

II

Medieval Worship in Scotland

WHEN about 1070 Malcolm III married as his second wife Margaret, a princess of England and sister of Edgar the Atheling, a new stage began in the history of the Scottish Church. Margaret had been born in Hungary, coming later to England, and both these countries were more closely under the influence and authority of Rome than was Scotland, and in their worship therefore nearer to the contemporary use of the Roman Church than were the Scottish rites.

But Scotland too gradually became more closely linked with Rome in her fight to be independent of the English crown and the English Church. The Archbishop of York from time to time renewed his claim of authority over the Scottish Church; and, largely because of this, the Scots had adopted St. Andrew as their patron, for they could then appeal with moving effect to the Pope who sat in the chair of Peter, Andrew's brother whom Andrew had brought to Jesus.¹ Thus, although the Scots allowed obedience in many things to the rising claims of the papacy, their real policy through the coming centuries was to preserve the independence of their Church and nation and to be dominated by neither the Pope nor the English king. Within this was also a second struggle, as the years passed, between the Scottish Church and the Scottish crown; and both Church and crown often found

¹ See Hannay, *St. Andrew*.

it convenient to be able to appeal to the Pope. Accordingly, the ties between the Scottish Church and the papacy grew gradually firmer, and the influence of the Roman rite of the period made itself increasingly felt. This connexion and influence Margaret sedulously fostered, and it was she who laid its real foundations.

Queen Margaret was a woman of deep and sincere piety, who loved utterly her Lord and His Church. The details of her life are well known, for her biographer was her confessor; and we need say no more here than that she was genuinely and zealously concerned to cleanse, maintain, and strengthen the Scottish Church. This included its worship, which was indeed much in need of reform. One reform she desired was to increase among the people the practice of communicating regularly and frequently. We are to remember that although the eucharist was celebrated weekly, and in many places daily, throughout Western Christendom at this time, the people themselves had for centuries past fallen into the habit of receiving communion very infrequently (council after council had marked this, and sought to reform it), once a year being the normal pious practice.¹ Even the yearly Easter communion Margaret found now neglected in Scotland.²

Margaret learned also that there was much diversity in the manner of celebrating mass, as indeed we should expect in the Scottish Church of the time; but she discovered, further, that some were even accustomed to celebrate mass with '*nescio quo ritu barbaro*, contrary to the custom of the whole Church'. Now what was this 'ritus

¹ See pp. 51 sqq. *infra*.

² In contrast to earlier practice, e.g. Adamnan, *Vita S. Columbae*, ii. 39: 'Ut in Paschali solemnitate ad altare accedas, et eucharistiam sumas . . . Et post peractam Paschae sollempnitatem in qua jussus ad altare accessit.' In *op. cit.*, iii. 23, Easter is described as '*Laetitiae festivitas*'. See Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

barbarus'? 'Ritus' refers to the words not to the actions of the service, and 'barbarus' in eleventh century Latin, *when related to words*, can mean only 'vernacular'; it would appear then that a 'ritus barbarus' is a vernacular rite, and that it cannot mean, as some have thought, remembering their classical Latin, a rite barbarously celebrated. There is, it is true, no trace of any text of the mass in the vernacular to support this translation, but that need not surprise us, for such services were, we may be sure, conducted only in remote places and not in the great centres. It is indeed possible that they were never committed to writing at all, but were translated or loosely and roughly paraphrased in part or whole by the celebrant as he said the service so that his remote and simple folk might understand. To celebrate in the vernacular was, as Turgot indignantly points out, 'contrary to the custom of the whole Church', so that 'henceforth there appeared no one in the whole race of Scots who dared to do such a thing'.

Margaret desired also to bring some uniformity of practice into the Scottish Church, and though the description of what she did is by no means clear, it is likely that she sought to introduce as a standard a rite based upon that used in the province of York, for she is said to have made the Scottish episcopate subject to the Archbishop of York.¹

Some have thought that she introduced the Sarum rite into Scotland, but this is highly improbable, for it was not issued until 1085, eight years before her death; indeed, the see of Salisbury was founded only in 1075,² and it was not till three years later that the great St. Osmund began his reforming and organizing work there. We know

¹ York claimed that she had done so, but proof is lacking. However, whether or no, it was inevitable that the northern province, especially via Durham, should be influential.

² Procter and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 15.

also that the Sarum use was not introduced in Glasgow till some fifty years after Margaret's death. It is clear, therefore, that it was only gradually adopted in Scotland; and further we are to remember that the Sarum rite itself was not definitively fixed until the early thirteenth century under Richard Poole, first as dean and later as bishop, who issued a full code of liturgical rules. The Roman canon, of course, had begun to appear in Scottish liturgies long before this, and was coming to be preferred everywhere throughout the West.

Thus after Margaret's time, while it is impossible to trace the exact steps, a growing conformity to the Sarum use appears in Scottish worship, and, even if it was not used in every particular, its influence was sufficiently strong from the mid-twelfth century gradually to suppress the diverse Scottish uses, and to accomplish a general, if not absolutely particular, uniformity throughout the Scottish Church. This was furthered by Margaret's sons who in succession ruled for fifty-six years after her death, lived in devotion to her ideals, and carried steadily forward the ecclesiastical revolution initiated by her.¹

Nevertheless, it must be made clear that the process of the growing ascendancy of the use of Sarum extended over some three or four centuries, and there was by no means complete uniformity. Liturgical uniformity in the strict sense is a Reformed and Tridentine conception unknown before the sixteenth century. Witness to this is abundant in liturgical texts throughout the history of the Church; and it is worth noting that express mention is made of this fact in the Book of Common Prayer in the section 'Concerning the Service of the Church' where it is said: 'Whereas there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm, . . . now from henceforth, all the whole realm shall have but one

¹ Duke, *History of Church of Scotland*, p. 78.

use.' What was true of England was true also of Scotland, and of the whole Western Church—and for that matter of the Eastern Church also.

It is not necessary here to trace the vicissitudes of the Scottish Church through the successive centuries of its long struggle for reasonable autonomy against Roman or English domination. The general policy was to maintain in the Pope a friendly ally and to yield to him a general and respectful obedience without allowing him to gain excessive power; and by his help to remain independent alike of Scottish royal and English political and ecclesiastical domination. We are concerned only with worship, and as we have seen Scottish use conformed more and more to Sarum, the dominant and most orderly rite of the period; and it is not till the early years of the sixteenth century that we find the great Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen shaping out a Scottish rite, itself a reform of Sarum. But it did not reach completion, and his reforms were related to the daily offices of the Church and not to the eucharist.¹

From such fragments, however, as this: 'The Culdees (Keledri) in a corner of their church which was very small used to celebrate their own office after their own fashion',² referring to a period fifty years after Margaret, it was thought by some, for example, Grub, Cunningham, Hume Brown, and Warren,³ that Celtic worship persisted after Margaret's time, and in one or two places, St. Andrews for example, till the fourteenth century,

¹ A copy of Elphinstone's Breviary is in the University Library, Aberdeen. In this attempt to reach uniformity in Scottish worship, Chepman and Millar were granted privilege to print service-books 'eftir our awin Scottis use', i.e. those composed or projected by Elphinstone. As an indication of the ascendancy Salisbury had gained by this time in Scotland, it is interesting (if disappointing) to note that this refers to the suppression of only the 'bukis of Salusbery use' (*Source Book of Scottish History*, ii, pp. 117-18).

² *Chron. Picts and Scots*, edited by Skene, p. 190.

³ *op. cit.*, p. 8.

preserving 'a state of purity and simplicity, before it had been corrupted by Rome'.

But this is not so. In the first place 'office' refers almost certainly to the hours' services, and not to the eucharist. And secondly the Culdees were originally 'companions or followers of God', a strict group within the Celtic (Irish and Scots) monastic system who lived as hermits. It was not a general name for Celtic monastics, but a particular name for a specific group within them. They were mostly absorbed in the twelfth century (under David) 'into the Augustinian Order, and transformed into Canons'. At first severely strict, they degenerated, and in the twelfth century we find a little group at St. Andrews, thirteen in number, 'who lived after their own fancy and the traditions of men, rather than after the precepts of the holy Fathers'.¹ They were married, held property, and transmitted their ecclesiastical endowments to their children.² The Culdees have no significance whatever, liturgically speaking, and certainly were not the custodians and preservers of an ancient Scottish rite.

To provide a general picture of worship in a great church in Scotland in medieval times, we may describe the normative service of high mass according to the Sarum rite.³

The ministers privately prepare for the service while vesting, saying the *Veni Creator* with versicle and response, the collect for purity ('Almighty God, unto whom all hearts'), Ps. 43 with antiphon, verse 4a, three-fold *Kyries*, the Lord's Prayer, and an *Ave Maria*.

The service begins when the choir⁴ sings the introit or

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii., pp. 179-80, quoting *Hist. Eccles. S. Andr.*

² See Duke, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-70; and more recently and thoroughly G. W. S. Barrow's exploding of this myth in *Jour. of Eccles. Hist.*, iii.

³ Text, e.g., in Procter and Frere, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 sqq.

⁴ Consisting of members of an order or of secular clergy, with some singing boys standing in front of the stalls or grouped about the quire lectern.

‘officium’, now a part of a psalm with antiphon and *Gloria Patri*. While this proceeds, the ministers, at the altar steps, speaking in an undertone make confession one to another and receive and give absolution, say brief versicles and responses, give to each other the kiss of peace, and approaching the altar say a collect. Then, signing the altar with the sign of the cross, the celebrant says, ‘In the name’ . . . The singers now go on to the *Kyries* sung nine-fold, and the *Gloria in excelsis*. Meanwhile, the deacon fills the thurible with incense, and bids the celebrant bless it, after which he kisses it and passes it to the celebrant who censes the altar in the centre and at both ends. Thereafter, the deacon censes the celebrant; and they kiss the linen cloth upon the altar. Then, facing the altar with their backs to the people, they go to the right end of it, and say the introit and *Kyries*, which the choir is singing; after which they go to the sedilia (seats usually built in the wall at the south side of the sanctuary), and remain there till the choir is ready to sing the *Gloria*, which the ministers begin from the centre of the altar and continue to sing in a low voice from the right end of the altar.

When the *Gloria* ends, the celebrant signs his face with the sign of the cross, turns to the people, and, raising his forearms a little, joins his hands and says *Dominus vobiscum*, to which the choir replies *Et cum spiritu tuo*. Then turning towards the altar he says *Oremus* and the collect of the day; memorials may follow, but not more than seven collects are to be said at this point, each preceded by an *Oremus* and completed by a doxology, *per dominum*, &c. Meanwhile, after the introit, an acolyte has set aside the bread and wine and water to be used at the eucharist, and another brings a basin of water and a hand-towel.

As the last collect begins, the sub-deacon goes down through the midst of the quire to read the epistle from a

raised place. Afterwards, two boys in surplices, after inclining towards the altar, go to the raised place, and facing each other begin the antiphonal singing of the gradual; and when the gradual ends two others of senior status lead the alleluias, by this time an elaborate piece of music. And thereafter, the sequence or tract was sung in the form of a hymn. Then the deacon censens the central part of the altar, and receiving from the celebrant the gospel-book which reposes on the mensa, stands humbly before him and asks his blessing, and the celebrant says: 'The Lord be in your heart and in your lips as you proclaim the holy gospel, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.' And the deacon, preceded by a thurifer and candle-bearer (acolytes or servers with incense and candle) goes to the raised place, facing north.¹ Then, after saluting the people (*Dominus vobiscum*, &c.), he makes the sign of the cross with his thumb over the book, his forehead, and his breast, and sings the gospel of the day; after which he kisses the book, and returns with it to the altar.

Thereafter, the celebrant from the centre of the altar begins the Nicene Creed, and the choir sings it, 'not alternately, but as a full choir', and the salutation and *Oremus* follow, but the prayer by this time has disappeared.²

Now the liturgy of the faithful begins, and the choir sings the offertory, part of a psalm with antiphon sung from side to side. The celebrant meanwhile says it in a low voice, and the deacon presents to him the paten and chalice with the elements of bread and wine, kissing his hands lightly; the celebrant places the chalice in the centre of the altar, then bowing for a moment lifts it in both hands as a sacrifice offered to God, and says the

¹ See p. 5 supra.

² See p. 5 supra.

offertory collect, *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas*. Replacing it on the altar, he covers it over with white linen cloths, called the corporals, and puts the bread decently on the corporals in front of the chalice which contains wine to which water has been added. Then, kissing the paten, he places it on the altar to the right of the chalice, and almost covers it with the corporals. When he has done this, he takes the thurible from the deacon, censes the holy elements and says the brief prayer *Dirigatur* ('May my prayer go up before thee as incense') and censes himself. After which, he goes to the right end of the altar, and washes his hands, saying, *Munda me Domine*; and coming to the centre of the altar, he bows down his head and body, joins his hands and says *In spiritu humilitatis*; then, rising up he kisses the altar at the right of the holy elements, blesses them, and signs himself saying *In nomine*.

He now turns to the people and says silently *Orate fratres*, and the ministers reply privately *Spiritus Sancti gratia*. Then, turning to the altar, the celebrant says the secrets (prayers said silently) appropriate in number and order to the collects said before the epistle, beginning with the *Haec sacra*; and when he reaches the end of the prayers, he raises his voice and says the conclusion aloud. Thereafter, the subdeacon receives the offerings and paten from the hands of the deacon.

Turning to the people, the celebrant salutes them, *Dominus vobiscum*, to which they respond, *Et cum spiritu tuo*, and lifting up his hands sings the *Sursum corda*, the choir responding; then goes on to sing the preface, *Vere dignum*, and so to the *Sanctus*, which the choir takes up, and the *Benedictus qui venit*, while the celebrant goes on silently with the remainder of the consecration prayer (the Roman canon), during which he does the manual acts and makes the elevation at the *Qui pridie* (the words

of institution), and the prayer ends with an ecphonesis, when the celebrant raises his voice at the concluding words, *per omnia saecula saeculorum*. Then he says *Oremus* and the Lord's Prayer silently, raising his voice at 'lead us not into temptation', the choir responding 'But deliver us from evil', the celebrant saying 'Amen' silently and continuing silently with the embolism *Libera nos*.

Then with ceremonies and prayers two fractions take place, and the commixture of the bread to the wine, the prayers ending with an ecphonesis; and if a bishop is present, he then blesses the people. Thereafter, the kiss of peace is given to the ministers, and taken by the subdeacon to the choir.

Agnus Dei is now sung, the deacon and subdeacon standing each on a step below the celebrant, and one below the other, and on the celebrant's right. The celebrant signs a piece of the consecrated Bread with the cross, and adds it to the chalice saying *Haec sacrosancta commixtio* and before the pax, *Domine sancte*. Then after the prayers *Deus pater, fons et origo, Domine Jesu Christe, and Corporis et sanguinis*, he bows down and says to the Bread ('ad corpus dicat') *Ave in aeternum*, and receives the Bread, and similarly saluting the Wine, he receives it; then gives thanks *Gratias tibi ago*. Meantime the communion anthem is sung by the choir, following upon the *Agnus Dei*; and the ministers likewise receive communion; after which the celebrant goes on with the ablution of the holy vessels while prayers are said secretly.

Then he says the post-communion prayers, in number and order appropriate to the prayers said before the epistle: and the people are dismissed with *Ite, missa est*, and the celebrant bowing down before the altar says the last prayer *Placeat tibi*, and rising up signs himself with the cross and says *In nomine*. The ministers and servers now leave the church in the order in which they entered,

the celebrant reading the last Gospel *In principio* (St. John 1.1-14) before he goes.

This is a brief description of a solemn mass, of which every minute part is detailed for the celebrant and his ministers. It will be noticed by those who study it carefully that the Holy Scriptures are woven into its very fabric in psalmody, readings, and prayers, and the propers for the day are especially rich in Scriptural reference and interpretation. Indeed, the loss of the propers, not yet fully recovered, was without doubt the greatest Scriptural loss at the Reformation. The music, too, if it had by this time become somewhat over-elaborate, was still a superb vehicle of devotion; the ceremonial was supremely solemn and the whole action sublime in dignity and reverence, rich in colour and symbol, and profoundly devotional. Disciplined and carefully delivered from exotic excess, in the setting of a great medieval Gothic church the service moved grandly and with deep dramatic effect to its tremendous climax of oblation.

Despite all this, however, the worship had become remote from the people. It was said throughout in Latin, a language which now for centuries had been known only by the educated few. If a sermon was preached, and this was no longer a regular part of the service, it would be in the vernacular together with certain prayers said before and after it; and the Scriptures might be read again in the common tongue of the people before the sermon in a little vernacular service called the prone embedded in the mass,¹ but this was not a fixed feature, nor was it everywhere used. The ceremonial, august, symbolical, and meaningful to the initiated, was not understood by the great body of the people, who could not therefore

¹ The 'prone' is described by Brightman, *English Rite*, ii, pp. 1020 sqq. His notion that the continental Reformed services derived from the prone cannot be sustained; for texts see my *John Knox's Genevan Service-Book*, p. 17.

intelligently follow the service.¹ The elevation was for them the climactic point, when bells were rung, and they prostrated themselves, but the remainder of the service to most of the laity was sheer mystery. Thus popular attendance fell off, as the people could not share in the great action, fundamentally transformed into a dramatic spectacle and no longer an action of common worship.

Further, such a service could be performed only in the great churches—cathedrals, abbeys, and collegiate churches, amply staffed with clergy and choirs. In small parish churches, the facilities were lacking. A sung mass with celebrant and servers only was therefore devised, but even this could not be used in a great number of parishes because of the musical incapacity of the clergy and the lack of trained singers.

There was also a growing irreverence and slovenliness too often evident in places high and low; churches were neglected, frontals and hangings dilapidated, and movement and conversation took place during the action; and often it was burlesqued in a variety of ways such as by the Abbot of Misrule. All this need not be detailed here, but will be found *inter alia* easily accessible in the volumes of Hay Fleming and C. G. Coulton,² together, alas, with many other abuses that grew up within the Church, paralysing and soiling it.

Because of the difficulty of singing high mass in the

¹ Nowadays, when all are literate, the people by being instructed in the meaning of the ceremonial, may follow mass, high or low, in their missals which have Latin in one column and the vernacular in the other; and can thus take an active and attentive part in the prayers. But before the Reformation, missals were not available as printing was but newly-discovered (indeed missals did not exist as we know them in their modern form), and translations of the service were rare; and if they had been generally available, the great majority of the people, being illiterate, could have made no use of them. The modern missal, with its parallel columns of Latin and the vernacular, is in fact a reply to the vernacular service-books instituted by the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

² Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland*; C. G. Coulton's medieval studies.

smaller churches, and as the service itself became remote from the people's understanding—and related also to the doctrine of each mass as an act of merit having a quantitative value in itself—there sprang up in the ninth or tenth centuries a habit of saying mass with one priest and a server, and this came to be known as low mass. It required no staff of clergy and no trained singers; and because it was in an unknown tongue it could be said silently and therefore with great rapidity; the ceremonial could be reduced to a minimum and quickly performed. And where many masses had to be said¹ when foundations were provided for the dead, this method of recitation was swift, convenient, and held theologically to be of equal efficacy. Because of its brevity and convenience it became the popular service, and people attended at it rather than at high mass. Thus the whole service degenerated into an incomprehensible action, inaudible, mysterious, performed by one on behalf of the many. The nadir of pre-Reformation worship had come.

Altars were multiplied in the churches, but the high altar was neglected, and as Gavin has said,

In east and west alike frequent communion had become exceptional. The idea of the eucharist as the impetratory Sacrifice of our Lord's Body and Blood for the living and the dead has become overwhelmingly predominant. By the early middle ages there has arisen in the west 'low' mass—one said by a priest with a server or other person acting for the people as congregation to answer the responses. Church architecture changes: chantry chapels are built, where private masses on 'foundations' can be offered with special remembrance of the people for whom they are 'offered'. The ancient usages of the liturgy as the service of all the people, in which all had both an active and essential part, have been gradually

¹ Cf. my *Outline of Christian Worship*, pp. 67-8, and references to authorities, which detail the grave abuses related to low mass; see also A. Fortescue, *The Mass*.

altered—whether by abrogation, transformation, or sterilization—in keeping with a policy of regimented uniformity under the pressure of the Roman see. The language is symbolic of the worship. The dead tongue suggests the mystery which invests the rite, so much of which is transacted secretly or in a whisper. At the fourth Lateran Council of 1215, transubstantiation was defined as a dogma, yearly confession and Easter Communion were made of universal obligation, and the beginning of the cultus of the Blessed Sacrament connected with elevation and exposition appear about that date.¹

Sermons were seldom preached by the parish clergy; oftener perhaps in the great churches, but rarely—once or twice a year—in the parish churches where preaching was beyond the capacity of most of the secular clergy. Travelling friars and visiting monks sometimes conducted missions or preached sermons, but these were comparatively rare events in the experience of ordinary people. Thus ignorance and superstition multiplied. Both Word and Sacrament had gradually been removed from the people, and religion was in sad and grave decay. The people remained uninstructed in the Holy Scriptures, and in the worship they could not share. In most parish churches even the art of singing was forgotten, and throughout the service apart from the celebrant's occasional ecphrases only the tinkling of bells was heard.

Thus, in the centuries before the Reformation movement low mass had become the usual service in parish churches, a service said rapidly in an unknown tongue and in an inaudible undertone, often carried out in a slovenly and irreverent manner. The people were encouraged to communicate only once a year, at Easter: otherwise they could take no part. They worshipped as spectators only, prostrating themselves in awe at the one dramatic moment when they believed the miracle of

¹ *Liturgy and Worship*, ed. Clarke, p. 124.

transubstantiation to have taken place. It is not to be wondered at that religion became fraught with superstition, and sank into dismay.

In Scotland, too, the rural parish churches were for the most part rude small structures of rough stone, without architectural distinction, ill-kept, unheated and cold with the wind and rain beating in through unglazed windows, without much seating accommodation, floored with flags or more often with beaten earth, damp, ill-lighted, dark. Scotland in the middle ages was a relatively poor country, without, for example, the great wool trade of England, and the parish churches reflected for the most part the poverty of the people. And the poverty of the parishes was increased almost beyond belief by the alienation of the teinds to the abbeys and absentee and lay incumbents,¹ making repair and maintenance of the churches all but impossible. There were exceptions, but not many; some fine churches dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries existed in some parishes, kept in repair by generous patrons; and others were well built and maintained in the burghs with their growing wealth.

By the time of the Reformation, however, a great number even of the abbeys, cathedrals, and collegiate churches had fallen into disrepair, victims of neglect, rapacity, internecine strife, and violent wars. The great period of destruction occurred not at the Reformation (for the mobs then destroyed comparatively few churches), but in the centuries preceding it when churches were often burned and robbed by pillaging invaders or their roofs destroyed for the lead by contesting nobles or kings. It was the period of hired mercenary garrisons and armies,

¹ D. Hay Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 593, who gives many examples of this abuse. Our Norman churches, e.g., compare favourably with those of other countries. The austerity of the long gabled rectangle, representing some two-thirds of our medieval parish churches, was largely owing to alienation of parochial funds,

composed of ruthless, brutal robbers. Kirkcaldy of Grange, writing on 1 July 1559, mentions that in Fife and an adjoining part of Perthshire the reforming rabble 'pulle doun all maner of Freryes, and some Abayes, which willyngly resavis not ther reformatioun', but these were in fact few in number. Parish churches were not destroyed even by these uncontrolled bands, but they were subjected to a drastic and merciless 'cleansing'. 'As to Paroys churchis, they cleyns them of ymages and all other monumentis of ydolatrie, and commandis that no Messis be said in them; in place therof, the Booke sett fourthe by godly Kyng Edward is red in the same Churches.'¹ Desecration and destruction are not, however, synonymous, and this distinction is important; nor were the reformers the first desecrators of churches in Scotland. Comparatively few even of the great churches were in good repair, and many were in semi-ruin, when the Reformation movement swept over the land.²

Religion and worship had all too evidently receded to a low ebb, as a glance at the sources shows. The time was ripe for renewal, and in Scotland that renewal came with cataclysmic force, with revolution and rebellion; and if the Reformation movement was late in reaching Scotland, when it came its work was uncompromisingly thorough.

¹ Knox, *Works*, vi, p. 33.

² 'While considerable mob-violence and destruction took place at the Reformation, popular notions regarding this stand much in need of re-orientation, for the "rascal multitude" with hammers and staves has been invested with powers of demolition which even the modern sapper might envy. It is conveniently forgotten that many of our ruined abbeys and cathedrals are the result of military activity during English invasion or civil war' (George Hay, in his invaluable article 'An Introduction to Scottish Post-Reformation Churches' in *Scot. Ecclesiological Soc.'s Transactions*, 1951).