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Growth, Consolidation and Revolution: Assessing the Various Views on the Rise of Protestantism in Scotland prior to 1560.

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Contemporary historians of Scottish Reformation are as staunchly uncompromising as the personalities who shaped that event. Men like Patrick Hamilton, Erskine of Dun, and John Knox, among others, put their lives in peril for overt enunciation of their beliefs. Corresponding figures on the Catholic side showed a willingness to do the same. Exchanges of invective and physical abuse were commonplace. Nowadays, similar displays of acrimony are naturally hard to come by in the scholarship of early modern Scottish history, or in any other period for that matter. Historians today are of a gentler kind, willing to accommodate as much of an opposing argument as possible. However, there remains a strong undercurrent of, for lack of a better word, intransigence – a reflection of the strength of commitment each writer possesses to his or her interpretation of existing evidence. This inevitably produces fireworks between historians of opposing convictions and is particularly acute because, to a great extent, religion is involved. More than anything else, religion touches on the most responsive part of the human psyche, whether a person consciously subscribes to a particular system of beliefs or not, and thus it obliges historians of religion to deliver as accurate an appraisal of the evidence before them as possible. The benefit of all this is that it brings fresh dynamics to the field of Scottish Reformation, throwing a new light on the hitherto underappreciated aspects of that period, which in turn hold up exciting possibilities for the future.

Four writers who are considered authorities on the subject have each given their version of what happened – not without the intransigence just mentioned. Their work represents the new avenues of approach taken up since the appearance in 1960 of Gordon Donaldson's challenging study, *The Scottish Reformation*. More precisely, that work stimulated the growth of newer perspectives, such as social, political, and economic, which a new generation of historians readily applied to their work. Thus we see a broad social history of the Scottish Reformation in Ian Cowan's work, while a political emphasis dominates that of Jenny Wormald and Michael Lynch; both a religious and social approach is evident in James Kirk's recent writings. Differing perspectives do not necessarily entail differing interpretations, and numerous points of agreement exist among the four. Yet on the most basic issues, such as the state of the Catholic Church prior to 1560, the extent of Protestant growth and the measure of success in establishing a Reformed church after 1560, there is no immediate hope of seeing perhaps even a token agreement. On the precise nature of the path taken by the

Protestants prior to the revolution of 1558–1560, some are admittedly closer than others in terms of similar perspectives and appraisals of evidence. However, only when the arguments of the four historians are taken in their entirety could one do justice to what they are trying to say; and when the arguments are viewed in this way, one sees four distinct and incompatible positions on Protestant growth.

In his assessment of the two generations preceding the concerted action for reform in 1559–1560, James Kirk argues strongly in favour of a sustained growth of Protestantism marked by two overlapping stages of development. For the first stage, Kirk traces the Protestant movement up to early 1540s and delineates a steady progress. He sees a noticeable rise in Protestant numbers in numerous towns and the countryside in the generation or so after the first recognizable presence of Lutheran ideas in Scotland in 1521,[1] to the point of securing a strong foothold. As key evidence, he points to the long list of court cases involving heresy in Perth, Dundee and Ayr to the south-west, and large sectors of the north-east such as Aberdeenshire, Angus and Mearns.

The number of heretics in towns mentioned explicitly by Kirk is eighty-six,[2] which seems small in proportion to the total population in towns. However, he is also careful to note that the records of heresy trials in ecclesiastical courts are no longer extant, implying that since the evidence can be gleaned only from incidental sources, the figure must reflect a mere fraction of the actual number of the disaffected.[3] He further calls attention to the not unimportant fact that the records that do survive come from cases where royal interests in forfeited property or granting of remissions were involved. This may be an important observation, since more heretics could have been involved than the list indicates – it is unlikely that all cases involving religious dissent were confined to property seizures or pardons granted.

Kirk adds another important perspective to Protestant growth in this period in his discussion of what he calls ‘a deliberate policy of iconoclasm’.[4] Here the focus is on the notion of radicalism and therefore on the level of commitment displayed by the heretics, and not so much on their number. In other words, he views iconoclastic acts as the outward expression of inward attachment to the Protestant cause. Foremost, the breaking of images is seen as a purposeful expression of the ‘frustration and anger of former image-believers who felt tricked and betrayed by what they had come to see…as a deception’.[5] The same people in turn displayed attachment to the Protestant doctrine to such a level as to demonstrate to the general public, even at the risk of their own lives, ‘the inability of the image…to save itself from the fate to which it was subjected’.[6] This notion of openly expressed attachment is another key element in Kirk’s overall argument, to which other writers have hesitated to assign much significance.[7]

Jenny Wormald prefers to take another approach, which undoubtedly throws a new and distinctive light on the issue. She directs much of her attention to the mindset of

the people in the first generation of Protestantism, particularly as characterized by indecision and doubt rather than conviction and certainty. Instead of Kirk's Protestants of deep attachment and Cowan's faltering ones, Wormald paints a picture in which the bold brush-strokes fall on the genuine dissatisfaction of a significant number of people with the Old Church, which in turn produced sincere struggle over conflicting choices. In this sense, she speaks of a kind of tug-of-war in which the old attachment (notwithstanding all its attendant disappointments) on the one hand and the attractions of the new ideas of Protestantism on the other pulled the hearts of men and women in opposing directions. She perceptively holds up the separate paths chosen by the Wedderburn brothers as a telling example of this phenomenon, and asserts that only 'a few rare souls showed utter confidence and conviction, and a great number of people agonized'.[8]

This position ties in well with her estimate of the numerical strength of Protestantism during this time. She would not concur with Kirk's idea of a 'firm foothold' by the early 1540s, much less with the existence of a popular movement of Protestantism, precisely because most were vacillating. Even in 1560, the Protestants were a distinct minority. Nonetheless, several things impress her. Regarding the earliness of Protestant activity, she notes that only four years were needed for reforming ideas to surface in Scotland after the momentous Ninety-five Theses of 1517. She also points to Parliament's alarm (expressed in the Acts of 1525), the martyrdoms of Hamilton and others, pockets of Lutheranism, and the recantations in 1532 to underscore the same idea. Most insightful is her identification of the various signs and events, such as riots, iconoclasm, militant tendency, organized groups, a divided university, and itinerant preachers, with Protestant vitality and strength. Moreover, she insists that the validity of these signs can be attested to, because even 'the Rough Wooing had not broken…the hopes of Scottish Protestants'.[9]

Michael Lynch is markedly less enthusiastic than the two preceding historians. Early Protestantism in Scotland for him shows little in the way of recognizable growth or vigour. Initially, Lynch takes a slightly different approach from Kirk, but he ends up with a considerably different conclusion. He refers to the same list of heretics as Kirk's, and holds up another figure of 1,000 'assured Scots', but calls both pieces of evidence 'equivocal'. Instead, he puts forth a list of 168 heretics drawn from various other pieces of evidence as more dependable.[10] The inference drawn from them is one of social permeation but not of numerical growth. In other words, Lynch sees a much more limited Protestantism than Kirk, and maintains that the movement gained a following from a broad cross-section of society but not from enough people to be viewed as a popular movement with a foothold.

This was particularly so in the towns, where Lynch categorically denies any sign of a 'swelling' movement except possibly in Dundee and Perth, and even the latter did not witness an operating privy kirk before 1560.[11] As with numerical assessment, Lynch prefers to see Protestant activity as exceptionally limited, with only those few areas

where the natural leaders of the society made spiritual leadership available exhibiting any kind of vitality; but for him, these were 'few and far between'.[12] However, to measure vitality merely by the presence of leaders of spiritual commitment is to ignore too much. As Wormald demonstrates, the lay adherents of ordinary standing as well as the clerical intelligentsia often took the initiative in the form of iconoclastic riots and open teaching of the reformed doctrine, respectively.[13] Also not to be missed is the important fact that where leadership was not forthcoming, many of the laity took to the reading of Scripture followed up with a discussion on disputed texts, to the distributing of devotional literature, and to maintaining conventicles for self-protection.[14]

Cowan offers the gloomiest estimate of Protestant strength in towns and countryside during the same two decades (1520s and 1530s). Rather than having had any kind of foothold, Protestantism is pictured as an 'ill-defined' group threatened with extinction by the end of the 1530s.[15] A similar judgment is made for the two subsequent decades. He develops his argument by exposing the peculiar responses of various regions to the onset of Protestantism. This regional approach is illuminating to a certain extent: it clarifies the position of Protestants in different areas of Scotland and the varying successes, or failures, of their movement. In particular, the approach throws an informative light on the dynamic yet distinctive interrelationship between secular and religious forces in each locality. However, the substantive part of his argument is far less enlightening.

For the first two decades, Cowan's analysis relies on the twofold evidence of heresy and circulation of Protestant literature. To begin with, Cowan refers to clergy, intellectuals and laymen in Ayr, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St Andrews, Fife, Angus and the Mearns who openly showed Protestant leanings to modify his earlier position, conceding a more extensive spread for the new ideas. However, he falls substantially short of admitting any significant numerical growth. Hence, except for parts of Ayr and the burgh of Dundee, Protestantism is seen as a distinctly subdued movement, inchoate and numerically insignificant. This latter position, however, is tenuous at best. The weight of evidence is too great not to admit of an irreversible trend by the late 1530s toward a formation of strong enclaves of Protestantism over a significant section of the country.[16] Moreover, although Cowan tacitly recognizes the penetration of the new ideas into a broad spectrum of society by pointing to laymen such as a sea-skipper and shipwright, to clergy, particularly from the ranks of the friars, to burgesses and lairds, and to those in scholarly circles, he refuses to give any weight to this not unimportant aspect of the early phase of the Reformation in Scotland.

Cowan does see a positive reception of the new ideas, particularly in the extensive dissemination of Protestant literature. He writes at length about the division within the ranks of the faculty of St Andrews and the effects of the writings of Patrick Hamilton, John Gau, and the Wedderburn brothers to show this positive reception. Here, Cowan makes what is obviously an artificial distinction between the growth of Protestantism

and the spread of its literature. The fact that the imported literature found a ready audience and, on numerous occasions, provoked sharp reaction from the Catholics should be seen as a clear indication of Protestant strength. What is ironic, in this regard, is that his conclusions about this positive reception are anything but positive: St Andrews remained strongly orthodox, with many heretics either fleeing or recanting; Cowan is doubtful of any religious appeal of the ballads composed by John Wedderburn except in Dundee; and the circulation of the works by Hamilton and Gau was at best limited.[17]

When the 1540s and 1550s are considered, the four writers pursue a similar line of argument. To begin with, Kirk remains firmly in favour of an unabated advance of Protestantism, with the underground gatherings of conventicles invigorated by lay initiative and itinerant preaching. He mentions thirty landowners in the north-east accused in 1544 of reading and discussing Scripture and other prohibited books; more remarkable was one laymen who appeared to be well versed not only in Scripture but also in the works of Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, and Erasmus.[18] It seems not unreasonable to assume that such men would have been looked upon to give a certain amount of leadership in the absence of Protestant preachers. Moreover, although he admits ‘a conspicuous absence of Protestant-inclined preachers’ during this period, Kirk nonetheless insightfully traces a steady increase in their number beginning with the itinerant preaching of George Wishart in 1545.

He then says that John Knox was appointed as the preacher, in the following year, of what was evidently the first reformed congregation. During the English intervention from 1547 to 1549, a number of earls like Glencairn and Lennox promised to ‘cause the Word of God to be taught and preached’. For the final years of the conventicling phase, Kirk sees ‘freshly recruited preachers’ help organize and strengthen the secret communities of Protestants, which would, in a matter of a few years, transform themselves into privy kirks whose distinguishing mark was the inceptive form and structure of a Calvinist church.[19] Here again, Kirk correctly underscores the strength of the attachment to the Protestant cause as he points out that the breaking of images and attacks on churches and religious houses were the combined product of preachers and laymen. In a practical as well as logical follow-up of Wishart’s preaching, some of the inhabitants of the burgh of Ayr went about breaking images. Also, the provocative preaching of Knox no doubt incited the rampage through the friaries of the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Charterhouse and St John’s kirk in Perth.[20] Thus, when supposedly all was quiet, according to Cowan,[21] the bustling activities of Protestants in secret gatherings away from the suspicious eyes of the ecclesiastical and political authorities, as well as in sporadic open acts of defiance, are pointed out by Kirk as contributing to the strengthening of that movement and to the subsequent formation of the privy kirks of the late 1550s.

One weakness in Kirk’s discussion of the privy kirks is the peculiar lack of reference to the figures that either initiated or influenced the shaping of these new

congregations. Was it Knox and other preachers? Or is it better to see their appearance as the culmination of two generations of lay leadership, which found expression in greater organizational structure? Another puzzling question has to do with purpose: were Protestants consciously getting ready for a revolution by better organizing themselves, or did they simply act on the need for greater self-organization after several decades of amorphous existence? Kirk has yet to offer satisfactory answers to these questions. However, he deals authoritatively with the more important issue of the interplay between the religious and political forces during the revolution of 1559–1560, in which the privy kirks are seen as providing the launching pad for unified political action on a national scale. Kirk insists that 'the formation of privy kirks did not by themselves produce the Reformation victory of 1560',[22] stating:

> …[A]lthough they [privy kirks] might breed a sense of purpose, self-reliance and esteem among the converted, the privy kirks alone could not hope to…bring about widespread revolution. The townspeople and country-dwellers who attended their meetings were still accustomed to looking above and beyond their own religious communities for direction and leadership…. Political action was imperative for sustained religious change.[23]

Thus, Kirk carefully distinguishes between religious attachment, providing the primary motivation, and the political action that ensured the successful outcome of 1560.[24]

For the same decades, Cowan adamantly persists in his prior position, arguing for a movement that was geographically disparate, politically dictated and, in effect, treading water. Here again, the regional characteristics of Protestantism receive heavy emphasis, with an assessment of Protestant strength in the north-east, east, west, and the borders. The dominant idea is that, except for a brief period between 1543 and the following year, there was little discrepancy between 1540s and 1550s with respect to Protestant growth, and indeed little discrepancy between these and the preceding decades. For instance, orthodoxy 'remained the norm' in Lothian in the 1540s and continued to do so in the following decade, as the departure of John Knox and John Willock produced 'the effect of quietening the situation'.[25] In a similar vein, Cowan sees a divided loyalty and only a few committed lairds in what was considered a Protestant stronghold at Kyle in 1545, and an almost identical analysis of the region is made for the 1550s.[26]

Such dim estimates are drawn for no other reason, it seems, than to support Cowan's rigid insistence on a pattern of argument that seemingly accords as little credit as possible to Protestant efforts, and ignores as much as possible the positive implications of those efforts. A case in point is his evaluation of Dundee, where convictions for holding Protestant beliefs which resulted in forfeiture, acts of iconoclasm, anti-Roman Catholic preaching, and even loss of life for the Protestant cause do not prevent him from remarking that Protestantism was stagnant as well as

latent.[27] No more optimistic is his take on Aberdeen, where the instances of confirmed heresy of earl Marischal and the provost, among others, are not enough to deter him from stating that 'a period of religious peace [remained] undisturbed until the eve of the Reformation' from the early 1540s. A blind spot in Cowan's argument, as a result, is his gross underappreciation of the strength of latent Protestantism in that period. In other words, the secret gatherings of Protestants and their make-up and growth have not been allotted due attention.[28]

Moreover, any remaining notion of Protestant strength is sapped further by a recurring interjection of political and economic motives, so much so that one is made to wonder if anything of religious substance – motives, conviction or attachment – was left by the time a revolution essentially religious in nature came around in 1560.[29] Of the attack on the Blackfriars monastery in Perth in 1543, Cowan says that the 'religious motivation behind even this act can be questioned…and may point towards a social or economic cause'.[30] Again, the underlying cause of strengthened Protestantism in Kyle in the 1550s is claimed to lie in politics and the economy. This line of reasoning takes Cowan to the shaky position of favouring human accident rather than religious fervor as the cause of the apparent iconoclasm in Kyle a decade earlier.[31] Further, his insistence that Protestantism regained vitality and focus, rather fortuitously, when the political balance in 1558 shifted suddenly, is perhaps the hardest one to swallow, given his argument that the preceding two decades witnessed a virtually stagnant and nearly 'extinguished' Protestantism,[32] even when there were several major political changes in the form of the accessions of Edward VI and Mary Tudor. For Cowan to be consistent, he would have to posit some change, even if a slight one, in Catholic and Protestant positions during these shifts, but he does not do so.

Moving away from Cowan's narrowly political explanation for the Reformation, Wormald argues in favour of an intricate interplay between religion and politics; but hers is of a substantially different kind from Kirk. Her most perceptive observation is perhaps of a distinctive relationship between the growth of Protestantism and political shifts in Scotland. In other words, instead of a one-to-one correlation, the two combined to produce a highly paradoxical course of events. Wormald explains it as follows:

> It [Protestantism] presents us with the paradox that it drew strength from England in the 1530s and 1540s despite diplomatic hostility and war, and it gained ground again in the 1550s, when the need to keep Scotland in alliance with Catholic France rather than the Catholic England of Mary Tudor persuaded Mary of Guise to pursue the remarkable policy of toleration towards the Scottish Protestants.[33]

Strangely, however, her view of Protestant strength in those three decades is quite harsh, given the above admission that Protestantism enjoyed a sustained growth notwithstanding unfavorable political circumstances – she describes Protestantism as 'drifting' and 'inconclusive'.[34]

In terms of the precise nature of the interaction of religion and politics between 1558 and 1560, Wormald stops short of recognizing Kirk's distinction between religion as the *raison d'être* and politics, the vehicle, for the successful outcome of the Reformation in Scotland.[35] Though readily granting the political circumstances of those years as explaining the timing of the Reformation, she appears to remain intentionally open-ended about the Reformation itself. Allowing for a real possibility for both a political and religious explanation, she contends that it can be 'argued that the desire to break with France and ally with England produced in the secular leaders a political commitment to Protestantism. It can equally be argued that it happened the other way around…'.[36] In short, she yields to the untidy reality of a mixed motive, both 'sacred and profane', and advises against attempts to sort them out either for individuals or social groups.[37] This willing concession of inherent ambiguity is one of Wormald's key positions and is better appreciated when one sees the implications of her prior claim that a significant number in Scotland traversed the middle ground of vacillation.

Protestantism, as a result, lacked direction until the political leaders of Protestant conviction gave the movement coherence by signing the Band of the Lords of Congregation, producing new and overt outlets of expression. Wormald refers to iconoclasm, acts of defiance and disruption, appointments of ministers, and the emergence of kirk sessions in such towns as Ayr, Dundee, St Andrews, Dalmellington, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Perth, and calls them 'alarming'.[38] She appears to give a generally positive assessment of the achievements of both the leaders and adherents of the reform movement in towns in their concerted action between 1557 and 1559. However, she also sees the Protestant strength during those same years as being insufficient to turn the tide in a definite fashion – hence the stalemate until the appearance of the English troops at the end of March. Wormald insightfully factors in two more events that would eventually deal a fatal blow to the hopes of the Catholics in Scotland: one, the revolt of the Huguenots in France, which severely hampered what the Guises could do for the Catholic party in Scotland; and two, the sudden death of Mary of Guise.[39] Again, one notices the same thread of thought, which runs through Wormald's entire argument on Protestant growth, of an inextricable blend of politics and religion tempered by the wavering hearts of a great number in the struggle for Protestantism.

Lynch paints a similar picture of struggling Protestantism in the same period, but for noticeably different reasons. Scottish burghs in the sixteenth century, Lynch insists, showed a strong aversion to new ideas, whether in religion or politics; they held tightly on to their traditional habitudes of life. Thus, when Protestantism arrived, people in the towns viewed it as just one in a long list of factors to consider. Kin-ties, provisions of law and conventions of town life, as much as any religious consideration, weighed on people's minds. Herein lies the thrust of Lynch's argument. Protestantism did not, or more correctly, could not gain sufficient foundation in towns

precisely because it did not play critically upon people's motives – motives that determined their actions.[40] Thus, even after three decades of Protestant activity, its number in Edinburgh remained under forty.[41]

An elaboration of this idea of struggling Protestantism is found in his essay, 'From privy kirk to burgh church'. Two ideas are prominent here. One is already mentioned above: mixed motives. The other is consensus, similarly based on 'custom, privilege and a sense of community'. Lynch does not make a sharp distinction between the two, because they are obviously interconnected. Because of such mixed motives, Lynch argues, Protestantism appeared suddenly in numerous burghs, 'almost by accident', and Catholic recusants received a measure of protection after 1560. And when consensus is considered, Protestantism had to backtrack at times precisely to gain that consensus. For example, Lynch shows that Edinburgh's Protestant regime was forced to rely on Catholics and moderate Protestants as well as the radicals when it failed to gain enough support for its programme of tax assessment and audit.[42]

In this regard, Lynch's work helps to redress the historiographical balance by offering a political perspective to a field that has admittedly been dominated by a religious one. He incisively uncovers the various motives behind people's actions, and his political emphasis is an important consideration in any serious study of the period. However, Lynch may need to answer some formidable objections from different corners. The chief of these might be his tendency to minimize the implications of the now lost records of the proceedings from ecclesiastical courts, and other records with strong implications for Protestant strength. Moreover, Lynch's argument gives an impression of making conclusions based primarily on assumptions. For instance, his contention that Protestants were a distinct minority prior to 1560 and for some years afterwards is based on the thesis of political conservatism, conflicting motives and lack of consensus, and not on evidence directly bearing on Protestant activity.

Thus, he hardly takes seriously the extensive, and at times desperate-sounding, self-criticisms of Catholics on the corruption of their own institution or their fears expressed concerning Protestant increase, or even Protestants' estimation of their own strength. To be sure Lynch's emphasis must be factored in, but when due weight is given to the positive evidence of Protestant growth, his position loses ground quickly. This is why it is hard to swallow his low estimate of Protestant strength in the burghs in general and Edinburgh in particular. How could a movement, which had so much going against it, as in shifting motives, lack of consensus, political conservatism and insipid Protestantism, grow from under forty to 1,300 in a matter of a few years and emerge as the unchallenged church of the burgh in little over a decade?

Unless a considerable measure of success is attributed to Protestantism in its formative period, one is hard pressed to explain the remarkable outcome of 1560. Put differently, if consensus was a precondition to political, social and religious change, as Lynch correctly observes, then this same assumption obliges historians to posit a

sizeable support for Protestantism and its ultimate feat in that year; without a broad base of support, such a radical plan would never have borne fruit. This is why Cowan's position is most unpalatable, particularly his central assertion that a brief moment of fortuitous joining of hands between a few nobles and an equally insignificant number of preachers was all it took to achieve that remarkable feat.[43] He is at pains to discount Protestant attachment and numbers at every stage of his argument, but this only makes his final position that much more untenable.

Obviously Lynch and Wormald make some allowance for growth and commitment, but not enough to render a satisfactory explanation for the 1560 phenomenon; and though Wormald has a strong case for a mixed motive, her as well as Lynch's refusal to see Protestantism as a popular movement, marked by direction and purpose, merely serves to complicate their case because they have less to work with in explaining that undoubtedly remarkable phenomenon. There may not have been a 'swelling' Protestantism, but neither was it an insignificant minority. Moreover, it exhibited many of the features of a popular movement, since the four decades prior to 1560 gave ample time for it to achieve a measure of numerical strength, organizational cohesion and theological consensus. No wonder its leaders felt confident enough by 1557 to initiate a bold plan of replacing the old Church. It is true that forthcoming works on the varying experiences of the different regions in Scotland during the Reformation will clarify much confusion that still remains. It can also be expected that newer approaches to older problems can offer new angles of vision on the same period. However, these cannot take anything of substance away from the well-supported claim of considerable rise in Protestant numbers in the first half of the sixteenth century. Deep conviction, sense of common purpose and theological integration were the marks of Protestant strength, something their opponents failed miserably to maintain.

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[1] Robert Marshall was caught teaching Lutheran doctrines as rector of the grammar school in Aberdeen in 1521. See J. Wormald, *Mary, Queen of Scots: Politics, Passion and a Kingdom Lost* (rev. edn., London: Tauris Park Paperbacks, 2001), p. 48.
[2] J. Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), pp. 4-6. Additional numbers with Protestant leanings, who are brought to court, are also mentioned, pp. 1-2 and 5, n. 10. Also see M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1991), p. 188.
[3] Cf. G. Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots* (London: Batsford, 1990), pp. 62-3.
[4] Kirk, 'Iconoclasm and Reform', *Records of Scottish Church History Society*, 24 (1992), p. 366.
[5] Ibid., p. 373.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London: Batsford, 1983), p. 9.
[8] Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), pp. 107-8. But of course, she does not doubt the religious commitment of the minority that spearheaded the movement of 1557-1560 nor of those who sustained the reforming movement in the preceding decades. See also, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, pp. 74, 99.
[9] See *Mary, Queen of Scots*, pp. 48-9 and 74-5, where Wormald correctly faults those who have underestimated the early growth of Protestantism in Scotland. See also *Court, Kirk and Community*, pp. 107-8.
[10] Lynch questions the claim that this figure of 1,000 or so had Protestant leanings. *Scotland*, p. 188.
[11] Lynch, *Scotland*, pp. 188-190. Contrast Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, p. 13.
[12] Lynch, *Scotland*, pp. 188-9.
[13] Wormald, *Court, Kirk and, Community*, p. 107.
[14] Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 7, 8.
[15] I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), p. 99.
[16] The significance of Kirk's recognition of the extensive 'geographical spread of Protestantism from Kirkwall in the Orkneys to Dumfries in the extreme south west' by the early 1540s should not be missed; *Patterns of Reform*, p. 7. Even Cowan's own list, in which he mentions thirty heretics by name, of whom at least ten are either friars, chaplains or canons regular, attests to this trend. That is, if those considered as the guardians of orthodox religion and looked upon to give spiritual leadership are beginning to be found in the ranks of the disaffected at this early stage, in not so insignificant numbers, then to say that many more from the ranks of the laymen followed suit is certainly not going overboard. Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 92-9.
[17] Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 94-9.
[18] Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, p. 9.
[19] Ibid., pp. 9-13.
[20] Kirk, 'Iconoclasm and Reform', pp. 374, 378-82.
[21] Cowan, *Scottish Reformation,* pp. 100-9.
[22] Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, p. 15.
[23] Ibid., p. 13.
[24] For further elaboration, see Kirk, 'Reformation and Revolution: Kirk and Crown, 1560-1690', *History Today*, 34 (1984), pp. 1, 17. Also see *Patterns of Reform*, pp. xi-xv.

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[25] Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 103, 109.
[26] Ibid., pp. 104, 110.
[27] Ibid., pp. 101-2. Also see Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, p. 5.
[28] Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 100-1. Cf. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p. 188 and Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 3, 4, 15.
[29] Donaldson, *Faith of the Scots*, pp. 69-70.
[30] Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 100.
[31] Ibid., pp. 104-6.
[32] Ibid., pp. 105, 111, 112.
[33] Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, p. 102.
[34] Ibid., p. 109. See also, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, p. 75. She calls the 1540s and the subsequent decade a 'fallow' phase for the movement.
[35] Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, xiii, xiv.
[36] Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, p. 109.
[37] Ibid., pp. 117-8.
[38] Ibid., pp. 115-9. Also see, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, pp. 90-1.
[39] Ibid., pp. 100-2.
[40] See Lynch, 'From privy kirk to burgh church: an alternative view of the process of Protestantisation' in N. MacDougall (ed.), *Church, Politics, and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 85-6.
[41] See Lynch, *Scotland*, p. 189.
[42] See Lynch, 'From privy kirk to burgh church', pp. 86-9. Lynch appears to have modified his views somewhat on the issue of religious attachment. Notice a change in tone in his more recent work, *Scotland: A New History*; he at least concedes a measure of commitment for those few who subscribed to Protestantism. He says, 'Its [Protestantism's] demands before 1558 were few and simple: preaching of the Gospel, prayers in the vernacular, communion under both kinds. Yet this almost certainly disguises a deep spiritual commitment felt among its adherents to a personal faith marked by a devout biblical Christianity…'. *Scotland*, p. 188.
[43] Cowan, *Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation* (London: Historical Association, 1978), pp. 5-6.