tion, the property of the convent of Cupar-Fife. (1517, November 8th).

Incipit: Tuis humilibus supplicationibus inclinati . . .

Desinit: Dat. Romae etc. die VIII novembris M.D. XVII, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Arch. Vaticanes: Brev. Lat. t. 6, f. 192.

13. Leo X grants, for a period of 10 years and under certain conditions, to the faithful who, during Lent or on the days when the stations take place in the churches of Rome, shall visit the churches of the reformed Dominicans of Scotland, the stational indulgences of the churches of Rome. (1518, June 5th).

Incipit: Licet Is de cuius munere . . .

Desinit: Dat. Rome etc. die V iunii 1518 anno sexto.

Arch. Vaticanes: Brev. Lat. t. 6, f. 529v.

4. Leo X grants to the reformed Dominicans of Scotland the faculty of gaining, under certain conditions, the indulgence attached to the visiting of "the seven churches" of Rome. (1518, June 28th).

Incipit: Licet nuper nos et sicut . . .

Desinit: Dat. Rome etc. die XXXIII [*lege*: XXVIII] iunii M.D. XVIII an. sexto.

Arch. Vaticanes: Brev. Lat. t. 5, f. 357v.

M.-H. Laurent, O.P.

Archives Vaticanes
January, 1946.

NOTE. Shortage of space has unfortunately necessitated abbreviation of Père Laurent's notes. The original text of the article, with the full text of the documents listed in the Appendix, may be found in Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, XIII (1943), pp. 149-161. Ed.

SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANISM

The Parliament of 1560 having effectively destroyed the power of the Auld Kirk in Scotland, ratified and approved Knox's Confession of Faith as "hailsome and sound doctrine groundit upoune the infallibill trewth of Godis word".

This decision marked a crisis in Scottish history, but revolutionary though it was it must not be thought that Presbyterianism as it now exists in Scotland, was born, like Athene, fully formed and armed. The infant Reformed Church of Scotland was, in 1560, indeed a babe and it was only in the following two centuries that she took shape and developed the *persona* she now presents to the world.

So difficult and so complex is the history of Scottish Presbyterianism, reflecting as it does the ebb and flow of logic and passion that make up the Scottish character, that a short account of it

can only explain its dominant features by pointing to those elements and problems which have conditioned its growth. It would be quite simple to describe the ecclesiastical system of Calvin or the present organization of Church courts in Scotland, but such a description would not suffice to give any idea of historic Presbyterianism in Scotland.

Disputatious and moralistic the Scot may be, but it remains a fact that his history is perhaps even more evidently dominated by the element of passion and emotion, by an intense feeling for detail, shot through with the fairy element of the fantastic. Scottish Presbyterianism as a religion which claims to be national, reflects in its history the tensions and conflicting moods of the national character. This, however, is not to deny that the Presbyterian system has helped to direct the development of that character, emphasising some elements to the disparagement of others. The most profitable way, then, of writing of Scottish Presbyterianism would seem to be to describe it in terms of its history and the main problems which have conditioned its development.

In the first flush of triumph, when the forces of the Reformed movement overthrew the Auld Kirk, the predominant note was a strong conviction that the nation could be united, that all the positive elements in Scottish society could be brought together under the banner of the Gospel to found a New Jerusalem. "We mon now forget ourselves and bear the barrow to build the houses of God," cried Maitland of Lethington. Almost at once, however, when faced with the problems of Government and power, a crisis arose within the ranks of the Reformed. There were those like Knox, evangelical in their theology, naked in their sincerity, but Levitical in their moral system, who desired to rule Scotland in terms of a theocratic *Book of Discipline* and who wished to root out all pagan and traditional elements from the national culture. This Kirk party found itself in opposition to those who, like Maitland, were "reasonable political men", anti-clerical in tendency and who, influenced as they were by the Humanistic movement, valued their national tradition above all else. This conflict is the first emergence of the fundamental problem in the history of the Reformed Church in Scotland, the problem of the relation of Church and State. The problem, it is true, took many forms, but in essence it was one of the relation of the Church to the civil magistrate, one of the delineation of spheres of influence and of the clash of conflicting claims.

The first phase ended with the death of Maitland, in 1573, and the triumph of the Kirk party, but it was the victory of a party which had grown intolerant through opposition. The *Confession*

of Faith of 1560 had held that the civil Magistrate was appointed, after the Old Testament pattern, not only to direct civil polity but also to maintain the true religion. The conflict effected a change of emphasis and the *Second Book of Discipline* of 1578 taught that ecclesiastical power flows from God immediately, that Christ is the only head of the Church and that the power of the sword is only external.

In the face of such claims the civil power, as represented by the Crown, was bound to react, and the conflict which ravaged Scotland till 1688 was the result. In the course of the struggle the Crown tended more and more to favour a solution of the Anglican type and under Charles I a real attempt was made to Anglicanise Scotland and to reduce the Kirk to the status of an establishment governed according to Erastian principles. The paradox is that while the more cultured and often more learned Scots, such as Patrick Adamson, were prepared to support the Crown, the intolerant High Flyers (the later Evangelicals) from Melville to Cargill, found themselves in fact the champions of a liberty before the Law which their own principles denied.

The Revolution of 1688, though a victory for the Kirk party, was in effect a compromise; a compromise which a nation, worn out with strife and sickened by bloodshed, was prepared to accept at the hands of Carstares. The extreme High Flyers, it is true, left the Kirk to found the Cameronian or Reformed Presbyterian body, but the vast majority were content to abandon theocratic theory in favour of peace.

Nevertheless, the conflict between Church and State did not die out but took a new form. Throughout the 18th century the bone of contention was the question of lay patronage, which was enforced from Westminster in 1712 and 1732; and the years 1733 to 1843 saw a fierce struggle between those who valued above all else the Church's connection with the State—her national status—and those who demanded freedom in spiritualities, basing themselves on the fundamentals of Reformed doctrine. The resultant schisms in Scottish Presbyterianism, the Relief Synod, the Secession Church and the rest, serve to confuse the English mind, but coherence is given to the picture if it is remembered that these schisms were in the main part occasioned by particular manifestations of a long drawn out conflict regarding the relation of Church and State. This culminated in 1843 when, on the issue of a congregational veto on candidates presented by the lay patron, very nearly half of the established Church went into schism under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers and founded the Free Church. This event is referred to as the Disruption. (In 1851 the Established Church had 357,000

members, the Free Church 292,000 members, the United Presbyterian Church—a union of the bodies which had seceded in the 18th century—159,000).

The last century has seen a movement of union, rendered possible by the legal abolition of lay patronage in 1875 and subsequent acts safeguarding the freedom of the Church in spiritualities. In 1900 the United Presbyterian Church united with the Free Church to form the United Free Church, and in 1929 this body was united to the Church of Scotland.

So much for what I take to be the fundamental issue governing church polity in Scotland, but there are other elements very nearly as important which go to make up the picture.

As has already been hinted, the civil power during the 17th century tried to foist an episcopalian form of government on the Church, and Charles I and Laud attempted to better this policy by enforcing a High Church Liturgy. It should be explained that Knox and the first Reformers had no rooted objection to superintendants in the Kirk nor had they any objection to set forms of worship, but they did reject the doctrine of an Apostolic succession through Bishops as Popish. The attempt of the Stuart Kings to rule the Kirk through Bishops led to an intensification of this anti-papal feeling, so that it came to embrace all forms of Prelatic government and Liturgical worship however conceived. The Erastian nature of the royal programme alienated the spiritually minded, so that such men as Forbes appeared to the popular mind as mere time-servers and political prelates. It is true that James VI had managed to appropriate to the State the temporalities of the old Catholic sees and had supported his system by endowing a new nobility and Protestant Bishops who were to act as Presidents within the Kirk; but this very success, ruining as it did the educational schemes of Knox and tying the Bishops to the band waggon of the State, only served to strengthen the hand of the High-Flyers who, under Melville, openly espoused a strict Presbyterian or Committee system of church government. Men like Spottiswood, able though they were, could not stand against their more dynamic opponents in the bid for popular favour and it only needed the ill-judged venture of Charles and Laud to alienate the whole nation. The story of the Kirk under the Covenants and in the Killing Times cannot be told here, but its effects must be touched on, for it was in those times that a legend took rise that effectively destroyed episcopalianism, high or low, in Scotland. The persecuted conventicles, the heroism of the preachers, the nobility of Rutherford, the wild enthusiasm of Prophet Peden and Cameron, and a dozen tales such as that of the martyrs of Wigtown, captured the Scottish heart. Their faults

were forgotten and their example was seen in high relief against a background supplied by the dragoons of "Bloody Clavers" and the tortures inflicted by the half mad Dalziel. Impartial history may have a somewhat different tale to tell, but the fact remains that the legend was successful and that for the Lowland Scot the strict Presbyterian party became the national party. To the normal anti-clericalism of the Scot there was added in the popular mind an intense hatred of Prelacy and Liturgies, not so much in themselves, but as they figured in the legend as instruments of oppression in the hands of tyrant Kings. The legend is still with us; not even Scott's *Old Mortality* has served to right the picture and even the most anti-Calvinist of the new Scottish writers, if they come from the Lowlands, carry in their whole outlook traces of the Killing Times.

It must not be thought, however, that even the Killing Times destroyed completely that party in the Church of Scotland which was prepared to sympathise with some of the aims of the Stuart kings. In 1688 the curates were rabbled and those who were really High Church left the establishment to form the Episcopal Church in Scotland, but many hundreds remained to exercise an underground but perceptible influence, particularly in the Secession and Parish Churches. It is to such men that the modern High Church movement within the Presbyterian Church looks as its ancestors. Such men as Dr. Macleod of the Iona scheme represent a continuous and real tradition within the Kirk.

More obvious in their influence was that party of Moderate churchmen to whom "the mode of Church government was immaterial". These men who looked back to the humanistic ideals of Maitland flourished in the congenial atmosphere of the 18th century. They fully sympathised with the outlook of men like Reid, who wrote of the citizens of the "holy" town of Glasgow that they were "Boetian in their understanding, fanatical in their religion and clownish in their dress and manners". The Moderates, under the leadership of the historian Robertson, kept the Church in touch with the intellectual movements of the day, but it must be confessed that their achievements were more elegant than profound. Under the watchword "the Apostles no enthusiasts" they reacted from the turgid eloquence, the tangled scrupulosity, and ecstatic wrestlings in the Spirit of the High Flyers, or Evangelicals as they were now coming to be called. Further, though paying lip service to Calvinist formulas they no longer preached on the great themes of Reformed Theology. (One of the old school, Boston of Ettrick, preached every Sunday for five years on the Fourfold State of Man). Their sermons tended to be Socinian in tone and were almost exclusively ethical in character. In fact a good case can be made for

deriving the movement from the influence of Hutcheson's lectures in moral philosophy at Glasgow in 1726, though Edinburgh was the headquarters of the Movement. A typical country parson of the Moderate type is depicted in Galt's *Annals of the Parish.*

Thus another cleavage and tension is discovered. This opposition, though it did play its part in the Disruption, never served to split the Church, and the Presbyterian Church owes the sincerity of her moralism to the Evangelicals and her tradition of scholarship in a large measure to the Moderates.

The latter half of the 18th century was the era of the Moderates, while the 19th century saw on the whole the Evangelicals dominant. But it was a new type of Evangelical that emerged. There was an emphasis on works that was foreign to the older outlook, a wide missionary enthusiasm, and towards the end of the century Revivals after the American pattern. These influences allied with the growth of critical scholarship—particularily in the Free Church—led to the breakdown of the hitherto unchallenged Calvinistic theology. The Robertson Smith case was the beginning of the end for the new system, and the Kirk in the present century, in spite of the undoubted ability of many of her leaders, such as Mackintosh and Baillie, stands hesitating between a Broad Church eclecticism and the Neo-Calvinism of Barth.

But what of the people? What was, and is, the relationship of the Kirk to the nation? While it is true that the Old Testament morality of the Reformers crushed the old Scotland of the ballads, and that until well on in the 18th century the average peasant remained rather pagan in outlook, it is unjust to forget that Knox was no Puritan and that the disciplinary harshness of his successors was as much a reaction due to conflict as a logical deduction from their principles. By the middle of the 18th century Presbyterianism stood for the nation. On the whole it was popular, its ethical system appealing to the logical element in the Scot, while his romantic side found outlet in the fast days and spiritual exercises that surrounded the "Occasion" or "Great Work" as the commemoration of the Lord's Supper was termed. The system had, it is true, a blighting effect on the arts, and it is significant that most members of the cultural movement in our own times tend to be critical of or hostile to Presbyterianism.

Till 1840 the Kirk stood for the nation and expressed her voice, while at each epoch the various moods of national feeling found expression in the parties in the Church. From the time of the Disruption this relationship is broken. The great leader, Chalmers, was diverted from the problem raised by the Industrial Revolution, to be enmeshed in ecclesiastical squabbles, and his successors lacked

his insight. The intelligence of the Church was concerned with critical problems, its enthusiasm seemed to have little more to offer than middle-class platitudes and temperance pledges and thus the workers, not irreligious in themselves, slipped away from the Church.

Today the Church of Scotland is the church of the middle-class and a depopulated countryside, rather than of the nation. Scotland as a whole no longer cares for disputes concerning Divine Premotion or the Word of God. In the face of the greatest crisis in her history the Kirk no longer speaks with authority. Yet she does represent something great, and we can only pray that He whom she acclaims as her Lord and Master will lead her through the Valley of the shadow of Death to that peace, to that Unity for which He prayed. IAN HISLOP, O.P.

SCOTTISH INDUSTRIALISM AND THE CATHOLIC

SOME fifty years ago at an investigation into Glasgow housing sponsored by a committee of the Church of Scotland, Bruce Glaiser, secretary of the Glasgow branch of the Socialist League, invited to explain why Irish immigrants did not rise so easily as native labourers to be craftsmen, replied: "I do not believe that it is vice that is against the Irishmen, but rather virtue. The improvidence of the Irish springs rather from virtues; while the success of Scotchmen is on account of their canny disposition and desire to make money . . . I think that, as a whole, as social beings they are quite equal to the Scotch; I do not think the ambition to take a position side by side with Scotchmen is a very high one."

Whether the Catholic has revolted instinctively or not against the bleakness of Scottish industrialism in the past century, the fact remains that he has not made his presence effectively felt among the forces that attempt to control and guide it. For this, the circumstances that have conditioned his existence in Scotland are largely responsible.

With a ratio of one in eight, proportionately he has impinged much more strongly on Scottish, than on English, industrial life. "Catholic" and "Irish" are synonymous terms in Scotland to this day—the writer has even heard natives of the Catholic Highlands referred to by Lowland Scots as "Hieland Irish"—and, apart from the few thousands of the indigenous race north-east and west of the Highland Line who have never lost the Faith, all Catholics in Scotland are of Irish stock. From the last quarter of the eighteenth