

Recent Research into the History of the Catholic Church in Scotland

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It is perhaps only stating the obvious to observe that the winds of change have blown against our Association. In the past three years or so it has become increasingly clear to those who have been responsible for its organisation to think through the implications of the founders' intentions in 1933 when the Association came to birth; in other words, to re-examine both our aims and our methods. One way to do this is to take a look occasionally at the progress of another institution similar to our own. This is what I intend to do this evening, to make a brief inspection of the work accomplished thus far by the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee through its official publication, the *Innes Review*.

The *Innes Review* was founded in 1950 and is published twice a year, spring and fall, by John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow. It was named after the well-known historian and missionary, Father Thomas Innes (1662-1744), who was for a time archivist of the Scots college in Paris and who is credited with being the first writer to set the early history of his native land on a critical and scientific basis with the publication of his *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Part of Britain or Scotland*. The statement of aims of both the Scottish Committee and our own Association is very similar – to encourage and publish historical research bearing upon the history of the country in question. The principal method, however, differs: while both groups publish and hold annual meetings for the reading and discussion of papers, our annual *Report* consists solely in the papers read at the annual meeting of the Association, this holding true for both the French and the English sections. In Scotland, on the other hand, the publications of the *Innes Review* and the annual meeting are not that closely connected but rather two separate activities of the one committee.

This means, in the first place, that historical material of the first importance – the editing and/or translating of hitherto unprinted sources – has no place in our publication but forms one of the staples of the Scottish review. It also means that brief notices of a local nature, or comments on previous articles, can find their way into a section of the Scottish review

entitled “Miscellany.” On the other hand, the annual meeting, the very *raison d’être* of our publication, is only briefly summarized in theirs, with any paper of outstanding interest given a somewhat fuller treatment.

Perhaps the most striking difference between our two publications from the point of view of organization is that whereas we experience difficulty in meeting up with each other, not to mention working side by side, the *Innes Review* is by and large the work of some six or seven capable and diligent historians centered mainly in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. This last is a considerable distance from the first two cities but it is the location of the priceless archives at Blairs College, and the archivist, Father William Anderson, is one of the most impressive contributors to the *Review*. Not only does this make for continuity – it also gives the *Review* a sense of direction. For one thing is abundantly clear even to a casual reader of the *Innes* and is the sense of purpose in the selection of the material, and I trust that the few examples briefly commented on within the next few minutes will serve to illustrate this.

A quick survey of this material can perhaps best be arranged under the following chronological periods: the long medieval period, extending roughly from the work of St. Ninian in the Lowland parts of Scotland and St. Columba in the Highlands – late fourth through the late sixth century – to the eve of the Protestant Reformation, in 1560; the Reformation period itself, the generation between 1560 and 1600; the penal times, comprising the two centuries between 1600 and 1815; finally, the era of Scottish Catholic emancipation extending through the nineteenth century into a relatively prosperous period in the twentieth century.

From at least two points of view the medieval history of any western European country does not require the attention of a Catholic Historical Committee. To begin with, the history of medieval Scotland, as the case in point, has generally constituted a part of the national history and as such has merited treatment in all serious books, including educational texts. Secondly, medieval Scotland was a member of the community of Christian Europe and on this score is entitled to adequate treatment at the hands of medieval historians and other scholars specializing in the broad field of medieval studies. The study of the administration of the medieval papacy, for instance, at least from the 12th century on, includes the study of papal relations with Scotland.

Nevertheless, on both counts Scotland’s medieval past has suffered some neglect. Among Scottish historians themselves the tendency has been to equate this chapter of the nation’s story with political and constitutional history, which, central though these aspects may be, are considered at the present day to be less than the whole picture. Among historians of medieval thought and learning the fact that the university movement did not directly affect Scotland until the 15th century has meant that, except for an

outstanding scholar of international repute like Duns Scotus, few, if any, Scottish thinkers and educators have normally commanded any attention. In fact, on what could be termed the cultural side of medieval historical studies, the picture of Scotland that has emerged quite consistently is that of a small, poor and relatively primitive aggregate of communities, at least compared with its neighbours to the south, both on the island and on the continent.

This being the case, considerable importance attaches to the development and expansion of the new Europe of the 12th century. A start at least has been made upon the rôle pursued by Scotland in this broad movement of ideas and ideals. It has long been recognized that the saintly rulers of Scotland in the late 11th and early 12th centuries – St. Margaret and St. David – did much to bring their people into the stream of events connected with the reform programme of Pope Gregory VII and the influence of St. Bernard and his Cistercians. It remains to study this more closely and the few contributions to this field of enquiry help bear out the assertion of Professor Barrow, that “from the twelfth to the fourteenth century the monasteries cannot be ignored by the historian of politics, the constitution, the church, society or culture.” Some indication of what still has to be done can be gauged from his further observation that the history of the Tironian monks in Scotland – he calls this “the richest single chapter in the history of medieval Scottish monasticism” – has yet to be written.¹

It is, however, the 15th century that has received the most attention from the medievalists contributing to the *Innes Review*. There are several reasons for this. Although, speaking generally, this century has been relatively neglected in European history, as compared, for instance, with the 13th or the 16th century, the reason is not lack of source material. The sources, in fact, are often plentiful, but the reason lies rather in the fact that the majority of medievalists have found the 15th century too late for their interests and most of the reformation historians too early. It is an important period in the development of Scotland’s vernacular literature, but it has claimed the attention of the *Innes* contributors on this central ground, that it witnessed the arrival in Scotland of the full flood-tide of European affairs associated with the Great Schism and the conciliar theory, together with the university movement.

The first of these two subjects has found its historian in Dr. J. H. Burns whose two lengthy articles in the *Review* have been published in book form. Dr. Burns’ work has consisted of a pains-taking investigation into the careers of all the Scottish churchmen participating in the Council of Basle, and one of the interesting patterns that has emerged from this study is that some thirteen Scots adhered to, or persisted in adhering to, the Council of Basle

¹ G. W. S. Barrow, “From Queen Margaret to David I: Benedictines and Tironians,” *Innes Review*, XI, 22-38.

after it had become schismatic. Furthermore, of these thirteen no fewer than ten “had definite or probable associations” with the University of Cologne. In other words, there was, in Dr. Burns’ words, a “genuine conflict of ideas” involved in the schism of 1438-39, not merely a conflict of interests. It has further been shown that some academic supporters of Basle in the 1440s went on to occupy key positions at St. Andrews University in the third quarter of the 15th century.²

As for the universities, it might be said with some truth that the most neglected of all important topics has been the entire educational movement of 15th century Scotland. Three of the present four Scottish universities were founded at this time: St. Andrews in 1411, Glasgow in 1450 and Aberdeen in 1494. This subject has recently found its historian in Dr. John Durkan of Glasgow whose doctoral thesis at the University of Edinburgh provided the most complete account yet given of these institutions. Durkan has ranged both widely and deeply in his many contributions to the *Review* as well as in the generous help he has given at one time or another to many other contributors, tracking down long-lost MSS records of medieval parishes, monasteries, hospitals, grammar and song schools. His interests extend into the 16th century, especially on the cultural and educational sides, contributing, with Dr. Burns, to a more complete study of one of Scotland’s most prolific and versatile writers, John Major;³ and in a co-operative publishing venture with Fathers Ross and Anderson, to a description of some one thousand books printed between 1470 and 1560 and found in Scottish libraries of that period.⁴ Durkan’s life of William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow and founder of the university there, constituted a special volume of the *Innes Review* and was published to mark the fifth centenary of Glasgow University in 1950.⁵ As might be expected from one so familiar with the surviving source material, Dr. Durkan has provided a stimulus to research by pointing out what remains to be done within reasonable limits of time and space. For example, one of the more important figures in late medieval thought, Laurence of Lindores, still awaits the student of nominalism to investigate his MSS treatises at close range.

In concluding this brief summary of the medieval period, it might be well to emphasize that what the *Innes Review* is actually doing is adding a kind of third dimension: placing Scotland’s relatively familiar political

² *Ibid.*, J. H. Burns, “Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle,” XIII, 3-53, 157-189.

³ *Ibid.*, John Durkan, “John Major: After 400 Years,” I, 131-139, and “The School of John Major: Bibliography,” I, 140-157; see also J. H. Burns, “New Light on John Major,” V, 83-100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, “Early Scottish Libraries,” IX, 5-167.

⁵ *Ibid.*, John Durkan, “William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow,” II, 5-61.

history in a broader, European perspective, while at the same time utilising nearly every available means to illuminate all the other aspects of the historical record. It is for this reason that the editors have welcomed the inclusion of articles dealing with the architecture, music, painting and literature of the whole medieval period, with many of these articles accompanied by full-page plates of buildings, paintings, portraits and illuminated MSS. To read through the material thus far published in medieval Scotland is to be introduced to a chapter in medieval studies in the widest sense of that term.

It will not likely come as a surprise to anybody present this evening to hear that the greatest single effort in research has concentrated on the period of the Reformation, 1560 to 1600, corresponding to the rule of Elizabeth in England. The story of these years, together with that of the preceding generation of Luther and Henry VIII, has often been told, but in the nature of things has emphasized the forces that triumphed over the church, not the Catholic Church itself. Both volumes of the *Innes Review* of 1959 were devoted entirely to the religious changes of the 16th century and subsequently published in book form. Lengthy articles from many contributors constituted chapters on such topics as the political background of the Reformation, the popular literature of the period, the cultural background, the life of the parish clergy, the conflicting doctrines of the period, material destruction, education, and relations between Rome and the Scottish hierarchy.

It was to be expected that much of the work on this broad and important subject would take the form of revision and one or two examples of this might be mentioned here. One of these concerns King James V and Mary of Lorraine, the oft-repeated assertion of their support of the Catholic Church in the crisis. This will now have to be modified, for, as more than one writer has pointed out, James gravely weakened the Church by his nominations to important benefices and his taxation of the clergy, while Mary's antagonism to Archbishop Hamilton and her conciliation of leading Protestants "led directly to the emergence of the aggressive Calvinist minority."⁶ A second example has to do with the dissolution of the monasteries. One aspect of this question that has received increasing attention at the hands of economic historians in recent years – in England and Italy, for instance – is the extent to which monastic and other religious families ambitious to consolidate or expand their financial and social establishments had already come under the control of a few powerful position. The contributions to the *Innes Review* on this subject have confirmed and considerably amplified the picture that has emerged elsewhere of a veritable pillage of such property at least two

⁶ *Ibid.*, J. H. Burns, "The Political Background of the Reformation, 1513-1625," X, 199-234.

generations before the religious changes actually came about. Scottish local history of the period 1500-1560 is primarily a story of family feuds with monastic property at their mercy. Since such properties were confiscated by the Crown only in 1587, after the monks had died out, it seems that the method of their secularisation is “unique in the history of the Church” but not because James V refused to follow in Henry VIII’s footsteps in this matter, as is often stated, but because it was not necessary for him to do so.⁷

Time does not permit to cite other similar examples of revision but there is at least one aspect of the Scottish Reformation that is bound to interest the historian of this period however remote he may be from things Scottish. It is this, that Scotland is the one known instance where the Protestant reform was established after, not before, the application of the Tridentine decrees. The interpretation so familiar to readers of history texts, that of a Protestant reform movement followed some time later by a “counter-reform” of Catholicism under the papacy and the Jesuits, does not describe what happened in Scotland. Here the order was reversed. The triumph of Knox and the Lords of the Congregation in 1560 came eleven years after a national church council had been held at Edinburgh, a council in which the fifth session of Trent outlining measures of reform was given some prominence. The first and second chapters of that session are repeated word for word at Edinburgh in canons 188-194, concerning the low state of theological learning and instruction of the people together with the moral laxity of churchmen. As has been pointed out, theoretically, at least, the laws passed by such Scottish institutions established on the continent. Some idea of what heel must be sought in the episcopate and the system which elected men to this high office.⁸ This whole problem still requires more study and one direction that the process of revision could take is indicated in Father Anderson’s conclusion to his own investigation into relations between Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625: “The diagnosis of the Scottish Reformation as a political coup d’état using (largely insincerely) subversive heretical propaganda as a weapon and Knox as its minister of propaganda is worth consideration.”⁹

Before leaving the topic of the Reformation, the general reader may well want to inquire what, if anything, has been found out by the writers of the *Review* in regard to that much-discussed question, the attempts of the Spanish rulers and the Jesuits to win back Scotland for the Catholic faith. It

⁷ *Ibid.*, Rev. Norbert Backmund, O.Praem, “The Premonstratensian Order in Scotland,” IV, 25-41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Rev. Thomas Winning, “Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland,” X, 311-337.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Rev. William James Anderson, “Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625,” X, 173-193.

is known that in the last decade of the 16th century Philip II was in favour of a joint Spanish-Papal intervention in Scotland. However, it now seems to be quite clearly established that there is no foundation for the common opinion that the Jesuits were actively engaged in a plot for the invasion of Scotland in 1593. On the contrary, the view has recently been put forward that the Jesuits were trying to bring to an end “that confusion of religion with politics which the Protestant party had found so useful to maintain, even from the early days of the Scottish Reformation.”¹⁰

When we now pass to a consideration of that long period referred to as penal Scotland, the basic questions are straightforward enough the conditions under which Catholic life continued to maintain itself, if not to expand, on the home front, and the efforts of many families to provide intellectual and moral training for their sons and daughters in Scottish councils were sufficient to salvage the church but “the Achilles was involved in living the Catholic faith in penal Scotland can be gleaned from the discussion of a practical question that was very much to the force in the generation following the triumph of Protestantism should Catholics be allowed occasionally to attend Protestant services and still be permitted to receive the sacraments?”¹¹ The answer to this depended to some extent on whether any priest was on hand to provide an answer, and to some extent on who the priest was. For if there is one thing that strikes the reader of the *Review* it is the conflicting outlook and aim between the diocesan clergy and the religious orders, especially the Jesuits.

To understand these problems requires more knowledge of the educational institutions of the time than we now possess, especially those colleges established abroad – and later in Scotland itself – for the training of a native clergy. As far as Scotland is concerned, the present Blairs College is an early foundation of the emancipation period, 1829, but it had been preceded by two sister colleges, Aquhorties for the Lowland District, Lismore for the Highlands. The very first college, the predecessor of Aquhorties, was that of Scalán. This institution is still awaiting its historian but a first essential step has now been taken with the publication of the rules for the college issued by Bishop Gordon in 1722.¹² Such a history would help to recover for posterity the missionary labours of many a priest who is still completely unknown even to the specialised historian.

What engages the attention of so many who work in this field is how little was done for Scotland during these generations, especially by those in

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Francis Shearman, “The Spanish Blanks,” III, 81-103, and “Father Alexander McQuhirrie, S.J.,” VI, 22-45.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Shearman, “Father Alexander McQuhirrie, S.J.,” VI, 22-45.

¹² *Ibid.*, Rev. William James Anderson, “The College for the Lowland District of Scotland at Scalán and Aquhorties: Registers and Documents,” XIV, 89-112.

Rome who could not have been entirely unaware of how bleak Scottish Catholicism was for most of the 17th and 18th centuries. That the fortunes of the Catholic community had sunk to an all-time low by the middle of the 17th century seems to be beyond reasonable doubt. The estimated Catholic population at that time – the period roughly corresponding to Cromwell's regime in England – is only 15,000. This scattered flock was the responsibility of four priests, while in 1664 there was only one Catholic school teacher to be found in the entire country.¹³ These details tend to confirm a commonly-held opinion that Catholicism had all but become extinguished over the greater part of the country. Recent study, however, has also thrown into relief the other side of the picture. In 1625, for example, the Franciscan friar, Cornelius Ward, was invited to Barra, and this argues for a continued Catholic tradition in that area.¹⁴ More tantalising is the evidence recently unearthed at Aberdeen, the last stronghold of Catholicism in Scotland. The restoration of the house of Provost Skene by the Corporation of Aberdeen has brought to light the painting on the chapel ceiling of the mysteries of the Rosary. Since expert opinion has ascribed the technique and style of this work to a date around 1626, Father McRoberts, the present editor of the *Inns*, has made the suggestion that “the whole question of the relative strength of Catholicism and Protestantism in seventeenth-century Scotland needs thorough re-examination.”¹⁵

The basic problem of ensuring a supply of clergy for the Scottish mission is nowhere more clearly seen than in the fortunes of the Scots college in Rome. The first major step in the study of this important institution was taken when a complete volume of the *Innes Review* was given over to the publication of the complete text of Abbe Paul MacPherson's History of the college, from 1600 to 1792.¹⁶ This next throws considerable light on the kind of problems that confronted a clergy in training and two of these may be briefly mentioned. One, the difficulty in reconciling the studies of the Roman universities – speculative theology, Greek and Hebrew, for example – with the need for a pastoral, practical training for missionaries administering the sacraments and the word of the Gospel to the poor and scattered communities of penal Scotland; two, the disparity of outlook between diocesan priests and the regulars. At the Scots college this took the form of a protracted and at

¹³ *Ibid.*, Malcolm Hay, “Too little and Too Late,” VI, 19-21, and Rev. Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M., “The Acta of Propaganda Archives and the Scottish Mission, 1623-1670,” V, 39-76.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, John L. Campbell, “The MacNeils of Barra and the Irish Franciscans,” V, 33-38.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Rev. David McRoberts, “Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen and its Catholic Chapel,” V, 119-124.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Rev. William James Anderson, “Abbé Paul MacPherson's History of the Scots College, Rome,” 3-172.

times bitter dispute between the diocesan clergy and the Jesuits. Abbé MacPherson's interpretation of this controversy is essentially this, that only native Scottish diocesan clergy could provide any lasting service for the Scottish Catholics at home, and he attributes the dearth of priestly vocations as well as the instability of the whole venture to the misguided zeal of the Jesuits to control the college for their own ends. This interpretation, of course, represents only one version of a complicated situation but the decision of those responsible for the *Innes Review* to publish the text in its entirety is as good an example as any of what Father Ross stated (in an early number of the Review) to be one of the aims of all contributors: "We will attempt to make truth known without suppression or distortion, believing this to be not only a scientific but a religious duty."¹⁷

One aspect of this period of Scottish history that is of special interest to Canadian readers is that concerned with Scottish emigration. The Highland clearances took place between 1750 and 1800 and many Catholics joined the ranks of the Highland regiments. Not the least interesting of the several results from these changes and events was the establishment of the first Catholic settlement on Prince Edward Island (then called St. John's Island) in 1772. This settlement, and its subsequent fortunes, was described in a useful survey article for the *Innes* by Father Anthony Johnston of Antigonish, and perhaps the centuries-old tradition of Scottish Catholicism is nowhere more in evidence than when in 1812, on his first visit to Nova Scotia, Bishop Plessis gave St. Ninian as titular saint to the future parish of Antigonish.¹⁸

The last two decades of this period – the period of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Europe – were brighter with promise on the home front. Mass came out into the open in Glasgow in 1792 in a new chapel and with an attendance of some two hundred, mostly Gaelic-speaking, people. Glasgow received its first resident priest in the person of the Rt. Reverend Alexander McDonnell (1762-1839), the future bishop of Kingston.¹⁹ It is from these years that we have the very interesting and unassuming journal of Bishop Geddes, the coadjutor bishop of the Lowland District of Scotland from 1780 to 1799. Bishop Geddes travelled the length and breadth of his jurisdiction on foot and his published journal provides us with an intimate and charming picture of a pastor who mingled as easily with Protestants as with Catholics and equally with rich and poor, prompting the remark from the editor of the journal for the *Innes* that Bishop Geddes was "without

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Father Anthony Ross, O.P., "The Position of the Innes Review," I, 78.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Rev. Angus Anthony Johnston, "A Scottish Bishop in New Scotland," VI, 107-124.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Rev. Alexander MacWilliam, "The Glasgow Mission, 1792-1799," IV, 84-91.

exception the most charming personality among the post-Reformation Catholic clergy of Scotland.”²⁰

The French Revolution meant a refugee clergy and although most of the refugee priests who went to the British Isles went to England a few of them did find their way to Scotland. Apart from a single exception, however, their story remains unknown for they had no leader. The one exception is the Abbé Nicolas of the diocese of Lisieux whose work in Scotland has been traced from the time he was an instructor in French at Ayr Academy in 1802 until his later residence in Glasgow as a private tutor in his native language.²¹

Emancipation Scotland introduces some new elements, for the most part bound up with the increasing industrialisation of Britain and the heavy emigration from Ireland. The central event in the life of the Church in Scotland was the re-establishment of the hierarchy in 1878 with the appointment of Charles Eyre as the first archbishop of Glasgow. The ages come together at St. Andrew’s Church in Rome. Henrietta Stuart, the Dowager Marchioness of Huntly, who had died in France in 1642, and who had virtually founded this church, had probably been present for the last mass celebrated in Elgin Cathedral; while Pius IX attributed his inspiration to re-establish the Scottish hierarchy to his devotion to Saint Margaret fostered in his younger days during his visits to St. Andrew’s as a member of a local confraternity.²²

On a more ordinary day-to-day level no single topic perhaps reveals so clearly the progress of the Church under the new influences than that of education. More precisely, it is a question of the efforts made by both clergy and laity to assure equality of opportunity for the younger generation of Catholics in the modern educational system. An interesting and pioneering effort in this direction was that of a Father William Thomson who laboured among the immigrant Irish in Ayr and who started with a handful of pupils in 1823 to work towards the building of a proper church and school. A new school building was ready for use only in 1856, three years before Father Thomson’s death. Beginning in 1869 this school possessed a log-book which has been published as it stands in two successive issues of the *Innes*, relating in brief terms the inspectors’ reports, the attendance of the pupils, the fortunes of individual teachers, as well as the names of distinguished visitors to the school, all this for some fifty years. Against a background of relative

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Rev. David McRoberts, “Ambula Coram Deo – The Journal of Bishop Geddes for the Year 1790, Part One,” VI, 46-68; Part Two, by Rev. William James Anderson, VI, 131-143.

²¹ *Ibid.*, James McGloin, “The Abbé Nicolas,” XIV, 10-29.

²² *Ibid.*, Rev. David McRoberts, “The Scottish National Churches in Rome,” I, 110-130.

indifference to matters educational on the part of the poorer class of Irish labourers the school continued to make steady if not spectacular progress until the community was rewarded with another new building in 1893 with an attendance of 343 pupils. Progress then came to be taken for granted, though occasionally attendance would give cause for concern, as is stated quite simply, for instance, in an entry under November 12, 1918: "There was very poor attendance today due no doubt to the celebration of peace." Whatever the school authorities thought about it, the historian invariably appreciates meeting with ordinary every-day events placed in such a broad context as this one!²³

I think it is correct to say that the period from about 1870 to 1945 has received less attention from the contributors to the *Innes* than any other comparable period. Precisely why this is so I am not prepared to say except that the majority of the contributors happen to be specialists in medieval and early modern history. It may be significant, though, that the strongest pleas for research into modern Scottish Catholicism have come from Dr. James Handley whose books on Scotland's social and economic history have already become standard references. One of the many subjects that Dr. Handley has called attention to as deserving of serious study is Scotland's coal-mining industry.²⁴ There is little doubt that few subjects would likely prove more rewarding than this one in affording an insight into the forces affecting modern Scottish Catholicism since the coal-mining industry is bound up with the lives of so many Catholic families of lowland Scotland, including, for example, large proportion of the Irish that constituted Father Thomson's community in Ayr. It is somewhere in this general area of economic and social history that the work of two other writers fits into context: the demographical research of James Darragh, and the architectural interests of Peter Anson, more specifically, his survey of the building of Catholic churches in the industrial centres of modern Scotland.²⁵

Heavily weighted though it is on the side of specialised historical research, the pages of the *Innes Review* continually provide interesting points of fact for the general reader: the fact, for instance, that the Great Hall of Stirling Castle was the first large-scale building in Great Britain to display the influence of the renaissance;²⁶ that the designer of the Radcliffe Library

²³ *Ibid.*, James McGloin, "Catholic Education in Ayr, 1823-1918," XIII, 77-103, 190-216.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, James E. Handley, "The Position of Catholics in Social and Economic History," II, 100-108.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, F. Anson, "Catholic Church Building in Scotland from the Reformation until the Outbreak of the First World War, 1560-1914," V, 125-140.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Rev. David McRoberts, "Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts," X, n. 6, 92.

at Oxford, as well as the Church of St. Mary-le-Strand in London (where Charles Dickens' parents were married) was a Scottish Catholic architect, James Gibbs (1682-1754);²⁷ that the first Catholic Church in Moscow was built by Scots Catholics in 1684-1691 and that we possess today the petition addressed by General Patrick Gordon to Peter the Great concerning it.²⁸

As was mentioned earlier, despite some obvious differences in the publication policies between the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee and the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, their aims are essentially the same, and it might be well in conclusion to be reminded of these aims as they were set forth in an early number of the *Innes Review* by the then editor, Father Ross:

The primary policy of the Historical Committee is to stimulate research and to this end a review appeared necessary. Research languishes unless its results can be presented to the world, to receive criticism and, if need be, correction. It is a private eccentricity, or a form of escape, unless it has a public in view. In this instance the public envisaged is not only the Catholic community in Scotland and elsewhere, but all who are concerned about the history of this country and anxious for its deeper exploration ... What the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee hopes to make accessible to all is, of course, the history of Catholicism in Scotland.²⁹

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Rev. Alexander MacWilliam, "James Gibbs, Architect, 1682-1754," V, 101-103.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Rev. David McRoberts in "Miscellany," IV, 61-62.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Father Anthony Ross, O.P., "The Position of the Innes Review," 1, 77.