's presence after he had preached a sermon criticising James VI for his part in the murder of the Bonnie Earl o' Moray, Patrick Simson was seen marching along the Royal Mile with his bible ostentatiously under his arm.²⁶

A ready-made order of worship accompanied the Geneva Bible when Knox and Goodman came from Geneva. The *Forme of Prayers* was adopted by the Scottish Kirk and became known as the *Book of Common Order*. Being a more straightforward printing task, the first

Scottish edition was published as early as 1562. It set out a simple, almost stark, style of worship resting upon the regulative principle that nothing should be included in worship unless it had scriptural authorisation. In the Eucharist in particular the Reformers wanted to move as far away as possible from the sights and sounds of a medieval Mass. The flight from medieval liturgical practice included all its apparatus with communion ware being deliberately modelled on domestic designs and using materials normally found in the home, such as pewter, rather than the gold, silver and precious stones which decorated medieval communion vessels. The strong echoes of a communal meal were also expressed in the practice of sitting around a table to receive communion. This had not been the practice in Calvin's own churches in Geneva but had been followed by the English-speaking congregation there, and it rapidly became the manner in which the Lord's Supper was administered in the Scottish Kirk.²⁷ Parish churches in Scotland needed to be adapted to suit the new priorities and practices in worship. Although the number of entirely new churches built in the century following the Reformation remained relatively small, nearly all churches were adapted and altered.²⁸ The most common alteration realigned the church on a north-south axis with the pulpit on the long south wall to give pride of place to the sermon rather than the traditional east-west alignment which had focused attention upon the altar.

The *Book of Common Order*, like the Geneva Bible, was written in English and played its part in influencing the language spoken within Scotland. However, for roughly half the population Gaelic was their native language and in 1567 John Carswell published his translation of the Book, *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*, the first book ever printed in Gaelic. This helped carry the 'example of Geneva' directly into the Highlands. Carswell hoped his translation would also cross the North Channel and make an impact within Ireland:

[...] travel each district throughout Scotland, gently, slowly
 [...]After that, travel over each wave
 to the land of Ireland of liberal bounds.²⁹

From 1565 the metrical psalter was normally printed alongside the *Book of Common Order*. The metrical psalms, used and completed in Geneva, became a much-loved element within Scottish Protestant culture and an integral part of everyday life for many Scots. Since the psalter was the key to congregational participation in the worship of the Kirk, it became the most important section of the book and was known simply as the ‘Psalm book’. The singing of metrical psalms gave the congregation their voice in worship. Their popularity proved remarkably enduring with some original settings still found in the hymnary today. The Old Hundreth, “All people that on earth do dwell” or Psalm 124, “Now Israel may say”, are two metrical psalms whose long-term impact upon Scottish music and culture are difficult to calculate. As well as being used in church, psalms formed part of devotions in the home. Scots were even willing to surround themselves with psalm verses which could be found painted on ceilings in castles and merchant houses and some have survived to this day as at Crathes and Traquair castles.³⁰

Psalms were sung outside on the streets, on the battlefields and were taken up as political slogans. Several psalms became particularly associated with themes or causes. The first line of the metrical version of Psalm 43, “Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord” became a catchphrase after the murder of Lord Darnley for those who believed Mary, Queen of Scots, was implicated in her husband’s death. The verse appeared on the banner of those facing the Queen across the battlefield at Carberry and was probably sung as a marching song when Mary was brought back under arrest to Edinburgh later that day. The same verse was taken up after the assassination of Regent Moray in January 1570, becoming a refrain in some of the political ballads composed in the following months. At the murder in 1592 of the 2nd Earl of Moray (‘the Bonnie Earl’) by the Earl of Huntly, the revenge phrase and sentiment made another appearance on the national political stage featuring on the death painting of Moray which helped create so much feeling against King James VI.³¹

Part of the legacy of Geneva had not been crystallized into book form but was transferred to Scotland through continuity of practice. Discipline had been mentioned briefly in the *Form of Prayers*, which re-appeared as the *Book of Common Order*, and the *First Book of*

Discipline written by the six Johns in 1560 took up the theme and discussed it within the context of church organization. During the first decade of the Kirk's existence, practice in Scotland followed the disciplinary procedures worked out in Geneva by Knox and Goodman. When in 1569 Knox finally drew together an *Order of Excommunication* it reflected existing practice within those parishes fortunate enough to possess ministers and operating kirk sessions.³² The establishment of kirk sessions and the operation of an efficient system of discipline throughout the country gave the Scottish Kirk a remarkably strong structure. This slow and gradual process of extending a full system of church organization and discipline to every parish within the kingdom was assisted by having a 'Genevan' model of what needed to be achieved. The contribution of discipline to the formation of Protestant culture in early modern Scotland was immense.³³ James Melville's ringing endorsement in 1590 of the necessity of discipline expressed its centrality within the life and operation of the Scottish Reformed Kirk,

That discipline was maist necessar in the Kirk, seeing without the saming, Chryst's Kingdome could nocht stand. For, unles the Word and Sacraments war kiepit in sinceritie, and rightlie usit and practesit be direction of the discipline, they wald soone be corrupted. And thairfor, certean it was, that without sum discipline, na kirk without trew discipline, na rightlie Reformed Kirk; and without the right and perfytt discipline, na right and perfytt Kirk.³⁴

After its short and revolutionary crisis in 1559–60, the Scottish Kirk was fortunate to have to hand a package of key texts and a model of how to run a church which had been 'road-tested' by the English-speaking exile congregation in Geneva. In the post-Reformation years the Kirk had sufficient problems of its own over finances and its relationship to successive governments. It did not have time for elaborate church-building, either in the architectural sense or constructing an order of worship, a psalter, a biblical translation or experimenting with a basic unit of church organisation. The Scots absorbed the 'example of Geneva' in all its aspects and by applying it across an entire kingdom

changed and adapted it into something distinctively Scottish. In this way Scots constructed their own Protestant identity and could feel a pride in their achievement, especially in comparison to other parts of Reformed Europe. A strong sense that Scotland was one of the best Reformed churches developed soon after 1560. By the end of the century, Scots assumed they had achieved a purity of worship and practice which had few equals, with even the city of Geneva suffering from a comparison. James VI might seem an unlikely exponent of this sense of Scottish confessional identity but his speech to the General Assembly in 1590 summed it up perfectly.

[...] his Majesty praiseth God that he was born in such a time, as in the time of the light of the Gospell, to such a place to be King, in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva, said he, keepeth Pasche and Yuile. What have they for them. They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is ane evill said messe in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you my good people, Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Gentlemen, and Barrons to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same³⁵

The King was laying his praise on with a trowel and he received a fifteen-minute standing ovation for his effort. However, this shrewd political operator knew precisely how to appeal to his audience by expressing what most of them believed. Scots' confidence in the purity of their Kirk was sufficiently strong during the reign of James' son Charles to generate the language of the National Covenant. It also underpinned the willingness of so many Scots to fight their monarch to uphold that purity. The 'example of Geneva' had disappeared becoming instead the 'example of Scotland'. In the Covenanting Wars it was this 'example of Scotland' which was taken by the Covenanters to Charles' other kingdoms and this example underpinned the Solemn League and Covenant. By the seventeenth century the Reformed package which had originally arrived with Knox from Geneva had become so firmly embedded and naturalised within Scotland that it formed an integral part of Scottish national identity.

Notes

- ¹ Preface by John Calvin to William Whittingham's *New Testament* (Geneva, 1557), discussed in David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 279–80.
- ² John Knox to Christopher Goodman, n.d. but late May/early June 1567, Denbighshire Record Office, DD/PP/839 85–7 printed in Jane Dawson and Lionel K. J. Glassey, "Some Unpublished Letters from John Knox to Christopher Goodman", *Scottish Historical Review* LXXXIV (2005): 166–201. A new cache of material concerning John Knox and the Marian exile has been recently discovered in a letter-book within the papers of Christopher Goodman in Denbighshire Record Office. Full details of the find and the text of new letters from Knox to Goodman in Dawson & Glassey.
- ³ Knox to Anne Locke, 9 Dec 1556, in David Laing, ed., *The Works of John Knox* (6 vols.; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1846–1864), IV:239–41 at 240.
- ⁴ Jane E. A. Dawson, "Discipline and the Making of Protestant Scotland" in *Worship and Liturgy in Context: Studies and Case Studies in Theology and Practice* (ed. Duncan B. Forrester and Doug Gay; London: SCM Press, 2009), 123–36. See the other articles in this issue for further discussion of Calvin's views.
- ⁵ Goodman's address to the English-speaking congregation at their first service, Nov 1555, DD/PP/839 17–21.
- ⁶ Jane E. A. Dawson, 'Knox, John (c.1514–1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- ⁷ 'Livre des Anglois', printed in Charles Martin, *Les protestants Anglais réfugiés à Genève au temps de Calvin, 1555–1560: leur église – leurs écrits* (Geneva: Julien, 1915), 331–38.
- ⁸ Including Knox's sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar.
- ⁹ The 'stranger' or exile churches within Edward VI's reign had employed election and their model was followed by the English exiles, see Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church: John a Lasco and the Forma ac Ratio* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 70–75.

- ¹⁰ The manner in which Knox and Goodman set up and exercised discipline within the Scottish Reformed Kirk suggested they were already well practised in the exercise of discipline.
- ¹¹ Cf. Laing, ed., *The Works of John Knox* IV:41 ff., and see *A Brieff Discours Off the Troubles Begonne at Franckford Anno Domini 1554* (ed. John Petheram; London, 1846).
- ¹² The first Scottish edition was printed in 1562, see William Cowan, *A Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland: 1556–1644* (Edinburgh, 1913); *The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, Commonly Known As John Knox’s Liturgy* (with historical introduction and illustrative notes by the Rev. G. W. Sprott; Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1901).
- ¹³ I am indebted to Timothy Duguid, my research student who is working on the early modern Scottish Psalters, for his detailed comparison between the English and Scottish Psalters of 1562 and 1564 in his paper “Distinguishing English and Scottish Psalmody” to the 12th International Conference of Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, Edinburgh, July 2008.
- ¹⁴ For a fuller study see Jeremy Begbie, “Music, Word and Theology Today: Learning from John Calvin” in *Theology in Dialogue: The Impact of the Arts, Humanities, and Science on Contemporary Religious Thought* (ed. Lyn Holness and Ralf K. Wüstenberg; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdamns, 2002), 3–27.
- ¹⁵ Facsimile edition of 1560 *Geneva Bible* with introduction by Lloyd E. Berry (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) and study in Daniell, *The Bible in English*, ch 17.
- ¹⁶ For a further discussion see Jane E. A. Dawson, “John Knox, Christopher Goodman and the ‘Example of Geneva’” in *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (ed. Patrick Collinson and Polly Ha; forthcoming 2009).
- ¹⁷ Interest among English exiles in improving Hebrew and using Tremellius.
- ¹⁸ *Geneva Bible* Titlepage [f. 1r]. The texts around the illustration came from Exodus 14:13–14 and Psalm 34:19.
- ¹⁹ *Geneva Bible*, f. 30v.
- ²⁰ *Geneva Bible*, f. 169r.

- ²¹ Jane E. A. Dawson, “Trumpeting Resistance: Christopher Goodman and John Knox” in *John Knox and the British Reformations* (ed. Roger A. Mason; Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 131–53; Roger A. Mason, ed., *John Knox: On Rebellion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- ²² Peter Frarin, *An Oration Against the Unlawful Insurrection of the Protestantes of Our Time* (Antwerp, 1566 [STC 11333]). The illustrations were described as ‘The Table of this Booke set out not by order of Alphabete or numbre but by expresse figure, to the eye and sight of the Christian Reader, and of him also that cannot reade.’ [unpaginated].
- ²³ Jane E. A. Dawson, “The Face of ‘Ane Perfyte Reformed Kyrk’: St Andrews and the Early Scottish Reformation”, in *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400–1643: Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron; Studies in Church History Subsidia 8* (ed. James Kirk; Oxford; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991), 412–36. For Goodman’s career see Jane E. A. Dawson, “Goodman, Christopher (1521/2–1603)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- ²⁴ For a more general discussion see Jane E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed, 1488–1587* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), ch. 10.
- ²⁵ Brand’s fellow minister was in armour with a gun over his shoulder, so together they were ready for any response! *Memorials of Transactions in Scotland, 1569–72 by Richard Bannatyne* (ed. Robert Pitcairn; Bannatyne Club Publications, 51; Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing, 1836), 247.
- ²⁶ He ‘went up with his Bible under his ockster, affirming that would plead for him’, *The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, From the Year 1558 to August 1637 by John Row* (ed. David Laing; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 145.
- ²⁷ In the Geneva churches Calvin and his congregations stood and filed past the communion table.
- ²⁸ Burntisland church was one of the most spectacular designs. I am grateful to my PhD student, Graham Chernoff, whose work

demonstrates there was a greater range of building and alteration during this period than had previously been supposed.

- ²⁹ John Carswell's poem *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* [his translation of *The Book of Common Order*], 1567 (ed. R. L. Thomson; Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society: Edinburgh, 1988), 181.
- ³⁰ Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMS, 2002), ch. 8.
- ³¹ Edward D. Ives, *The Bonny Earl of Murray: The Man, the Murder, the Ballad* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1997), 66–67.
- ³² Laing, ed., *Works of John Knox*, VI:417–70.
- ³³ See Dawson, "Discipline and the Making of Protestant Scotland".
- ³⁴ James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville* (ed. R Pitcairn; Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 280.
- ³⁵ 7 August 1590, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, From the Year MDLX* (ed. Thomas Thomson; Bannatyne Club Publications, 81, Edinburgh, 1839–45), II:771.