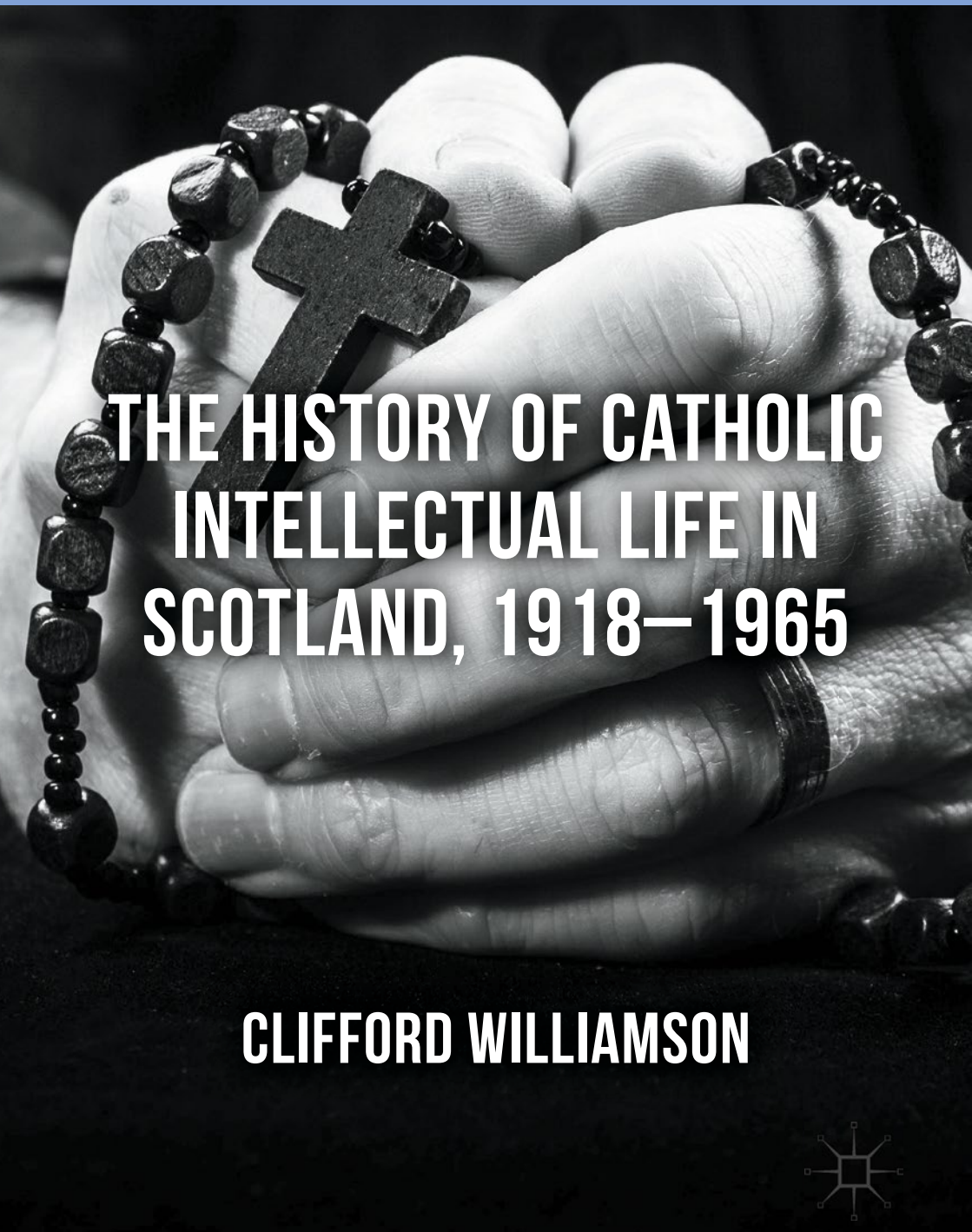
HISTORIES OF THE SACRED AND SECULAR



THE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND, 1918–1965

CLIFFORD WILLIAMSON

Histories of the Sacred and Secular, 1700-2000

Series Editor

Professor David Nash
Oxford Brookes University
Oxford, UK

This series reflects the awakened and expanding profile of the history of religion within the academy in recent years. It intends publishing exciting new and high quality work on the history of religion and belief since 1700 and will encourage the production of interdisciplinary proposals and the use of innovative methodologies. The series will also welcome book proposals on the history of Atheism, Secularism, Humanism and unbelief/secularity and to encourage research agendas in this area alongside those in religious belief. The series will be happy to reflect the work of new scholars entering the field as well as the work of established scholars. The series welcomes proposals covering subjects in Britain, Europe, the United States and Oceana.

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14868

Clifford Williamson

The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965

palgrave
macmillan

Clifford Williamson
Bath Spa University
Bath, United Kingdom

Histories of the Sacred and Secular, 1700-2000
ISBN 978-1-137-33346-9 ISBN 978-1-137-33347-6 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016941883

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London

Dedicated to the Memory of
Professor James F. McMillan.
1948–2010.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the staff at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, the Scottish Catholic Archive in Edinburgh, the National Library of Scotland, the National Records of Scotland and officials of the Scottish Senatus of the Legion of Mary. Personal thanks are due to Mr Jack McGavigan who gratefully loaned me his personal papers from his time as chairman of the Glasgow Newman Circle and Mary McHugh of the Glasgow Archdiocesan Archive for guidance on the archives. A big thank you is due to Professor David Nash who championed the manuscript as part of the *Histories of the Sacred and Secular* Series and allowed for this work to finally see the light of day. Many thanks to Jade Moulds who was very patient with me and my liberal attitude to deadlines. A big thank you goes to my colleagues and students at Bath Spa University and before that at the University of Strathclyde. Lots of people contributed in so many different ways to this work from the O'Hara family whose faith was much in mind when I first thought of this project, to my good friend Murray Kerr who helped to take my mind off of it when it was getting too heavy. Most of all thanks goes to my family and especially love to Anne Marie who was always there for me.

Contents

List of Table

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In the years between the end of the First World War and the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council (1965) there was a coherent and determined attempt by sections of the Catholic community, both laity and clergy, to redefine the character of the whole of the intellectual culture of Catholicism in Scotland. Through initiatives in politics, piety and in areas concerning national identity, Catholics sought to change not only the public image of the church but also the internal dynamics of the community and the institution of the Roman Catholic Church. There was no single grand project for the remaking of Catholicism: at different times and through different groups and different means, aspects of Catholicism were highlighted and then refashioned to suit changing circumstances and priorities. However, there is enough in the way of similarities both in outlook and in objectives to regard these distinctive changes as part of a whole movement to change the overall identity of Catholicism in Scotland.

Changes within the culture of Scottish Catholicism can, in part, be related to the domestic character of Catholicism as part of the distinctive heritage and make-up of the Catholic community in Scotland. However, they can also be seen as part of a European-wide, indeed global movement within Catholicism inspired by papal social teaching and the emergence of a more militant and visible Catholicism that challenged the great secular movements of liberalism, socialism and communism. This European dimension forms the secondary purpose of this book, namely to bring

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_1

Scottish Catholicism into the mainstream of discussion of Catholicism as a European phenomenon.

This work examines the remaking of Catholicism in the context of four themes. The first is the development of Catholic social teaching and its interpretation on the ground in Scotland. The second is the emergence of a distinctive pattern in popular devotion and piety. The third is the role of the Catholic intelligentsia as exemplified by the Newman Association, which promoted change within the church and pursued a new identity for Scottish Catholicism. The fourth theme is the issue of historiography and the contributions of Catholic historians, both clerical and laity, to a revision of received wisdom on Scotland's Catholic heritage.

Scottish Catholics were part of the universal Catholic Church and although their immediate circumstances were dictated by local priorities this did not mean that they existed in isolation from the concerns and ideas that were reshaping European Catholicism during this period. Quite contrary to the traditional parochial interpretations of Catholicism in Scotland, it is argued here that there was a remarkable degree of communication of ideas to and from continental Catholics. This is more clearly identifiable in clerical circles. As part of the training for the priesthood, many seminarians spent a period abroad at the Scots colleges in Rome or Paris. Similarly, foreign clerics were often encouraged to come to Scotland to bolster the quality of teaching at both the Scottish seminaries and in the local schools. Contacts with European trends in Catholicism for the laity were through a number of areas. The Catholic press was keen to focus on devotional and doctrinal initiatives for their readers, bringing awareness of the changes in piety and papal encyclicals as well as providing information on the state of the church on the continent. Scottish Catholics had the Caledonian Catholic Association that twinned individual parishes in Scotland with others in Europe. There was also the expansion of pilgrimages to holy sites, particularly Lourdes. The first Scottish National pilgrimage to Lourdes was in 1910; the first visitors from Scotland were clerics and teachers. It was from the National pilgrimage that the idea of a Scots pilgrimage centre at Carfin was first discussed.[1]

Outside of the practical developments that brought Scottish Catholicism more into the mainstream of European Catholicism, there is another purpose to the highlighting of this theme. There has been a trend in the study of Catholicism in the United Kingdom to place the British experience into context with the progress of the Catholic Church in Europe. Although the United Kingdom has a distinctive political and religious heritage, recent

studies have revealed more similarities than differences in the general character of religion, especially in the era of industrialisation and urbanisation, throughout Europe.[2] Great Britain shared with the rest of Europe, during the nineteenth century, a revival in religious zeal and new structures to accommodate the transition to urban living. Similarly at the end of the period under discussion, the same forces which were undermining traditional religious observation in Great Britain have been seen as the same as those in Europe generally. In the specific Catholic context, the study of the development of so-called 'Ghetto Catholicism' in Europe shows similarities between Catholic communities in their attempts to combat the growth of liberalism and communism, as well as rival denominations.[3] Unfortunately, this trend has not reached the study of Scottish Catholicism. In one major study of Catholicism in Great Britain by Tom Buchanan for the collection *Political Catholicism in Twentieth Century Europe*, the Scottish experience is almost totally absent, although there is some discussion of Catholic developments in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Oddly, Scottish themes are not so much ignored as relegated in a passing reference to seek guidance elsewhere.[4] In response to this inexplicable omission and with regard to the historically strong links between Scottish and European Catholics, it seems appropriate to bring the study of Catholicism in Scotland into the mainstream of European Catholicism.

The focus of this work is the Catholic intelligentsia. This presents in the first instance a problem of definition; namely, who are the Catholic intelligentsia? The Catholic community maintained a small but influential professional corps, made up of both the laity and also importantly the clergy, creating in Gramscian terms, its own 'organic intelligentsia'.[5] The majority of the community was poor and where there were pockets of affluence, the priority was towards providing teachers, in particular, for the growing educational demands of the community and society. There were some Catholics in prominent positions in the legal and medical services, even a few university professors at Glasgow University. The intellectual contribution of the laity was not based on numbers. Defining 'the intelligentsia' too precisely is problematic for two reasons. First, those who could be regarded as part of the intelligentsia may not have seen themselves as part of a separate Catholic 'chattering class'. Second, if we include every Catholic in the legal, medical and educational professions, we may find large numbers, whereas not every Catholic professional joined the Catholic Union, the Newman Association, or the Legion of Mary. This

study examines primarily the *qualitative* contribution of the 'Catholic intelligentsia'. There is reference, where appropriate, to the issue of membership numbers but the emphasis is not on quantitative aspects. In the case of the Catholic Union, there was no formal membership, and numbers are therefore scarcely a relevant issue. Quantitative research on membership of Catholic societies is a subject for a future scholar.

However, the intellectual infrastructure was less substantial than in England, where the converts from John Henry Newman's Oxford Movement brought a cadre of educated and active individuals to the Catholic Church. However, as Dr Mary Heimann has argued, their impact on English Catholic culture may well have been less considerable than previously thought.[6] England was the focus of the main journals of the Catholic intelligentsia with *The Universe*, *The Tablet*, *The Catholic Fireside* and latterly *GK's Weekly* published south of the border. At Westminster, Catholic peers championed Catholic causes alongside the small cohort of Catholic members of the Commons.

The Scottish Catholic intelligentsia seems small in comparison to their English equivalents. However, if we look outside the laity and towards the clergy, there is a substantial amount of activity in redefining the character of Catholicism north of the border. It makes sense to examine the clergy and their contribution to Catholic life as it is from them that much of the spiritual, intellectual and cultural direction of the community comes. In the main it was the special clergy that were to dominate Catholic intellectual discourses. This was primarily due to a tradition of scholarship and also due to the immersive character of religious life in this period where the regular clergy had the responsibility for everyday rituals and celebrations. This work also examines the role of the main seminary at St Peter's College founded by the first archbishop of the restored See of Glasgow. The influence of the seminary will be apparent throughout this work, as clerics were active in all the areas under discussion, from defining the local character of Catholic Action to contributing to the discussion of the role of Catholicism in Scottish history. The St Peter's clerical academic staffs were invaluable in the development of the Carfin Grotto and the Legion of Mary, and were amongst the first to call for the establishment of the Newman Association in Glasgow. They were also pivotal in laying the scholarly foundations of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association (SCHA) before being overtaken by secular scholars.

The central object of this work is to explain the intellectual development of Catholicism and the impact of this throughout Scotland. There

are two motives behind this study. First, the relative neglect of these subjects in existing works. There will be a more detailed discussion of this in the second part of this introduction; however, a few preliminary remarks are necessary. In the case of Catholic social teaching and Catholic Action in Glasgow, where there is discussion of the Catholic Union in the local politics of the Archdiocese, the overtly Catholic dimension is often submerged under the discussion of the ethnic dimension. The Catholic Union Advisory Bureaux (CUAB) has been totally ignored, despite its scale and its activity.[7] Similarly, no study has been undertaken to examine the Scottish interpretation of Catholic social teaching. It is often taken for granted that once the Vatican had spoken, it was the job of the local hierarchy to get to work to implement the Pope's instruction. In the distinctive social and political situation of Scotland, care was necessary to ensure that while Catholic social teaching was inculcated, it was carried out with the awareness of its impact on the larger Protestant community. In the case of devotion, the same assumptions and concerns are repeated. Again, there is an assumption that Roman or *ultramontane* practice and piety were imported wholesale without any concerns for local tastes. As the chapter on devotion and piety will show, this is not necessarily true. Catholic piety as demonstrated at Carfin and through the popularity of the Legion, although based on familiar trends such as Marianism, was quite unique in its *mix* of elements.

The Newman Association also took familiar elements and presented them in a new light and context. The Newman in Scotland was part of the larger British association, of *Pax Romana* and the Lay Apostolate movement. Nevertheless, it also made an important contribution to the Scottish dimension of Catholicism, a factor which when discussed elsewhere, and albeit rarely, has been ignored or minimised in importance. As far as the issue of Scottish Catholic historiography is concerned, although there is individual discussion of the broad theme of Catholicism and Scottish identity and even notable scholarly work on Sir Compton Mackenzie and James Edmund Handley in particular, no attempt has been made to view them all together as part of a 'corporate effort' to redefine the nature of Scottish Catholicism.[8] Also no effort has been made to look at the subtleties of the different perspectives on Scottish Catholic history presented by the likes of Malcolm V. Hay, Mackenzie and Handley amongst others, or the broader implications of this major effort to reinterpret Scottish history for the Scottish historical profession generally. As will be shown, the audience for the historians working in this field was not only interested

Catholics. All of the individuals who made their contribution via historical works were also addressing their work to the entire Scottish historical profession. So, in the first instance, this work seeks to address areas that have thus far been ignored or whose significance has been unnoticed.

The second reason for prioritising the areas under discussion is that the issues themselves were of importance to Catholics in Scotland. All of the trends, interests and organisations highlighted in this work came from within the Catholic community. They illuminate the intellectual concerns of elements of the Catholic community, and above all how as Catholics they were choosing to express their identities as part of a global church and as citizens in the conditions of early to mid-twentieth-century Scotland. There were, in effect, two worlds in which Catholics lived, one defined by their religion and one where they lived and worked. The priority for the Catholic Church during this period was to bring these two worlds together, to make their religious life central to their everyday life. This equation can be reversed, in making the everyday life part of their religious life. In pursuit of these objectives new patterns of piety, political and intellectual activity were developed. This work examines these patterns of activity and thought, and strives to examine the overall impact they had on Scottish Catholicism and the self-image of Catholics. Although it may seem as though each area is separate, all are connected. The attitude of the Newman towards the Church was defined in many ways by the lack of autonomy and democracy within the hierarchy, while the Catholic Union was seen as part of the old regime. New patterns in piety and devotion were important as they brought another dimension to the expanding influence of religion in everyday life and changed the external perceptions of Catholicism. Catholic historians challenged the idea that public devotion was alien to Scottish sensibilities and created a sense of continuity between modern devotion and pre-Reformation piety in Scotland. The Newman Association, partly because of the overall project of *Pax Romana*, and partly because members were eager to find out about the past, helped to organise Catholic scholars of Scottish history into a community. Throughout this work, familiar names, institutions and organisations appear in different chapters and different contexts, giving more and more credence to the central thesis of this work, that although the subject matter may range across different fields and themes, taken as a whole, they represent part of a broader movement as part of a self-defined project to redefine Catholicism and what it represented during this crucial period.

The period under study is from the end of the First World War to the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council in 1965. The period chosen is taken from that used by Martin Conway in his introduction to the collected volume *Political Catholicism in the Twentieth Century* published in 1996.[9] He presents a convincing rationale for this use of these dates. First, he argued that, although much of the political Catholicism of the inter-war years was 'derived from Catholic political and intellectual developments of the nineteenth century', it was only after the Great War that 'political Catholicism reached its full fruition' as 'the vestiges of nineteenth century Catholic hostility towards the political process gave way to efforts to articulate a distinctly Catholic form of politics'.[10] Therefore 1918 represents the emergence of Catholic politics from its internal role in settling the Catholic community in the new urban and industrial landscape to full interaction with the dominant secular political ideologies. In addition, the end of the First World War saw the demolition of the last vestiges of the *ancien régime* in Europe. Many of the traditional allies and adversaries of the Catholic Church fell as the Hapsburg, Hohenzollern and Romanov Empires were swept away by military defeat, revolutions and the Paris Peace Treaties. Of the most significant was in Russia with the triumph of the Bolsheviks in November 1917. Out of this revolution, communism emerged as a significant enemy of the church, joining liberalism and socialism as the focus for Catholic criticism and action.

In the Scottish context, 1918 is a landmark for the Catholic community. First, Catholics who had served in the British military returned from active service. The Great War, Professor T. M. Devine has argued, helped to bind the Scoto-Irish Catholic community to Scotland.[11] Catholics of Irish descent had joined up *en masse* with their Protestant comrades and fell alongside them in the fields of Flanders. Six Catholics had been awarded Victoria Crosses for bravery under fire and are still revered as heroes in the community. McFarland has concluded that this experience and war record of the Scoto-Irish helped 'fuel their claims for full social and political participation in the post-war settlement'.[12] The fulcrum of war was to have other effects. Compton Mackenzie converted to Catholicism during his war service and Major Malcolm Vivian Hay of the Gordon Highlanders wrote his first book whilst recuperating from his wounds after the Battle of Mons in 1914. The end of the war also saw the extension of the parliamentary franchise incorporating thousands of workers (including the mass of the Catholic population) and women over the age of 30 for the first time.

The most significant development affecting the status of the Catholic community, laity and clergy, was the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. Section 18 of the Act allowed for local School Boards to fund the building and maintenance of Catholic schools. The option was now open to the Catholic community to transfer its schools into local authority control. There were crucial concessions to guarantee the 'Catholic' character of education in their schools with control of religious education and appointment of teachers retained by the church hierarchy. Bernard Aspinwall has argued that 1918, rather than ushering in a new era in Catholic political action, saw the beginning of the erosion of the specific role of the Catholic Union.[13] This is not true. The situation after 1918 in education was to increase the relevance of the Catholic Union, in particular, for although the burden of education spending borne by the community was lifted with the transfer of the schools to the boards, Catholic schools had to compete for funds alongside Protestant (or non-denominational) schools, making it more necessary than before that the voice of the community be heard. On another level, the 1918 Act was significant as it opened up educational opportunities to the Catholic community that had not been there before. As Devine has summed up: '1918 and later changes promoting access to higher education after 1945, enabled the eventual growth of a large Catholic professional class, fully integrated into the mainstream of Scottish Society.'[14]

It has to be pointed out that opportunity was slow in being realised and the visible imprint left by sections of the Catholic intelligentsia and professional classes has been in some cases light or at least where largely unacknowledged. In the teaching, legal and medical professions, despite proving attractive to educationally successful young Catholics, we have little in the way of artefacts or archives beyond memories of the role they played or how they shaped their professional bodies. For example, there is nothing to compare, in Catholic scholarship, with the work of Dr Kenneth Collins on Jewish physicians and their contribution to the health and welfare of their community in Glasgow and beyond.[15] Yet even a cursory glance at the pages of the *Glasgow Observer*, *The Lancet* and the *British Medical Journal* will see prominent contributions by Glasgow Catholic medical professionals such as Thomas Colvin, the man who largely averted a mass outbreak of bubonic plague in Glasgow in 1900 amongst the Irish by his speedy diagnosis of one of the early cases. Colvin was representative of a tradition notable in Catholic professionals in that after study and qualification they often returned to serve their community. As Sean Damer

recalled, his own father who went to university in the 1930s did the same too as the priority had been to 'serve your own people'.[16] This may, in the words of Bruce, have 'aided the integration of the Catholic community as a whole'[17] but as far as leaving behind a corpus of work for future scholars to draw upon, the practical priorities of community defence and service has trumped to a certain extent the creation and preservation of artefacts for posterity. We can say the same things about the legal and teaching professions: the dominant concern was offering professional services to the Scoto-Irish, which would otherwise be beyond their reach at this time. There are some fragments; some are substantial such as T. A. Fitzpatrick's magisterial *Catholic Secondary Education in South West Scotland before 1972* published in 1986.[18] However, there is a real need for researchers in the field to draw together the material, where it exists, to truly get a clear picture of the intellectual contribution to the legal, medical and teaching professions by Scottish Catholics, and in order to get a sense of both the scale of contributions made and their religious character.

Also in 1918 other steps were being taken to build a new Catholic culture in Scotland. Of most note was the attempt by the recently installed priest at St Francis Xavier's in Carfin, Lanarkshire, to expand the small *Corpus Christi* procession held yearly in the parish grounds. Thomas Nimmo Taylor failed in this year to convince the Archbishop of Glasgow to support the procession but this disappointment was tempered by the increasing popularity of his other preoccupation: commemoration of Sister Thérèse of the Child Jesus. The Scottish contribution, led by the efforts of Father Taylor, to her cult was to be crucial in her beatification in 1923 and canonisation in 1925.

As a starting point for this work, 1918 has, therefore, significance in both the international and the domestic context of Catholicism. The concluding date of the work in 1965 is similarly significant both in the international and domestic character of Catholicism. The Second World War had important implications for the Catholic Church. In Europe generally, the extension of the influence of the Soviet Union had grave consequences for the organisation of the church behind the so-called 'iron curtain'. The pattern of politics was also changed with overtly 'Catholic parties' merging with centrist parties to form non-confessional Christian democratic parties. In the United Kingdom, the triumph of the Labour Party in the 1945 General Election ushered in a new 'cradle to grave' welfare state which handed over to the state direct control of social services provided by the church and the end of the social Catholic movement. However,

changes within the Catholic Church took longer to manifest themselves and the defensive mentality of the church towards the modern world, at least in public, remained unyielding. The focus of Catholic Action turned inwards after 1945 towards the *aggiornamento* or renewal of the church and this was a process that was not to be completed until the Second Vatican Council.

In 1960, Archbishop Thomas Scanlan of Glasgow complained that the 'professional classes' were not 'doing their bit with regard to their contribution to the supply of priests'.[19] It was a situation that was not going to improve and indeed got worse as the result of two significant developments. First there was a decline in observance. This factor was national as much as it was local. In a general sense the period from after the Second World War up to the 1960s was a period where it can be said that there was in the United Kingdom a relatively prospering religious culture. C. G. Brown has characterised the period as the 'return to piety'.[20] Gradually, as a result of the loss of the discursive power of religion through the emergence of youth culture, changes in sexual politics and broader societal changes, established patterns of faith and religious lifestyle began to unravel.[21] The decline in Catholic observance started 'later than that of the Church of Scotland but rapidly caught up' with Bruce arguing that participation, as judged by attendance at Mass started to fall away in the early1970s from a peak in the 1950s of 420,000 to 345,000 by 1984.[22] The powerful bond of community and identity had created a degree of Scottish Catholic resilience and held up the tide of secularisation temporarily but was ultimately overcome.

The second key change was that of opportunity. As Devine has pointed out, the epoch of limited opportunities for Catholics (as well as others from more modest backgrounds) in higher education was coming to an end as we reach the middle of the sixties, with increasing affluence, introduction of comprehensive schools, maintenance grants for students and new university places breaking down boundaries and facilitating new career options.[23] There were only 700 Catholic undergraduates at Glasgow University in 1967; by 1973 this would rise to 2,000.[24] There is an irony in this progress, as opportunities would collide with decline in religious cohesion. The secular Catholic intelligentsia would be more overtly liberal and become increasingly estranged from religious culture and practice in a foretaste of the future decline in Catholic unity as Cooney has chronicled in the more autobiographical parts of his work *Scotland and the Papacy*.[25]

In addition, a new agenda was emerging in sexuality and lifestyles, which not even the profound changes ushered in by the Second Vatican Council could address or deal with. Additionally in Scotland, the political and social climate was changing. After 13 years of Conservative government, the Labour Party was in power, Scottish Nationalism was re-emerging through the rejuvenated Scottish National Party; even the Unionists were dropping their overt association with Protestantism.[26] In 1963, parliamentary legislation had introduced full maintenance grants for university students and the number of universities in Scotland increased from four to seven. Finally, Martin Conway has described the Council as a 'caesura in Catholic politics';[27] it was also a break from the past in the whole religious culture of the century, and it therefore marks an appropriate moment to view the success and failure of the Catholic community in remaking itself.

Historiography

Over the 46 years from 1969 to 2015, Scottish historical writing, at least in public perception, has undergone something of a renaissance. General works on Scottish history have featured on the best-sellers lists and have brought Scottish historians into public prominence. From the publication of T. C. Smout's *A History of the Scottish People* in 1969 and the flourishing of social history in Scottish universities to more recent major surveys by Devine, Finlay and Lynch, along with various works by journalists of the likes of Andrew Marr and Michael Fry, there has emerged a substantial body of work which has brought casual readers closer to new academic scholarship and debates within the professional discipline.[28] The publication of *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* in 2014 has brought to the attention of an even wider audience the characteristics of the history of Scotland.[29] This phenomenon has primarily been associated with the dynamic political background in Scotland. The upsurge in interest in Scottish history and the pursuit of uniqueness has therefore been fed by interest in the constitutional question. The nature of Scottish historical writing has been skewed towards the position of Scotland, both in the political make-up but also in the economic and social dimensions of the United Kingdom and the British Empire.

Within this context, Catholicism has tended to be discussed through the role of the church in the establishing and settling of the immigrant Irish Catholic population during the late nineteenth century. Catholicism is usually portrayed as a contributory element in the debate on the ethnic

character of Scotland rather than as a subject in itself. The Catholic Church during the period under discussion in this monograph was not a constant and unchanging institution; it may have been 'the rock that anchored' the immigrant community, but it was itself undergoing both substantial internal change in terms of its organisation and outlook, and also experienced social and intellectual changes forced upon it by the changing character of life in the wider world. It is impractical for a general work on Scottish history to incorporate all such changes, but not even to acknowledge the changes within Catholicism and their effect on the local community distorts contribution of Catholicism and its impact. Therefore, although scholars have access to a more sophisticated understanding of Scottish history texts from monographs to scholarly articles, the shortcomings in certain areas still leave the general reader with an incomplete picture of important topics in Scottish life.

For a more complete picture of Scottish society and the influences shaping it, the main responsibility falls upon academic scholarship. Scottish students of history at university level have been the main beneficiaries of the explosion in general interest in Scottish history and the willingness of small publishers to produce textbooks and collections for them. An important trend in the most recent edited volumes has been a strong awareness of the importance of religion in the administration of local government, in political identity and most significantly the role of the churches during the key phases of industrialisation and urbanisation during the nineteenth century. The series of edited volumes entitled *People and Society in Scotland*, compiled under the auspices of The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland during the late 1980s, all featured at least one chapter on religion and social change.[30] Only comparatively more recently, though, has there been an attempt in edited collections to look at the main denominations in Scotland separately. In the 1998 collection *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* edited by T. M. Devine and Richard Finlay, two essays are devoted to religion and identity; Irene Maver contributes a chapter on the Catholic community and Graham Walker on Protestantism.[31] Of the two, Walker's chapter is the more significant as it is built upon a more substantial corpus of work, much of it written by Walker himself,[32] on popular Protestantism, whereas Maver is making her first major foray into modern religious history. This encouraging trend needs to be continued and expanded, so that the study of modern developments in Catholicism does not continue to revolve around the familiar themes of the 'ghetto', Irish sentiment and sectarianism.

A final word in this survey of general works on Scottish history and the treatment of Catholicism needs to be said about the issue of Scottish identity. Discussion of Scottish Nationalism, as argued above, has roughly followed the parameters of the political debate on the constitutional status of Scotland over the last 30 years or so. Just as the political debate has become more complex, historical discussion has become similarly more sophisticated. To the early general studies of Scottish nationalism and identity by Jack Brand and Christopher Harvie[33] has been added the groundbreaking study of the early formation of the Scottish National Party by Richard Finlay, who has himself built upon this work with innovative articles on the much-neglected theme of Catholicism and Scottish identity.[34] To this can also be added a series of works, most notably by Colin Kidd and William Ferguson, on the history of Scottish national identity from the Union of the Crowns in 1603 onwards, although these have tended to concentrate on the Presbyterian/Episcopalian divide rather than looking at the role of Catholicism.[35] Now that the political debate in Scotland has moved on to the floor of the Holyrood Parliament, Scottish historians will hopefully follow this lead and look at the internal dynamics which shaped modern Scotland and deal with them in a much more sophisticated manner.

The secondary literature on the overall development of the Scottish Catholic community is relatively substantial, with major works on almost all areas. However, some periods are better covered than others. This is particularly the case with the history of the Catholic community in the nineteenth century. The formative development of the modern Catholic community and the evolution of the Catholic Church in Scotland to 1914 have been the main preoccupation of scholars, starting with Canon Bellesheim's *History of Catholicism in Scotland*. The first major twentieth-century work was Peter F. Anson's *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland* in 1937, followed up by James Handley's *The Irish in Scotland* published in 1943 (followed by *The Irish in Modern Scotland* in 1947), George Scott-Moncrieff's *The Mirror and the Cross* published in 1967, Martin Mitchell's 1998 monograph *The Irish in the West of Scotland* based on his PhD thesis and more recently S. Karly-Kahoe's *Creating a Scottish Church* in 2010 and Geraldine Vaughan's *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland, 1851–1921* in 2013.[36] Alongside these works have been the contributions of Malcolm Vivian Hay and Compton Mackenzie which are considered at length in this volume. These studies break down into two major themes: first, the ethnic dimension of Catholicism in Scotland, which has been stressed by both Handley and Mitchell, and second, the development

of the infrastructure of the church with Bellesheim, Anson and Scott-Moncrieff the main contributors. All of these works have enhanced the understanding and dynamics behind the formation, the shifts in geography and make-up of the modern Catholic community in Scotland.

Less well served by single works has been the post-1914 history of Catholicism. It is hard to find a single monograph on the twentieth-century Scottish Catholic community. The only work is by the journalist John Cooney whose *Scotland and the Papacy* was written for the 1982 visit to Scotland of Pope John Paul II.[37] This volume is more a series of essays on particular themes than a narrative, but it is very useful because it not only deals in an imaginative way with the history of Scottish Catholicism but is written by someone who was himself an active member of the lay apostolate movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. There is therefore a major gap in the literature, at least in terms of the general picture, of the development of the Catholic community in modern Scotland. Indeed since Peter Anson's 1969 monograph *Underground Catholicism in Scotland* there have been no further attempts at a synthesis of the whole history of Catholicism in Scotland.[38] Furthermore, you have to go back to the 1936 work of Compton Mackenzie to find a volume that seeks to view the relationship between the Catholic Church and Scottish history in context.

Academic journals and collections of essays have in the main best served the study of Catholicism in Scotland. At the forefront of this has been the SCHA. Since 1950 it has published *The Innes Review* which provides a forum for university professionals and clerical scholars. Although the SCHA started out as an offshoot of the Newman Association, it has evolved into an academic journal of international significance with contributions from not only Catholic scholars both lay and clerical but also works by non-Catholics and international scholars. Before the founding of *The Innes Review*, a major and substantially untapped source of articles on Scottish Catholic history was the *St Peter's College Magazine* (*SPCM*). The journal started publication in 1911 as an in-house magazine for student priests, but under the editorship of first Mgr Octavius Claeys and then, at its zenith, under Mgr David McRoberts in the 1940s and 1950s (who also edited *The Innes Review* from 1951 until 1978) it was a major showcase for scholarly works on Scottish Catholic history with contributions by McRoberts himself as well as Father Anthony Ross, Dr James Handley, Dr John Durkin and Dr James Darragh amongst many others. The *SPCM* is also a rich source of articles on Scottish devotion and Catholic Action

all of which were intended to engender an interest amongst the future clergy of the archdiocese in modern trends and ideas in popular piety and Catholic social teaching as well as to build a distinctively Scottish character to Catholicism. Another substantial source is the journal of the Catholic Records Society in England, *Recusant History* (now called *British Catholic History*). Although primarily concerned with English Catholic history it has brought the opportunity for comparative study of the Catholic experience on both sides of the border.

Although there have been few major single works on modern Scottish Catholic history, there is a substantial corpus of collections of essays on this theme. The first major collection was *Modern Scottish Catholicism* edited by David McRoberts published to mark the centenary of the restoration of the Scottish Catholic hierarchy in 1978.[39] This volume was essentially a collection of articles published in *The Innes Review*, but it is in itself a major work as it brought together historical articles, literary criticism and sociological studies on the make-up of the Catholic community. It also opened up a major debate amongst scholars of Catholicism on the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy. David McRoberts initiated this debate with his own article and it has been built upon by, in particular, Bernard Aspinwall, who has written a number of articles on this single theme.[40] Following this collection there have been *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the 19th and 20th Centuries* edited by Professor Tom M. Devine (1997), *Out of the Ghetto* edited by Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch (1998), *Celebrating Columba: Irish–Scottish Connections 597–1997* edited by T. M. Devine and J. F. McMillan (1999) and more recently in 2008 *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* edited by M. J. Mitchell.[41] These collections have not only brought together academics from different fields and disciplines but pushed out the parameters of study on Scottish Catholicism to include other themes such as the ethnic dimension, the role of class and the role of Protestantism and Protestant Irish immigration, though gender remains the single major area of Catholic life and society which, as of yet, remains wholly untouched by scholars.

The study of local Catholic parishes and dioceses in Scotland from the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy onwards remains very much in its infancy. To date only three major studies have been published, namely: *St. Mary's Hamilton: A Social History, 1846–1996* edited by T. M. Devine, Raymond McCluskey's *St. Joesph's Kilmarnock, 1847–1997: Portrait of a Parish Community* and *The See of Ninian*: *A History of the Medieval Diocese of Whithorn and the Diocese of Galloway in Modern Times* edited

by Raymond McCluskey.[42] A major unpublished study is Mary McHugh's PhD thesis, 'The Development of the Catholic Community in the Western Province'.[43] Outside of this is Tom Gallagher's *Glasgow*, *the Uneasy Peace* published in 1987.[44] Gallagher's study is focused upon the relationship between the Catholic and Protestant communities in the city of Glasgow. His study looks at the period from the early nineteenth century to the 1980s, with particular reference to the 1930s, which he argues was 'the most testing period for community relations in Scotland'.[45] This concentration on the 1930s leads to the work being unbalanced as the periods before and after do not receive equal weight and Gallagher places excessive emphasis on the temporary phenomenon of militant Protestantism during the early 1930s. Similarly, the study is in many respects parochial, with no attempt to place the political and social changes within Scottish Catholicism in the broader context of the social aims of the Catholic Church. This said, however, Gallagher more than anyone else has illuminated key themes and concepts in the study of Catholicism in Scotland. He points to the relative dearth (in the early 1980s and still today) of studies of the political and social attitudes of Catholics, the obstacles in the way of the wholesale assimilation of Catholicism into a Scottish identity and the role of Catholic social teaching in shaping the Labour Party in Scotland. *Glasgow*, *the Uneasy Peace*, despite a misleading title, is still the seminal work on Catholic/Protestant community relations in Scotland, to date.

Gallagher returned to the topic in 2013 with *Divided Scotland* but although he claimed that more than half of the work was new material most of this referred to the contemporary discussion of sectarianism.[46] In 2000 there was a collection of essays entitled *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* edited by T. M. Devine that was very much a response to a speech made to the Edinburgh International Festival on the subject by the Scottish composer James McMillan in 1999.[47] This was followed by *Sectarianism in Scotland* edited by Bruce, Glendenning and Rosie that was a further collection of essays on the topic.[48] In addition there has been Rosie's *The Sectarian Myth in Scotland* published in 2004.[49] The issue described by Bruce as the 'dismal sectarian story' has disfigured much of the study of the history of religion in Scotland in the twentieth century and certainly has taken a significant amount of attention and scholarly effort away from more relevant and pressing issues it helps to explain, in part the dearth of material on post-1918 developments within Scottish Catholicism.[50]

Scotland is ill served in many ways by the paucity of detailed scholarly work on the social mobility of the Catholic community or the evolving role of faith in shaping social action. This stands in contrast to the study of Catholic cultures and social change in the USA where Kevin Kenny and Reginald Byron have offered much depth to the social history of Irish Americans and Jeremy Bonner and Mary Beth Fraser Connolly have been in the vanguard of studies on Catholic Action societies, confraternities and the role of gender in the Catholic community.[51] The introduction to their 2014 edited collection (along with Christopher Denny) *Empowering the People of God* is the most succinct presentation of the changing dynamics of Catholicism in the middle of the twentieth century and it is a very worthy addition to the study of the lay apostolate.[52]

There have been three recent trends in the study of Catholicism in European history which have assisted in a deeper understanding and more substantial interpretation of the role of the church in the formation of the modern continent. The first trend has been a general upsurge in the study of the social history of religion. The second has been the emergence of studies which have sought to interpret changes in Catholicism, during the twentieth century, at the national level as part of a general movement within European Catholicism. The third trend has been towards studies of Catholic devotion, particularly Marianism and the impact of popular piety, on religious culture, the political system and personal attitudes towards religious practice.

The study of social history has allowed the role of religion in the development of modern society to be highlighted. Through the use of a variety of scholarly techniques from oral history to the use of extensive computer databases it has become possible to chart not only changes in the intellectual character of religion, through the development of confraternities, social clubs and political parties, but also to study the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation on religious communities (and vice versa). Additional to this has been the development of comparative studies in the social history of religion. Scholars such as Hugh McLeod have researched the impact of religious and social change in particular countries. McLeod has argued that there are enough similarities across both denominations and borders to view change as a European phenomenon particularly during the latter part of the nineteenth century.[53]

Of most significance to this work is Hugh McLeod's article 'Building the "Catholic Ghetto": Catholic Organisations, 1870–1914'.[54] The article draws together many of the trends in Catholic social and cultural devel-

opment, not just in Europe but also across the Atlantic to the USA and Canada and it is worthwhile considering in detail this work. Central to the work is the interpretation of the term 'Catholic Ghetto' which has carried with it often wholly negative connotations and as he argued overstatement in its meaning between scholars.[55] McLeod rejects interpretations of Ghetto Catholicism that had sought to draw clear lines of division between the 'closed' Catholic ghettos of continental Europe and the 'open' ghettos of Great Britain and North America.[56] Similarly he also rejects the thesis of Coleman in the 'pillarisation' of power between different ethnic and religious groups in some Western European countries and the complete isolation of Catholics from political influence in English-speaking nations.[57] He concluded that 'In both there was a strong tendency towards the formation of a Catholic "Ghetto" in this period, though the types of organisation that this entailed were not precisely the same.'[58] We might also add that success or failure was dependent on access to power within the state.

McLeod highlights two examples that bring British Catholic attitudes and experience closer to the continental European experience. Education provides the first aspect, with the founding of specifically Catholic elementary schools in Great Britain up to 1918.[59] Oddly, the Scottish experience, which provides the most explicit, comprehensive and successful example of this, enshrined in law with the 1918 Education Scotland Act, is not mentioned. The second aspect is the founding of Catholic political organisations. Whilst acknowledging the lack of national organisations, McLeod highlights local initiatives through the nomination and election of Catholic candidates to School Board and Poor Law authorities.[60] This observation is crucial especially with reference to Glasgow, as we have in the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow (CUAG) a prime example of this trend. The CUAG built a formidable electoral machine that was able to exert considerable influence on local government in the region.[61] Where there was divergence from Europe was when ethnic and religious (and we could also add class) issues clashed. In the United Kingdom, the status of Ireland dominated local political considerations until 1922 and acted against the creation of a comprehensive Catholic political bloc. There are ironies in this; the rise of the Unionist Party in Scotland created a strong Protestant political identity whilst at the same time Catholics were developing close links with the Labour Party, lessening the correlation between religion and politics, where elsewhere in Europe the trend was generally in the opposite direction.

McLeod argues that the 'Catholic Ghetto' was built through both developments within the Catholic Church and in response to external trends. Within the Catholic Church were three trends, all of which were interrelated. First, there was the centralisation (or more accurately the remaking of) the Catholic Church in the middle of the nineteenth century culminating in the Vatican Council of 1869–70 which re-established the papacy at the centre of the Catholic world both in doctrinal and organisational terms.[62] Second, there was a revival in the membership and activity of the religious orders.[63] Although the reappearance of the Jesuits in particular can be seen as particularly inflammatory to anti-clericals, there was a practical dimension to this trend. The religious orders often provided key welfare and education services to the growing urban Catholic communities. The third trend was a revival of visible devotion, through the processional and pilgrimage movements associated with a series of Marian apparitions throughout the middle years of the nineteenth century.[64] The processional movement, argues McLeod, was 'the ideal focus of Catholic identity in the face of attacks from anti-clericals, Protestants and rationalists'.[65]

External trends, although distinctive, are also strongly linked with internal developments. McLeod points out that Catholics were not alone in developing their own self-regulated 'Ghettos'; there was a 'general tendency … for various political and religious communities to form highly organised, discrete, sub-cultures'.[66] The reasons for this were twofold: first, the intellectual, economic and social changes of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were providing new opponents, challenges and roles for both traditional organisations such as the churches and new political organisations such as the socialists. As McLeod concludes, 'the "ghetto"-builders … faced some of the same problems and the same enemies, and were responding to the same opportunities'.[67] The 'new opportunities'[68] for the 'ghetto-builders' were a new urban and industrial environment, particularly in the case of Scotland, and also new political opportunities afforded by both an extension of the franchise and again in the case of Scotland by a general democratisation of society with a proliferation of small local government bodies. Although in contrast to the general pattern of European national Catholic networks, Scottish Catholic organisations were smaller and fragmented, they did take advantage the opportunities presented to them where the infrastructure existed.

Final points of interest from McLeod's article with relevance to this work are the identification of two key issues that reflect upon any consideration of the intellectual character of the Catholic community. First is

the identification of the relative poverty of many Catholic communities, which was particularly relevant to the West of Scotland experience.[69] If any factor explains the slowness of the development of a clear intellectual character in Scottish Catholicism then it is the economic position of the Catholic community. The second point of interest is the identification of potential tensions between the clergy and laity.[70] In general the clergy and laity in the West of Scotland acted often in tandem and harmoniously. The period covered by this work sees a number of joint initiatives from the running of the CUAG, the Legion of Mary, the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee and even the Newman Association to a certain extent. It is also fair to acknowledge the key role of the clergy in all initiatives, particular from St Peter's College. However, as the period comes to a close with the Second Vatican Council this relationship is under severe pressure as sections of the laity seek to define a new partnership with the clergy. McLeod suggests in closing that the collapse of the homogeneity of the Catholic community in the 1960s had much to do with resentment towards 'the all encroaching authority of the church'[71] which he concludes did not result in a new partnership, but rather a complete parting of the ways.

To the larger international studies of the social history of religion have been added local studies. In Scotland, Callum Brown has produced a number of works on the social history of religion, including *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* and *The People in the Pews.*[72] He has also contributed many articles on the subject for collected works as well as leading the revisionist case around the debate on secularisation. Brown's work is strongest when dealing with Presbyterian and dissenter churches: his studies of Scottish Catholicism have been less comprehensive. The social history of Scottish Catholicism is therefore at a less developed stage than in relation to other denominations.

In recent years a more comprehensive understanding of Catholic history has been made possible with the publication of new works, in English, on the development of European Catholicism and of studies of devotion and piety. In 1996, the publication of *Political Catholicism in the Twentieth Century* edited by Martin Conway and Tom Buchanan brought a cutting edge to scholarship on Catholicism in collected series of specially commissioned essays. Conway followed up the collection with a shorter study, *Catholic Politics in Europe, 1918–1945.*[73]

The third trend in the study of religious history has been the emergence of case studies on the character of devotion. The study of devotion has always been a feature of historical research in religious history, but

more recently it has received more sophisticated treatment at the hands of 'new cultural' historians. Social historians have acknowledged the importance of the changing character of devotion as illustrative of the evolution of religious communities in the transition from rural to urban living and as an indication of the changing power relationships within these communities. New studies on devotion have taken the social history of religion forward with substantive reappraisals of the national character of religion, such as Ralph Gibson's *Social History of French Catholicism* and most notably Mary Heimann's *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England*.[74] Her work has not only challenged the historical orthodoxy of the triumph of *ultramontanism* in late nineteenth-century Catholicism but given a new approach to the study of devotion by concentrating on the mechanics of religious practice right down to the choice of hymns sung and prayer books chosen. Recently Alana Harris has brought the study of devotion in modern England up to date through producing the monograph *Faith in the Family: A Lived Religious History of English Catholicism, 1945–82* in 2013.[75] Alongside these developments there has been the emergence of studies on Marianism, and in particular the study of the important pilgrimage sites at Lourdes by Ruth Harris and Marpingen by David Blackbourn.[76] These works, alongside the studies of the social history of religion, have all contributed to, on the one hand, a more substantial and sophisticated awareness of the issues in the study of this field, and on the other, the creation of new benchmarks in the study and writing of religious history.

Structure of the work

This work has nine chapters. The first chapter looks at the dual context of Catholicism as it refers to Scotland. The first part examines the impact of the minority status of the Catholic community and how that shaped perspectives and activities. The second part discusses the growing corpus of Catholic social theory as laid down by the papacy through encyclicals from the late nineteenth century through to the middle of the twentieth century. These are crucial as they offer an insight into the temperament of the Catholic Church as it approached the important social and political concerns of the period. They were also to be the template for Catholic Action that was to be applied at the local level.

The next chapter looks at the structure and activities of CUAG from 1918 to 1930. CUAG was an electoral force in the Poor Law and Local

Education Authorities that oversaw welfare and schooling up to their abolition following the passing of the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Act. The early years following the Great War were to see the expansion of welfare with the founding of the Scottish Board of Health and the incorporation of Catholic schools into the local state sector as a result of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, both of which increased the need for vigilance to ensure Catholic interests were catered for.

After 1929 CUAG needed to find a new role and that is the subject of the following chapter. As a response to the updating of Catholic social teaching in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931 the Catholic intelligentsia, really for the first time, sought to examine and interpret doctrine in the context of local conditions. Partly as a result of this and of increased communist activity in Clydeside , CUAG was to found the Catholic Union Advisory Bureaux (CUAB). This novel organisation was to galvanise Catholic Action in a significant manner.

The following two chapters consider important devotional trends in the inter-war period as they were applied to Scotland. The first trend was the processional movement which found its most important incarnation in the founding of the Scottish national pilgrimage centre at Carfin in Lanarkshire at the start of the 1920s. Crucial in this development was the championing of the cause of St Thérèse of Lisieux by the parish priest at Carfin, Thomas Nimmo Taylor. Through this Scottish Catholics were not only in the vanguard of a movement for a more visible Catholicism but also in tune with, if not leading innovation in, doctrine and devotion: a significant moment when considering the problematic religious environment of Scotland in the inter-war period where sectarianism was endemic. The second of the devotional chapters looks at inter-war Scottish Marianism and in particular the popularity of the Legion of Mary, a Catholic Action society which had been founded in Dublin in the 1920s. Scotland was to be the first nation where the Legion was to expand. The Legion in Scotland would be amongst the most militant of the Marian confraternities for as well as being a devotional movement it, like the CUAB, had its origins in papal anti-communist doctrine.

The next chapter is the first to discuss the post-Second World War situation of the Catholic intelligentsia. The main voice of the educated laity was the Newman Association. It purpose had been set by Pope Pius XII at the 1950 Amsterdam conference of *Pax Romana* (the international Catholic Students Association) as 'The permeation of contemporary thought and service to the church.'[77] Although it was seen as an auxiliary to the church

it was also to be a major lobbyist for change within Catholicism. This made it the perfect vehicle in the age of renewal.

The final two chapters concern themselves with the history of Catholicism in Scotland and how this would leave behind in the SCHA a permanent reminder of the era of political and social Catholicism, although the SCHA has long since abandoned any overt association with the Catholic Church and has become a respected secular scholarly organisation. The first chapter looks at developments in the inter-war period to recover Catholic history and considers the contributions made by Malcolm Vivian Hay through his 1927 work *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* and the 1936 work *Catholicism and Scotland* by Compton Mackenzie.[78] These two works represent early attempts to redress a perceived bias in Scottish historiography that had come to regard Catholicism as an alien institution. The second history chapter looks at the role of the *SPCM* in stimulating interest in Scottish Catholic historical scholarship that would culminate in 1950 with the founding of the SCHA. It also considers the roles of the Newman Association and James Edmund Handley in shaping the agenda of the organisation.

It will be apparent that the scope of this work is ambitious. Potentially all of the themes in this work could in themselves be the topics for more substantive study, and in the future may be. However, the aim of the present work is to map out the broad intellectual dynamics of Catholicism in Scotland. By presenting it in a way not previously attempted, an overall picture of the influences on Catholicism local, national and international is drawn. It also seeks to define the nature of the intellectual approach of Catholics to the challenges facing the community, and from this to assess the successes and failures in the attempts to meet these challenges. This work attempts not only to break new ground in the study of modern Catholicism in Scotland by highlighting areas previously neglected, but also to demonstrate that the study of Catholicism in Scotland requires that historians in the future are aware that, although the domestic scene was crucial to the development of the church and its community, the horizon has to be lifted to the larger context of Europe and the place of the small Scottish Catholic community within it.

Notes

1. By the 1870s pilgrimages by Scottish Catholics to Rome had been re-established.

2. See H. McLeod, 'Building the Catholic Ghetto, Catholic Organisations, 1870–1914', in *Voluntary Religion* (W. J. Shiels and D. Wood, eds) (Oxford, 1986), pp. 411–44.
3. See H. McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe, 1789–1970* (Oxford, 1981).
4. T. Buchanan, 'Great Britain', in *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918–1965* (M. Conway and T. Buchanan, eds) (Oxford, 1996), p. 251.
5. A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith, eds) (London, 1971), p. 3.
6. M. Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 5–10.
7. Despite the substantial work done by Tom Gallagher on Catholicism in Glasgow, he not only ignores the work of the CUAB but also gives the title of the bureau as the Catholic Inquiry Bureau. See T. Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace: Religious Tensions in Modern Scotland* (Manchester, 1987), p. 119.
8. For biographies of Compton Mackenzie see A. Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie: A Life* (London, 1987); D. J. Dooley, *Compton Mackenzie* (New York, 1974); and L. Robertson, *Compton Mackenzie: An Appraisal of his Literary Work* (London, 1954).
9. M. Conway, 'Introduction', in *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918–1965* (Conway and Buchanan, eds), p. 2.
10. Ibid., p. 2.
11. T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* (London, 1999), p. 496.
12. E. W. McFarland '"Our Country's Heroes": Irish Catholics in Scotland in the Great War', in *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (M. J. Mitchell, ed.) (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 144.
13. B. Aspinwall, 'Review of *Out of the Ghetto*', *The Innes Review* 50.2 (Autumn 1999), p. 157.
14. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000*, p. 497.
15. K. E. Collins, *Be Well! Jewish Immigrant Health and Welfare in Glasgow, 1860–1914* (East Linton, 2001); K. E. Collins, *Go and Learn: The International Story of Jews and Medicine in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988).
16. S. Bruce, *Scottish Gods: Religion in Modern Scotland, 1900–2012* (Edinburgh, 2015), p. 45.
17. Ibid.
18. T. A. Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South West Scotland before 1972: Its Contribution to the Change in Status of the Catholic Community* (London, 1986).
19. *The Glasgow Observer*, 22/1/60, p. 2.
20. C. G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800–2000* (Oxford, 2001), p. 170.

21. Ibid., see Chap. 8, pp. 170–92.
22. Bruce, *Scottish Gods: Religion in Modern Scotland*, p. 66.
23. T. M. Devine, 'The End of Disadvantage? The Descendants of Irish-Catholic Immigrants in Modern Scotland since 1945', in *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Mitchell, ed.), pp. 191–207.
24. Ibid., p. 198.
25. J. Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy* (Glasgow, 1982).
26. In 1965, the Conservatives dropped Unionist from their party name.
27. Conway, 'Introduction', p. 2.
28. Devine, *The Scottish Nation*; R. J. Finlay, *Modern Scotland, 1914–2000* (London, 2005); M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1990); M. Fry, *Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1987); A. Marr, *The Battle for Scotland* (London, 1992).
29. T. M. Devine and J. Wormald (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2014).
30. C. G. Brown, 'Religion and Social Change', in *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. 1 (T. M. Devine and R. Mitcheson, eds) (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 143–62; C. G. Brown, 'Religion, Class and Church Growth', in *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. 2 (W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris, eds) (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 310–35.
31. I. Maver, 'The Catholic Community', in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (T. M. Devine and R. J. Finlay, eds) (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 269–84; G. Walker, 'Varieties of Scottish Protestant Identity', in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Devine and Finlay, eds), pp. 250–68.
32. G. Walker, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland', in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (T. M. Devine, ed.) (Edinburgh, 1991); G. Walker and T. Gallagher (eds), *Sermons and Battle Hymns* (Edinburgh, 1990).
33. J. Brand, *The National Movement in Scotland* (London, 1973); C. Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707–1977* (London, 1977).
34. R. J. Finlay, *Independent and Free* (Edinburgh, 1995) and 'Nationalism, Race, Religion and the Irish Question in Inter-War Scotland', *The Innes Review* 42. 1 (Spring, 1992), pp. 46–67.
35. W. Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (Edinburgh, 1998); C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past* (Cambridge, 1993).
36. A. Bellesheim, *Catholic Church in Scotland* (London, 1888);P. F. Anson, *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland* (London, 1937); J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland* (Cork, 1943); J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947); G. Scott-Moncrieff, *The Mirror and the Cross* (Edinburgh, 1967); M. J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland, 1797–1848* (Edinburgh, 1998); S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*

(Manchester, 2010); G. Vaughan, *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland, 1851–1921* (Basingstoke, 2013).

37. Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy*.
38. P. F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland* (Montrose, 1969).
39. D. McRoberts (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism* (Edinburgh, 1978).
40. D. McRoberts, 'Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878', in *Modern Scottish Catholicism* (McRoberts, ed.); B. Aspinwall, 'Anyone for Glasgow? The Strange Nomination of the Right Reverend Charles Eyre in 1868', *Recusant History* 23 (1996–7), pp. 119–44; B. Aspinwall, 'Scots and Irish Clergy Ministering to Immigrants, 1830–1878', *The Innes Review* 47.1 (Spring, 1996), pp. 45–68.
41. Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*; R. Boyle and P. Lynch (eds), *'Out of the Ghetto': The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland*; T. M. Devine and J. F. McMillan (eds), *Celebrating Columba: Irish–Scottish Connections, 597–1997* (Edinburgh, 1999); Mitchell (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*.
42. T. M. Devine (ed.), *St. Mary's Hamilton: A Social History, 1846–1996* (Edinburgh, 1998); R. McCluskey, *St. Joseph's Kilmarnock, 1847–1997: Portrait of a Parish Community* (Kilmarnock, 1997); R. McCluskey (ed.), *The See of Ninian: A History of the Medieval Diocese of Whithorn and the Diocese of Galloway in Modern Times* (Glasgow, 1997).
43. M. McHugh, 'The Development of the Catholic Community (Roman Catholic diocese of Glasgow, Motherwell and Paisley), 1878–1962', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1990.
44. Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*.
45. Ibid., p. 5.
46. T. Gallagher, *Divided Scotland, Ethnic Friction and Christian Crisis* (Glendaruel, 2013), Kindle Edition, Loc 172.
47. T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000).
48. S. Bruce, M. Glendenning and M. Rosie (eds), *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2004).
49. M. Rosie, *The Sectarian Myth in Scotland of Bitter Memory and Bigotry* (Oxford, 2004).
50. Bruce, *Scottish Gods: Religion in Modern Scotland*, p. 46.
51. K. Kenny, *The American Irish* (Oxford, 2000); R. Byron, *Irish America* (Oxford, 2000); J. Bonner, *The Road to Renewal: Victor Reed and Oklahoma Catholicism, 1905–1971* (Washington, DC, 2008); M. B. F. Connolly, *Women of Faith: The Chicago Sisters of Mercy and the Evolution of a Religious Community* (New York, 2014).
52. J. Bonner, M. B. F. Connolly and C. D. Denny (eds), *Empowering the People of God: Catholic Action before and after Vatican II* (New York, 2014).

53. H. McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe, 1789–1970* (Oxford, 1981); *Piety and Poverty: Working Class Religion in Berlin, London and New York, 1970–1944* (New York, 1995); *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London, 1974); *European Religion in the Age of the Great Cities, 1830–1930* (London, 1995); and *Secularisation in Western Europe* (London, 1999).
54. H. McLeod, 'Building the "Catholic Ghetto": Catholic Organisations, 1870–1914', in *Voluntary Religion: Papers Read at the 1985 Summer Meeting and the Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society: Studies of Church History, Volume 23* (W. W. Sheils and D. Wood, eds) (Oxford, 1986), pp. 411–44.
55. Ibid., p. 415.
56. Ibid., pp. 414–15.
57. Ibid., p. 415.
58. Ibid., p. 415.
59. Ibid., p. 415.
60. Ibid., p. 415.
61. See chapter on CUAG in this volume.
62. McLeod, 'Building the "Catholic Ghetto"', p. 417.
63. Ibid., pp. 417–18.
64. Ibid., p. 418.
65. Ibid., p. 426.
66. Ibid., p. 418.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 421.
69. Ibid., p. 435.
70. Ibid., p. 431.
71. Ibid., p. 444.
72. C. G. Brown, *A Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, 1987); *The People and the Pews* (Dundee, 1993); see also *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, 1997).
73. M. Conway, *Catholic Politics in Europe, 1918–1945* (London, 1997).
74. R. Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789–1914* (London, 1989); M. Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1995).
75. A. Harris, *Faith of the Family: A Lived Religious History of English Catholicism, 1945–82* (Manchester, 2013).
76. R. Harris, *Lourdes* (Oxford, 1998); D. Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparition's of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany* (London, 1985).
77. Newman Association, Recruitment leaflet, 1960, p. 1.
78. M. V. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* (London, 1927); C. Mackenzie, *Catholicism and Scotland* (London, 1936).

CHAPTER 2

The Dual Context of Catholicism

When looking at the progress of the Catholic community in Scotland we need to consider two important characteristics, which helped to shape the situation and mind-set. The first is the minority status of the Catholic community within an overwhelmingly Protestant nation and second the changing nature of political and social Catholicism. Both were to influence the nature of the engagement of the community in the public sphere and the general perception of them. It was not just the minority position but also the nature of Scottish Protestantism, dominated as it was by the Calvinist Church of Scotland, that added an extra dimension of friction and hostility. Augmenting this was the ethnic character of the minority community, which was drawn overwhelmingly from poor Irish migrants; again Calvinism was to work to the detriment of the Catholic community as the Loyal Orange Institution had a strong role in Scottish civil and political society and linked Scotland to the issue of Irish Home Rule. The evolution of Catholic social teaching was to be a crucial factor in the progress of political and social action. The era covered by this book is the high tide of Catholic Action. The Papacy in a very direct fashion through a series of important and influential encyclicals between 1891 and 1963 set the context for the type of political engagement and also the level of political and social activism encouraged in the laity.

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_2

Catholicism in the Scottish Context

This section deals with the broader political and social context. The first part considers the impact of the minority status of the Catholic community in the priorities of Catholic social action and intellectual life and looks at three issues. The first issue is the changing nature of the Catholic community, the shift of the Catholic community from a small rural subculture to a central feature in the industrial and urban landscape of Scotland. The second is the priorities defined by Catholics in the social and political field and the third is the development of Catholic intellectual life in Scotland and the influences upon it. The second part of this section deals in outline with the role of Catholics in the party political system and considers two issues. The first is the early role of the growing Catholic community in the party system to 1918. Second we examine the characteristics which defined Catholic political and social action in the period after 1918. The issue of Catholics and the political system in Scotland has been well examined by both political scientists and historians with a substantial secondary literature which for the purposes of this work only needs to be sketched in outline.[1]

Of all the factors that defined the approach of Scottish Catholics, and indeed Catholics throughout the United Kingdom, to politics, social activity and even piety was that Catholics were a minority of the overall population.[2] In 1921 Catholics made up a little over 12 per cent of the population of Scotland.[3] This was a slightly larger proportion than elsewhere on mainland United Kingdom (England, Wales and Scotland excluding Northern Ireland) where the population was a little under 10 per cent.[4] Although this figure was small, the Catholic proportion of the population was significantly larger than at any period since the Reformation. Within this rise in population two other factors were apparent. First, the location of the Catholic population in Scotland as elsewhere in the United Kingdom shifted from being predominantly rural to urban. In Scotland this meant that the traditional heartland of Catholicism in the north-east was superseded by the new Catholic centres in the industrial central belt in Scotland. This change was facilitated by the immigration of substantial numbers of Irish men and women during the nineteenth century, and by their permanent settlement in Scotland. So in addition to a change in the location of the community, there was also an ethnic dimension. This ethnic factor coupled to their religiosity added to the suspicions of the indigenous community.

The minority status of the Catholic community in Scotland, as elsewhere in Great Britain, does not immediately explain the relative lack of party political organisations. Catholics were a minority in Germany, The Netherlands and a number of other European states but created viable and influential political networks and parties. The German Centre Party and the Dutch People's Party were pivotal in the shaping of many governments throughout the twentieth century. In the era of *Vereinskatholizismus* or Ghetto Catholicism political parties were a natural expression of the distinctiveness of Catholic attitudes to politics and society.[5] But, this is not always the case and particularly in the British case. Tom Buchanan has argued that there has long since been an antipathy in the United Kingdom towards confessional parties.[6] This coupled with 'social and political divisions within the Catholic community … lack of funds and ambition have all conspired to make political Catholicism almost invisible'.[7] However, this lack of ambition was not a disincentive to political action, quite the contrary; as Buchanan suggests, although 'the term "political Catholicism" was alien to British Catholics, the term "social Catholicism" was not'.[8] The development of a social Catholic movement in Britain was, argues Buchanan, 'undeniably political'. The nature of social Catholicism in the United Kingdom followed many of the parameters which were by the end of the nineteenth century familiar to most European Catholics. British social Catholicism operated in two distinctive spheres. Buchanan describes these spheres or tiers of activity as 'the defence of communal interests' and 'distinctive Catholic political thought and action'.[9]

The first sphere involved the maintenance of Catholic social, religious and cultural institutions. The principal focus of this was on Catholic schooling. Protection of Catholic educational interests was made easier or more effective by the fragmentation of responsibilities in education. Although the state oversaw educational provision through the setting of standards and the inspection of all schools, in Scotland under the Scottish Education Department founded in 1872, it was at the local level that schools were administered in small district School Boards (in 1918 the School Boards were abolished and replaced by elected education authorities).[10] This situation explains the relative lack of Catholic political organisation, as there was no need for a national body to protect Catholic education. Similarly, as education legislation was proposed, debated and passed into law at Westminster, providing a strong bulwark against Scottish anti-Catholic movements such as the Scottish Protestant League, separate Catholic education was extremely secure. After the 1918 Education (Scotland)

Act and the integration of Catholic schools, the same basic arrangement remained and it was not until 1930 and the implementation of the 1929 Local Government Scotland Act when education authorities were merged into the adjacent local government body that the lack of Catholic political organisation was a potential problem. There was Catholic political and electoral organisation but it was almost exclusively organised at a local level, as we shall see in the chapter on the Catholic Union. In some respects the failure of scholars to see Catholic political activity in the United Kingdom is because the concentration has been on national political parties not on local political structures. At the local level the picture becomes clearer and in the case of Glasgow we see in the Catholic Union an organisation which mobilises the Catholic community for overtly political reasons and manages to successfully take on the main secular parties.

The second tier, identified by Buchanan, of Catholic social action was in the promotion of Catholic thought and action. In this area of Catholic Action, Scottish Catholics at least initially suffered from their distance from the intellectual centres of British Catholic life and in some respects from the narrow nature of the Catholic community. Catholic intellectual culture emerged predominantly from the recusant and convert communities. In Scotland converts and recusants were fewer in number and influence. The recusant heartland was in the north of Scotland, well away from the urban centres in the central belt, and converts, although there were some very prominent figures such as Robert Montieth, the Marquis of Bute and latterly Compton Mackenzie, were fewer in number and influence. There was in Scottish Catholic life no 'second spring' or intellectual flourishing of Catholicism until the inter-war years.

Although the community made a major effort to recruit teachers from its small professional classes, the majority of those who became teachers did so without a university degree.[11] Few Catholics attended university in Glasgow. In 1906 it was estimated that less than a dozen out of total of 2,500 students were Catholics.[12] The Catholic academic staff was similarly small, with only one of the four Catholic staff members from the local community.[13] Scottish Catholic intellectual life, until the middle of the twentieth century, relied heavily upon both the regular clergy and particularly the religious orders. Although this factor has been seen by some historians as acting as a negative factor on the development of Scottish Catholic radicalism,[14] it should noted that many of the brightest Catholic school pupils chose seminary life as the best option to gain a high quality education especially as university was by far the most expensive option.

For example, St Aloysius College in Glasgow from 1859 to 1927 had provided no less than 104 secular priests and 38 members of religious orders.[15] After 1924, the number of Catholics at university was boosted by the insistence of the Scottish Education Department that in an effort to raise standards in schools all secondary teachers must have a university degree.[16] By the start of the 1930s Glasgow University had over 500 Catholic students[17] and to support these numbers a full-time Catholic chaplain was appointed.[18]

Therefore in the development of Catholic social criticism and action the Catholic Scots laity relied heavily on inspiration and direction from south of the border and on the religious orders. The role of the religious orders has been sketched out previously and will be dealt with in detail throughout this work. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, organisations and ideas were brought to Scotland starting with the Catholic Union founded in England in 1872 and as time went on, other trends in Catholic social action developed.[19] The Distributism movement founded by Hilaire Belloc and supported by G. K. Chesterton, described by Buchanan as 'the closest approximation to a specifically political Catholic movement in twentieth-century Britain'[20] enjoyed a brief period of prominence in Scotland in the 1920s.[21] The increase in numbers of Catholic students at Glasgow University gave Distributism its biggest boost and it remained popular with Catholics at university until the 1980s.[22] The Catholic Social Guild (CSG) was brought to Scotland in 1914 (five years after its founding in Manchester) through the efforts of the Jesuit Father Leo O'Hea (for 32 years the principal of the Catholic Workers' College in Oxford) and Francis Callachan.[23] Like the Distributist movement the influence of the CSG in the west of Scotland is difficult to measure. Thomas A. Fitzpatrick saw the influence of the CSG in disseminating social criticism within the Catholic Young Men's Society (CYMS), the Knights of St Columba and the Newman Association.[24] In the words of Francis Callachan, the focus was on 'trying to learn catholic principles ourselves and to make Catholics interested'.[25] Irrespective of this broad success the CSG suffered from internal turmoil in Glasgow when in 1941 Anthony Hepburn and James Darragh broke with the CSG and founded the Catholic Workers' Guild.[26] The Newman Association came to Scotland in 1942.[27] However, although there was little in the way of uniquely Scottish social Catholic organisations, as will be seen in the subsequent chapters on both the Catholic Union and the Newman Association, as well as the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee (which

took its inspiration from the Catholic Records Society in England) and although they were founded in England these groups developed in a way uniquely suited to the circumstances of Scottish Catholicism.

Although a minority, Catholics did have a role to play in the emerging party political structure in Scotland. Two factors dictated the nature of political choices available to Catholics. First, as the electoral franchise broadened to include many of the poorer members of society encompassing the large mass of the urban Catholic population, their relevance to the electoral calculations of the political parties became more significant. Second, the apparent lack of overtly confessional parties in the United Kingdom conceals an extremely strong relationship between religious denomination and political choice. The decision of the Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone to revive Irish Home Rule in 1886 tore apart the party between Gladstone loyalists and Liberal Unionists. The Liberals throughout the late nineteenth century, despite the breach over Ireland, still held a predominant position in Scottish politics with the Tories moribund.[28] The link between the Liberals and Irish Home Rule drew the Catholic electorate to the party.[29] Catholics had been active in the radical politics of the period in the Chartist movement but this was a movement that could even accommodate Orangeism.[30] Irish political organisation in Glasgow ironically was aided by the Ulster Protestant John Ferguson who neatly prefigured the gradual shift of Irish Catholic political loyalty from radical Liberalism to Labour. Ferguson was a leading light in the Irish National League and a founder in 1888 of the Scottish Labour Party.[31] In the years just prior to the First World War Scottish politics was beginning to change dramatically. In 1912, the Conservatives and the small Scottish rump of Liberal Unionists merged to form the Scottish Unionist Party and established strong links with the Loyal Orange Institution; a member of the order sat on the council of Unionists until 1930 allowing the party the use of the substantial network of Orange Lodges in central Scotland.[32]

The Labour Party was founded in 1906 with a closer alliance between the Labour Representation Committee and the Independent Labour Party (ILP). In Scotland, prominent Catholics had been campaigning to win the Catholic vote for the fledgling party. John Wheatley, the President of the Shettleston (in the east of Glasgow) Branch of the United Irish League, with Patrick Dollan founded the Catholic Socialist Society in the same year, building a bridge between Irish radicalism and Labour politics.[33]

After the end of the First World War political and social Catholicism reached its full fruition in Europe. In Great Britain, Catholic social societies founded before the war continued but found the environment changing. Tom Buchanan has described the post-1918 period as a 'watershed for Catholic political engagement in Britain'.[34] He cited three reasons for this: first, the introduction of universal suffrage;[35] second, the extension of the influence of the state, particularly in education and one also might add in health and welfare;[36] third, changes in the political system.[37] All of these changes brought a different emphasis and greater urgency to the organisation of Catholic social action and further challenges such as economic problems, the rise of communism and of sectarianism added to the need for closer and more determined Catholic action. Buchanan in his chapter relates these changes to the British context as a whole; for greater clarity we need to look at how they impacted on the scene in Glasgow and Scotland.

As previously discussed, the extensions of the franchise throughout the nineteenth century had brought Catholics more and more into the political process. However, we have to make a distinction between the parliamentary franchise and the local authority franchise. In many respects the involvement of Catholics in local authority, and particularly the School Boards elections, was well established by 1918. Only in the local councils were Catholics not represented directly after 1918. The new parliamentary franchise and importantly greater literacy allowed Catholics to make a significant contribution in national Westminster elections. Women over the age of 30 gained the vote for the first time in 1918 and the 1928 Equal Franchise Act gave women the vote on the same basis as men.[38] In some respects the reform of the franchise was only of limited significance to the direct representation of Catholic interests as the main forum for Catholic concerns were at a local level.

After 1918, the state became more closely involved in the running of the public health, Poor Law and National Insurance authorities. In 1920, the Scottish Board of Health was founded with the responsibility 'to secure the effective carrying out and co-ordination of measures conducive to the health of the people'.[39] However, its role was to be primarily in the supervision of local services rather than their greater integration into a national system.[40] The most significant area for direct Catholic interests was education. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 brought the possibility of the transfer of Catholic schools to the local education authorities. The state for the first time was to be the guarantor of separate Catholic schooling.

Catholic responses to this centralisation of public welfare and education services were conditioned by a number of factors. The Vatican in papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Une Fois Encore*, had opposed greater state intervention particularly in education and advocated a very limited role for the state in welfare and social services. Hilaire Belloc's 1911 book *The Servile State* highlighted British Catholic attitudes to state intervention. The Catholic Women's League (CWL) was at the forefront in Glasgow in opposing a national system of compulsory medical examination of children, fearing that through inspection the state was detailing the growth in Catholic families and encouraging birth control as a means to limiting the numbers of Catholics.[41] The 1918 Education Act highlighted the paradoxes of Catholic attitudes to the state. On the one hand the Act offered security both in terms of financial security and national protection for the maintenance of Catholic education. On the other hand, there was concern that the incorporation of Catholic schools into the local boards and by extension under the direct scrutiny of the Scottish Education Board would give Protestants influence in the schooling of Catholics. However, the safeguards offered in the new Act for the maintenance of religious education allayed many fears and also as it was an act of the Westminster Parliament it could only be amended by the same body out of the clutches of Scottish Unionists, which greatly reassured Catholic interests, especially during the short-lived revival of militant Protestantism in the early 1930s. In a short space of time the Catholic hierarchy went from vigorous opponents of the new Act to stalwart defenders of the new system.

The most significant aspect of the extension of the franchise in 1918 was the boost it brought to the Labour Party. In Glasgow in the November General Election of 1922 Labour made its biggest breakthrough. The subsequent Labour success in the parliamentary elections had been signalled by major success in the City of Glasgow municipal elections in 1920. Much of the success of Labour was attributed to the alliance formed between Labour and Catholics who formed around 15 per cent of the Glasgow electorate under the leadership of John Wheatley MP.[42] However, too much can be read into this. As important was the collapse of the support by Catholics of the Liberals due to the aggressive attitude of the National Government headed by Lloyd George in Ireland and the (initial) pacification of Irish politics following Partition in 1921. Also there were few avenues in which Catholics could proceed in the party system. The Conservatives were by 1918 more pro-Unionist and Protestant with the adoption of the title Scottish Unionist Party and were aggres-

sively pursuing the Protestant working-class vote with great success. The Liberals were in disarray after the long coalition with the Conservatives. The Labour alliance was also in some respects fairly tenuous. The Labour Party in 1918 had adopted a new constitution drafted by Sidney Webb, which emphasised in the famous Clause Four a commitment to 'the common ownership of the means of production'.[43] Although this can be seen as primarily an intellectual matter rather than a source of real alarm, of tangible concern was the attitude of the Labour Party towards the 1918 Education Act and towards birth control. Complicating the relationship between Labour and the Catholic hierarchy was the fact that in Scotland the main Labour representation came from the ILP which, although an affiliate of the Labour Party and the MPs took the Labour whip at Westminster, was autonomous, even disaffiliating in 1932 although it merged back into the Labour Party in 1948.[44] The leader of the ILP was the Glasgow MP James Maxton who enjoyed a cordial relationship with the Catholic hierarchy and the Catholic Union.[45] The general attitude towards the ILP was frosty particularly over birth control and in the 1930s over Spain.[46] In local government in Glasgow the Labour Party was sympathetic to Catholic concerns over education and in the aftermath of the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Act when the School Board of Glasgow was abolished and control was handed to the Corporation, it provided a bulwark against dilution of Catholic education. There was, however, still friction over rates being used for the benefit of Catholic schools with a number of significant legal challenges both by Protestant and Catholic interests at Bonnybridge in 1921 and in Lanarkshire in 1922.[47] With the establishment of a strong, if sometimes uneasy, alliance with Labour most Catholic concerns in the political sphere were allayed. Other political concerns were periodically more fraught, such as the rise of the Scottish Protestant League (SPL) in 1931–2, the issue of education spending – sometimes characterised as 'Rome on the Rates' – and as we shall see, the overarching fear of the rise of communism which concentrated the minds of Catholic intellectuals and political leaders.

The Scottish context of Catholicism was therefore a composite of three important elements. First, there was a distinct impression of the difficulty of stressing the Scottish dimension of Catholicism. This was a product of the distinctive political and intellectual culture of Scotland. There was, contrary to opinion, a real desire by some Catholics to challenge particularly the intellectual orthodoxy on the role of Catholicism in shaping Scottish life. This was essential as a means to break the negative

impression of Catholicism in intellectual circles and allow an alternative approach to Scottish identity, to ultimately remove the barriers which prevented Catholics making a significant contribution to the shaping of the future of Scotland. The second element was the heritage of Catholicism, not simply the misrepresentation of Catholicism in Scottish history but the under-representation of the role of Catholicism in shaping modern Scotland. There were those who saw the impact of the Catholic community in the making of modern Scotland as transient, shaped by unforeseen economic and social factors during the nineteenth century, and who also viewed Catholics as part of an outsider community. The simple fact of the matter was that by 1918, Catholics were a substantial part of Scottish society making up in some areas as much as a third of the population. By this time, every calculation in social and political life had to be made with at least some recognition of the interests of the Catholic community, an importance increased by the extension of the voting franchise at the end of the war.

This fact notwithstanding, the third element which shaped the approach of Catholics was the overall political and social culture of the United Kingdom. Catholics did not have the same access to political institutions that many of their continental co-religionists had through Catholic political parties, trade unions and other associations. However, this is not to say that religion was unimportant in the politics of the United Kingdom. The antipathy towards confessional parties identified by Tom Buchanan was in some respects an illusion, with strong religious connections in both the Liberal and Unionist parties, even the Socialist Party: the Labour Party had to be aware of the religious dimension, not least because of the large Irish Catholic working-class constituency which was fuelling Labour's rise to prominence.

The Evolution of Catholic Social Teaching

Martin Conway has defined what he calls the 'three pillars' of modern Catholicism: the papacy, the vision of the church as a bastion of truth and the principles that governed Catholic political action.[48] These pillars helped towards, in Conway's words, 'the successful adaptation to the political and social challenges of the era' of Catholicism.[49] At the heart of the three pillars are a series of papal encyclicals which were to define the nature of the modern papacy, the doctrine of the church and the character of Catholic Action. Although there were over 120 encyclicals promulgated between

1864 and 1963 there are three that are of most significance to this book and the evolution of Catholic *Social Teaching* and political action. They are the 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, the 40th anniversary follow-up to it *Quadregessimo Anno* and John XXIII's pre-Vatican II declaration *Mater et Magistra*. These works punctuate the era of Catholic Action. It would be *Rerum Novarum* which would give the context to the creation of the Catholic Action movement also a doctrine and a sense of purpose. *Quadregessimo Anno* is more than just a recapitulation but a deep treatise on the increasingly totalitarian nature of European society which would re-energise, not always in a progressive sense, Catholic social teaching; and *Mater et Magistra* would provide a clear declaration of the future character of Catholicism as a more engaged and globally conscious church.

The bulk of this section is devoted to specific overtly political doctrine promulgated from the Vatican but it is important also to have a sense of other contributions to the characteristics of Catholicism made by other pontiffs and in particular Pius IX (1846–78). Although his pontificate would be described by Coppa as 'long, turbulent and troubled' and Kung would describe his papal strategy as 'consolidation inside and isolation outside', Pio Nono is a colossal figure in modern Catholicism.[50] He would promulgate the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception would also in 1869 at the First Vatican Council gain acceptance and approval for the doctrine of papal infallibility, that most sinister and most misunderstood of ideas. In terms of Catholic political thinking it is the twin documents of 1864 *Quanta Cura* and its appendix the *Syllabus of Errors* that comprise his social teaching legacy. William Ewart Gladstone on reading them commented 'Rome has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused.'[51] The remark of the British Liberal Prime Minister was ironically just the sort of response that was expected from the Vatican as it sought to re-establish and consolidate the social and political message of the church.

Everything about the encyclical and its companion document is aggressive and intransigent. The *Syllabus of Errors* has grown to be the more famous of the two papers but they should be read together as *Quanta Cura* was intended as the definitive statement of the church on the modern age and as enshrining the guiding principles of Catholic associations and political parties which were beginning to make an impact on the political systems of Europe.[52] The *Syllabus* had been more than a decade in the making and was originally to be promulgated alongside the Declaration of Marian Dogma in 1854.[53] Its delay was a product of division within the

Curia. Some of the French clergy led by Mgr Felix Dupanloup wanted to soften the anti-liberal stance of the Vatican and Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, titular head of the Papal States, wanted to avoid alienating the French who were defending Rome from the encroachment of Piedmont.[54] The text of the *Syllabus* was leaked to the French ambassador and the outcry buried it for the next 11 years.[55] Both *Quanta Cura* and the *Syllabus of Errors* were published on 8 December 1864. The language was uncompromising and almost wholly negative. This should not be seen as unusual in itself. The character of the post-Reformation and especially post-Revolutionary Catholic Church was intransigent, since it viewed itself as a citadel under siege from heresy and error, a defensive and protective institution which saw conspiracy all around it.[56] The church did set out in clear terms the role that it should play and reasserted that human reason no matter how perfect it saw itself could not be the law by itself.[57] The church was not to be made to bow before civil authority; it was above natural law and 'should freely exercise … not only over private individuals, but over nations, peoples, and their sovereign princes'.[58]

The most controversial statement of the *Syllabus of Errors* was clause 80: 'The Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself, and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilisation.'[59] This statement in itself encapsulated the mindset of the Catholic Church as standing above the transient and superficial interests of the moment. Earthly phenomena exist for a short time, whereas the church offered eternal life and the truths of God which had been passed down since the time of Christ. Like the Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century, the church would win back those lost to it by heresy through the maintenance of the faith and its radicalisation. The pursuit of progress, the perfection of society offered by the Liberals and the positivists, was in the mind of the church an illusion, a dangerous illusion as it took man away from God as represented by the Universal Church. Some Liberal Catholics tried to moderate this statement by insisting that the *Syllabus* condemned secular liberalism, not *true Catholic* liberalism and that the papacy did not need to reconcile itself to modern society as it never ceased to promote what was good in it.[60]

Economic liberalism became as much a focus for attention for the Catholic Church as the intellectual ideology of the same name. The papacy argued that the result of *laissez-faire* economic liberalism was that it unleashed a far greater evil, the polarisation of society between the owners of capital and those who worked to produce the profits that the owners

enjoyed.[61] The papal response to capitalism was to denounce it alongside all other manifestations of liberalism and through this on to the implications of socialism and ultimately communism best represented by the 1891 papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. We should not, however, overlook previous papal statements on socialism particularly the 1878 encyclical *Quod Apostolici Muneris*, which prepared the ground for the monumental and influential encyclical letter of Leo XIII.[62]

The promulgation of *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 earned Leo XIII the epithet 'the working man's Pope'. It is a document that has a substantial reputation. Just as *Quanta Cura* and the *Syllabus of Errors* can be seen as representing the fusion of all current Catholic thinking on modern society in 1864, *Rerum Novarum* can be read as the same for 1891. The papacy had addressed all of the issues dealt with in *Rerum Novarum* in many encyclicals before, a fact acknowledged in the first few paragraphs, but there was now the necessity to bring the different strands together; 'our apostolic office admonishes Us to treat the entire question thoroughly, in order that the principles may stand clearly in the light'. However, the context is different as the Vatican recognised that the political and social situation was substantially more dangerous:

> New developments in industry, new techniques on new paths, changed relations of employer and employee, abounding wealth among a very small number and destitution among the masses, increased self-reliance on the part of workers … and in addition to all this, a decline in morals have caused conflict to break forth.[63]

In previous writings the papacy had acknowledged the class stratification of society and argued that the hierarchy of society was part of the divine plan. However, the conditions of the late nineteenth century had seen (ironically in the classic Marxian sense) a sharpening of class distinctions that had upset the traditional order in society and this had resulted in a world where 'the great majority of them live undeservedly in miserable and wretched conditions'.[64] Traditionally the workers had the old trade guilds to protect them in periods of hardship providing a mutual support network.[65] Modern capitalism had destroyed this and provided no support at all and had 'handed over the workers, each alone and defenceless, to the inhumanity of employers and the unbridled greed of competitors'.[66] This imbalance in power, wealth and influence led to division and conflict, a situation that the socialists sought to exploit. Catholic teaching

had protected the right to hold property and therefore the solution of the socialists to hold property in common was ruled as unjust, as it denied workers the ability to better themselves through property, and inappropriate, as is it elevated the state to a position above man in society.[67]

In another way the conflict encouraged by liberal capitalism and socialism was divisive, as it promoted the idea that workers and owners were hostile to each other. It was a 'capital error', in the words of Leo XIII to promote this idea.[68] The workers and the bosses existed together; it was the pursuit of money and profits in a world ruled by greed that created hostility.[69] Religious teaching emphasises mutual duties for both workers and managers – for workers to be conscientious and for employers to treat workers with dignity, not as slaves.[70] The issue which in the conflict between workers and employers was the main source of injustice, was wages. Two topics were addressed in the encyclical in relation to this: fair wages and the proper payment of wages. The rate of wages was to be determined, in general, in terms of the maintenance of the worker's household and there were no laws, secular or spiritual, which permitted an employer to profit from the misery of their workers.[71] The wages and property of the workers were inviolable. Commonly wages were paid in the form of credits to be redeemed at company shops or workers to take on loans or mortgages.[72] Pope Leo XIII suggested that following these rules alone could remove much of the conflict between workers and employers.[73]

The role of the state has been a topic of difficulty for the church. The worship of secular values and the creation of government based on these values were condemned in the *Syllabus of Errors* and in the encyclical *On the Separation of Church and State*.[74] The dilemma for the papacy was the ability of the state to command authority in a nation, but not for it to be so powerful that it was raised above all institutions in society, including the church. The state had to have an influence which was substantial enough to protect the people but also limited in its scope as to not stray on the territory of either the church or the freedom of individuals. The state was to promote values that would bring together workers and employers, and to restrict the activity of those who sought to attack property. The Vatican argued that a prosperous and harmonious society was of mutual benefit to all and therefore the object of the public authority was to ensure justice for all.[75] The state should intervene to restrict excessive working hours, to end female and child labour in industry, ensure that workers were given statutory holidays (Sunday was to be made a holiday) and in disputes between worker and employer act as an impartial judge in disputes.[76] Only in the

last resort would the state directly intervene to help the workers, however.[77] To ensure these objectives the church advocated political equality between workers and employers, so that men of wealth could not have a greater influence over the state than the 'powerless and poor worker'.[78] The state was to be vigilant against excessive taxation, to ensure that any part of an income demanded from the people was to be fair to all concerned.[79] The defence of the Commonwealth was to be the object of the state.[80]

The Catholic Church regarded the role of the state as limited. The main arena for resolving differences between worker and employer was in associations involving them both.[81] These associations were to be for arbitration, but they were to have a broader purpose in bringing capital and labour together.[82] Mutual aid was the object of associations with workers' associations acting as the artisan guilds of the past had done. All occupations were encouraged to form associations for mutual help and understanding: this could benefit society through contributing funds for building clubs or for charitable ventures.[83] Leo XIII called for confraternities, sodalities and religious orders to be expanded and protected in this aim.[84] He also reminded political leaders that religious orders were not to be prohibited in their work in charity and mutual aid.[85] In essence Pope Leo promoted the creation of a comprehensive and inclusive religious culture where classes would be united, and Christian values of mutual respect and charity would be at the forefront of mitigating the effects of liberal capitalism and undermining the rise of class conflict and socialism. Uniting all of these efforts was to be the church as an institution and the Scriptures as the guiding principle. Civil society alone could not provide the moral strength. Looking to the state to provide charity and welfare would lead to excessive interference and give too much influence in private affairs to secular authority. 'No practical solution,' wrote Leo XIII, 'will ever be found without the assistance of religion and the church.'[86]

In 1931 Pope Pius XI chose to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* with a new encyclical: *Quadragesimo Anno* to bring Leo XIII's pronouncement into this new environment. Most of the encyclical was concerned with the legacy of Leo XIII and pointed out the effects of *Rerum Novarum* not just on Catholic Action but on the governments in Europe. Pius XI described *Rerum Novarum* as 'the Magna charta' of 'all Christian activity in the social field'.[87] He pointed to the achievements of the encyclical in promoting Catholic associations which had 'devoted themselves to the defence of rights and legitimate interests of their members in

the labour market … [and] took over the work of providing mutual economic aid … and gave all their attention to the fulfilment of religious, and moral duties'.[88] He underlined the dual purpose of Catholic social action, on the one hand to promote Catholic values and on the other 'an urgent necessity of combating with united purpose and strength the massed ranks of revolutionists'.[89] Pius congratulated the Catholic associations in that they 'encouraged Christian workers to found mutual associations according to their various occupations … and resolutely confirmed in the path of duty a goodly number of those whom socialist organisations strongly attracted',[90] winning back Catholics from the left.

However, there were still issues to be addressed. First, the successes in mobilising Catholic workers had not been matched by similar success in gaining support from Catholics in management or from employers in general to form associations of their own or to join in general associations which could bring both sides of the class divide together.[91] This was an essential issue in the approach of the church to industrial unrest and in promoting a society in which all classes recognised their mutual reliance and purpose in creating a fairer society. *Quadragesimo Anno* was designed to address this issue, along with an attempt to correct any misconceptions that had sprung from *Rerum Novarum*.[92] Pius XI declared 'new needs and changed conditions of our age have made necessary a more precise application of Leo's teaching or even certain additions thereto'.[93] The first principle reasserted was the role of the Catholic Church in matters relating to the economic system. The principle of intervention had been established by Leo XIII to 'bring under and subject to Our supreme jurisdiction not only social order but economic activities themselves'.[94] He also maintained that it was an error 'to say that the economic and moral orders are so distinct from and alien to each other' asserting that all progress in economics must be governed by the moral laws of the church.[95] The papacy had established that free commerce and property were the natural forms of economic intercourse, which had led communists and socialists to conclude that the church had taken the side of capital.[96] Pius XI retorted that this was a calumny and that it was an 'unjust accusation'.[97] It was therefore a further intention of *Quadragesimo Anno* to state properly the church's position on profit and its social use. Pius made a distinction between the individual and social use of profit.[98] Individual profit was to be used in maintenance of the family of the owner and the social use of profit was to provide help for those who did not have the means to survive.[99] It was not the state that could appropriate this profit

for collective use since it had to be given in the spirit of Christian charity.[100] Pius wanted the discussion of profit to underline what he called the 'twin rocks of shipwreck',[101] rampant individualism and collectivism, both of which were a misuse of the product of labour.The arena for this was a cooperative effort between capital and labour. The 1931 encyclical had a profound influence on Catholic Action. It updated the message of *Rerum Novarum* in a political environment where the threat of collectivisation of individual wealth was more tangible than in 1891. Communism had made greater inroads after 1918, and was threatening to overtake in the loyalties of the working classes even moderate reformist socialism. The encyclical was an attempt to be even-handed in dealing with the substantial criticism of Leo XIII by socialists since Pius XI was certainly more critical of selfish uses of profit. For the first time the papacy talked of excess profit in terms of 'superfluous income' reminding owners of capital of the moral dimension of economic activity.[102]

In contrast to the dynamic and militant tone of the Catholic Church following the armistice at the end of the Great War, the post-Second World War Catholic Church found itself in a different environment. First, the image of the Catholic Church had taken a severe knock through its unwillingness to condemn Nazi Germany during the war. The so-called 'silence' of Pope Pius XII over the 'Holocaust' and the atrocities committed by the Third Reich left the Catholic Church wounded and vulnerable to charges of both anti-Semitism and of complicity with the Germans, as well as collaboration in Nazi puppet regimes in Croatia, Slovakia and Vichy France. The failure of the Vatican to take a more active stand during the Second World War was to be, for some Catholics, the catalyst towards reform within the Catholic Church. However, this attitude was not to leave the Catholic Church out in the cold for long.

The second major change was the sharpening of tensions between the 'West' and the 'Soviet sphere'. The Catholic Church, which had been before 1939 resolutely anti-communist, now had the Catholic peoples of Poland, Lithuania, Slovakia, Croatia and elsewhere under Soviet control. In 1949, the Western nations founded the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and in 1955, the communist states signed the Warsaw Treaty of mutual assistance. Both sides were armed with atomic missiles, and by the mid-1950s the hydrogen bomb, threatening a nuclear conflict which could destroy all life in the continent and beyond.

The situation of the Catholic Church in the early post-war years was difficult in this environment. It had many members behind the Iron Curtain.

It also faced the threat of further communist advances in Western Europe. The church put its considerable weight in Italy behind the newly formed Christian Democratic Party, which emerged as the largest force in the new republic. In Germany, Catholics were the main figures behind the new cross-denominational Christian Democrats (in Bavaria there was the Christian Social Union) under Dr Konrad Adanauer. Martin Conway has recently that although there were changes in the structure of the political system, with less overtly Catholic parties, the agenda pursued was identical.[103] Religious denomination remained the principal factor in electoral behaviour. Alongside the political parties, the network of Catholic social and pious organisations continued to reinforce the importance of religion in everyday life. The successes of Catholic politics represented, argued Conway, 'a culmination of the expansion of political Catholicism' begun in 1918.[104]

Pope Pius XII made little in the way of direct contribution to the development of the social teaching of the Catholic Church. The *Discourse on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Rerum Novarum*, promulgated in 1941, was swamped by the ongoing war in Europe and Africa.[105] The encyclical was a recapitulation of *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, although there was a thoughtful and carefully argued section on the rights of property and the uses of the materials of the Earth, a rather ironic statement considering the material damage being inflicted upon Europe by the Third Reich at this time.[106] The progress of Catholic social teaching in the immediate post-war years was constrained by the emerging Cold War and post-war reconstruction. During this period, the agenda in social issues was broadening out. First, the new governments of Europe were more socially minded with an increase in state provision in welfare. Second, the economic structure, the relationship between workers and managers, was evolving with a greater emphasis on cooperation as opposed to confrontation. Third, the economic boom of the 1950s put a new emphasis on worker's wages, not just to be enough to live on but also to gain a better and more affluent lifestyle. Away from the specific concerns of employer and employee relations was the emergence of international economic concerns, the growing gap between the developed and underdeveloped world and the role of the 'Third World' in international politics. Finally there were the implications of the nuclear arms race between East and West. The growing interest of the Catholic Church in the emergence of a 'Global Community' was signalled in 1951 with the appointment of Bishop Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli (the future Pope John XXIII) as Vatican

observer to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

The pontificate of John XXIII lasted five years but he was to champion two concepts: *aggiornamento* (renewal or updating) and *aperturismo* (opening up to the world). Both of these ideas would be at the heart of the mission of the Newman Association as will be discussed Chap. 7. Kung summed up the contribution of John as 'the pope of a revolutionary transition which released the Catholic Church from its internal rigidity'.[107] It was Pope John XXIII who produced the final statement of papal social teaching of the era of social Catholicism ushered in by Leo XIII in 1891. *Mater et Magistra* was delivered on 15 May 1961, the seventieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. The encyclical occupies a position between two eras in Catholic social teaching. In the first instance, it seeks to draw conclusions on the proper organisation of the modern economy and the needs of the modern worker. The encyclical also looks forward to the new demands of the global economic world and the principles that should govern its development.

The encyclical begins with a reaffirmation of the basis of economic life. It says: 'It should be affirmed that in the economy the first place must be given to the personal initiative of private citizens.'[108] Free enterprise and free trade were to be the principles under which the economy was organised. 'The right of private ownership of goods, including productive goods, has a permanent validity' and 'the exercise of freedom finds in the right of ownership both a guarantee and an incentive'.[109] The role of the state was 'in promoting increased productivity with a view to social progress and welfare of all citizens'.[110] With a view to this, Pope John introduced two concepts, of subsidiarity and of socialisation. Subsidiarity inferred a clear and defined role for the state, that the state would ensure social justice but 'not curtail an individual's freedom of action but rather to increase it, provided the essential rights of each individual person are duly safeguarded'.[111] There was a natural order in society, argued Pope John, in that 'individuals are prior to society and that society has as its purpose the service of man' –very much an echo of *Quadragesimo Anno*, in which Pius XI had condemned the idea that the state stood above man.[112] Socialisation was based on a recognition of 'the growing interdependence of men in society' and that from this the state and other institutions were gaining a greater and greater role in the activities of individuals in society.[113] Socialisation as opposed to socialism and communism recognised the advantages and 'negative consequences' of this trend.[114] Therefore,

as the role of these institutions grew, it was necessary to clearly state the parameters of intervention through the principle of subsidiarity.[115] The principles of socialisation and subsidiarity were critical in relation to the issue of public ownership. The danger implicit, for the church, in public ownership was that the state could come to dominate, if not abolish private property.[116] Where public ownership was advocated was in circumstances where it was more desirable for the state to dominate an area of economic activity than a private concern.[117] Again these principles were defined to state the difference between Catholic social teaching and that of the left.

Mater et Magistra returned to the concerns of previous papal teaching on the questions of wages and the role of employees in the workplace but also looked to other issues most notably the growing imbalance in riches between the developed world and the Third World. The wages issue addressed by both Leo XIII and Pius XI was developed in an environment where the issue at stake was subsistence or a 'living wage' and asserted the right of workers to a wage which allowed them to provide for themselves and their families. Pope John reasserted this teaching but was also aware that the issue of wages had advanced beyond simply subsistence and that workers through their wages had to be able to share in the growing wealth and affluence in society, to live in his words 'a truly human life'.[118] He set down clear criteria for this to be achieved: the contribution of the worker to production, the economic health of the enterprise and the demands of national interest. He added a final aspect: 'The requirements of the universal common good, that is, of international communities of different nature and scope'.[119] The growing wealth of the developed world should not be used to increase the disparity between it and the underdeveloped world.[120]

Similar to the changes in the demands of wages and affluence, there had been developments over the issue of the role of workers within the workplace. The industrial strife of the inter-war years in many countries had been replaced with a greater emphasis on arbitration and consensus.[121] A generally favourable economic environment had helped this, and the need of recourse to industrial action over wages had decreased. Previously, in social teaching, the papacy had supported greater understanding between workers and employers, based on Christian principles and mutual understanding. *Mater et Magistra* made a more definitive statement on this issue calling for active participation by workers in the management of their workplaces, saying, 'We cannot emphasise how imperative it is or at least highly opportune that workers should be able to freely to make their

voices heard and listened to.'[122] This was essential in the pursuit of social justice.

In the final part of *Mater et Magistra*, Pope John turned to the issue of international development. He described the emerging disparity between the First and Third Worlds as 'one of the most difficult problems facing the modern world'.[123] The era of post-colonialism, that is, the retreat of the European empires and the rise of new nation states, particularly in Africa and Asia, exposed the deep divisions between the northern and southern hemispheres. Pope John said, 'The solidarity which binds all men and makes them, as it were, members of the same family requires that nations enjoying an abundance of material goods should not remain indifferent to those nations whose citizens suffer from internal problems that result in poverty, hunger and an inability to enjoy even the more elementary human rights.'[124] The Vatican proposed a longer-term solution to international aid problems. It called for help to the Third World to be made on the basis of mutual help and not as a means towards greater political influence, profit or 'imperialistic aggrandisement'.[125] It can be read into this statement that the papacy was becoming increasingly concerned at the equation between Cold War politics and international aid. He concluded, 'Mutual trust among men and among states cannot stand firm and become deep rooted without initial recognition of and respect for a just and moral order on both sides'.[126] His final statement was made with a direct reference to *Rerum Novarum*: 'The moral order, however, cannot be built without direct reference to God.'[127]

Conclusion

Over the period of 70 years papal social teaching evolved from a discussion of the individual in relation to his status in the workplace, then from the individual to the state, to a final stage of the status of individual states in relation to each other. Always, the concern was over the power relations between different sections of society. By the 1960s, the difference in power was between the rich states and the poorer states. The same Christian principles proposed to defuse class struggle were advanced to defuse the problems inherent in world society of rich and poor regions and states. *Mater et Magistra* characterised the Catholic Church as the mother and teacher of society, much the same objective that had been set by previous papal encyclicals.

Notes

1. Of particular note and relevance is Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace* and Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland*.
2. Buchanan, 'Great Britain', p. 248.
3. James Darragh, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland', in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978* (ed. McRoberts), p. 229.
4. Buchanan, 'Great Britain', p. 248.
5. McLeod, 'Building the Catholic Ghetto', p. 411.
6. Buchanan, 'Great Britain', p. 248.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Corr, 'An Exploration into Scottish Education', in *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. 2 (Fraser and Morris, eds), p. 295.
11. Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South West Scotland*, p. 19.
12. Ibid., p. 20.
13. Professor Patrick McLynn was the only local Catholic academic; alongside him were Professor W. E. Brown (History), Professor Grillo (Italian) and Professor John S. Phillimore (Humanities). Of the four John Phillimore was the most active in Catholic student circles. Ibid., p. 19.
14. W. M. Walker, 'The Immigrant Irish in Scotland: Their Priests, Politics and Parochial Life', *The Historical Journal* 15 (1972), p. 658.
15. Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, p. 19.
16. Ibid., p. 69.
17. Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, p. 115.
18. Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, p. 113.
19. Buchanan, 'Great Britain', p. 255n.
20. Ibid., p. 259.
21. Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, p. 115.
22. I. O. Bayne, 'A University Institution with its Own Proud Record', *Scottish Catholic Observer*, 9 May 1980.
23. T. A. Fitzpatrick, 'The Catholic Social Guild: Fr. Leo O'Hea, S.J. (1881–1976) and the West of Scotland Connection', *The Innes Review* 50(2) (Autumn 1999), p. 127.
24. Ibid., p. 137
25. Francis Callachan, unpublished notes quoted in ibid..
26. See T. Gallagher, 'Scottish Catholics and the British Left, 1918–1939', *The Innes Review* 34(1) (Spring, 1983).
27. See Chap. 7 on the Newman Association.
28. See Fry, *Patronage and Principle*, Chap. 4.

29. See I. S. Wood, 'Irish Immigrants and Scottish Radicalism, 1880–1906', in *Essays in Scottish Labour History* (I. MacDougall, ed.) (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 65–90.
30. See Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797–1848*.
31. Wood, 'Irish Immigrants and Scottish Radicalism, 1880–1906', p. 72.
32. Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, p. 144.
33. Christopher Harvie, 'Before the Breakthrough, 1886–1922', in *Forward! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888–1988* (I. Donnachie, C. Harvie and I. S. Wood, eds) (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 21–2.
34. Buchanan, 'Great Britain', p. 258.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. David Butler and Gareth Butler, *British Political Facts 1900–1985* (Basingstoke, 1986), p. 246.
39. Scottish Board of Health Act 1919 (London, 1919), p. 1.
40. See I. Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1989).
41. For an indication of the attitude of the CWL to issues of health and state influence in this area see *The Glasgow Observer*, 1 January 1921, p. 9.
42. Harvie, 'Before the Breakthrough, 1886–1922', p. 27.
43. H. Pelling, *A Short History of the Labour Party* (7th edn) (London, 1982), p. 44.
44. Ibid., p. 76.
45. Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, pp. 120 and 197.
46. Ibid., pp. 210–12.
47. *The Glasgow Observer*, 15 October 1921, p. 13 and 18 March 1922, p. 3.
48. M. Conway, *Catholic Politics in Europe, 1918–1945* (London, 1997), p. 100.
49. Ibid., p. 100.
50. F. Coppa, *The Papacy in the Modern World* (London, 2014), Kindle Edition, Loc. 1668. H. Kung, *The Catholic Church: A Short History* (London, 2001), p. 170.
51. W. E. Gladstone, 'The Vatican Decrees', in *Fifty Major Documents of the Nineteenth Century* (L. Snyder, ed.) (New York, 1955), p. 116.
52. F. Heyer, *The Catholic Church from 1648 to 1870* (trans. D. W. D. Shaw) (London, 1969), p. 162.
53. Ibid., p. 163.
54. Ibid., p. 162.
55. Ibid., p. 163.
56. Pope Pius IX, *Quanta Cura: Condemning Current Errors* (8 December 1864), p. 4.
57. Ibid., p. 2.
58. Pope Pius IX, *Quanta Cura: Syllabus of Errors* (8 December 1864). Clause 3.

59. Ibid., Clause 80.
60. Heyer, *The Catholic Church*, p. 165.
61. Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno: On Reconstruction of the Social Order* (15 May 1931). Papal Encyclicals Online, Fordham University, 1998, Section 3.
62. Pope Leo XIII, *Quod Apostolici Muneris: On Socialism* (28 December 1878). Papal Encyclicals Online, Fordham University, 1998.
63. Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum: The Condition of the Working-Classes* (15 May 1891). Papal Encyclicals Online, Fordham University, 1998, Section 1.
64. Ibid., Section 5.
65. Ibid., Section 6.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., Section 36.
68. Ibid., Section 28.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., Sections 29 and 30.
71. Ibid., Section 32.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Pope Pius X, *Une Fois Encore: On the Separation of Church and State* (6 January 1907).Papal Encyclicals Online. Fordham University, 1998.
75. *Rerum Novarum*, Section 58.
76. Ibid., Section 52.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid., Section 49.
79. Ibid., Section 50.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., Section 69.
82. Ibid., Section 68.
83. Ibid., Section 73.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., Section 16.
87. *Quadragesimo Anno*, Section 39.
88. Ibid., Section 34.
89. Ibid., Section 35.
90. Ibid., Section 30.
91. Ibid., Section 38.
92. Ibid., Section 40.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., Section 41.
95. Ibid., Section 42

96. Ibid., Section 43.
97. Ibid., Section 44.
98. Ibid., Section 46.
99. Ibid., Section 47.
100. Ibid., Section 50.
101. Ibid., Section 46.
102. Ibid., Section 50.
103. Conway, *Catholic Politics in Europe*, *1918–1945*, p. 97.
104. Ibid., p. 98.
105. Pius XII, 'Discourse on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Rerum Novarum' (15 May 1941), in *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* (London, 1988) (J. Neuner SJ and J. Dupuis SJ, eds) (London, 1988), pp. 621–2.
106. Ibid., p. 621.
107. Kung, The Catholic Church, p. 190.
108. *Mater et Magistra*, in *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* (Neuner and Dupuis, eds), p. 622.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., p. 625.
113. Ibid., p. 622.
114. Ibid., p. 623.
115. Ibid., p. 622.
116. Ibid., p. 625.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid., p. 623.
119. Ibid., p. 626.
120. Ibid., p. 625.
121. Ibid., p. 624.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., p. 625.
124. Ibid., pp. 625–6.
125. Ibid., p. 626.
126. Ibid.
127. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

Catholic Action in Glasgow: 1918–1930

'A zealous watchdog over Catholic Interests.'
Archbishop Donald Mackintosh, 1930[1]

The Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow (hereafter CUAG) from its inception in Scotland in 1885 until the 1940s was an organisation which provided a forum and a means of activity in the political and social spheres for many educated (and less educated) Catholics. The object of the CUAG was 'The protection and advancement of Catholic interests, congregational and general.'[2] In the promotion of these objectives the Union became an influential organisation in the political, social and cultural milieu of early twentieth-century Glasgow and surrounding districts. The CUAG reflects the two themes of this work in a dynamic manner. Initially the Union was a product of the circumstances of the Catholic community in the late nineteenth century; to create an organised Catholic bloc. However, the CUAG was flexible in its interpretation of this role and as its function as a predominantly electoral body evolved to one where the emphasis is on its social role, it was to champion a reinterpretation of Catholic citizenship which was to change the view not only of Catholics but non-Catholics as well, of the role of Catholicism in the immediate surrounds of the Archdiocese of Glasgow and the identity of Catholics in Scotland as a whole.

The Union also responded to external developments in the Catholic world. The Catholic Union even in its name has echoes of similar groups on the continent. An increased emphasis on the social message of the church from 1931 onwards through the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo*

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_3

Anno and the increasing preoccupation amongst many Catholic organisations with the rise of communism provided new avenues and opportunities for the CUAG. Although, compared with the continental Catholic movements, it was a small organisation it was very close intellectually to the mainstream of European Catholic opinion.

The CUAG was the focus of agitation in important areas in which Catholics had a major interest across the welfare and education agendas. The Union representatives and delegates sat on all of the important committees of local government and the parochial boards that had responsibility for the Poor Law. Until the promulgation of the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Act, Catholic Union candidates were able to use the substantial and well-organised Catholic vote (mobilised by the local committees of the Catholic Union) to beat off contenders from the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party (ILP), and the moderates (the local government manifestation of the Scottish Unionist Party) all of whom had substantial and successful local government machines.

Following the 1929 Act the CUAG went into a short period of decline but was to emerge in 1932 on the back of the increased emphasis of the papacy on Catholic social action, signalled by the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*,[3] which promoted greater lay participation in developing the direct welfare and social elements of pastoral care. Up until the start of the Second World War, the CUAG was an active and involved organisation in the welfare of Catholics in the Archdiocese. Post-1945 the CUAG went into a profound and steep decline. Because of the creation of an all-embracing welfare state, Catholics needed the direct care of the clergy less and in addition, the political situation was relatively pacific. Similarly, the diversification of the Catholic community with a much enlarged and affluent middle class continued a pattern of disengagement from the political sphere begun in 1929.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section introduces the structure of the Catholic Union in Glasgow and the remit of each of its component parts. The second part examines the political and social activity of the Catholic Union. Both parts have a distinctive construction. The first part is themed around the organisation of the Union. The second part follows a narrative structure taking the theme of the types of activity the Union initiated and relates the changing context through the period under discussion. Catholic Action changed throughout the period between 1918 and 1930. The pattern of Catholic Action was set by the external context defined by the Vatican through the papal encyclicals, and

the domestic political and social atmosphere defined the local context, all of which changed throughout the period.

The first section has as its focus the structure of the Catholic Union. The logic behind this approach is that each of the parts had distinctive roles to play in the overall objective of the Union. Individuals had a role to play both as office-bearers and as people with their own view of the role of the Union. The Honorary Secretary played an important role in the organisation and his responsibilities will be highlighted and discussed. As important was the personality of the long-time secretary John Joseph Campbell as he set the agenda for the Union at almost all levels. At the lowest level, the Congregational Committees were organised around individual parish churches and chapels. A study of these committees allows the scholar to look at the 'nuts and bolts' of Catholic Action, the activity that was based on individual action and initiative. The County Committees were the next level in the organisation where the delegates from the Congregational Committees met to devise a county level strategy. The committees give an indication of the coordinated activity of the Union in the education and the Poor Law authorities as well as in the activity of Catholics in other initiatives. The Supreme Council as the centre of the CUAG was closest to the Archdiocesan hierarchy and therefore an analysis of this body affords the scholar with an opportunity to see how well the lay hierarchy worked with the ecclesiastical authority.

The principal reasons for the study of the CUAG are threefold. The first is to analyse the structure of the organisation – the relationship between clergy and laity being the most prominent. The CUAG, at least in theory, was a creation of the lay members of a parish congregation electing its officers directly, albeit with the senior priest directing matters. The Archdiocese of Glasgow was a massive responsibility for the episcopate. It stretched from the outskirts of Edinburgh in the east to the inner Western Islands on the Atlantic seaboard, and went as far north as the Western Highlands and south to the tip of Galloway. In relation to this chapter, although the CUAG theoretically represented the whole of the Archdiocese, the Union was centred on the city of Glasgow and its immediate environs including Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire. The majority of the Catholic Union's activity was carried out in these areas and contact with the further reaches of the Archdiocese was sporadic. With a predominantly poor population, the co-option of the senior figures in the laity to the cause of the church helped to extend the influence of the fledgling Archdiocese in a new urban environment.

Secondly, the range of interests of the CUAG deserves some study. The initial objective of the Union was to act as a forum for all of the Catholics within the Archdiocese and to heal the perceived division between the clergy, which was predominantly Scottish, and the majority of the laity who were of Irish descent. The Union was also to act as the voice of the Catholic community in civil politics; the principal objective of this was the 'defence' of Catholic interests in education in particular. To this effect it organised and mobilised the Catholic vote for key local government bodies namely the education authority and the parish Poor Law boards. Outside of these were other significant issues. For example, the rise of the Labour Party (in Scotland represented until 1948 most prominently by the ILP) and in general the rise of left-wing militancy threatened the homogeneity of the Catholic community by raising the issue of class. In another sphere was the rise of militant anti-Catholicism. This was manifest in two areas, firstly the growing intolerance towards the Irish (and by extension Catholicism) by the Church of Scotland and in the threat to separate Catholic schooling by the Scottish Protestant League (SPL) in the early 1930s. Being able to deal with the broader and more complex political landscape of Scotland demanded a troop of professional and dedicated individuals.

The third theme in this study is to examine the CUAG as a model of the development of the West of Scotland Catholic interests. The Union was to become the principal focus for educated and aware Catholics to meet to discuss issues and build up contacts amongst like-minded co-religionists. The CUAG until it ceased to be active in the 1940s was a crossing point for changing Catholic interests from a directly paternal role up until 1929, to a body which reflected the growing militancy of the papacy; it was to be the most important body in the era of Catholic Action in the 1930s. Similarly, its demise was a manifestation of a different community and nation in the 1940s and 1950s. It is significant to note that during the upsurge in Catholic activity in the 1960s around a very distinctive social agenda (abortion, divorce and contraception), the Catholic Union was not revamped as it had been during a previous period of latency in 1931/1932 but was superseded by independent Catholic groups led by the Newman Association and the Scottish Lay Apostolate Movement.

The main body of work of the CUAG is spread over the best part of 60 years from its creation, a result of infighting within the restored Scottish hierarchy, to the decline of the organisation, a consequence of a general drift away from religious organisations and the loss of a very active and effective secretary in John Joseph Campbell. The Union, like so many

voluntary organisations, was at the mercy of the motivation of its senior officers. It relied upon the good services of a committed individual as secretary with plenty of free time and the grasp of the administration of a very loose structure. It was an organisation with no official membership; all members of the congregation of a parish were members.[4] At a parochial level, the local priest would organise at least the Annual General Meeting.[5] The CUAG was not the only body to call upon the laity's free time and dedication in the parish. During the early part of the twentieth century a whole series of organisations proliferated either within a parish or on the fringes of community, for example speciality groups for children with the Catholic Young Men's (or Women's) Society. For adults there were the Catholic Social Guild, Legion of Mary, Knights of Saint Columba, the Catholic Women's League, St Vincent de Paul, and many others. There were many occupational groups from the Guild of St Luke for medical professionals and Catholic teachers' groups, right down to Catholic railway workers and carters. Most, if not all, of these groups relied upon a cohort of active members and dedicated administrators.

The broad remit of the Catholic Union allowed the CUAG to mould itself around a large number of different causes and subjects. It was to give the Union the opportunity to reconstitute itself as the Catholic community, diversified into many different forms. The Union had important core functions, such as the maintaining of a record of all Catholic voters in municipal and parliamentary divisions.[6] Until 1930, the Union was organised around this function with annual drives by Union activists to keep the electoral roll up to date. The Union also selected candidates and prioritised candidate preferences for the elections, which were carried out under a form of proportional representation. Aside from this, the interests of its senior officers, primarily the secretary, and the senior clerical officials determined much of its development and agenda. The lack of a specific *raison d'être* for the Catholic Union helped it to survive but would also leave it at times looking for a cause with which to justify itself. The CUAG was helped during the 1920s and 1930s by the general ecclesiastical atmosphere. The pontificates of Pius XI and Pius XII were marked by a major expansion of Catholic Action in all fields of interaction in the secular and religious worlds. In this period and in particular in the Archdiocese of Glasgow, the senior organisation for Catholic Action was the Catholic Union and the CUAG was able to use its position at the head of the laity to act as the main force in coordinating and mobilising the Catholic Action societies which had been in existence for some time

and also those which were to spring up as a result of the papal decree of 1931.

The decline of the Catholic Union, both in its image and in activity, can be attributed to a number of factors. In general, the political and social atmosphere was greatly altered by developments on the home front during the Second World War. The 1942 Beveridge Report recommended universal National Insurance benefits and an end to the Poor Law, both of which were completed by 1948. This removed much of the uncertainty over eligibility for social security and reduced the role of the groups that advised applicants for financial help during times of want. The Catholic Union Advisory Bureaux therefore lost one of their main areas of activity. A similar development was the emergence of a less suspicious attitude from the Catholic Church towards the state, and in particular the health and social security services. In 1919, the Catholic Women's League in combination with the Mothers' Defence League had called for a boycott of health visitors and other representatives of government public health bodies.[7] The fear of many senior Catholic figures, both clerical and lay, was of the state interfering in the lives of poorer Catholics by promoting birth control.[8] By 1948, this distrust was less pronounced or Catholics were prepared to accept the benefits of the National Health Service irrespective of the fear of the state. Whatever the reasons, the new welfare state was welcomed, pushing the traditional providers of social security for the Catholic community – the clergy and charitable societies – on to the sidelines. The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act by the end of the war was well established and despite the election of a Labour government by a landslide in 1945 with a large Scottish ILP contingent, no serious opposition was forthcoming to the Act. Even where the Unionists were rising in parts of Scotland, and may have appealed to Scottish Protestant sensibilities, again no serious attempts were made to cut back on support for Catholic schooling.

A third factor in the decline of the Catholic Union was the loss of its dynamic Honorary Secretary. John Joseph Campbell had fallen ill, through overwork in the late 1930s and left the post in the early 1940s. With no one of similar vigour to replace him, the guiding force behind the CUAB was gone and although it continued to survive, at least in name, it could not recover its previous prominence. The final and most telling factor behind the decline of the Union was the desire of many Catholic activists to support organisations that had a greater degree of autonomy from the clerical hierarchy than the Union and could pursue an agenda which was less dependent upon clerical approval, a crucial factor in the emergence of groups such as the Newman Association.

Although it was a national organisation, each individual Catholic Union was under the direct control of a bishop and the national organisation had no jurisdiction over the Diocesan Unions. At a United Kingdom level the Catholic Union held an Annual Conference but there is only one visit by a Glasgow official to the gathering recorded in the CUAG files and that was when John Joseph Campbell was invited to speak to the congregation in 1944.[9] Similarly, there are only very rare references to the National Union in the Glasgow Archdiocese Archives, although Campbell on his frequent visits to London during the early 1930s would have dinner with senior officials of the Union. Outside of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, there were few other organised Unions in Scotland. Catholics still stood for election to local education authority or the Parish Poor Law Councils outside of Glasgow under a number of different banners. However, Glasgow remained the only locality in Scotland with an active Union.

The Organizational Structure of the CUAG

The Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow had by 1930 three levels of organisation. At the lowest level was the Congregational Committee, one in each of the parishes which, apart from its own lay administrative cohort, elected delegates to the next level of administration, the Local Committee.[10] These committees were based on defined geographical areas. There was a Glasgow Committee for the city parishes and four Regional Committees, one each for the parishes in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire and Dunbartonshire.[11] At the top of the administration was the Supreme Council with its own senior office-bearers, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Glasgow.[12] The CUAB senior officers were composed of the president, two vice-presidents (one of whom was always the Vicar General, the second highest-ranking figure in the Archdiocesan hierarchy).[13] The main administrative positions were the Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer.[14] The constitution of the Union stipulated that the Honorary Secretary of the Glasgow Committee was to be the holder of the same post for the Supreme Council.[15] The CUAG was a compact organisation; it was under no other obligation than to hold one meeting per year, the Annual General Meeting that met to elect its senior officers (with the exception of the president and one vice-president).[16] Its main working body was the Supreme Council, which met monthly.[17] The vast bulk of its activity was carried on the shoulders of the Honorary Secretary in tandem with the Vicar General.

The Honorary Secretary was the single most important figure in the CUAG. His job was to act as the main conduit between the Archdiocese and the lay Unions and vice versa. All of the correspondence of the CUAG was addressed to the Honorary Secretary and in addition he prepared the minutes of the Glasgow Committee and the Supreme Council.[18] The Secretary also liaised with the local authorities on behalf of the Union.[19] Before 1929 this job was more significant as CUAG members sat on the education and Poor Law authorities, and another important job was to arrange for the collection and distribution of the electoral rolls. The Secretary maintained contacts with Catholic members of the local authorities and Members of Parliament (irrespective of party).[20] The Secretary also maintained contacts with the national office of the Catholic Union in London. With the founding of the Catholic Union Advisory Bureaux in 1932, the Secretary also organised the work of the individual bureaux in the parishes.[21] If there were any serious issues to be dealt with, particularly court cases, the Honorary Secretary was contacted.[22] The Secretary also drafted letters and circulars for the individual bureaux to keep local activists aware of changes in the law or practice in welfare.[23]

As mentioned, from 1925 until 1944, the Honorary Secretary of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow was John Joseph Campbell (1903–1963).[24] Campbell came from a well-established immigrant family. His grandfather William Rogers was the first Catholic councillor in Scotland. His father was a famous football player for Glasgow Celtic. John Campbell, along with three of his brothers, worked as a solicitor for the firm of Black, Cameron and Campbell in Glasgow.[25] Campbell was educated at St Mungo's Academy and graduated from Glasgow University with a Bachelor of Laws.[26] In addition to his work as Secretary of the Catholic Union, he was also the legal adviswr of the organisation.[27] Campbell was active in a number of Catholic Action societies including the Catholic Evidence Guild and the Legion of Mary. His work for the Catholic Union was rewarded with his appointment as a Justice of the Peace in 1937.[28] After resigning as Honorary Secretary Campbell retained close links with the Archdiocese as an appointed member of the City Corporation Education Authority.[29] He was also active in anti-communist organisations; his work with the Taiwanese government after 1948 earned him the award of the Order of the Brilliant Star of China presented to him by General Chaing Kai-Shek in 1960.[30]

The Congregational Committee was the basic component of the Catholic Union. It was under the obligation to have at least a single

congregational meeting per year, an Annual General Meeting, at which all adult male and female members of the Parish could attend.[31] It had a minimum quorum of 14 in the Glasgow Committees and 20 in the counties.[32] The AGM, held usually on the first Sunday in May each year, elected the officials of the Congregational Union and the parish delegation to the Committee which comprised two lay members, the secretary, and senior priest.[33] The constitution of the Glasgow Catholic Union specified three aims for each of the parishes; first to 'facilitate the objectives of the union';[34] second, to canvas the Catholics in the parish in order to update the electoral register;[35] and third, to bring Catholics in public office to the congregation to 'explain their views on matters of Catholic interest'.[36] Its overall aim was to work 'for the religious, moral, social and educational benefit of the Parish'.[37]

The Congregational Committee was also responsible, until 1929, for the selection of candidates of the Catholic Union for election to public boards.[38] This responsibility was conditional. At the 1924 AGM of the CUAG, Archbishop Donald Mackintosh stressed that the senior priest in the parish was in overall charge of the appointment of education authority and other CUAG candidates.[39] Candidates were to emerge rather than be selected, spotted by the local cleric and presented through a recommendation to the Archbishop.[40] The Parish Committee 'recommended' candidates to the education authority and the parish council.[41]

The electoral structure of the Parish Committees was very simple and until 1930 their purpose was twofold. The first task was to canvas the locality to identify the local Catholic vote.[42] This was achieved through scrutinising the parish rolls and checking off the names against the electoral register. The CUAG committees acted in a similar way to the American political party registration system. Their job was to make the local electorate aware of the importance of these elections, and identify the individuals who for one reason or another did not appear on the register. In a way, the ordinary job of canvassing was bypassed. Political party canvassing involves not simply identifying support but also persuading people of the value of the party's own point of view. The Catholic Union assumed that every Catholic would know their duty as Catholics and vote accordingly especially in the education authority elections. This assumption was eagerly exploited in the mid-1930s by anti-Catholic parties and it was an assumption which much later on would be challenged by the senior figures in the Archdiocese including Archbishop Mackintosh himself as he sought to restrict the role of the clergy and the Catholic Union in

elections.[43] The Parish Committees were the most active elements of the Catholic Union; the work of identifying and collating names of Catholic voters continued up until the start of the Second World War. Even when the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Act ended both the direct elections to the local education authorities and proportional representation, the Catholic Union maintained a very sophisticated and highly organised electoral machine. It was, however, a machine which had become obsolete. It was a time consuming, highly expensive and ultimately fruitless demonstration of Catholic civics.

The electoral role of the Congregational Committees changed with the passing of the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Act.[44] Though a result of a number of parliamentary and Scottish Office reports, the Act was passed more for its impact in the de-rating of industry.[45] The education authority in Glasgow was abolished and its responsibilities transferred to the enlarged City of Glasgow Corporation, the largest municipal authority outside of the London County Council. The 1929 Act reduced the number of separate authorities from around 1,500 to 483 but until the 1975 reorganisation, the structure of Scottish local government was to be uneven. The new county councils were to have the same powers as the City Corporation in education.

The 1929 Act changed the focus of education politics within the Catholic community. This will be detailed at a later stage, but for the moment I want to concentrate on the structural changes the Act brought. Firstly, instead of a dedicated Education Board, the running of the schools would be the responsibility of a single department in the corporation or county. Previously the majority of the CUAG representatives on the education authority had been clerics. This had involved a commitment that was essentially part-time and could be fitted around pastoral work in the parishes. The new council with its much-enlarged responsibilities would require almost full-time attention. The Corporation of Glasgow and surrounding counties had been all but neglected by the Archdiocese until 1929 as it did not intrude on any the key areas such as the Poor Law and the schools, which were the focal points of Catholic activity. The changeover left the Catholic Union totally unprepared. Overnight the CUAG went from being a key player to a spectator in the most important forum for the church: the schools. In the space of 11 years, the Catholic Church had given up ownership of its schools and their direct administration. However, this loss of direct electoral influence was tempered by the nomination of Catholic representatives to the powerful district management

committees of the Corporation's education department. These committees oversaw the running of the schools in an area; the advantage was that the representation of the church was constant rather than dependent on electoral performance.[46]

The breakthrough of the Labour Party (and the ILP) into the Corporation of Glasgow in 1920 had provided a springboard for both of them at subsequent parliamentary elections. The reality was that the vast majority of Catholics were voting Labour (or ILP) and had been doing so for a considerable amount of time.[47] Standing Catholic Union candidates in municipal elections was a risk as it would result in making Catholic voters choose directly between Labour, the party of their class identification, or the church. This was a tactical dilemma that the Catholic Union was well aware of and was powerless to change. The Secretary of the Union in Glasgow, John Joseph Campbell, foresaw problems in direct participation in the elections:

> The fact that a large number of Catholics vote for Labour candidates might prove disastrous to Catholic interests, the outcome of Catholic Union interest in these elections would be to prevent if not entirely to stop the tendency to vote for Labour Candidates in preference to those nominated by the Catholic Union.[48]

The politics of the Union was to try and extend its influence through informal contacts with the political parties by building up networks of support to reduce tension which might exist around the education issue. In early 1928, the Central Council of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow resolved itself to:

> take an interest in municipal elections, and while not necessarily participating actively in them should take steps to ensure that Catholic interests, particularly where Catholic principles were involved, would be safeguarded if not by Catholic representatives, then by members of other parties, irrespective of their political views.[49]

The Catholic Union had spent the majority of its time devoted to the careful development of its vote for education authority and parish council elections. Here is the Secretary of the Union (all but) admitting that it could not control the voting preference of the community. Campbell suggests a new line of approach for the Catholic Union in the new environment. He saw the opportunity to use the Union as an interest group

using the information and organisation which had been built up over the past 44 years to impact on local and national elections, 'the belief that if the Catholic Union were taking an interest in municipal affairs, the task of organising for other elections would be simplified and the efficiency of local organisation would be considerably increased'.[50] A new set of rules of engagement were devised to conduct future political activity.

Under the new rules, the Congregational Committee would operate in conjunction with neighbouring parishes covering single wards. For example the Dennistoun Ward Division in the East End of Glasgow intersected three parishes, St Mary's Bridgeton, St Anne's Whitevale and St Thomas's Riddrie.[51] The parish priest with the largest number of voters in the ward would chair meetings of the general committee.[52] In a similar structure to the rules used prior to 1929 where the parish was theoretically in charge of the appointment of education authority candidates, the regulations were to give the responsibility to the parishes for recommending support for individual candidates but with the caveat that any recommendations were to be approved by the Public Authorities Committee of the CUAG.[53] Parish committees were also able to sponsor the candidates they recommended (following CUAG approval) to a maximum of five pounds.[54]

Although the competitive situation in the municipal authority excluded direct participation by the Catholic Union, there was an important avenue into which Catholics could make a significant contribution. The organisation of the Glasgow local authority operated at two levels. At the highest level was the authority itself in charge of the vast majority of functions but at a lower level was the Ward Committee. These bodies acted as a form of direct democracy in which local electors in a ward division (the ward was the geographical area from which a councillor to the authority was elected) were able to meet and discuss issues important to the locality.[55] The Ward Committees operated in conjunction with the Town Clerk's office helping to organise polling stations and nominations of candidates (a purely formal role, although it did give some notice as to the number of candidates standing, which was useful as it allowed plenty of time to scrutinise potential candidates). The committees were also a forum for the raising of issues important in the local area. Of particular importance to Catholics was education and the mobilisation of the local Catholic population could be significant in agitation for more resources and attention to the local schools.

The attitude of the Catholic Union to these committees reveals essential elements in the political and civic conception of senior Catholics.

Catholics were urged to participate fully in the Ward Committees. Dr Thomas Colvin KSG outlined in an article entitled 'Catholics and Public Life' why he thought the Ward Committees were crucial to activists 'to get his name known'.[56] In the guidebook to local elections produced by the Catholic Union in 1934, an interesting parenthetical clause appears: 'It is undesirable to seek representation which would be out of proportion to the percentage of the Catholic vote in the ward.'[57] This is the most revealing of statements. It gives the impression of the consciousness of the Catholic Union as to the minority status of the Catholic community. In the material in the archives of the Catholic Union, there are many references to the motives behind CUAG activity. Clearly, a substantial proportion of the work of the Union was to build up the profile of the Catholic community reflecting a dedication to its own progress as part of a diverse Scotland. In addition, the perception of the 'Irish Catholic' as someone uninterested in the welfare of the community was common in the mythology of anti-Catholics. Consequently, the CUAG strove to involve itself in undermining this view by promoting the Catholic community as being an integral part of both the locality and the nation. This is not to say that there was never an isolationist element in the church. We can view Catholic social action in Glasgow as having a dual nature: an integrative component in creating a more benign image for the Catholic community but also as a means to deflect attention away from secular political ideologies.

The Congregational Committees were the workhorses of the Union in the local parishes. At various times the number of Parish Committees oscillated from around a dozen or so active branches to upwards of 50 throughout the entire Archdiocese.[58] Almost all parishes at least on paper declared every year that they had a working Congregational Committee. From various returns especially after the innovation of the Advisory Bureaux in 1931 it can be said that the pattern of activity was patchy.[59] In Ayrshire and Dumbarton a number of very active committees existed.[60] The branches in Ardrossan and in Renton were pioneers of some the most innovative elements of CUAG activity. The City of Glasgow closest to the centre of Archdiocesan activity with the greatest concentration of parishes was very active across a whole range of interests.

On the next level up from the Parish or Congregational Committees were the Glasgow and County Committees. These bodies acted as a plenary forum for the representatives of the Parish Committees of the CUAG. These held a single Annual General Meeting each year although they could hold meetings monthly at the discretion of the Archbishop.[61]

There were slight differences of organisation between the Glasgow Committee and the County Committees; the Glasgow Committee had a quorum whereas the Counties did not.[62] This feature emphasises the hierarchy within the Catholic Union. The Glasgow Committee was, until 1930, the centre of the organisation of the Union. After 1930, the CUAG changed the organisation of the body by adding a new Supreme Council.

The focus of the Committee was, as mentioned, the Annual General Meeting. It was composed of delegates from each of the Parish Committees.[63] Each committee elected four delegates but the senior priest and the secretary were automatically part of the delegation leaving two delegates elected from the laity.[64] Alongside the Congregational delegates of the Union on the Committee were the president of the local conference of St Vincent de Paul and all Catholics who held public office under the auspices of the Catholic Union in the region.[65] The office-bearers, the president and vice-presidents of the Committee made up the rest of the participants.[66] The purpose of the AGM was fourfold: to elect senior officers, elect delegates to the Supreme Council (four delegates), to hear parish reports and to conduct any other competent business.[67]

The specific remit of the Committee was over three areas of competence. The first was to 'determine [the] line of action by Catholics in Glasgow (or county) in all matters including elections by Catholics'.[68] Its second role was more functional, namely to gather a levy from each of the parishes in the Committee area.[69] The levy was the only financial component of the entire Union.[70] This was calculated based on the number parishioners plus the number of baptisms registered in the Catholic directory each year.[71] The majority of the expenditure of the committees was on secretarial expenses, as well as the purchasing of the draft and completed electoral rolls from the local authority.[72] The Glasgow Committee of the CUAG was given electoral rolls free of charge, as it was treated by the Corporation Town Clerk's office as a political party.[73] Outside of the City, the returning officers did not view the county unions as political parties and so they had to pay.[74] This comparatively minor distinction was a source of continual friction which perennially brought the Honorary Secretary of the Union into conflict not only with the civic administrations but also with recalcitrant committees which demanded that they should be recompensed by the Supreme Council.[75] The third role of the Committee was stated as 'The strength of the united Catholic body to bring all necessary steps to ascertain, organise and bring to action the voting power of the whole Catholic body.'[76]

The constitution of the Committee emphasised the political role of the Union. The constitution quoted was in operation long after the 1929 Act. This inevitably led to misunderstanding by anti-Catholics wary of the mass bloc of Catholic voters; similarly, it also led to areas of misunderstanding by members of the Catholic Union. Before 1929, the political role of the Union was clear: to identify and elect representatives of the Union in the locality. After 1929, the role was uncertain and open to interpretation. The Union after years as an active political participant was left with a changed political landscape. The elections to the local authorities were under the 'first past the post' system in small geographical wards where previously the education authority elections were held in large multi-member constituencies with the central city Catholic Union acting as the director of electoral strategy. With smaller wards, direction of action was more fragmented with some parishes taking a more active role in the elections than others.

A number of Parish Committees floated the possibility of independent Catholic candidates.[77] There are examples of Catholic Union candidates standing in local authority elections in England, for example in Plymouth in 1932.[78] This idea was rejected at the outset by the Archdiocese. Indeed from the early 1920s the church had had to cool the ardour of local Parish Committees, a situation which became much more difficult to sustain during the early 1930s with the rise of the SPL in Glasgow. Catholics had to effectively stand back and allow an avowedly sectarian party, the SPL, to rant about 'Rome on the rates'.

The Supreme Council of the CUAG was added to the organisation from 1930 in response to the passing of the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Act and the desire, by especially the County Committees, for more of an influence in the Union, frustrated as they were by the Glasgow bias already present. The Supreme Council replaced the Central Council of the CUAG, which from 1885 until 1930 was composed of the senior officers of the Union.[79] The new council was a 20-member committee; its core comprised four delegates from the Glasgow Committee, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Renfrew, and Dunbartonshire County Committees[80] with ex-officio members comprising two vice-presidents, the Honorary Treasurer and Secretary.[81] Three positions were permanently set aside. The Archbishop was President of the Council, the Vicar General was one of the vice-presidents and the Honorary Secretary of the Glasgow Committee was also to be the Secretary of the Council (after 1935 known as the General Secretary).[82]

The Supreme Council met more regularly than the County or Glasgow Committees, more often than not monthly.[83] The Supreme Council coordinated and elected subsidiary committees made up of members of the Council. They ranged across the activity of the Union; some were permanent, the longest standing being the Public Authorities Committee (PAC) founded well before the Supreme Council was created, which was responsible from 1885 until 1929 in coordinating the selection and organisation of candidates for the Parish and Education Boards. In addition, it was to oversee the collection of returns of voting figures from the Parish Committees.[84] The only other permanent committee was the Finance Committee that was overseen by the Honorary Treasurer.[85] Other committees were created on an ad hoc basis. The constitution allowed leeway in this and therefore could follow the particular interests of the day. At various times committees were formed to look at censorship; the Catholic Union of Glasgow in the mid-1930s toyed with forming a legion of decency on the model of the highly effective Catholic Legion of Decency in the United States of America.[86] Most of the ad hoc committees discussed or campaigned on specific issues. For example, in 1930 the Union campaigned for a Royal Commission into sectarian disturbances in Belfast.[87] Later, in 1938, the CUAG formed the pro-nationalist National Committee for Spain.[88]

From 1885 until 1930, the main work of the Catholic Union was centred on elections to the local authorities. The CUAG stood candidates in the elections to the education authorities and the parish councils that administered the Poor Law.[89] The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act had introduced compulsory elementary education for children under the age of 13. The legislation enabled the local education authorities to levy rates to pay for the building and upkeep of elementary schools. The Act had prohibited the use of local rates for denominational schools that excluded support for Catholic schools. However, Catholics were included on the valuation rolls for rates to 'non-denominational' schools. The Catholic Union view of the School Boards was summarised in an election address from 1903:

> since therefore we contribute our share to the local rates for education, in which we do not share and more-over save the Glasgow ratepayers £80,000 yearly, by the maintenance of our own schools, it is obviously our duty and our right to have representatives on school boards to supervise our interests.[90]

A major change for the Union was the passing of the 1918 Scottish Education Act. Section 18 of the Act allowed for education authorities to guarantee the maintenance of Catholic schools.[91] This opened the door to education authority control of Catholic schools. The Archdiocese of Glasgow first leased and then sold all of its primary and secondary schools to the education authority.[92] The education authority thus became the main arena for Catholic activity between 1918 and 1930. Elections to the Boards took place on an annual basis, although at any one time only half the seats on the Boards were up for replacement. The elections were held in multi-member constituencies that helped to maximise the impact of the Catholic vote.

The education issue had within it a dilemma. On the positive side, the 1918 Act removed the liability of maintaining expensive schools replacing it with the relative stability of local education authority control. However, on the negative side the hierarchy and some lay Catholics feared that the schools would lose their distinctive Catholic identity. This concern was demonstrated by a series of incidents headed by highly publicised court cases in 1920 and 1921 in Bonnybridge and Lanarkshire respectively,[93] as well as problems over the provision of free school books in Glasgow[94] and over sex education in Renfrewshire.[95] The Archdiocese of Glasgow initially adopted a cautious approach to the new arrangements by leasing their schools to the education authority in Glasgow. The Catholic Church in Glasgow did eventually sell them to the local authorities in the 1940s.

The parish councils were the administrative centre of the Poor Law in Scotland. The modern Poor Law had been in operation in Scotland since the 1840s and was based on national legislation administered by locally elected Boards of Control.[96] Parochial Boards had responsibility for indoor relief, the incarceration in Poor Law homes of those classed as unable to work, and the administration of Poor Law hospitals which provided basic medical care (however, anyone who applied for medical help under the Poor Law Acts had to be placed on the Poor Law rolls). The main area of parochial activity was in so-called outdoor relief. This was a form of welfare that was paid based on income, background and fitness to work. The background element took into account the length of domicile in the area of the parochial board. The Catholic Union in conjunction with the Archdiocese and representatives of the immigrant Irish population feared that this would discriminate against those who were legitimate applicants because of nationality and religion. Consequently, the Union stood candidates to the Poor Law councils that were elected on a biannual basis.

The Glasgow Catholic Federation

The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929 was a major turning point for the Catholic Union in Glasgow. At a stroke the political role of the Catholic Union effectively disappeared. The absorption of the education and Poor Law administrations by the Municipal Councils (City and County Councils) revealed a problem for Catholics in political circles. The focus of Catholic Action had been on the main areas of interaction between Catholics and the local authorities, namely in education and the Poor Law. Although the municipal authorities dealt with public health (a major sphere of Catholic activity), the political make-up of the council with Labour as the main representative of the Catholic community had excluded the Catholic Union. This was not, at least until 1929, of great concern. The priorities for the Catholic Church and the Scotto-Irish were in the Poor Law and education authorities and resources had been concentrated on them at the expense of the councils. The local councils emerged as important with their assumption of all municipal responsibilities in May 1930.

With the Local Government Act of 1929, the Catholic Union was to lose its sense of purpose. More ominous was the rise of anti-Catholic groups, which seemed to challenge the rights of the community especially in education. To deal with this new challenge the Archbishop of Glasgow proposed to unite the various bodies which were involved in Catholic Action. He was helped in this activity by the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* promulgated by Pope Pius XII in 1931. The CUAG was to look upon the example of the Westminster Catholic Federation, a body founded by the Archbishop of Westminster in 1900, to give a sharper focus to Catholic activity in the diocese. The idea was to last only a few months in 1932 but while it failed to create a new body to unite the Catholic societies, it did give a jolt to the CUAG to look for new areas of activity and it gave a fresh impetus to the Union.

There were two reasons for the emergence of the Glasgow Catholic Federation: first, was the abolition of the education authority discussed elsewhere, and second, was a series of disturbances between Protestants and Catholics. In late December 1931, the Catholic Evidence Guild (CEG) held a meeting in Queens' Park in Glasgow. The CEG had been holding meetings for a few months previously without any trouble but in December the CEG was picketed by supporters of the SPL, a recently formed party which had achieved a limited success at local elections in Glasgow and Edinburgh during 1931 and was led by Alexander Ratcliffe,

a local Glasgow councillor. The disruption to CEG meetings led on a number of occasions to the calling of the city police. In January 1932 the Chief Constable of Glasgow, Percy Sillitoe, banned the CEG from holding any further meetings on corporation property.[97]

The banning of the CEG was the catalyst for a re-examination of Catholic Action in Glasgow, but it brought into sharp focus disquiet as to the role of the senior Catholic Action body in the diocese: the Catholic Union. Archbishop Mackintosh in response to this convened a meeting of all of the Catholic societies in the middle of 1931. Under the chairmanship of a prominent Catholic laird, Colonel Charles Cranstoun, the purpose of the meeting was to set up a new body which could create an 'organised and influential body of laymen which could speak, and when required act in defence of the Catholic interests in the civil field'.[98] The reasons for a new focus for Catholic Action were fourfold. The first point brought up was that 'Catholic representation already poor was getting worse'.[99] With the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Act no official representatives of the Catholic community existed outside of the few councillors and Members of Parliament who were themselves Catholics. Second, 'the Catholic Union ceased to work effectively' after the 1929 Act and the end of proportional representation.[100] Third, there were 'political problems', most notably the SPL.[101] Fourth, there was the need to mobilise 'influential members to influence policy'.[102] The attitude of the hierarchy and the senior figures in the nascent Catholic Federation is revealing. The idea was to draw together the cream of the professional Catholic community:

> Persons who are familiar with, interested in every class in the Catholic community, whose professional and public position lends weight to the body which they belong, and whose education, experience or special knowledge might render their services valuable.[103]

The proposed Federation was modelled on the Westminster Catholic Federation (WCF). The Federation was the main Catholic Action society in the city of London. Founded in 1900, it acted as the meeting place of all the lay confraternities, charities and Catholic groups. Copies of the constitution of the WCF were circulated to the Catholic societies in the Archdiocese. This was the second time that the WCF would be used to try to help relaunch the CUAG. In 1926, the CUAG had asked that the Secretary of the Westminster Catholic Federation, Reverend Dean Collins study the activity of the CUAG, with a view to suggesting improvements or changes. Collins concluded: 'if the workings of the union (are) at present

ineffective it was due to the apathy of local committees and not a defect in the constitution.'[104] The WCF and the CUAG were almost identical in structure with a hierarchy that was made up of constituent branches and a senior council, which had strong links to the clerical hierarchy. The copying of the WCF would not transform the Catholic Union. Where the WCF was seen as superior was in the degree of influence it seemed to represent. It acted as a central point for all Catholic Action in the large London Archdiocese. It was able to draw upon the congregation in the metropolis of political power, using the sizeable Catholic aristocracy to help the local Catholics, as well as exercise some influence in Whitehall. In Glasgow, political power was at a lower level and access to it was limited. The CUAG and the WCF worked closely together on projects especially the amendment of legislation. The WCF introduced CUAG Honorary Secretary John Campbell to the *movers and shakers* in London society. It was not the formal structure of the WCF that the Archdiocese wanted to copy, it was the influence that it seemed to exert which it sought to duplicate.

The new Glasgow Catholic Federation lasted from January1932 until October 1932. The GCF, it was argued, would have advantages over the CUAG as it would be able to act in a more direct way; 'without the necessity of going back to the parent body'.[105] It would hold only a single meeting per year with its branches electing an executive committee to oversee its work and to act independently.[106] Its scope would be 'altogether different' from that of the Catholic Union, which would continue in its own right.[107] John Campbell summed up the role of the new body: 'no special work, or special field of activity has been assigned to the Federation by his Grace: and it is understood therefore that it is to regard its objects the protection of Catholic rights and promotion of Catholic interests in general'.[108] Just what would be involved was not known; these objectives seem to collide with the role laid down in the constitution of the CUAG: 'the protection and advancement of Catholic interests, congregational and general'.[109] The message of the proposed Catholic Federation was therefore that, in its present form, the CUAG was redundant.

By August1932, the organising committee of the Glasgow Catholic Federation had devised a constitution and had sent it for approval to the Archbishop. He in reply to that constitution appeared to have changed his mind on the idea. Mackintosh explained that the GCF was an:

> emergency idea: it arose from the desire and need to meet what I hope was a merely passing necessity, namely the necessity of bringing home to the

city police authority the fact that the Catholics of Glasgow would insist and make good the claim to the ordinary rights of citizenship.[110]

Archbishop Mackintosh felt that the GCF was in danger of replicating the work of the CUAG; he felt that that it would lead to 'a dispersion of energy and perhaps the evils that come from the overlapping of organisations'; he had decided that the Catholic Union should retain its position as senior lay body in the Archdiocese.[111] He suggested changes to the organisation of the Catholic Union with it drawing in more professional people and setting up new committees to 'deal with definite classes of work or specific tasks'.[112] The whole interlude forced the Catholic Union to look at itself. What were the results of the 47 years of activity? Failure to build up the Catholic community into a significant player in local politics and society? Certainly the undoing of much of the work of the CUAG came from elsewhere, namely the passing of the 1929 Act, but the legacy of the Union to 1932 was of division and lack of purpose in Catholic Action in this important part of Scotland. The 'old' Catholic Union ceased to exist after 1932, a new papal emphasis on direct pastoral work and social study was emerging and the CUAG without any specific role to play was on the point of disintegration. The Federation carried with it implicit and explicit criticisms of the CUAG: it was not fulfilling the purposes laid down for it on its founding. However, the CUAG was an amorphous body and it was to emerge successfully from the GCF debate with a new sense of direction, and furthermore, its organisation was to remain almost intact.

Notes

1. *The Glasgow Observer*, 24 May 1930, p. 2.
2. Constitution of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, Box CU1, Glasgow Archdiocesan Archive, (GAA), Section A (2).
3. Pope Pius XI, 'Quadragesimo Anno', *Acta Apostilicae Sedis*, 1931.
4. Constitution of the CUAG, Box CU1, GAA, Part I, Section (A).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., Part I, Section (7).
7. *The Glasgow Observer*, 22 November 1919, p. 2.
8. For examples of the Catholic attitude to this see *The Glasgow Observer* and particularly 'Health Workers in Catholic Homes', 22 February 1919, p. 3; 'Ministry of Health: Agency of Hell', 12 April 1919, p. 2 and 'The Catholic View of Health Actions', 20 August 1920, p. 3.

9. 'Activity, history and future prospects', address by John Joseph Campbell to the National Conference of the Catholic Union of Great Britain, Sheffield, July 1944, Box CU3, GAA.
10. Constitution of the CUAG, Part II, Section (1).
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., Part III.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., Part I, Section A (2), Box CU1, GAA.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Constitution of the Catholic Union Advisory Bureaux (CUAB), Clause 2, CU2/10, GAA.
22. Details of the court cases that were support by the CUAB are contained in boxes CU3 and CU5, GAA.
23. John Joseph Campbell to Rev. Laydon, 8 December 1934.
24. Tom Gallagher gives his birth year as 1900 in *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, p. 118, but according to his *Catholic Who's Who* entry it was 1903. The entry in the *Catholic Who's Who* was written by John Joseph Campbell.
25. *Catholic Who's Who* (London, 1937), p. 65.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. *The Glasgow Observer*, 20 March 1937, p. 1.
29. *The Glasgow Observer*, 1 April 1960, p. 4.
30. Ibid.
31. Constitution of the CUAG, Section A (3), Box CU1, GAA.
32. Ibid., Part I, Section A (3).
33. Ibid., Part I, Section A (1).
34. Ibid., Part I, Section A (6).
35. Ibid., Part I, Section A (7).
36. Ibid., Part I, Section A (8).
37. Ibid., Part I, Section A (9).
38. Ibid., Part I, Section A (4).
39. Minutes of the 1924 Annual General Meeting of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow. Address by the Archbishop, CU2, GAA.
40. Constitution of the CUAG, Art I, Section A (4).
41. Ibid., Part I, Section A (5).
42. Ibid., Part I, Section A (7).

43. Archbishop Donald Mackintosh to John Joseph Campbell, 28 October 1934. This letter was sent each year prior to the elections to all CUAG committees.
44. A. Midwinter, M. Keating and J. Mitchell, *Politics and Public Policy in Scotland* (London, 1991), p. 118.
45. Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929, Ch. 25 (19 & 20 George V 1929).
46. Any discussion of the role of the Catholic Union in the education authority is handicapped by a shortage of primary sources. The Glasgow Archdiocesan Archive has little material in relation to the Catholic Union prior to the period in which John Joseph Campbell was secretary apart from a small collection of notes and election addresses. The whole subject is in great need of attention and concerted research by a scholar in the future.
47. See John McCaffrey, 'The Irish Vote in Glasgow in the Later Nineteenth Century', *The Innes Review* 21.1 (January 1970), 30–6, and Sheridan Gilley, 'Catholics and Socialists in Glasgow, 1906–1912', in *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870–1914* (K. Lunn, ed.) (Folkestone), pp. 160–200.
48. John Joseph Campbell to Mgr J. Ritchie, 24 January 1928, Box CU2/25, GAA.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Regulations for Municipal and Ward Committee elections, October 1935, Box CU2/35, GAA.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Thomas Colvin, 'Catholics and Public Life', *The Glasgow Observer*, 4 February 1933, p. 6.
57. Regulations for Municipal and Ward Committee elections, Part II (3), CU2/35.
58. Annual Report of the CUAG, May 1934, CU2, GAA.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Constitution of the CUAG, Part II, Section (1).
62. Ibid., Part II, Section (5).
63. Ibid., Part II, Section (1).
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., Section 11 (2).

69. Ibid., Part II, Section (3).
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Regulations for Municipal and Ward Committee elections, I (1).
73. Ibid., I (2).
74. Ibid., I (6).
75. Constitution of the CUAG, Part II, Section (4).
76. Ibid.
77. On one occasion in June 1934 it was proposed that the then manager of Celtic Football Club, William Maley, who was an active Catholic Union supporter, should stand for election in the Glasgow Exchange Ward by-election. Box CU4.
78. Letter from Secretary of Plymouth Catholic Action to John Joseph Campbell, 30 October 1934.
79. Constitution of the CUAG, Part III, Section (1).
80. Ibid., Part III, Section (2).
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. The archives of the CUAG include duplicate copies of all correspondence sent by the Honorary Secretary. These are part of Box CU9, GAA.
84. Constitution of the CUAG, Part I, Section A (7).
85. Ibid., Part III.
86. Memorandum by John Joseph Campbell to CUAG Supreme Council, 1938, Box CU4.
87. Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, *Commission into Belfast Disturbances*, Box CU6/35.
88. CU6/36.
89. See M. A. Crowther, 'Poverty, Health and Welfare', in *People and Society in Scotland*, Volume II: *1830–1914* (W. Hamish Fraser and R. J Morris, eds) (Edinburgh, 1990) pp. 265–89.
90. Election address by the CUAG for the 1903 Glasgow School boards elections, Box CU2, GAA.
91. Education (Scotland) Act 1918, Section 18.
92. For a detailed assessment of the impact of the 1918 Act on Scottish Catholic education see T. J. Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland before 1972*: *Its Contribution to the Change in Status of the Catholic Community* (Aberdeen, 1986).
93. *The Glasgow Observer*, 15 October 1921, p. 13.
94. *The Glasgow Observer*, 18 March 1922, p. 3.
95. *The Glasgow Observer*, 8 September 1924, p. 2.
96. For an account of the development of the Poor Law in Scotland see I. Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare in Scotland*, *1890–1948* (Edinburgh, 1988).

97. P. J. Sillitoe to John Joseph Campbell, 14 January 1932, CU7, GAA.
98. Address by His Grace the Archbishop of Glasgow Donald Mackintosh to the inaugural meeting of the Glasgow Catholic Federation. Reprinted in the Constitution of the GCF, 1932, CU7, GAA.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Report by Rev. Collins on the Catholic Union, September 1926, CU7, GAA.
105. Minutes of GCF inaugural meeting, CU7, GAA.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Memo from John Joseph Campbell to Archbishop Donald Mackintosh, 26 May 1932, CU7, GAA.
109. Constitution of the CUAG, Section A (2).
110. Letter from Archbishop Mackintosh to Col. Cranstoun, 20 September 1932, CU7, GAA.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

Catholic Social Teaching and the CUAB: 1930–1939

Although the idea of a Catholic Federation failed to get off the ground, the Catholic Union was for the rest of the 1930s involved in arguably the most concerted Catholic social action in the United Kingdom through the Advisory Bureaux set up in 1931. The CUAG was to bring the direct messages of Pius XI and Leo XIII to the lives of many Catholics, and provide a mechanism that could unite the most affluent and professional Catholics with the poorest and most disadvantaged of their co-religionists. The impact of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow Advisory Bureaux (CUAB) was considerable though it has remained a neglected topic for study. The CUAB barely gets a mention in Tom Gallagher's major study of Catholic and Protestant relations *Glasgow*, *the Uneasy Peace*.[1] Where most historians have tended to discuss the Catholic Social Guild (CSG) or abortive attempts at a Catholic Trades Union movement and Catholic political parties in Great Britain in the 1930s, both the CUAB and the WCF have largely escaped the notice of scholars. The CUAB, which was arguably more representative of the spirit of Catholic social teaching, as laid down by the Vatican, is often ignored. The scale of the work of the CUAB was unprecedented: it operated throughout the large Archdiocese of Glasgow, and by its own estimation it had dealt with over 10,000 inquiries annually.[2] The activity ranged from helping local people to complete applications for public assistance, to representing them in the highest Scottish courts. There were, at various times, between 20 and 50 different parishes operating individual advice centres. Irrespective of the considerable number of

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_4

individuals helped by the Advisory Bureaux, the functions and workings of the organisation give an insight into the dynamics of social Catholicism, its aims and objectives both in an internal and external context.

Social Catholicism is a sophisticated phenomenon working on different levels but to attain a single objective, the consolidation of the position of the Catholic Church. Tom Buchanan's article on social Catholicism in the United Kingdom presents the most concise definition of the ideology. He saw a dual role for Catholic social action, as 'both defensively (teaching the laity to reject socialism) and offensively (projecting a Catholic vision of a better society)'.[3] The defensive element may have been at times most pronounced, as this chapter will show, and there can be no doubt that in the context of the 1930s, anti-communism was a powerful dynamic in Catholic Action. However, the results of the social action, particularly the Advisory Bureaux, were to have benefits for the Catholic community beyond beating 'the reds'. The Advisory Bureaux brought many lay members of the church into direct social work for the Catholic community, increasing the expertise of Catholics in secular political and social issues, bringing Catholics into the direct operation of the state, and not in a small way helping both poorer Catholics (and Protestants) to deal with the complex machinery of the law and public welfare.

Before looking at the progress of the CUAB it is useful to look at how Catholic social teaching was being interpreted in Glasgow and the manner in which anti-communism was emerging as the decisive motivation behind Catholic Action. The 1930s were marked by a growing militancy in papal social teaching with Pius XI delivering a number of important encyclicals on Catholic Action and anti-communism. The political situation also contributed to this with economic problems adding to political instability. In the United Kingdom, the economy was sluggish after the First World War never regaining its pre-war momentum and by 1930 it took a decisive dip bringing mass unemployment and threatened civil disorder. During the 1920s, Britain had undergone substantial industrial disturbances that culminated in the General Strike in 1926. Before that in Glasgow in 1919, the civic authorities panicked after a demonstration by trades unions and leftist political groups in the city centre had resulted in a few incidents of disorder and the tanks rolled into Glasgow to quell unrest.[4]

The message of Catholic Action was transmitted through papal encyclicals. These were often reproduced verbatim either in the local and national Catholic newspapers such as *The Tablet* and *The Glasgow Observer* or through the penny reprints of the CSG. The penny editions were very

popular; the CSG pocket version of *Rerum Novarum* sold over 150,000 copies.[5] The encyclicals also provided a degree of scope for local interpretation and priorities. The publication of Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931 led to an upsurge in the discussion of Catholic social teaching and the best methods to build a strong framework for Catholic Action. During the early 1930s, in the journal of the Archdiocesan Seminary, *The St Peter's College Magazine* (*SPCM*), a series of articles was published by senior clerics which sought to put flesh on the bones of Catholic social teaching. The articles covered the organisation of Catholic Action, pleas for greater social study by Catholics, the development of 'Catholic social sense' and discussions of the role of the clergy in Catholic Action. Before considering the practical dynamics of Catholic Action through the CUAB, it is important to examine the local intellectual contribution to the emergence of Catholic social action.

Interpretations of Catholic Social Teaching

The *SPCM* published four major articles on Catholic social teaching between 1931 and 1934. The first, in June 1931, was entitled 'A Plea for Social Study' written by the Rev. John D. Daniel and it predates *Quadragesimo Anno*.[6] The second, written by the Rev. Joseph Daniel, was entitled 'The Organisation of Catholic Action' and appeared in the following issue.[7] In 1934, two more articles appeared: 'Catholic Social Sense' by Joseph Daniel[8] and 'The Director in Catholic Action' by Father George Mullen.[9] These articles gave an indication of the ways in which Scottish clerics were conceptualising and defining for local circumstances the practical application of Catholic Action and papal teaching.

In 'A Plea for Social Study' published in the middle of 1931, just prior to the promulgation of *Quadragesimo Anno*, the Rev. John D. Daniel addressed some of the problems in relation to Catholic social action and the solutions promoted by the church. The main problem in Catholic social action was the length of time it would take to make a difference to the lives of Catholics: 'The Catholic solution that is – is of such a nature that it must necessarily take a long time to bring into successful operation. As a result of this the solution may seem at present remote if not out of proportion to the evils to be combated.'[10] He stressed that 'all our sympathies [are] on the side of the working man'; however, the nature of the problems in society were substantial.[11] Rev. Daniel saw the problems of the day as 'icebergs on the social and economic seas, in the sense that the

evils which are obvious and which we are conscious, are only a small part of the evil'.[12] The principal evil that lay beneath the surface of the problem was the resort to the kind of solutions promoted by communists and socialists.[13] Additional to this was the politicisation of economic and social issues; he said 'the present widespread identification of the social question with politics as such is nothing short of a calamity'.[14] The social problems of society were moral problems, 'the hardheartedness of employers, the greed of unchecked competition, and rapacious usury'.[15] The role of the church in the social question was to return the discussion of the social system to a question of morality and immorality.

The first task defined by Daniel was to have 'accurate knowledge' of the issues.[16] Social study by Catholics suited this demand. He also argued that 'our people expect, and expect rightly, guidance as well as sympathy from the church which they call Holy mother'.[17] The purpose of Catholic social thinking 'is the diffusion of sound Catholic social principles amongst the laity, upon whom, after all, the burden of action according to these principles will ultimately fall'.[18] Daniel proposed the founding of 'social study guilds and circles' to begin the process of building Catholic social action.[19] The guilds would have the clergy at their head.[20] However, Rev. Daniel was anxious to stress that the role of the priest was not as teacher and the laity as the taught; he argued for the priest to be a 'fellow student'.[21] The atmosphere was to be informal and relaxed: 'It is important to maintain a free and easy atmosphere in the meetings; it is marvellous what a cigarette and a fire can do in this connection.'[22] The role of the laity was to be significant as they could carry the message of the church in social issues: 'each member inevitably becomes an apostle of the Catholic social creed to others'.[23] Social study was therefore a means to build an awareness of Catholic social teaching, to create understanding of the moral dimension of social issues, and to recruit the laity into taking up social issues, as they ultimately would be the ones to benefit from the betterment of society.

'The Organisation of Catholic Action' by the Rev. Joseph Daniel, like many articles from the *SPCM* was reproduced in *The Glasgow Observer*. Rev. Daniel started the article by reminding Catholics of their duty 'to co-operate with the hierarchy in the spiritual apostolate of saving souls'.[24] The means to do this was through the creation of a 'Christian consciousness' in 'every sphere of human thought, individual, domestic, [and] national' activity.[25] Christian values were to be transmitted into all areas of discourse; here Daniel is talking about a personal revolution in attitudes

but also of a united effort in promoting Catholic values. Individual action was to be encouraged: 'the scientific work of the Catholic thinker and writer, the songs of the Catholic poet, the music of the Catholic composer; the good word that escapes intentionally in conversation, the rosary said in the tramcar – these are indeed Catholic Action; but only in a general sense.'[26] However, for it to be true Catholic Action it must be in 'associate action'; it will only be 'properly organised when all the various Catholic societies, each with its own aim and spirit are united by (a) common will'.[27]

There were many different groups and societies working in Glasgow at this time and the number was growing. In 1928, the Archbishop of Glasgow gave approval to Frank Duff, the founder of the Legion of Mary, to start the first Scottish *Praesidia* of the Legion at St Peter's in Partick. Each had their own role in the activity of the church and Daniel expresses the same concerns addressed by Archbishop Mackintosh over the need to coordinate all the groups in a single effort. In this article, Rev. Daniel characterises the approach in militaristic terms: 'Catholic Action has to be a spiritual army of compulsory service for all Catholics.'[28] This declaration emphasises the equation of Catholic identity with direct work and effort in association with the church. Catholic Action was to be just as important in the everyday life of a Catholic as regular Communion and other obligations to the faith.

After the initial enthusiasm over Catholic Action generated by Pius XI in 1931, it was to be another two years before there was any more discussion of the meaning and the organisation of Catholic social thinking. In the June 1934 edition of the *SPCM*, two articles were published – 'Catholic Social Sense' by Joseph Daniel and 'The Director in Catholic Action' by George Mullen. The two articles addressed many of the same concerns addressed in 1931. However, there was a clearer assessment and definition of both the meaning of 'Catholic sociology' and of the role of the clergy in Catholic Action.

In 'Catholic Social Sense', Rev. Daniel attempted to put a clearer stamp on what was actually meant by Catholic sociology. His opening statements addressed the perceived shortcomings of Catholic social theory: 'One of the commonest and perhaps most awkward objections to modern Catholic sociology is that it is unpractical; it is too speculative and theoretical to be of any real value to those suffering from social evils.'[29] This concern was not unfounded, as the church seemed to be dealing only with

the morality of modern society rather than the practicality of redressing inequality. Daniel in response states clearly the role of the church:

> First of all, it is not the church's mission to settle particular cases of the social problems, to give a decision on technical questions of national sociology or to interfere with a man's liberty in choosing a particular school of social reform – so long as there is no danger in any of these to faith and morals.[30]

Where the Church was involved was in providing the moral framework for the creation of a just and peaceful society, to reform 'the morality of men in their social relationships … [to instil] a proper Catholic Social sense'.[31] This sense was to build upon reason, 'by which he can distinguish between truth and falsehood'.[32] Daniel defined what he saw as 'sense' by dividing it into four categories: a moral sense, 'a judgement between good and evil'; an artistic sense, 'a judgement between what is beautiful and what is not'; and a Christian sense, 'a judgement between what is *for* our holy church and what is not'.[33] From these senses came the fourth – social sense. This was defined as 'that faculty in man by which he makes a practical judgement on anything which has a direct or indirect bearing on his relations with his neighbours'.[34]

Two characteristics defined Catholic social sense. First, there was the 'suppression of man's instinctive egotism and innate selfishness which impels him to desire what he does not possess'.[35] Egotism can be seen as common to both ruthless employers and communists who sought to gain either at the expense of others or to take property from its rightful owners. Catholic social teaching, in both *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Rerum Novarum*, emphasised that in society, some were rich, others poor; 'God himself', said Daniel, 'provides in nature a graded hierarchy of unequals'.[36] However, this did not mean that the poor were to be condemned or the rich lauded for their successes, 'as a Christian he is bound in charity to regard all his fellows of whatever rank as so many sons of God, his own brothers in nature and in grace'.[37] The second characteristic was opposition 'to the spirit of class warfare; that unchristian spirit which makes a man look with disdain and contempt and even hatred on those who do not belong to a particular set'.[38] Catholic social sense rejected both individualism and class identification, '[it is] not the position which a man holds, but how he discharges its obligations [which] is the important question in every life'.[39] Catholic social sense eliminated false classes and groups and emphasised the unity of society under God. The true Catholic social

sense began when 'Catholic employers distinguish themselves as officers of Christian charity and justice … and [the] unemployed, distinguished themselves by their completely Catholic mentality in all of their relations with their fellow men'.[40] The watchwords of the Catholic activist were to be 'justice and charity'.[41]

'The Director in Catholic Action' written by another senior St Peter's cleric George Mullen is primarily concerned with the role of the clergy in Catholic Action. He saw the clergy as the commanders of an 'army of her loyal sons' whose motto was 'charity and social justice'.[42] Rev. Mullen regarded Catholic Action as both an 'institution' and as 'organised activity' with a formal object: 'the religious progress of its members, and the defence and application of religious principles in every field'.[43] It was therefore necessary that the clergy as the directors of this enterprise were properly equipped. The basic quality necessary for a director was 'obvious': he 'must be deeply religious. The director must not only *know* his theology, he must *live* it.'[44] Beyond this the director 'must be in touch with the present not only in regard to his priestly studies but also the affairs of Catholic Action'.[45] This understanding was to be a deep understanding, not, in the words of Rev. Mullen, 'a dilettante' but through intense study.[46] Through this study, the director must be a leader who can pass down to the laity the significance of social study and action. Catholic Action was not simply about the 'mere preservation of the faith'; he must promote a 'conscious' faith.[47] The standards demanded by Mullen for the clerical leaders of Catholic Action were rigorous, evangelical and passionate, for it was not only for his own sake that these standards were essential but indeed they were necessary to ensure the success of the whole project.

The articles on Catholic Action in the *SPCM* were intended for the clergy, the future leaders of the Catholic community. They were intended to construct a framework to develop a Catholic approach and Catholic solutions to the social ills of the time. First, they stressed the importance of social study, for the clergy to be aware of the problems in society and to be able to discuss them with the laity. Second, they alerted the clergy to the problems in promoting a Catholic social science, that, compared to the quick and seemingly straightforward ideas of the socialists and communists, Catholic ideas were more long term as they relied not on an institutional response, either through common ownership or appropriation of property, but on rebuilding the morals of society. Catholic social sense stressed that society was inherently unequal but that did not preclude welfare or support for the poor. As was pointed out earlier, the church saw

itself as on the side of the working man. The motto of the movement was to be 'justice and charity' not individualism or class warfare. Each class was to remind all that they were brothers in God. Finally, Catholic Action required a deeper devotion not only from the laity but from the clergy as well. The directors in Catholic Action were to ensure not only the faithful attending mass but also the construction of conscious faith. In the era of Catholic Action these messages and instructions were to be essential in creating in the clergy and laity a desire to take the papal encyclicals and make them practical demonstrations of Catholic devotion.

The Catholic Union Advisory Bureaux

The Advisory Bureaux emerged out of the Catholic obsession with the threat of the Communist Party. The secretary of the Catholic Union in Glasgow, John J. Campbell, was a fanatical anti-communist and he was to set a new low in the persecution of the left. His wide range of activity was to involve spying on the leader of the Scottish communists William Gallacher by sending members of the Catholic Union to communist functions.[48] More serious was the wrongful accusation of membership of the Communist Party, by both the CUAG and *The Catholic Herald* newspaper in April 1940, of a Glasgow Corporation official.[49] The controversy brought an apology from the CUAG, which was seen as preferable to appearing before the law courts to answer charges of defamation.[50] In the early years of the Second World War, the Catholic Union urged the suppression of the communist newspaper *The Daily Worker*.[51] In 1938, John J. Campbell claimed to the AGM of the CUAG that communists controlled over 40 local and national newspapers in the United Kingdom as part of their plan to win support from 'liberal sympathisers'.[52] The Catholic Union secretary subscribed to various anti-communist organisations, the most prominent being the Anti-Socialist Union/Anti-Communist Union.[53] Campbell as secretary under the auspices of the CUAG sent propaganda including Jan Valtin's book *Out of the Night* to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and interestingly to the then Lord Provost of Glasgow (and one time a close associate of John Wheatley) Patrick Dollan.[54] Despite the all-pervasive influence of the communists, at least in the mind of John Campbell, the Scottish communist movement outside of a few isolated communities in the coalfields of Scotland was small, though not by any means totally insignificant. It was strong among the mineworkers and other skilled trades unions. In Glasgow, the Communist Party was small with no elected representatives.

The attitude of the Catholic Union in Glasgow towards the Communist Party was best summed up by John Campbell in a speech to the National Conference of the Catholic Union in July1944. Campbell had been a dutiful scholar of the methods of the Communist Party. He saw what he thought was a parallel between communist organisation and that of the Roman Catholic Church:

> The Communist Party, which has seized on the whole structure and dogma of the Catholic church and translated the contention for good as one for evil and under all action by the Communist Party is one of the most amazing feats of the world today.[55]

Campbell's grudging admiration for the Communist Party was based on the unity of purpose which existed within the organisation. 'If that party suffers in any of its members the other members rush to its aid and this is achieved by united action.'[56] The idea of united action is very much at the heart of the objectives of Catholic social action. It involves the collaboration of the laity through the clergy to act in tandem; 'the loyal cooperation on the part of the laity must insure the advancement of the interests of Catholics in every parish'.[57] Finding a means of uniting the Catholic interests in the Archdiocese and a positive form of social action was not difficult, it effectively landed on the lap of the CUAG.

If the threat of the Communist 'bogey' was illusory, this fact was by no means a disincentive to its use as a means to unite the Catholic community. During the 1930s, the Catholic Action societies in Glasgow mirrored the activity of the Communist Party. The public rallies by the communists in the parks of Glasgow, where political education meetings took place, were copied by the formation of the Catholic Evidence Guild in 1930 (chairman: John J. Campbell of the CUAG) which held a series of meetings in Queens' Park on the south side of the city. The CSG was even to take part in the May Day rally in Glasgow in 1931, though in 1932 it was prevented from taking part by the organizers: the Glasgow Trades Council.[58] Nevertheless, the CSG was to continue celebrating the workers' holiday with a May Day rally of its own during the 1930s. Finally, communist activity was to provide the model for the most widespread action inaugurated by the Catholic Union, the Advisory Bureaux.

The provision of welfare advice and in some cases direct work by political parties was a common feature of the politics of the inter-war years. With an underdeveloped state social security system operating in many

countries, many poor and unemployed people were helped out by trades unions and churches. This activity was to differ from charity as in the main it was intended to help people develop skills or to gain representation before the boards and councils which adjudicated on welfare provision. Political parties were to mobilise the skills of their memberships drawing in lawyers, doctors and social workers to volunteer to help their cause by reaching out directly into the community. In Germany, for example, the SPD organised a welfare workshop scheme offering skills training and advice on the social security system in the Weimar Republic. The philanthropic ethos which had dominated in the United Kingdom during the later nineteenth century was replaced by sharper divisions in class and geography in the inter-war years; in addition the widespread and enduring slump of the time was to cut directly into the potential for the affluent to help the needy. Political parties sought through direct social work to build a deeper commitment to their cause and ideology. In the United Kingdom, two political organisations took a more involved role in direct action, The Independent Labour Party (ILP) and the Communist Party, under the guise of the National Unemployed Workers Movement (NUWM).[59] The NUWM organised advisory bureaux to give help and advice in all areas of community and legal action.

The activity of the NUWM was brought to the attention of the secretary of the CUAG by the secretary of the local Catholic Union in Renton on Loch Lomond, north of the city of Glasgow. A letter written by John McMonagle of the Renton Catholic Union informed Campbell of the NUWM and ILP activity in setting up an Advisory Bureau, the purpose of which was to 'advise, assist, and plead any member's case who had a genuine grievance, either through the public assistance committee or Labour Bureau … or education authority'.[60] McMonagle highlighted a very important shortcoming in the activity of the Catholic Union. The CUAG had had representatives on the Boards of Control, the Poor Law Boards and public assistance committees, observing and keeping a 'Catholic eye' on these important bodies. However, direct action to help the poorer Catholics caught in the machinery of the Poor Law was needed. Similarly, the legal system was largely ignored by the CUAG though the state was encroaching more and more in family and marital law. McMonagle noted that the failure to act directly was detrimental to both the people and to the Church's influence: 'our Catholic people never have had any proper organisation in the various parishes to deal with these grievances … with the result that they are drifting about like a ship without a rudder'; this

left Catholics vulnerable to the 'propaganda of the left'.[61] In Renton, the Catholic Union had set up its own Advisory Bureau to match the activity of the NUWM.[62] It was to differ in an important way from the NUWM and ILP bureau as it was to be free of charge.[63] The secretary of the Catholic Union responded to John McMonagle's letter by passing it on to the Archbishop who regarded the idea of an Advisory Bureau favourably, commenting that it was in 'every way an excellent one'.[64] Mackintosh was careful to add that the proposed Advisory Bureau should be open to everybody, not just Catholics.[65] He had been careful in the past to secure that any initiative produced from the parishes was to be carefully overseen by the clergy and that they should not in any way be viewed as sectarian. The green light for the Renton bureau also gave the opportunity for the idea to be taken up across the hierarchy.

Instead of turning over the Catholic Union to the Advisory Bureaux, the officers of the CUAG devised a parallel structure to deal with the idea. The new body was constituted in 1932 as the Catholic Union Advisory Bureaux. Its constitution made it clear that the 'bureaux shall not encroach on the general work of the Catholic Union'.[66] The CUAB would have a similar organisation as the CUAG with local bureaux attached to parishes which would send delegates to a new central council.[67] In Lanarkshire the parishes at Cleland, Carfin, Shieldmuir and Motherwell formed a coordinating committee to utilise the resources of the area and expertise of the members spread throughout the southern part of the county.[68] The objective of the body was to 'provide facilities for assisting by way of advice and representation action such poor and distressed people as may in the opinion of the bureaux be entitled to such assistance'.[69] The CUAB would operate on a weekly basis or 'as frequently as members shall think necessary'.[70] In the first instance it would be convened by the senior priest in the parish and then handed over to the lay officers.[71] Like the general work of the CUAG the Advisory Bureaux would come to rely upon the emphasis put on the body by the clergy. The secretary of the Whiteinch Advisory Bureau attributed the success of the bureau to a 'decidedly Bureau minded' priest, Father Bonnyman.[72] The services of the bureau members would be given 'gratuitous', that is free, although there is some evidence that clerics gave money to people who came for advice and help.[73] Funds were an issue because no separate levy was put on the parishes for the running of these bureaux. As they developed and took up more and more time, the CUAB considered a separate donation of £5 from each parish for the upkeep of the local bureau.[74]

Although the Catholic Union was the inspiration behind the bureau idea they were not alone in running the Advisory Bureaux. In Shotts, Lanarkshire, the local Catholic Young Men's Society ran a bureau as did the local conference of the St Vincent de Paul (SVDP) at St Mary's parish in Glasgow; additionally, in some parishes the Advisory Bureaux were operated exclusively by the clergy but all were ultimately under the authority of the Archdiocesan CUAB. This all suggests that there was harmony between the CUAG and the multitude of other fraternities lay and clerical. This was not the case initially, however. There was a host of bodies which involved themselves in direct social work; the most prominent of which were the SVDP organisation, the CYMS, and the Catholic Women's League. John Campbell, secretary of the CUAB and the CUAG, was aware of the potential for friction; 'it was found that the work really required a separate organisation'. The Advisory Bureaux had found a niche in the constellation of Catholic Action by offering advice not direct help.[75]

Between 1932 when the Advisory Bureaux were founded in the Archdiocese and the end of 1934, it was estimated that around 30,000 individual cases were addressed by the CUAB.[76] The number of individual bureaux varied between 40 in 1935 and 22 in 1938.[77] The busiest was in Whiteinch on the west side of Glasgow with 897 cases in 1934/1935 and 1,801 over a period of two years; the lowest number of cases was in St. Anne's in Glasgow's East End with just three cases in 1934/1935. (A lot of the returns to the Advisory Bureaux are lost or at least missing from the Catholic Union archive in Glasgow.)[78] Like a lot of the local activity of the CUAG, the CUAB were dependent upon the level of activity of local workers and clergy and this could explain the variation in the number of cases (while the parish of St Anne's was at least as poor as that in the Whiteinch area, next to it in St Mary's there was a highly active conference of the SVDP which may also explain the differences in levels of activity). While there may have been variation in the levels of activity, the range of issues was to remain constant with the heaviest emphasis on public assistance, National Unemployment Assistance, housing and pensions.[79] In one parish the CUAB managed to get ten families rehoused through their efforts.[80] In general, the local Advisory Bureaux dealt with the more bread and butter cases, the filling out of forms for public assistance and the like; the more complex cases, such as those involving the custody of children, were sent directly to the Honorary Secretary to deal with.[81]

Table 4.1 illustrates the different types of activity of the CUAB; this example is taken from the Whiteinch CUAB at St Peter's Church for the

Table 4.1 Returns of the St Paul's Whiteinch Glasgow Advisory Bureau, 1934/1935[82]

Public Assistance	*87*
UAB Referee	403
Employment Exchange	53
Employment Assistance	124
Supplementary Grants	58
National Health Insurance	23
Employment Compensation	5
Hospitals	18
Rent and Housing	38
Rent Courts	22
Small Debts	13
Hire Purchase	5
Widows and OAP Pensions	21
Misc.	27

year 1934/1935. Whiteinch is in the West End of the City of Glasgow on the north bank of the River Clyde. Out of the 897 individual inquiries just under half (403) deal with Unemployment Assistance Board (UAB) means-tested benefits and only 23 with National Health Insurance indicating high unemployment amongst poorly paid workers (National Insurance was a contributory benefit but the insurance was not transferable to family members.) Similarly, the 124 cases in relation to Employment Assistance, an income supplementary benefit, suggest that workers experienced the difficulties arising from casual labour and periods of unemployment in addition to low wages. This is probably due to the fact that Whiteinch was near the Clyde shipbuilding yards where casual labour was common. With such a low instance of National Insurance inquiries and high UAB, the evidence indicates that few workers contributed to National Insurance and therefore in periods of unemployment had to rely on Unemployment Assistance. The table demonstrates the large variation in types of inquiry from unemployment benefits to pension advice, from hospital care to small debts claims. Almost all forms of care had to paid for by the individual and access to justice was also dependent on paying solicitors and advocates. The Whiteinch returns are typical of the returns elsewhere; unfortunately only the returns for the period from 1932 to 1935 are available in full as no copies of the post-1935 returns have survived.

The vast bulk of the work of the CUAB was done at a local level helping and advising people but it was to operate in different spheres at a higher level in the Central Committee and through the work of the senior officers

of the CUAB. The Union was to draw into activity an expanding professional group of advocates, such as John Wheatley (future Solicitor General for Scotland), as well as the continued activity of Dr Thomas Colvin KSG from the Guild of St Luke. Wheatley was instrumental in the work of the CUAB in the higher courts of Scotland, taking up a number of cases which had emerged from the work of the CUAB. He was also active in Catholic politics, working for the CYMS Advisory Bureau in East Lothian and as well as a student activist in the Catholic Men's Student Society at Glasgow University. The use of senior figures in the legal profession was an ad hoc measure, as the CUAB did not anticipate being drawn into such activity. However, it did not reject such activity and the principle of free advice was stretched to breaking point by the benevolence of Catholic lawyers. Campbell, a lawyer himself, found a lot of his time taken up with cases which had been passed upwards from the local bureaux.

As the bureaux developed, the CUAB began to take an interest in the possibilities for the Union gaining a greater role in official operation of welfare policy. Most of the pensions and employment assistance legislation was administered by local bodies; this had also been the case for National Insurance where local friendly societies ran the application of the legislation based on tables of relief devised by the Public Assistance Board from London. (Separate tables were compiled in Scotland at the Board of Health.) The CUAB was in a position to make a decisive effort as it had good relations with the principal Catholic Friendly Society, The Ancient Order of Hibernians. Catholics who were active in their trades unions could also be utilised as many unions had subscriptions to the main voluntary hospitals and therefore could arrange places for ill co-religionists who could not afford in-patient treatment. Under the 1937 Widows, Orphans and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act, government-appointed agents in individual towns and cities administered the Act. The CUAB was able to get one of its own senior members, Neil Ramsey of St Paul's in Rutherglen, appointed as an agent.[83] The CUAB also attempted to gain recognition as representatives of clients before the Unemployment Assistance Board.[84] The Act was controversial as it incorporated the 'means test' for the long-term unemployed. If an applicant failed to gain UAB relief there was the option of an 'appeal to the Umpire' which comprised an appeal hearing before a UAB Umpire to make the final decision on support. Trades unions were allowed to represent members and from the creation of the new appeal procedure in 1934 until 1939, the CUAB tried repeatedly to gain similar rights, particularly because it was rumoured that

both the Orange Order and the NUWM had represented clients before the Umpire.[85] The CUAB was eventually allowed the right to sit in on meetings but not address the tribunal on behalf of appellants.[86]

Political contacts were utilised in the service of the CUAB. In Glasgow, the Labour Party relied strongly on the Catholic vote, though only a handful of the councillors and Members of Parliament were Catholics. Councillors in particular were active on behalf of the Catholic Union and also contributed to meetings of the Advisory Bureaux by providing expertise and advice to activists on the structure of local government and on the procedures in its main departmental responsibilities, particularly housing and education.[87] Individual bureaux contacted Members of Parliament to bring forward cases that could only be dealt with at Westminster. Although relations between the ILP from the Archdiocese and the Catholic Union were cool (especially over both secularisation in schools and sex education) and by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 very frosty, the Union enjoyed a good rapport with individual members in particular the leader of the ILP James Maxton, the MP for Bridgeton who helped the CUAB many times.[88] The Union was also able to draw upon the National Catholic Union for help and guidance through its parliamentary subcommittee. General Secretary John Campbell made many visits on CUAB business to the Union headquarters at Pall Mall throughout the 1930s.

The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 marked the end of the CUAB. The Secretary of the Union, John Campbell, became very ill and never regained the strength to devote the same amount of time to the CUAB or the CUAG. Catholic Union activity continued but on a smaller scale. The Union helped in the organisation of Glasgow's air raid protection system and lobbied the council to act on the large numbers of prostitutes who were converging on the railway stations of the city which were used as embarkation points for troop trains.[89] After 1945, the CUAG was largely by-passed by Catholic intellectuals who preferred to join the Newman Association, viewing the Union as the mouthpiece of the Archdiocese.

The best summary of the impact of the CUAB came from the Secretary himself in a letter to Rev. Patrick Laydon a senior official in the Archdiocese in 1934.[90] Campbell set out seven achievements of the CUAB. First, it had countered the impact of the Communist Party.[91] In terms of the objectives of Catholic Action, this has to be regarded in the immediate context of papal instruction as the most significant achievement. The CUAB had emerged at a time of potential danger for the church with the political and

social environment with mass unemployment and the rise of extremism on the left and right. A senior Jesuit Lewis Watt described the CUAB as 'an antidote to Communism'.[92] The CUAB took Catholic Action down to the mass of Catholics (and many non-Catholics) taking the message of Catholic associate activity to the whole of the community. It is a moot point as to whether the CUAB did in fact deflect attention away from the communists or whether as pointed out previously it was a convenient means to mobilise Catholic Action.

The second point made by Campbell was that the CUAB had established new political contacts.[93] There can be no doubt that the Union through the CUAB expanded its network of political contacts, even with those such as Maxton of the ILP who were regarded as opponents. The CUAB got Catholic concerns and activity noticed by all the political parties establishing the impression that the Catholic community was vigilant and involved in all the main issues of the day.

Third, the Advisory Bureaux idea had brought awareness of civil power and interests.[94] Social security, health and welfare provision until the advent of the modern welfare state was fragmented. Poor Law relief was administered at local authority level through the Public Assistance Committee; National Insurance was run by independent friendly societies; and Unemployment Assistance through a separate board. The hospital service was similarly disparate, with local government-run Poor Law and fever hospitals and the voluntary sector totally independent. An unemployed person who was in need of an operation could be shunted between five or six different agencies. The Union to be able to help even a single person had to be aware of all the different local and national bodies which had responsibility for individual forms of benefits.

By 1939, CUAB activists were arguably amongst the most knowledgeable people on the working of social security. John Campbell estimated that he had personally written 600 letters on behalf of the CUAB and had written nearly 700 advice notes on the law and operation of local and national government structures and services for CUAB activists.[95] The demand for responsible and literate individuals 'brought out' in the words of John Campbell 'the hidden talents of members of the Catholic Union'.[96] Through taking up the cases of individuals, ordinary members of the Union were taking on a great degree of responsibility, many for the first time, and many rose to the challenge. The Union also brought to Catholic Action the likes of the future Solicitor General of Scotland John Wheatley, individuals whose professional and religious lives seemed to be

separate until the CUAB brought both together in support of Catholic causes. This can be seen as the fourth enduring legacy of the Catholic Action movements in building a bridge between professional identity and religious devotion. Catholics who made progress in society were made aware that their talents were not just useful to themselves but there was a duty to contribute to the church using the talents they had amassed through education or wealth.

Fifth, the Union had helped thousands of people.[97] The CUAB could well have been a purely symbolic gesture with only a token effort by its members to the idea but the scale of the operation was astonishing with an estimated 10,000 individual inquiries every year across the archdiocese.

The sixth achievement was that the CUAB was an example of united Catholic Action.[98] The whole purpose of Catholic Action was to mobilize the community in associate action; this was stressed repeatedly in papal encyclicals, at Mass in every Catholic church and in the columns of Catholic periodicals. Catholic Union activists were used to this through the regular activity of the Union in collecting and collating electoral information. However, the CUAB was different as it drew on deeper resources in time and effort to properly coordinate action and disseminate information.

The CUAB is perhaps not as much of a headline topic for scholars of the Archdiocese of Glasgow as the rise of militant Protestantism or the Catholic response to the Spanish Civil War, but it is difficult to find during the 1930s a clearer case study of Catholic Action in concert as the Advisory Bureaux. The final point made by John J. Campbell was that the CUAB had achieved recognition from local officialdom.[99] The CUAB was an active participant in many arenas; it represented individuals in the highest civil and criminal courts of Scotland; representatives of the CUAB acted as official agents of government bodies and sat on tribunals for those who needed unemployment assistance. The Union was a recognised body which gained a degree of political influence which in some ways made up for the loss of influence in education and Poor Law forums after the 1929 Local Government Scotland Act.

The work of the CUAB had another very pertinent aspect. In a speech to the CUAB Committee in 1935, Baillie John Heenan said:

> The necessity of the advisory bureaux exercising their influence to maintain our equal rights to make ourselves active in every sphere of civic life and show that we are doing our duty as citizens as well as, if not better than, other sections of the community.[100]

The CUAB was a means to show to the community at large, many of whom if they were not hostile retained a degree of suspicion towards the Catholic community, that in fulfilling their religious duties they were also fulfilling their civic duty. The CUAB was to be a means of integration into Scottish life but also to show that Catholic values were not at odds with the general health and well-being of Scottish society. There is an element in Baillie Heenan's statement of stressing the superiority of Catholic civic values: to be 'better citizens' based on the teaching and values of Catholicism.

Notes

1. Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, p. 119.
2. John Joseph Campbell to Rev. Laydon DD on Advisory Bureaux, 8 December 1934, CU11, GAA.
3. Buchanan, 'Great Britain', p. 248.
4. See H. McShane and J. Smith, *No Mean Fighter* (London, 1978), pp. 101–14.
5. J. M. Cleary, *Catholic Social Action in Britain 1909–1959: A History of the Catholic Social Guild* (Oxford, 1960), p. 140.
6. J. D. Daniel, 'A Plea for Social Study', *St Peter's College Magazine*10.36 (1931), pp. 14–19.
7. J. D. Daniel, 'The Organisation of Catholic Action', *St Peter's College Magazine*10.37 (1931), pp. 62–4.
8. Joseph Daniel, 'Catholic Social Sense', *St Peter's College Magazine*11.42 (1934), pp. 83–6.
9. George Mullen, 'The Director in Catholic Action', *St Peter's College Magazine*.11.42 (1934), pp. 91–4.
10. Daniel, 'A Plea for Social Study', pp. 14–15.
11. Ibid., p. 14.
12. Ibid., p. 15.
13. Ibid., p. 16.
14. Ibid., p. 17.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 15.
17. Ibid., p. 14.
18. Ibid., p. 18.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 19.

23. Ibid.
24. Daniel, 'The Organisation of Catholic Action', p. 62.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 63.
27. Ibid., p. 64.
28. Ibid.
29. Daniel, 'Catholic Social Sense', p. 83.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., p. 84.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., p. 85.
41. Ibid.
42. Mullen, 'The Director in Catholic Action', p. 91.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., p. 92.
47. Ibid., p. 93.
48. Report on speech by William Gallacher MP to the Communist Party of Great Britain, 15 December 1940, CU4, GAA.
49. CU4, GAA.
50. The files relating to this case are contained in Box CU3, GAA
51. John Joseph Campbell to Anti-Socialist Union/Anti-Communist Union, 9 January 1941, CU4, GAA.
52. *The Glasgow Observer*, 22 January 1938, p. 1.
53. CU4, GAA.
54. John Joseph Campbell to Patrick Dollan, October 1941, CU4, GAA.
55. 'Activity, History and Future Prospects', address by John Joseph Campbell to the National Conference of the Catholic Union of Great Britain, Sheffield, July 1944, CU3, GAA.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. *The Glasgow Observer*, 7 May 1932, p. 6.
59. McShane and Smith, *No Mean Fighter*.
60. J. McMonagle to John Joseph Campbell, 30 October 1931, CU3, GAA.

61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Archbishop D. Mackintosh to John Joseph Campbell, 25 November 1931, CU3, GAA.
65. Ibid.
66. Constitution of the CUAG,.Part I (4).
67. Ibid., Clause 2.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid, 'Objects of the CUAB'.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., Part I (1).
72. St Paul's Whiteinch CUAB letter to John Joseph Campbell, 28 August 1935, CU11, GAA.
73. See CUAB, CU11, GAA.
74. Constitution of the CUAB.
75. John Joseph Campbell, Annual Report of the CUAB, 1932/33, CU3, GAA.
76. John Joseph Campbell to Rev. Laydon DD on Advisory Bureaux, 8 December 1934, CU11, GAA.
77. Annual Reports of the CUAB, 1932–1937, Box CU11, GAA.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Annual Report of the CUAB, 1934/35, Box CU11, GAA.
83. Annual Report of the CUAB, 1937, CU11, GAA.
84. John Joseph Campbell to Ministry of Labour, 13 November 1934.
85. John Joseph Campbell to H. Bickerdyke, Ministry of Labour, 1 February 1939, CU3, GAA.
86. Ibid.
87. Councillor John Storrie address to the CUAG Supreme Council on Local Government in May 1934, CU3, GAA.
88. Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, p. 120.
89. See Box CU11, GAA, for reports and information on ARP organisation and CUAG report on the stationing of troops in Glasgow.
90. John Joseph Campbell to Rev. Laydon, 8 December 1934.
91. Ibid.
92. L. Watt SJ, *Christian Democrat*, March 1935. Recorded in the minutes of the CUAB, May 1935, CU2, GAA.
93. John Joseph Campbell to Rev. Laydon, 8 December 1934.
94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Baillie John Heenan to CUAB Supreme Council, 7 March 1935, CU2/44, GAA.

CHAPTER 5

Carfin and the Little Flower

This chapter has as its aim to examine and explain the significance of the Carfin Grotto founded in 1922 in Lanarkshire. Among many circles there was willingness for the Catholic faith to be more visible, challenging secular ideologies in mobilising the people, and second, to deepen faith through the promotion of a more intense piety. These trends had significance in Scotland not only in presenting tangible examples of Catholic Action, but also as they challenged perceived prejudice in Scottish society towards Catholics. This chapter has three elements. The first part considers the role of Mgr Thomas Nimmo Taylor in founding and shaping the Grotto. The second part considers the role of Scots in the growth of the reputation of St Thérèse of Lisieux – the 'Little Flower of Jesus' – and then looks at the influence on Scottish piety of the form of spirituality associated with the saint, the so-called 'new way'. The third and final section considers the role of continental influences through the clergy on the making of Carfin and in particular the influence of the Very Reverend Monsignor Octavius Francis Claeys, a colleague of Mgr Taylor's at St Peter's College and a man who shared much the same spiritual outlook as the Carfin priest and who was instrumental in shaping the character of the Grotto and its devotional make-up. This section expands the discussion on Carfin to allow it to be seen not purely as a local phenomenon but as a manifestation of changing trends in European Catholicism.

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_5

Scotland's national pilgrimage centre at Carfin in Lanarkshire is representative of a particular moment in the twentieth-century history of Scottish Catholicism. The Grotto, founded by the parish priest Mgr Thomas Nimmo Taylor in 1922, represents the coming together of a number of themes in contemporary Catholic devotion and piety. The Grotto is a mix of visual, celebratory and spiritual ideas, which were by the 1920s evolving into the distinctive style of Catholic Action promoted by the papacy. The influences on Carfin have both local and international Catholic significance; the Grotto has elements which are unique to Scottish Catholicism and some which are recognisable throughout the Catholic world. The mix of the visible piety associated with veneration of the Virgin Mary, and the intense private devotion of 'spiritual childhood' and St Thérèse of Lisieux, make Carfin reflect a unique fusion of the twin dynamics of early twentieth-century Catholicism. They represent the church being moved in apparently two different directions. On the one hand there is the militant and aggressive processional movement, which stressed the desire of the Catholic Church to interact with secular society in promoting Catholic values and Catholic solutions at a time of social and economic turmoil, very much in keeping with the ideas promoted by Pope Leo XIII through his encyclical letter of 1891 *Rerum Novarum*. However, the veneration of St Thérèse, the 'Little Flower of Jesus', points in another direction towards self-sacrifice and withdrawal from the temporal world. These ideas of both involvement and abandonment may be contradictory, or reflect as Martin Conway points out, an 'ambivalent' attitude towards the role that Catholicism could play in the wider world.[1]

Carfin reflected this ambiguity of intense devotion and visible piety but they were not the only factors at work in the making of the Grotto. There were other influences, not as great in the Catholic world but significant especially in the context of Catholic Scotland. To some, even some Catholics, processions and open celebrations of religious identity were not seen as appropriate to either the temper of Scottish Catholicism (or Scottish religiosity in general), or to the image of the church in a country where anti-Catholicism was seen as rife or endemic and Catholicism as a minority religion.

The idea of visible celebrations came to Scotland through an unusual route. In the early 1890s a number of student priests came to Scotland from Belgium and Germany, who on becoming parish priests, started to revive processions and more open forms of worship based on festivals in

their own home countries. This influence was to have direct bearing on the decision in 1918 by Mgr Taylor to start an annual procession to celebrate the festival of *Corpus Christi* at Carfin.[2] In a direct sense the foreign influence on Carfin is substantial: much of the layout and design of the Grotto came from a colleague of Taylor's at St Peter's College, Mgr Octavius Francis Claeys, who also suggested to Taylor that the annual Bruges Festival of Blood would be an ideal model for his own procession at Carfin. The main influence on Carfin was the personality and ideas of Mgr Thomas Nimmo Taylor. Without Taylor, Carfin would not have been built, but his influence is much more profound than that. He was instrumental in promoting the Scottish national pilgrimage to Lourdes, and he brought back the idea of the shrine at Carfin from the pilgrimages he went on himself, but also he was a pivotal figure in the beatification and canonisation of Thérèse of the Child Jesus. Taylor from his earliest contacts with the memory of Thérèse was active in the promotion of her cause and in the values of 'spiritual childhood', particularly in the practice of early confirmation of children. In pursing the building of the Grotto at Carfin, Taylor was promoting his own vision of the role of the church and the deepening of spirituality.

We therefore have four influences on Carfin: Thomas Nimmo Taylor, Marian devotion, veneration of St Thérèse and the European models of devotion. Each in their own right was significant enough to move many of the Catholic faithful but together they represent an interesting moment in the history of Catholicism in the twentieth century. The Grotto is unusual in other ways. It is not a shrine in the traditional sense, as nothing miraculous happened at Carfin. It is unlike Lourdes or Fatima or Knock which were all sights of celebrated apparitions of the Virgin Mary, although Mgr Taylor did stress that the building and success of Carfin was an example of St Thérèse's posthumous gifts to the world or 'shower of roses'.[3] Despite the unique features of the Grotto, there was a precedent for Carfin in Scotland. In 1533, the Rev. Thomas Douchtie built a model of the Holy House of Loretto in his church in Musselburgh near Edinburgh which attracted pilgrims from all over Scotland.[4] There is also in Whithorn in south-west Scotland, a popular site of pilgrimage: the caves and Whitekirk of St Ninian. Although Carfin could be seen as unusual in that it was a copy of a shrine, its symbolism is significant and the drawing power of the Grotto suggests a desire amongst the Catholic community for more overt demonstrations of the place and role of the church in contemporary society.

The Grotto as it evolved from a copy of the grotto at Lourdes was added to initially by a small shrine to St Thérèse, then slowly built on to and expanded over the next 50 years. It thus presents a whole compendium of influences on Catholic Scotland. It has the two major shrines which contain national symbols: St Columba, St Andrew, St Margaret and St Kentigern for Scotland; St Patrick for Ireland; the Black Madonna of Czestochowa for the Polish community, as well as other national saints for the Italian and Lithuanian Catholics of Scotland.[5] The Stations of the Cross that enclose the Grotto came from Belgium. The Virgin Mary is portrayed in a number of images not just from Lourdes but also as Stella Maris, the Star of the Sea.[6] Other sculptures represent familiar Catholic images from around the world: St Francis Xavier, patron of the Carfin Parish, St Dominic, St John the Baptist, St Francis of Assisi and, reflecting Mgr Taylor's own priorities, St Pius X the patron of children. Most of the shrines added to Carfin came as gifts from local communities. A small statue of St Patrick was donated by the Ancient Order of Hibernians, a statue of St Thérèse by the Legion of Mary. Gifts also came from abroad, most notably the reliquary from Lisieux containing a relic from St Thérèse, a gift to Carfin for the efforts of Scots in the canonisation of the saint.[7] It is, however, in the veneration of the Virgin Mary and of St Thérèse of Lisieux that the main ideas behind Carfin are found.

Monsignor Thomas Nimmo Taylor

In both of the examples of Scottish devotion in this chapter, the figure of Thomas Nimmo Taylor figures prominently. Canon Taylor was born on 16 December 1873, in Greenock on the southern bank of the Firth of Clyde. His family was of mixed English and Irish background. His father was English from a Lancashire recusant family and his mother was the daughter of Irish immigrants.[8] The Nimmo-Taylors were active members of the growing Inverclyde Catholic community. James Taylor, the monsignor's father, was the headmaster of St Laurence's School in the town as well as a leading member of the Catholic sodalities. Thomas Taylor was educated at St Aloysius College, a Jesuit School in Glasgow, between 1885 and 1889. The college was the main centre for the children of the small but growing Catholic middle classes, and by the late nineteenth century it had a formidable scholastic reputation, preparing young Catholic boys for university life and achievement beyond higher education. Thomas Taylor was not to go to university: according to his biographer (and secretary

at Carfin for many years) Susan McGhee he was showing, by the commencement of his secondary education 'a potential vocation to the religious life'.[9] In 1889, Taylor was enrolled at the national seminary of St Mary's College at Blairs in Aberdeenshire. His five seminary years were divided between Blairs, the seminary at the church at St Sulpice in Paris and Issy-les-Moulineaux College. In Paris, Taylor was a lay member of the Eucharistic League and he undertook a monthly hour of adoration before the shrine to the Virgin Mary at the Church of Our Lady of Victories.[10] In 1887, Sister Thérèse Martin had visited the same church en route to Rome on a pilgrimage. There is no evidence that the young student priest was aware of the Carmelite sister although she was known in the Parisian clerical community.[11] In 1897, Thomas Nimmo Taylor was ordained a priest at Issy. His ordination was scheduled for 1896 but it was delayed to allow him to study for the Baccalaureate and to attend classes at the Catholic Institute of Paris.[12] On his return to Scotland, he became the curate at St Patrick's in Dumbarton on the north bank of the Clyde, not far from his home town of Greenock. His keen patronage of Catholic Action societies started at St Patrick's with a branch of the Catholic Young Men's Society in 1898.[13] In 1900, he was transferred to St Peter's College at New Kilpatrick north of Glasgow, as Professor of Sacred Scripture and Church History where he remained until his return to parochial life in 1915.

Between 1900 and 1915, Monsignor Taylor worked at the College not only as a professor but also as an advocate of a more demonstrative piety not only for the future shepherds to the archdiocesan flock but also for the laity. He championed at St Peter's the cause of the Eucharist through the small Belgian clerical order of the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament, formed in 1856. Professor Taylor had first encountered the Congregation in Paris in 1894. Taylor was also National Director of the 'Priest-Adorers', called after 1908 the Priests' Eucharistic League and Priests' Communion League for the Promotion of Daily Communion.[14] Pope Pius X promoted the cause both of the centrality of the Eucharist and frequent communion in the early years of the twentieth century through the Motu Proprio *Tra Le Sollecitudini*[15] in 1903 and the 1905 decree *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*.[16] The decree set out the rules to be obeyed and the meaning of daily communion within the spiritual life of the Catholic community. The emphasis on the Eucharist was kept prominent through the frequent Eucharistic conferences of the Catholic Church during the first half of the twentieth century; it came to Scotland in the early 1930s. During his period at St Peter's, Professor Taylor, in

addition to his seminarian duties, was defining the sort of piety which on becoming parish priest at the Church of St Francis Xavier's at Carfin in 1915, he would put into practice.[17]

Mgr Taylor was parish priest at Carfin from 1915 until his death in 1963. The hamlet of Carfin was in the centre of the largest industrial area in the United Kingdom. A coalmining town, it is situated near the steel-manufacturing town of Motherwell, which took most of its coal. The parish of Carfin was founded in 1862 with the construction of a small chapel-school.[18] In 1882 the church was rebuilt[19] and dedicated to St Francis Xavier.[20] The community was a mix of Scots, Irish and Lithuanians, almost all of whom were brought to Carfin as colliers.[21] The miners and artisans of Carfin helped in the construction of the Grotto between 1920 and 1922, dedicating their spare time to the endeavour.[22] The Grotto opened for the first time on 1st October 1922 with two thousand people in attendance.[23] Between 1922 and 1965, the *Corpus Christi* festival at Carfin attracted annually around 10,000 and at times upwards of 50,000 pilgrims.[24]

In 1924, Carfin became centre stage of a constitutional crisis. Just before the festival began Mgr Taylor received word from the local police that the procession was illegal under the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act.[25] The Act, although restoring many civil and political rights to Roman Catholics, forbade the wearing in public of vestments by the clergy.[26] For the next two years, the festival was held inside the boundaries of the church until the 1926 Catholic Relief Act was given Royal Assent.[27] Although the proscription of the procession had little bearing on the Grotto, it served to focus attention on Carfin and the role of visible Catholic worship in Scottish life.

The Scottish National Pilgrimage Centre at Carfin remains in most respects the singular vision of Mgr Thomas Nimmo Taylor. It is largely the result of his unique fusion of different elements: Marian devotion, veneration of St Thérèse of the Child Jesus and a mix of borrowed or amended Catholic ceremonies. However, without the deep impact that was made by each of the individual elements, Carfin would have remained a small and ignored Lanarkshire backwater. Marian devotion was the most significant innovation in late nineteenth-century Catholicism, bringing with it a greater sense of purpose and salience to the symbols of a church struggling to adapt to modernity. Marian devotion was both a public and private experience: the simplicity and ordinariness of the individuals singled out to receive the messages of the Virgin struck a chord with

many Catholics and the desire signalled by the instruction of Mary to come to her in procession gave a strong feeling of communal identity to Catholics.

It was after the Scottish National Pilgrimage to Lourdes in July 1920 that the idea of a copy of the Grotto in Scotland was first discussed.[28] Thomas Nimmo Taylor had been a frequent pilgrim to both Lourdes and Lisieux since the 1890s and the Scottish annual pilgrimage begun in 1910 was bringing more and more pilgrims every year to the Pyrenean shrine. Scotland had been missed out in the rash of Marian visitations that took place from 1830 onwards in almost all of the nations of Europe.[29] There was a celebrated vision of the Virgin at Knock in Ireland during the century, which was as close to Scotland as the phenomenon came. However, the expansion of the railways and the relatively accessible price of rail fares did bring many Scots to pray at the side of the Virgin. The elevation of her to the pinnacle of the Catholic Church reflected a world-wide trend in nineteenth-century Catholicism. The increase in her prominence was a result of a number of factors. First, was the promotion of her memory by Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) both in terms of the revival of the Immaculate Conception of Mary in 1849[30] and its elevation into dogma through the encyclical *Ineffabilis Deus* and the proclamation of the 'Marian Century' in 1854.[31] Pio Nono's attachment to the veneration of the memory of Mary had a deeply personal element to it. In 1855 whilst visiting the excavation of the tomb of Pope Alexander I in Rome, the floor of a room in which he and 129 others were having lunch collapsed, but miraculously no one was hurt. Pius attributed his escape from harm to the Virgin.[32] Although the papacy was the principal source of the revival of Marian devotion in liturgy and dogma, it was from below, in the parishes and hamlets of Catholic Europe, that the main inspiration for the public manifestations of modern Marianism emerged.

The massive pilgrimages to Lourdes, Fatima and other celebrated sites of Marian visions, alongside the Eucharistic Congress of the 1920s, represent a degree of mobilisation of the faithful which stands in contrast to the received wisdom of the political and social atmosphere of the time.[33] The inter-war years are often characterised as the era of secular extremes, the emerging fascists and Nazi movements on one side and the rise of the communists on the left. However, the sight of many millions of Catholics converging in recognition of the importance of devotion at centres such as Lourdes (and at the likes of Carfin) demonstrated just how powerful religious identity remained.

At Carfin, the inauguration of a parish procession in 1918 by Thomas Nimmo Taylor did not immediately have to do with the influence of Lourdes. The inspiration came from another source: a Belgian colleague of Taylor's, Mgr Octavius Francis Claeys, previously like Taylor, a scholar at St Peter's College in Bearsden near Glasgow. The original procession was modelled on the Procession of Blood, which took place at Bruges in Belgium every year at the feast of *Corpus Christi* in June. With the building of the Marian Grotto at Carfin, the procession was augmented by a specific Scottish National Lourdes Day on the last Sunday in May, which eventually replaced Corpus Christi as the focus of the celebrations at Carfin. The significance of Corpus Christi will be detailed later in the discussion of the resurgence of the festival in Scotland during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The Little Way to God

The Carfin Grotto was a model of the grotto at Lourdes. When opened in 1922 it had just one grotto devoted to the memory of St. Bernadette of Lourdes and the image of the Virgin that she had encountered. However, on the opposite side of the Grotto was a small statue to St Thérèse of Lisieux. It is unusual to have a spiritual site that is devoted to more than one saint. The decision to present the Grotto as a place that venerated two religious figures was not casual or taken without a great deal of spiritual thought. From the point of view of Mgr Taylor and others associated with Carfin, there was concern that there could be a degree of friction over the idea of placing alongside a shrine to the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, another shrine to a relatively minor saint. The issue that was paramount in this whole situation was whether such an addition to the shrine would be an insult to the memory, glory and powers of intercession of the Virgin Mary**.** St Thérèse was, however, an important figure in her own right, both in terms of the spiritual message contained within her cult and the influence she was to have in the life and works of Thomas Nimmo Taylor. The promotion of the cult in Scotland was unusual and led Pope Benedict XV to say, 'I am not surprised at the enthusiasm of the French over their countrywoman, but the extraordinary devotion of the English speaking nations is to me the finger of God.'[34]

As individuals go, the person of Marie Françoise Thérèse Martin (1873–1897) was unremarkable. She lived for only 25 years, most of which were spent surrounded by personal and spiritual distress. Born in Alençon in the

north-west of France, her mother died when Thérèse was three years old and her father and her older sister Pauline raised her. From a very early age, Thérèse wanted to be a nun and her desire to enter the Carmelite convent at Lisieux in Normandy caused friction both within her family and in the Catholic Church, with Thérèse herself at one point pleading her case to Pope Leo XIII.[35] She did enter the convent at the age of fifteen, against the will of her father, but as her sister was already at Lisieux, Thérèse was given over to her care. For the next nine years Thérèse adopted a form of devotion, her 'little way to God'[36] which emphasised physical deprivation and spiritual immersion in the service of Jesus.[37] The almost inevitable result of a life of total self-immolation was to die, almost certainly of tuberculosis, in 1897, at the tender age of 25. As part of her duties at the convent, Sister Thérèse maintained a diary that was to form the basis of a posthumously published autobiography *L'Histoire d'une Ame*.[38] The first English translation by the Polish cleric Father Michael Dziewicki published in 1899 was read by Mgr Taylor during a retreat at a Redemptorist monastery in 1901.[39] Taylor was himself to translate St Thérèse's autobiography in 1926.[40]

St Thérèse came to represent the values of what Pope Benedict XV called 'spiritual childhood'.[41] The aspects of spiritual childhood can be found both in the life and in the writings of St Thérèse. It was in a letter to her sister Pauline that Thérèse set out her view of spiritual life:

> You know that it has ever been my desire to become a saint, but I have always felt, in comparing myself with the saints, that I am as far removed from them as the grains of sand trampled underfoot, are remote from the mountain whose summit is lost in the clouds.[42]

This aspiration towards sainthood was tempered by feelings of unworthiness or as she called it herself, her smallness. Confronted by the monumental contributions of the great saints of the church – the martyrs, the church builders, the missionaries and evangelists – Thérèse in her desire to take her place in the celestial pantheon looked for a route which would perfectly suit her situation, that of a minor novice in a small provincial convent. Her response was 'The little way to God', a 'very short and very straight way'.[43] In her temporal life, the little way was one of self-deprivation and constant sacrifice and Thérèse called for 'the holocaust of God's love'.[44] This she saw as made up of humility, abandonment and simplicity. Thérèse said, 'Oh my God who art unspeakable sweetness, turn for me into bitterness all the consolation of earth.'[45] Her personal example

of piety seems, even from the viewpoint of the late nineteenth century, almost medieval with its emphasis on self-sacrifice and total selflessness, like the cults of flagellation and penitence which predominated in late fourteenth-century Christianity.

It was in the trenches of the First World War that Thérèse made her first significant appearance as a substantial figure in Catholic culture.[46] Between her death in 1897 and 1923, Thérèse was elevated to the status of a major figurehead for Catholics, a transition which was observed by Mgr Taylor who noted the difference in the convent town of Lisieux which had been transformed by the growing reputation of the Little Flower during the two visits he made first in 1903 and then in 1923. The importance and popularity of the 'Little Flower' reached its peak just after the First World War. In 1921, after a long period of discussion and debate stretching back to 1909 when her cause was first taken up by the Carmelites, and the Vatican appointed a Postulator and a Vice Postulator, Pope Benedict XV read a decree proclaiming the heroic virtue of Sister Thérèse.[47] In 1924, she was beatified and on 17 May 1925 the new Pope, Pius XI, proclaimed her a saint.[48] For both Pius XI and Benedict XV the Cult of the Little Flower offered an important opportunity to define or redefine devotional life in the early twentieth century. As indicated, there is in the cult of the Little Flower an interesting ambiguity between the desire of the church to contribute to secular life and also to retreat from it, as exemplified by the devotional life of St Thérèse. However, too much can be read into this; for example, Pius XI canonised Thérèse but he also produced the seminal papal encyclical on Catholic Action in 1931, *Quadragesimo Anno*, promoting a broader involvement of Catholics in the temporal world through associate action and organisation. I would argue that the adoption of St Thérèse was a necessary companion to the visible devotion of Marianism. We can view this as two-dimensional; on the one side was a broadening of faith through the adoption of a highly visible and active devotional lifestyle, namely the processional movement and Catholic Action societies, and on the other side was a deepening of faith through the spiritual example of St Thérèse.

In her autobiography, Thérèse pointed out that her earth-bound existence would only be part of her story; 'many pages of this story will be read in heaven'.[49] She promised that from heaven, with her betrothed, she would rain down a 'shower of roses' or examples of the intercession of herself and Christ.[50] Many examples of the 'shower of roses' are recorded in Thomas Nimmo Taylor's 1926 translation of her autobiography.[51]

Intercession of a religious figure was crucial when the church needed to verify a candidate for sainthood. In the case of martyrs, this was unnecessary but for an 'ordinary saintly' figure, proof was required. Examples of Thérèse's intercession included everything from 'normal' cures to conversions. The most prominent conversion associated with the 'Little Flower' was that of Rev. Alexander Grant of the United Free Church of Scotland. Rev. Grant was a minister on the Isle of Arran whose doubts about Protestantism led towards Thérèse and Catholicism. He was received into the Catholic Church in 1910 and received his first communion from Father Taylor, after which he left with his family to live in Lisieux.[52] In Glasgow alone, according to Taylor, more than 450 favours were acknowledged to Thérèse.[53] Aside from these examples of intercession are some unusual examples such as the raising of a sunken cargo ship, the *Laverock*, from the bottom of the Clyde at Greenock.[54]

The example of St Thérèse was important in the evolution of papal devotional doctrine in the early twentieth century, particularly in relation to the growing emphasis on the role of childhood. Three consecutive Popes, St Pius X, Benedict XV and Pius XI, were to promote the memory of St Thérèse and also the veneration of childhood as one of the most distinctive shifts in twentieth-century theology. As a doctrine within the Catholic Church, 'spiritual childhood' is intriguing.[55] Its origins can be found in the disputes between church and state throughout the last century over the education of children. Although this dispute was not solely between Catholics and Liberals, it had a particular ferocity in Catholic countries, most notably France. In both liberal and religious ideology, the formative development of the individual education stamps the character of the child as it grows into adulthood. The growing prioritisation of the child in Catholic doctrine was manifested by the promotion of early confirmation and communion for children, maintenance of Catholic education especially at the elementary level, and through the veneration of the simplicity of childhood faith.

The papal letters, which accompanied the canonisation of St Thérèse by both Benedict XV and Pius XI, promoted 'spiritual childhood' or *Omen Novum*: 'The new way.'[56] The root of this idea is contained in a passage from the gospel of St Matthew in which Jesus said to his disciples 'Who think you is the greatest in heaven? Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as a little child, he will be the greatest in heaven.'[57] The key phrase in this passage is 'as a little child': not literally just children but those whose faith is like that of a child's attitude towards his parents: instinctive trust, total con-

fidence and simple understanding. It can be characterised in two ways: the first image is of a person walking and being guided with God's hand on his shoulders, believing that total devotion to and trust in his guidance will take the soul forward. The second image is that of a child's response to danger. In the papal letter of Benedict XV beatifying Thérèse, this image was promoted. The instinctive response of a child when confronted by danger is to seek refuge in the arms of its mother. As Benedict wrote, 'In the same way spiritual childhood is the result of trust in God and complete abandonment to him.'[58] In a way, the idea of 'spiritual childhood' is a retreat from the complexity and corruption of the contemporary world, in that it promotes a return to a simple doctrine of instinctive faith and total trust in the church and its teaching. However, it should also be noted that many of St Thérèse's 'roses' were very contemporary and the church was using her as an example of this sort of devotion: that retreat and self-commitment were central to the way in which faith operated in a complex world.

These two elements of the devotional make-up of Catholicism were important at Carfin and in some respects quite uniquely fused at the Grotto. There are a number of examples in the 'roses' of the Little Flower, of both Thérèse and the Virgin Mary walking together. Two are recorded in the autobiography. The first was a vision of both associated with a cure in France[59] and the second, from Scotland, was of a woman ill with cancer whose prayers to the Virgin were augmented through the veneration of the Little Flower.[60] These examples give some validity to my argument that both elements of devotion by the early 1920s were working in tandem, the best example being Carfin. However, the processional movement and the Little Flower only contributed two elements to Carfin. The Grotto also incorporates the interaction of other elements.

St. Peter's College and The Processional Movement

Alongside the doctrinal and devotional trends in Catholicism of the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a concerted effort to restore Episcopal authority in the parts of Europe that had remained under the direct organisation of the Office of Propaganda in Rome.[61] Under the pontificates of Pius IX and Leo XIII the last European missions, those countries without their own ecclesiastical independence, were converted to hierarchies in their own right. In 1878, shortly after the death of Pius IX, Scotland was reorganised with its own bishops and in the large

Glasgow see an Archbishop was appointed. The growth of the city of Glasgow and the whole of the west of Scotland placed a major strain on the seminaries not just in Scotland but also at Maynooth in Ireland and other colleges which struggled to produce not just numbers of priests, but also of priests who had the education and skills to cope with the social as well as the scholastic demands of the community. Demands such as these drew in student priests from outside of Scotland, with the Low Countries and western Germany sending a number of candidates to the new Glasgow seminary of St Peter's sited first at Partickhill and subsequently at Bearsden.

St Peter's College was the main seminary for the Archdiocese of Glasgow. The college was founded in 1874 by the then Vicar Apostolic for the Western District, Reverend Charles Eyre (subsequently Archbishop of the restored Archdiocese of Glasgow in 1878). Archbishop Eyre was not only the clerical inspiration behind the seminary but also paid for the construction of the college from his own pocket. On the silver jubilee of his episcopate in 1892, Archbishop Eyre received a gift of £2,600 from the people of the Archdiocese which he donated to St Peter's for bursaries for student priests. The personal involvement of the Archbishop demonstrated the commitment of the hierarchy to build a substantial clerical infrastructure in the Archdiocese. St Peter's was to be the reservoir for the future clergy of the area, but it was to prove much more than just a clerical production line. The college supplied priests, but it was also from where the clerical intelligentsia of the Archdiocese defined and fostered a distinctive Scottish Catholic identity. The college made many contributions to the intellectual and spiritual culture of the district, introducing foreign clerical traditions to Scotland through the processional movement. In the 1920s under the direction of Canon Joseph Daniel, Catholic social action was redefined and developed for a Glasgow audience. In the 1940s, two Presidiums of the Legion of Mary were formed in the college. The rector of the college in 1945 was amongst the first to support the founding of the Newman Association in Glasgow[62] and the *St Peter's College Magazine* was to become the prototype for *The Innes Review*, the journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association.[63] The same man, Reverend Monsignor David McRoberts, edited both journals between 1951 and 1956.

The new candidates not only brought the high standards associated with European seminaries, but also a taste for ceremonial and decorative devotion, the kinds of piety not seen since the Reformation in Scotland. Even with the emancipation of Catholics in 1829, the churches in Scotland and

England had been reluctant to restore traditional forms of worship and, in particular, the processions which accompanied many of the senior festivals of the Catholic calendar, such as Easter and principally Corpus Christi. It is important to realise the context of this. First, Catholics at this time were a minority in Scotland (as in England) and certainly for the first half century after emancipation, senior Catholics were understandably nervous about the reception which Catholics would receive from the chiefly Protestant community. Indeed, within living memory for some were the demonstrations and ceremonial burning of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, which released Catholics from the Penal Laws of the seventeenth century. The majority of Catholics were of an Irish background and the potentially lethal mix of ethnicity and religiosity produced a mentality of defence and separation. This mentality of defence is sometimes described as 'Ghetto Catholicism': the creation of an inward-looking and mutually self-supporting community kept apart from the mainstream of Protestant society.[64]

The festival of *Corpus Christi* where the host (communion wafer) or body of Christ is carried in procession through the local parish is celebrated throughout the Catholic world. The festival takes place during the last fortnight in June and in most Catholic countries, as a celebration, it rivals Easter in its importance. It is a festival that not only celebrates the blessings of Christ's sacrifice but is also a community festival bringing the whole neighbourhood together. In the Catholic nation states, and the predominantly Catholic regions of Europe such as Bavaria, demonstrations of religious identity did not carry a major degree of hazard or indigenous hostility to the same extent that could be expected or anticipated in such a place as Scotland.[65] The major festivals had carried on very much without interruption for centuries and had become integrated into village and town life, and the shifts of population associated with industrialisation and urbanisation took the various forms of religious piety into a new arena. In the Scottish case, the promotion of a more visible form of devotion was a problem as discussed earlier. It was also an opportunity to find ways of integrating piety into the normal experience of the newly emerging Catholic communities of Scotland.

The European influence on Scottish piety originated predominantly from the Low Countries and the Catholic Rhineland through a group of priests ordained in Scotland but natives of these parts of the continent. The most significant of these clergymen were: Father Peter Muller from Leubsdorf, near Coblenz, Father Aloysius Riefenrath of Hersdorf in the

Ruhr, Father Joseph Van Hecke of Bruges, and Father Octavius Francis Claeys of Courtrai.[66] All of these men attended St Peters from 1884 until the turn of the century, and became parish priests in the Archdiocese of Glasgow.[67] The festival of *Corpus Christi* was celebrated in procession for the first time for centuries in the south of Scotland in 1850 at St Margaret's Convent near Edinburgh.[68] The major revival of the festival started when Father Muller of St Cuthbert's, Burnbank celebrated Corpus Christi in 1895. The parish priest of St Mary's in Camlachie, Father Riefenrath, revived the Eucharistic festival in Glasgow in 1897, and as the priests made their way from parish to parish they took the festival with them, first to Lanarkshire, then Glasgow and later into Renfrewshire.[69] Although the European priests were most enthusiastic to promote the festival, some Scottish and Irish clergymen also celebrated Corpus Christi with processions in the late nineteenth century. Thomas Nimmo Taylor described the festival of blood procession on Corpus Christi in Bruges when he saw it for the first time as 'unrivalled for splendour throughout Christendom'.[70] In general Corpus Christi was celebrated with the unveiling of the Eucharist within the church or chapel and though the festival attracted many spectators and commentators both Catholic and Protestant, when it was carried around in procession, these were essentially rare and one-off events. The influence of the processional movement was primarily symbolic. The response to these processions gives a paradoxical picture of sectarianism in the west of Scotland. On the one hand, militant Protestant interests raged against Catholic symbolism, but when it came to overt action to assert Protestant identity there seems to be little attempt to confront such visible manifestations of 'popery'. Sectarians saved up their hatred of Catholicism for other arenas, primarily where religion mixed with ethnic issues. The processions symbolised sympathy within the Catholic community for more visible manifestations of religiosity, an attitude which could be seen with the growing numbers attending and contributing to the Scottish National Pilgrimage to Lourdes (as well as Lisieux) which was inaugurated in 1900. Amongst the first Scottish clergymen to visit Lourdes on a pilgrimage as well as to Lisieux was Father Thomas Nimmo Taylor.

Of the foreign clerics who studied at St Peter's College, the most influential was the Belgian cleric, The Very Reverend Monsignor Octavius Francis Claeys. Mgr Claeys entered the college in 1893 and was ordained as a priest in 1899.[71] For eight years, Mgr Claeys was a priest in three parishes in the west of Scotland at Lambhill, Croy and Bothwell.[72] Thomas Nimmo Taylor first met Mgr Claeys at Lambhill and the two became col-

leagues in 1907 when Claeys became the Professor of Canon Law at St Peter's.[73] Mgr Thomas Taylor remarked on the attributes of Claeys during a sermon he preached at the requiem Mass for his friend in December 1928 saying he was 'single-minded and earnest'[74] in his vocation: 'I doubt if there be three others equally gifted among the six hundred priests of St. Margaret's land.[75] Claeys was the staff representative on the St Peter's College Literary Society that produced the *St Peter's College Magazine* from 1911. He also built up the collection of books for the college library.[76] Mgr Claeys stayed at St Peter's for 16 years between 1907 and 1923, when illness forced him out of full-time teaching, although he continued to work as a priest, first at St Brigid's Baillieston in Glasgow and his final appointment was at St Ignatius' Cadzow near Wishaw in Lanarkshire. He retired due to ill health to a small convent near Wemyss Bay on the Clyde coast where he died on 17 November 1928. His only time away from Scotland was during the First World War when he served as a military chaplain to the British Expeditionary Force in his native Belgium.

Mgrs Claeys and Taylor were devotional kindred spirits. The Belgian cleric introduced the Scots to the Procession of the Holy Blood in Bruges that was to be the model for the Carfin procession.[77] However, the shared devotional sensibilities extend beyond the aesthetic.

Taylor said:

> Piety is defined as reverence, as devotion. There is a devotion that is purely exterior, the hollow devotion of the hypocrite. For the true Catholic however, and much more for the true priest, piety means the complete surrender to God of mind and will, and all that is meant by that human word heart.[78]

For both Taylor and Claeys this encompassed an approach to devotion which sought to stress the integration of devotion into every aspect of life, not a superficial piety where lip service would be paid to the saints and fathers of the Church but a devotion where worship was at the centre of the life of the individual and the community. In their approach there can be seen an anticipation of the ideas of Catholic Action which were to be most clearly elucidated in Pius XI's 1931 encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. In an another sense, Claeys, apart from sharing the same sensibility in relation to devotion and piety was instrumental in creating the atmosphere in which Carfin was to flourish.

As pointed out, the Archdiocese was understandably nervous about the promotion of the Corpus Christi festival. In 1918, Mgr Taylor had

asked the Archdiocese for permission to expand his own parish Eucharistic procession beyond the church grounds and into the hamlet of Carfin. The hierarchy vetoed this and requested the festival to be maintained within the grounds. This is an unusual example of the Archdiocese stepping in to stop the *Corpus Christi* festival. There is no evidence to suggest why this was done. None of the correspondence has survived; it could well be that the particular location at that time was regarded as sensitive, as Carfin was situated in a part of Lanarkshire where religious and ethnic tensions have always been seen as sharper than elsewhere.[79] One can only speculate. Claeys' second influence was to reinforce Mgr Taylor's own sense of piety and devotion. A sense of Taylor's approach is found again in his obituary of Claeys: 'In this Northern clime, the atmosphere which is charged with the fumes of an anaesthetic wafted from Geneva, we may be tempted to smile cynically at the exuberant piety of the souls of France, Italy and Spain.'[80]

Both Taylor and Claeys came from parts of Europe outside of the traditional Latin centres but despite this shared a desire to promote a certain clear and visible devotion. Belgium is as far from Rome as is the Rhineland of Germany but the Catholics of these parts of Europe celebrated in a manner not unlike the southern Europeans. The people of Belgium had to fight against the imposition of penal laws from The Netherlands until it gained its independence in 1830, which in comparison was only one year after the emancipation of Catholics in Great Britain.[81] Therefore, the experience of Catholics was not so different nor was the location and religious climate, irrespective of the influence of the Presbyterian ether. As had been shown by the overwhelmingly good reception of the revival of Corpus Christi, assumptions of hostility had been largely mistaken and an enthusiasm amongst Catholics for processions had been demonstrated. The desire of Taylor to promote a visible piety also corresponded with Church thinking, and in general with the Vatican's militant stand against secularism through the veneration of Virgin Mary and 'spiritual childhood' through the memory of St Thérèse of Lisieux emphasising the supernatural elements of Catholicism.

Outside of providing the model of the Carfin procession, Mgr Claeys made two other important contributions. When the Grotto was first opened, Claeys wrote a short pamphlet to promote Carfin and circulated it to the local parishes.[82] Aside from his work as the Carfin 'spin doctor', Claeys was also a keen scholar of art and design and through this, he was to influence the look and make-up of the Grotto. Claeys designed a num-

ber of the shrines at Carfin including the Stations of the Cross (which were donated by Belgian Catholics), the statues to Christ the King, *Stella Maris* and the Bethlehem and Nazareth stairways.[83] He also designed the procession which accompanied the blessing of the statue to St Francis of Assisi in 1927.[84] Although the Grotto at Carfin today has been altered a great deal since the death of Mgr Claeys in 1928, much of the early appeal and also the ideology behind the shrine can be credited to Claeys and the foreign clergy who cultivated a visible Catholic devotion in the west of Scotland and helped to lay the groundwork which Taylor and others were to follow.

Like the processional movement, the veneration of the Little Flower emerged from the parochial level, with the papacy catching on to the phenomenon only when it had shown itself as a powerful metaphor for the state of mind of the Catholic Church. Just as the pontificates of Pius IX and Leo XIII had stabilised and then re-established the spiritual and institutional authority of the Vatican (helped in no small way by the processional movement), the succeeding popes (St Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI) sharpened and deepened the social and doctrinal message of the church, and in this they were aided by the appeal of the Little Flower. The veneration of childhood was elevated by St Pius X to a major preoccupation of the social work of the church. Added to this was the promotion of 'spiritual childhood' by Benedict XV and this doctrine was carried to its pinnacle through the canonisation of Thérèse of Lisieux. These two elements by themselves acted as a powerful influence on the creation of Carfin representing a widening of the activities at which the church would be at the forefront through the public procession movement and a deepening of the spiritual message of the church through the intense private devotion associated with the Little Flower. Although the influence of the many Belgian and German clerics recruited to Scottish parishes on the re-establishment of the festival of *Corpus Christi* was pure serendipity, it can be seen as fulfilling a direct objective of the Vatican in that the revival of the procession brought Scottish Catholics closer to the mainstream of Catholic devotion and life, whilst providing a model which Mgr Taylor was to use as a template for the Carfin Grotto. For Thomas Nimmo Taylor his own religious sensibilities were the catalyst that brought these disparate elements together. He did, however, unite them in a unique manner, rather like the factors which contributed to the remaking of the Scottish Catholic community throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: historical circumstances, social change and individual vision.

Notes

1. Conway, *Catholic Politics in Europe*, p. 18.
2. T. N. Taylor, 'The Very Reverend Monsignor Octavius Francis Claeys', *St Peter's College Magazine* [*SPCM*] 8.31 (1928), p. 138.
3. St Thérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame* (trans. Thomas Nimmo Taylor) (London, 1926), pp. 402–7.
4. D. McRoberts, 'Scotland and Our Lady', *SPCM* 21.82 (1954), pp. 108–9 and editorial *SPCM* 23.90 (1958), p. 54.
5. For an account of the early development of the Lithuanian Catholic community in the west of Scotland, see E. O'Donnell, 'To Keep our Fathers' Faith: Lithuanian Immigrant Religious Aspirations and the Policy of the West of Scotland Clergy, 1889–1914', *The Innes Review*49.2 (1998), pp. 168–83.
6. T. N. Taylor, 'St Thérèse and Scotland', *SPCM*18 (1937), p. 63.
7. Ibid., p. 63.
8. S. McGhee, *Monsignor Taylor of Carfin* (Glasgow, 1972), p. 2.
9. Ibid., p. 21.
10. Ibid., p. 42.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 46.
13. Ibid., p. 56.
14. Ibid., Chap. 7, pp. 58–78.
15. Neuner and Dupuis (eds), *The Christian Faith*, p. 340.
16. Ibid., pp. 341–2.
17. *The Glasgow Observer*, 10 July 1915, p. 6.
18. T. N. Taylor, 'The Carfin Grotto',*SPCM*23.90 (1958), p. 93.
19. Ibid.
20. St. Francis Xavier (1506–1552) was a Jesuit saint and martyr.
21. Taylor, 'The Carfin Grotto', p. 94.
22. Ibid., p. 96.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 97.
25. For a fuller account of the incident see S. McGhee, 'Carfin and the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926', *The Innes Review*16.1 (1965), pp. 56–77.
26. Ibid., p. 61.
27. Ibid.
28. Taylor, 'The Carfin Grotto', p. 96.
29. D. Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany* (London, 1995), p. 17.
30. *Ubi Primum*, 2 February 1849.
31. *Ineffabilis Deus*, 8 December 1854.

32. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789*, p. 104.
33. See Conway, *Catholic Politics in Europe*.
34. StThérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame*, p. 245.
35. J. Cusick, 'Saints of the Jubilee Year',*SPCM*8.25 (1925), p. 52.
36. Ibid., p. 53.
37. H. Forbes, 'Omen Novum', *SPCM* 16 (1935), p. 63.
38. St Thérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame*, p. 23.
39. Taylor, 'St Thérèse and Scotland', p. 61.
40. See St Thérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame*.
41. Benedict XV, 'Allocution on the Promulgation of the Decree concerning the virtues of the Venerable Thérèse of the Child Jesus', in St Thérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame*, p. 256.
42. Forbes, 'Omen Novum', p. 64.
43. Cusick, 'Saints of the Jubilee Year', p. 52.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Many of the examples of the 'shower of roses' date from the war years and are recorded in *L'Histoire d'une Ame*. See pp. 410–14.
47. St Thérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame*, pp. 256–76.
48. Pius XI, 'Vehementer exultamus hodie', in St Thérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame*, pp. 278–89.
49. St Thérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame*, p. 211.
50. Ibid., p. 389.
51. Ibid., pp. 389–402.
52. Ibid., p. 392.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 400.
55. See Pope Benedict XV, 'Allocution on the Promulgation of the Decree concerning the virtues of the Venerable Thérèse of the Child Jesus', pp. 256–67.
56. Forbes, 'Omen Novum', p. 143.
57. The Holy Bible Revised Standard Version, Gospel of Saint Matthew 18:1–4.
58. St. Thérèse of Lisieux, *L'Histoire d'une Ame*, p. 257.
59. Ibid., p. 392.
60. Taylor, 'StThérèse and Scotland', p. 61.
61. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789*, p. 118.
62. See Chap. 7 on the Newman Association.
63. See Chap. 8 on Scottish historicism.
64. The term Ghetto Catholicism has two meanings. In its specifically Scottish context it refers to the creation of a Catholic community separated from the mainstream society by Protestant culture. The second meaning refers to a

form of organisation promoted by Catholics to separate themselves from contemporary society and its values in the pursuit of a community defined by its religious culture. The first definition is an externally imposed separation, the second an internally defined structure. For a more comprehensive discussion of the concept of the 'Catholic Ghetto' see McLeod, 'Building the "Catholic Ghetto"'.

65. The celebration of Catholic culture could be in some respects very political, a direct challenge to liberal culture which sought to relegate religion to the private sphere.
66. McGhee, 'Carfin and the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926', p. 58.
67. Ibid., p. 57.
68. Ibid., p. 56.
69. Ibid., p. 58.
70. Taylor, 'The Very Reverend Monsignor Octavius Francis Claeys', p. 138.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., p. 139.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. McGhee, 'Carfin and the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926', p. 59.
78. Taylor, 'The Very Reverend Monsignor Octavius Francis Claeys', p. 141.
79. Susan McGhee, Mgr Taylor's biographer, makes little reference to this incident in her biography. See McGhee, *Monsignor Taylor of Carfin*, p. 106.
80. Taylor, 'The Very Reverend Monsignor Octavius Francis Claeys', p. 138.
81. See M. Conway, 'Belgium', in *Political Catholicism in Europe* (Buchanan and Conway, eds), pp. 187–218.
82. Taylor, 'The Very Reverend Monsignor Octavius Francis Claeys', p. 142.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., p. 143.

CHAPTER 6

Inter-War Marianism and the Legion of Mary

The popularity of the cult of St Thérèse and the founding of the Carfin Grotto were only two of the major developments in Scottish inter-war devotion. Scottish Catholics also adopted and adapted further the growing number of Marian cults by helping to popularise the Legion of Mary, a Catholic Action society founded in Ireland in the 1920s. The Legion would prosper in Scotland, the first enclave of the organisation outside of the Free State, providing an innovative means to venerate the Virgin but also to advance a new devotional culture especially for women in the public sphere in a manner unprecedented to that date. It would be an organisation perfectly suited to inter-war Catholic social teaching in that it was direct challenge to the growth of communism. This chapter has four parts to it. The first part looks at the influence of Marianism on Catholic spirituality. The second part examines the founding of the Legion, first in Ireland in 1922 and then its expansion to Scotland in 1928. As pointed out, Scotland was the first country outside Ireland where the Legion was taken up, and the Archdiocese of Glasgow was the first place in Scotland to have Legion branches or *Praesidia*. The third part looks at the structure of the Legion and sets out the local, national and international organisation of the Legion of Mary with particular reference to Scotland. The final section examines the fields of activity of the Legion.

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_6

Modern Marianism

Marianism or Mariology is the dynamic characteristic of modern Catholicism. The role of the Virgin Mary in Catholic doctrine is, however, amongst the most divisive issues between Catholicism and other Christian denominations, a barrier to some in reconciling Catholic and Orthodox churches. The Jesuit theologians J. Neuner and J. Dupuis described the emergence of Mary in Catholic doctrine as a three-stage process.[1] First, the church established the 'divine Motherhood' of Mary. As 'theotokos' or Mother of God, she was the individual who made God human through giving birth to Jesus.[2] From the General Council of the Church at Ephesus in 431 until 1477, the Catholic Church established and developed the concept of divine motherhood. From 1477 until 1891, the focus was on establishing the characteristics of Mary, primarily her birth free of sin, the Immaculate Conception, which had been defined as far back as the Lateran Council in 649.[3] The third stage was to define the values the Virgin Mary reflected in Catholic devotion. The first aspect was her consent in bringing Christ into the world, described by Leo XIII as a 'mystical marriage' between the Holy Spirit and humanity.[4] By bringing forth Jesus in mortal form, Mary made the link between both and expressed the human potential for salvation. The term used by Pius X was 'dispensatrix' or 'dispenser of all the benefits which Jesus won for us by His death and at the price of his blood'. The second aspect of Mary as expressed by Pius X was as 'mediatrix', that she is 'the most powerful mediator and conciliator (conciliatrix) for the whole world' with Christ.[5] She is in Pius X's words, 'the primary minister in the distribution of the divine graces'.[6] These two characteristics as dispensatrix and mediatrix were developed in the approach to devotion of the Legion of Mary. The Legion can be seen as amongst the first Catholic organisations to fully express modern Marian devotion.

The elevation of the Virgin Mary to the pinnacle of the Catholic Church reflected a worldwide trend in nineteenth-century Catholicism. The increase in her prominence was a result of a number of factors, in particular, the promotion of her memory by Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) both in terms of the revival of the Immaculate Conception of Mary in 1849[7] and its elevation into dogma through the encyclical *Ineffabilis Deus* and the proclamation of the 'Marian Century' in 1854.[8] Pio Nono's attachment to the veneration of the memory of Mary had a deeply personal element to it. In 1855 whilst visiting the excavation of the tomb of Pope Alexander I in

Rome, the floor of a room in which he and 129 others were having lunch collapsed, but miraculously no one was hurt. Pius attributed his escape from harm to the Virgin.[9] Although the papacy was the principal source of the revival of Marian devotion in liturgy and dogma, it was from below, in the parishes and hamlets of Catholic Europe, that the main inspiration for the public manifestations of modern Marianism emerged.

David Blackbourn has described the outbreak of Marian visions, starting with the appearance by Mary in Paris in 1830 before the novice nun Cathérine Labouré at her convent in Rue du bac as amongst 'the great collective dramas of nineteenth century Europe'.[10] He contrasted the age of industrialisation and technology with the revival of patterns of devotion that in many respects belonged in medieval Europe. Apparitions of the Virgin Mary were not an invention of the nineteenth century. Throughout the history of Christianity there had been many appearances of the Virgin, in various forms and locations. In his study of the 1876 German apparitions at Marpingen in the Saarland, Blackbourn identified a number of significantly modern elements in the various visitations that took place during the century, or as he defined it 'a new idiom'.[11] The first element was the physical appearance of the Virgin. Blackbourn pointed out that in the classic medieval cult, objects were the focus of the miracles attributed to the Virgin, for example in the case of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa it was a portrait of Mary which had deflected cannon shot during the Thirty Years War.[12] The second departure in the modern apparitions was the individuals to whom the revelations were made. In the 'classic modern cult' according to Blackbourn, the visionary was young and female and the typical visionary, historically, was adult and male.[13] Unique to the modern cult was the character of the messages delivered commonly having a political or social message and often occurring at times of political or social turmoil. The visions, argued Blackbourn, 'followed the contours of political conflict' in Europe.[14] This was the case in the first major vision in Paris in 1830 just prior to the toppling of the Bourbons and also in 1917 at Fatima in Portugal, viewed as an omen of the upheaval caused by the Russian revolutions.[15] The Marpingen visions took place as the struggle or *Kulturkampf* between the Catholic Church and the recently created German Empire was reaching its zenith. The final element of the cult as it developed was the depth of the resonance that the apparitions had in the broad church not just on the locality. Typically, visions or appearances would have only a localised impact on the devotional life of the community.[16]

The French apparitions starting in the 1830s and culminating in the Lourdes visions in 1858, became first local, then national and ultimately international events, changing the character of devotion across the Catholic world.[17] In one respect this is simple to understand: medieval visions did not have mass communication in the shape of newspapers to bring news of the visions or most significantly the railways to ferry pilgrims across continents. This point may provide one reason for the popularity of the shrines, but the deep well of enthusiasm for the Marian visitations of the nineteenth century demonstrate a deeper shift within Catholicism. At Lourdes, the visions of the Virgin Mary, revealed to Bernadette Soubirous, contained an important instruction to Catholics. Mary was reported as saying, 'I want people to come in procession.'[18] This element had a strong influence on the presentation of Catholic identity from this point onwards. Visible presentations of Catholic identity were not unique to France, however. Throughout the Catholic world, various religious festivals were celebrated in open processions, most notably on the festival of *Corpus Christi* where the body of Christ in the form of the communion host is carried around the boundaries of a parish. Also there are festivals on particular feast days relevant to local villages and towns that most often take the form of a procession. The difference in the case of Lourdes is that the procession venerated the Virgin Mary and attempted to promote a deeper religious life in a time of social change, in which secular influences were seen as a threat to the life of the church. The processional movement therefore carried a social and political message, as well as religious meaning.

Marianism in Scotland

The central importance of the Virgin Mary in Catholic theology and iconography had been recognised for centuries.[19] A little less well recognised has been the significance of Marian devotion in Scotland. An important step in recovering the history of Marianism in Scotland came in 1954, the year that brought to a close Pope Pius IX's 'Marian Century', through an article published in the *St Peter's College Magazine* by Mgr David McRoberts entitled *Scotland and Our Lady*.[20] The article examined each of the periods of the Catholic history of Scotland and brought forward examples of Marian devotion in the culture and piety of Scotland. McRoberts argued that far from being immune from Marian imagery, as many post-Reformation scholars suggested, 'that in every phase and aspect of Christian life, the medieval and the modern Catholics of Scotland prove

themselves to be as sincere and devout clients of Our Lady as any other national group within the comity of nations that we call Christendom'.[21]

Starting with Celtic Christianity, the period prior to the Clunaic Reformation[22] of the eleventh century, although feast days celebrating Mary and the saints were uncommon, McRoberts argued 'that primitive devotion to Our Lady is writ large on the face of the whole country',[23] through many place names from this period which contain Mary or Mother or Lady in their titles such as Tobermory ('mory' is the old Scottish variation of Mary), Motherwell and Ladywell amongst many other examples.[24] From the eleventh century to the Reformations of the late sixteenth century, Scottish Mariology developed on the same pattern as the rest of Catholic Christendom. The Virgin Mary was celebrated in art, song, poems and in the devotional preferences of Scots. McRoberts used as an example the fairs and holidays of the Scottish parishes. Out of 300 known Scottish fairs, over 40 were held in honour of Mary.[25] In many churches, Saturday services were dedicated to Mary's honour.[26] Many Scottish Catholics from the latter Middle Ages onwards said the Rosary to the Virgin.[27] Following the sixteenth-century Reformation almost all of the statues, shrines and images of Mary were ransacked, torn down or destroyed by zealots and looters: only one of the medieval statues to the Virgin survives to this day. In Brussels at the church of Finisterre, the Statue to Our Lady of Good Success was originally called Our Lady of Aberdeen. The statue was removed from the city and secretly transported to the Low Countries.[28] In the years after the Reformation in Scotland, Marian devotion was still maintained by recusant Catholics. McRoberts cited two examples from Aberdeen and Speyside of processions and holidays dedicated to the Virgin surviving well into the seventeenth century.[29] The final examples of Marian tradition in Scotland were in heraldry. (McRoberts had a long-standing interest in heraldry and he designed the coats of arms for the Scottish Catholic dioceses in 1945 and in 1960 for the moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.)[30] Many of the burgh emblems and noble coats depict images of the Virgin Mary.[31] The final example used by McRoberts was of the Scottish Crown jewels where the royal sceptre bears an image of Mary with the infant Jesus.[32] Monsignor McRoberts' article presents modern Marian devotion as part of a well established or as he argued 'an unbroken tradition' in Catholic Scotland.[33] There were certainly changes through the years and, as David Blackbourn has argued, nineteenth-century Marianism was with the processional movement, the cult of the sacred heart and later the Legion of

Mary, presented in a new idiom.[34] In other words the long tradition of Marianism was maintained through new trends in devotional practice and with the emergence of the Carfin Grotto in 1922, a new era of Scottish Marianism opened.

The Legion of Mary

The standard of the Legion of Mary depicts the Virgin Mary standing on top of the world crushing a serpent at her feet representing sin.[35] This image alone demonstrates the nature of the Legion. It is devoted to the veneration of the Virgin Mary and through this the elimination of heresy and sin. The Legion represents a fierce and militant Catholic Church. Its character is deliberately visible and interventionist. It is an extension of the forms of Marian devotion that were popularised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the processional movement based around the Lourdes and Fatima shrines and other pious sites. The Legion is an international organisation and by 1965, it had *senatus* in 133 countries.[36]

The Legion has a distinctive image as a women's organisation. It did operate in what could be seen as 'female spheres', dealing with the sick, feeble, children and the elderly. This image stands in contrast to both the profile of the membership (where men made up around one third of the membership) and the fact that the Legion was founded by a man, the Irish civil servant Frank Duff in the 1920s in Dublin.[37] There used to be a strict gender division with women working in certain areas (such as in rescue work with prostitutes) and men in others (such as in prison visits). In addition, it is seen as a lay organisation but it was strong in both seminaries and in abbeys. Men and women, clergy and laity were equally called by the Legion to the cause of the Virgin.

As we have seen, amongst the first acts of the pontificate of Pope Pius IX in 1854 was to declare the coming century the Marian Century. The Vatican was reacting to a popular groundswell around the memory of the Virgin through the rash of Marian apparitions in the mid to late nineteenth century but also Pius IX was setting the stamp of Catholicism in the modern age. The Catholicism of the new industrial age was militant, visible and above all supernatural. This contrast between the secular and scientific world of liberalism and the Catholic universe of intercession and miracles has led to an impression that Catholicism is an anachronism, out of touch and deliberately intransigent in the face of progress and rationalism. The term supernatural has in the minds of some become synony-

mous with superstition. This is sometimes a deliberate attempt to portray Catholicism as representative of the past with no relevance to contemporary circumstances or the future. There is, however, a substantial difference. Superstition is primarily concerned with habits which are intended to ward off evil or misfortune. A Catholic interpretation of the supernatural is based on the belief in a universe in which forces, through the Holy Spirit, act through the agency of individuals, either saints or other holy people, in a positive way to help and influence the everyday lives of people.[38] The theological progression of Catholicism in the late nineteenth century built up this image of the operation of Christianity through the intercession of pious supernatural forces. At a simple level supernaturalism is about a recognition that the world is shaped not simply by natural forces, physics or chemistry but by external spiritual elements.

In the first chapter of the handbook of the Legion of Mary there is a deliberate parallel drawn between the organisation of the Legion and the structure of the Communist Party. 'It [the Legion] employs the same methods, working through cells and personal contact. Its colour is the same – red. Without any forethought much of the same terminology is used.'[39] As we have seen, the 'spectre of communism' galvanised Catholic Action in the inter-war years. This is clear in the encyclicals of Pius XI in particular, but it is also evident in the forms of action Catholics participated in and in the organisational structure of some Catholic Action societies. The language adopted by the Legion is deliberately militaristic based on the Roman legions of antiquity.[40] The Legion was very keen to promote this metaphor. In a rally in late 1935 Miss McGarry, the President of the Glasgow curia, explained '[the Legion] is an army modelled on the Roman army and … they must develop the qualities of the Roman soldier, loyalty, obedience, perseverance, courage, discipline and success.'[41] This militarism represented vigilance, commitment and devotion – the types of values necessary to combat the omnipresent threat of communism. The imagery of the ancient Roman legionaries had further representations: each year the Legion held on the Feast of the Annunciation its *acies*.[42] This meeting of Legionaries in 'battle array' mimicked the annual parade by the Roman armies before Caesar to pledge their allegiance to him.[43] Marian devotion held a special place in the Catholic Church in the inter-war years as a counter to the rise of the left. It had become a very public spectacle through Lourdes and the other main sites of pilgrimage. The veneration of the memory of Mary and the values she was built up by the church to represent, gradually gained a greater significance to encourage greater

contact by the laity with the less active members of the church. For this approach to work it was not enough to encourage prayer and other forms of piety, but also to develop direct intervention and support in the name of the Mother of God.

Although the Vatican was keen to promote Marian devotion, the Legion was founded well away from Rome, in Ireland. In this respect, The Legion followed the pattern set by the Marian apparitions of the nineteenth century. All of the major sites associated with visitations by Mary starting in 1831 in Paris, at Lourdes, at Knock in Ireland, and at Marpingen in the Saarland began life as purely local events. The Vatican, despite the declaration of the Marian Century by Pius IX in 1854, only slowly supported these phenomena, gradually seeing the potential for a modern and popular form of devotion. The Legion of Mary was founded in 1921 at Myra House in Francis Street in Dublin by Frank Duff, a civil servant.[44] It was formed out of a fusion of the Society of St Vincent de Paul in Dublin and a local body, the Pioneer Association which provided a free breakfast service for local children.[45] The first meeting attracted twelve members.[46] It involved itself first in home visits to raise consciousness and promote prayer and regular attendance at Mass.[47] The Legion's first major 'campaign' was launched in 1922 in the red-light district in Dublin around Low Street. The Francis Street house was used as a rescue station for prostitutes and others on the streets of Ireland's capital. The character of the Legion was set by the Low Street campaign in which individual members would address prostitutes directly and try to persuade them to abandon their 'trade'.[48] Rescuing prostitutes was a well-established form of evangelism, a fact noted by Frank Duff in his book on the rescue campaign *Miracles on Tap*.[49] There had been Magdalen Asylums established by the Catholic Church in most of the major towns and cities of the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century.[50] The Legion helped to revive the practice of direct action not just to rescue prostitutes but also to promote temperance through the picketing of public houses. In Dublin by the late 1920s, there were two rescue hostels and a retreat house operated by the Legion of Mary.[51]

In 1927, Frank Duff first visited Scotland to canvas support for the Legion outside Ireland. The Archbishop of Glasgow, Donald Mackintosh, was the first to authorise a meeting under the auspices of the Legion on 26April 1928 at St Peter's Partick in the West End of the city. Within a year eight *Praesidia* were established in the Archdiocese; by the end of 1932 there were 16 (15 in the city of Glasgow).[52] The Legion by then had

established a close link with the Carfin Grotto through the active support of Mgr Thomas Nimmo Taylor who made the first donation towards the 'Regina Coeli' *Praesidium*, a hostel for homeless pregnant women.[53] John Joseph Campbell (secretary of the Catholic Union) found the hostel a location at Eight Park Circus in Glasgow in 1935.[54]

The centre of the Legion of Mary is in Dublin. The headquarters and central committee of the Legion are situated there. The central body of the legion is called The Concilium Legionis and is the supreme governing body.[55] The Legion expanded from Ireland and Scotland into England and from there via France in 1940 into the rest of Europe. The principles of 'democratic centralism' operated in the work of the Legion with the organisation's main spirit being represented by its founder Frank Duff (1889–1980). It was Duff who thought of the idea of the Legion and for the rest of his life he defined the direction of the organisation. At the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), Frank Duff was the senior representative of the laity. The Legion had papal approval. It received special blessings from Popes Pius XI, Pius XII and John XXIII.[56]

The main regional focus for the Legion was the Senatus.[57] This was a body that comprised members from the representatives of the Curia.[58] The Curia was a council made up of officers of the affiliated *Praesidia*.[59] Where there were two or more *Praesidia* a Curia could be formed to coordinate the work of the Legion in a local area.[60] There was a single Curia for the city of Glasgow.[61] In 1937, the Curia in Glasgow was raised to the status of the Senatus of Scotland.[62] The properties of the Legion in Glasgow were administered by the Curia.[63] This represented the first Senatus outside of Ireland.[64] There were two main hostels founded by the Legion in Glasgow, the 'Regina Coeli' hostel for mothers[65] and the 'Sancta Maria' hostel for street girls in Wilton Street in Woodlands opened on 10 November 1937.[66] The Senatus also ran a 'drop-in' centre or women's social parlour at Oak Street in the city centre.[67] The Senatus had responsibility for running special events that included the provision of stewards and attendants at the Carfin Grotto.[68] The association with Carfin, begun by Thomas Nimmo Taylor and the Legion earlier, was confirmed by the building of a special Legion alter at Carfin in 1937.[69] The Legion holds a monthly procession to the Lourdes Shrine at Carfin. After 1945, each of the Legion's Senatus were given responsibility for missionary work outside of Scotland. The Scottish Senatus was given the Baltic State of Latvia where it regularly sent prayer books and supported refugees from communism.[70]

The basic unit of the Legion of Mary is the *Praesidium*. The *Praesidium* is the local branch of the Legion based on a church or chapel parish.[71] The first point of contact for the Legion is the parish priest who is approached to agree the formation of a *Praesidium*.[72] The *Praesidia* are encouraged to meet weekly.[73] They work in their local parish in the promotion of the Legion. Home visits are the basic function of the Legion, where Legion members 'doorstep' local Catholics to encourage them to join, to increase attendance at Mass or to recite the Rosary or other prayers and devotions more frequently. Local *Praesidia* also visit local hospitals, hostels or lodging houses. In tandem with the Senior *Praesidia* for adults are junior *Praesidia* for children.[74]

There were also specialist *Praesidia* founded separate from parishes. These included two RAF *Praesidia* in Stirlingshire and Ayrshire and a *Praesidium* for Polish sailors.[75] In 1954 the 'Queen of Scotland' *Praesidium* was formed to coordinate home visits to the houses of non-Catholics.[76] Prison visits to female prisoners at Duke Street Prison were organised by the 'Our Lady of Light' *Praesidium*.[77] Barlinnie Prison was visited by Legion Brothers from the local *Praesidium*.[78] There were also two seminary *Praesidia* at St Peter's College in Bearsden.[79] Other specialist *Praesidia* were formed for housewives, trade unionists, deaf and dumb children and Gaelic speakers.[80] Most of these bodies were founded in the 'high-watermark of Legion extension in Scotland' between 1939 and 1945.[81] By 1964, the Legion had 239 senior and 180 junior *Praesidia* in Scotland with a total of 3,521 members. Of this membership, 2,277 were female (women and girls) and 1,244 were male, a ratio of a little under two female to one male Legionnaires.[82]

When it was founded in 1921 in Ireland, the Legion of Mary entered a very crowded Catholic Action infrastructure. There were Catholic groups for almost all areas of life. For adults there were charitable organisations such as the Society of St Vincent de Paul; occupational groups were founded in most of the professions and some in skilled occupations such as for bus drivers and tram drivers. For women there was the Catholic Women's League and for children the Catholic Young Men's (and Women's) Society. In politics, there was the Catholic Union and the Catholic Social Guild. There was also, through the Knights of St Columba, a network of male laity dedicated to mutual support and charity (occasionally characterised as the Catholic Masons). It would seem, therefore, that the Legion of Mary would find it hard to attract members and find something to do, when there seemed a Catholic society for every activity and age group.

The success of the Legion was primarily based on its marrying of activity with piety. Traditional Catholic Action societies had a lay membership with a priest tagged on to provide spiritual direction. The Legion, however, in addition to its charitable and philanthropic activity had a strong devotional and evangelical purpose. Legionnaires were expected to be deeply pious with frequent attendance at Mass, recitation of the Rosary and other obligations and they were to encourage all Catholics to do the same: 'Every convinced Catholic has within him a picture of the faith which he can pass on to others.'[83] The object was 'to infuse new strength into the weaker members of the church'.[84] The Legion saw itself at war, as the first Spiritual Director of the Glasgow Curia, the Very Reverend Father Threfall SJ expressed it:

> The duty of the Legion is to fight the enemies of the church. But the fight is an orderly one. There is a plan in the works of the Legion and those who are enrolling themselves in the swelling ranks of the Legion must make themselves fitful for the fight.[85]

The Legion of Mary can be seen as the first example of the modern lay apostolate, where the laity were the essential element in religious devotion. Its emphasis was on the spirituality of the laity based not on the parish church or chapel but on personal behaviour. This did not exclude the clergy from its traditional role as shepherds to the flock. Clerical influence was very strong though in a different way from before. The lay members of the Legion set the priorities in devotion and piety. It was a devotional society that was built from the laity.

The second reason for the success of the Legion in attracting support was in its ability to refresh Catholic Action. Many of the functions of the Legion were not original. Home visits were the staple pastoral function of the parish priest. The prioritisation of youth had been the role of the CYMS and other bodies. Looking after prostitutes, the destitute and others had been carried out by the likes of the Catholic Women's League, the Magdalens and the female religious orders. If we look at each of these areas of activity in turn we are able to find the distinctive contribution made by the Legion in revamping and galvanising traditional Catholic Action.

The Legion defined the role of Legionnaires in home visits thus: 'The Legionary is not replacing the priest. He is an extension, as it were, of the priest … a sharing of Legionnaires in the pastoral vocation of the priest.'[86] The image of the parish priest going from door to door checking up on

the habits and the piety of Catholics and searching out lapsed Catholics is a common caricature. The Legion of Mary brought mass action to the function of home visitation. The work in home visits was split by the union into three categories: careless or lapsed Catholics, those viewed as 'Good Catholics' and non-Catholics.[87] The usual process of home visits was to go from house to house and ask if there were any Catholics in the home. Occasionally parish registers were used but most often, it was simple 'door-stepping'.[88] Lapsed Catholics were frequently visited by both the priest and the Legion of Mary, with Legionnaires returning on a number of occasions. 'Good Catholics' were visited to encourage them to deepen their faith or to become involved in parochial events or given information on details for the Lourdes pilgrimages.[89] The Legion also visited 'Good Catholics' who were infirm or elderly, often helping to clean their homes or to pray with them.[90] Non-Catholics greeted the Legion of Mary with a mixture of surprise and suspicion. One Legionnaire recounted a hospital visit by a priest to a Legion member where in the next bed was a Protestant minister. The minister told the priest 'That is a remarkable man. I have been to college, yet he knows more than I do. He can define prayer, God, sacrifice, etc., in the most succinct way.' The experience of the Legionnaires was not always positive, however, and there were many occasions where an impromptu visit by the Legion was greeted by 'Catholics! We want nothing to do with you!'[91] In addition to these public visits were prison visits to the main jails in the city of Glasgow.

The rescue work of the Legion incorporated the picketing of public houses and other venues; it also ran women's hostels and a club for vagrants called the 'Wayside Club'. The picketing of public houses served three purposes, first, to discourage Catholic men from drinking; second, to identify street women and encourage them to stay at a Legion hostel; and third, to approach young women who were seen frequenting cafés and bars who would then be encouraged to go to a retreat house. The 'Sancta Maria' hostel run by the Legion was intended to house women with no homes and to encourage stability and sobriety. The hostel was established for all women irrespective of race, creed or colour.[92] The hostel had space for 30 women and from 1937 until 1964 around 1,200 had been resident for a period of time in the hostel.[93] Susan Gallagher, a former officer of the Senatus and a Legionnaire responsible for the hostel, regarded the main issue for the hostel as its regime. 'The greatest difficulty probably was finding the happy mean between too much freedom, which would turn the hostel into a free lodging house, and applying too much

discipline, which would make it only another institution.'[94] The war years between 1939 and 1945 placed 'a strain on the resources and resourcefulness' of the Legion.[95] Picketing was made difficult by the wartime blackout and there was a degree of moral and sexual relaxation which produced many casualties.

The 'Wayside Club' was established for vagrants in 1937.[96] It was part of 'Our Lady of the Wayside' *Praesidium* founded in 1930 which was located in, ironically, a disused public house in the Anderston district of the city near the shipyards.[97] The *Praesidium* was an all-male branch of the Legion acting in parallel to the women's hostel. In addition to operating the 'Wayside Club', the brothers visited lodging houses or 'models'.[98] In Glasgow during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s there were around nine models catering for 3,000 men.[99] The brothers would encourage the vagrants who were Catholics to go to Mass, if they were not already going along. To a non-Catholic, the brothers encouraged him to 'Pray to God in his own way'.[100] They also referred lodgers to Alcoholics Anonymous or to the Talbot Centre (a model which forbade drinking).[101] Four times every year the Wayside *Praesidium* organised day retreats for around 60–70 men at a time.[102] Outside of the lodging houses, Legion members sought vagrants who lived in derelict buildings and brought them to the 'Wayside Club' for a meal. The Legionnaires would try to find them lodgings and if they were ill, a referral to a hospital.[103] Vincent Buchanan, who volunteered to work at the 'Wayside Club' for 18 years, admitted that 'It is very hard to get members for this type of work', but pointed out, 'The terrible tragedy is that if we do not do it, no one else will.'[104] Outside of the 'Wayside Club', the Legion tried to set up in the model of the 'Sancta Maria' a male hostel as a domicile for the homeless but it was not a success.[105]

The work amongst younger Catholics by the legion included junior *Praesidia*, *Praesidia* in schools, seminaries, *Pergrinatio Pro Christo* or 'Adventuring for Christ' centred on the universities and *Viatores Christi* formed from the 'adventurers' for missionary work abroad. The junior *Paesidia* were attached to a senior *Praesidium* in a parish. The main purpose of the juniors was to visit young people and encourage them to become more involved in the work of the church and in its devotions. There was amongst members of the junior *Praesidia* substantial criticism of the attitude by the seniors to juniors, to their work and responsibilities. William Donachy in his article for the *Legion in Scotland* criticised the lack of interest by the senior members in the Legion.[106] This he put down to

the comparative ineffectiveness of the junior Legion because there was an 'over-protective' attitude towards the younger members and the fact that the work singled out for the juniors was therefore 'depressing and unenterprising'.[107] Junior Legionnaires were asked to deliver magazines or sell newspapers at the church door. Donachy asked, 'How can an adolescent's vast hunger for adventure be satisfied by a diet of trivialities?'[108] The junior Legion flourished, he pointed out, where the work was more direct and adventurous such as at junior *Praesidia* where they visited mental hospitals and borstals (the predecessors of the modern young offenders' institutions) to talk directly to people their own age.[109]

Peregrinatio Pro Christo was formed in Ireland in 1958 by 11 Irish university students and junior Legionnaires who modelled themselves on the fifth-century wandering Peregrinatio monks.[110] The modern *Peregrinantes* took holiday jobs together in London and in their spare time devoted themselves to apostolic work in cafés and bars. The first Scottish volunteers joined them in 1960 and in the same year, the Irish students came to Glasgow. By 1963, the Scottish contingent expanded to 120 and they went with the *Peregrinantes* to England, France, Australia, Africa and India.[111] Most of the work was pressed into a two-week mission and afterwards the *Peregrinantes* went back to their colleges and seminaries. A more permanent missionary organisation, *Viatores Christi*, was formed also in 1958 in Ireland and expanded to Scotland in 1965 with a Glasgow *Viatores Praesidium*.[112] The *Viatores* took up two- to three-year missions to Africa and South America. Before the founding of the Glasgow branch, two Scottish *Viatores* had taken appointments in Rhodesia and Brazil.[113] The Glasgow *Praesidium* was affiliated to the Catholic diocese in Uganda.[114]

Outside of the junior *Praesidia* in the parishes other bodies were established attracting younger members of the Catholic community. These included seminaries and religious houses. Amongst the clergy and religious, there was a degree of ambivalence towards the Legion on the grounds that as candidates for the priesthood or religious orders the Legion was 'superfluous'.[115] However, Rev. Brother Noel of the Marist Scholasticate at St Joseph's College in Dumfries viewed the work of the Legion amongst the younger religious as important. He said, 'Religious are often in a position that is both interesting to the Legion and potentially valuable. As lay persons, they are entitled to full participation in the lay apostolate; and as Religious, they are of course available as spiritual directors, delegates of the parish priest.'[116] In effect through expansion

of the Legion in the religious orders, the Legion brought an awareness of and participation in the work of the Legion and drew upon an untapped source of potential spiritual directors for *Praesidia*. The St Joseph College *Praesidium* formed in October 1963 was called the 'Mary Immaculate, Our Way of Life'. It was involved in Bible classes at a local borstal,[117] and visited the local prison and an invalids' home.[118] A *Praesidium* had been formed at the Seminary at St Peter's College in Bearsden in 1943.[119]

The Legion of Mary within a short period after its arrival in Scotland, and in particular the west of Scotland, became a very popular form of Catholic piety. The organisation combined a deep devotion to the image of the Virgin Mary and a commitment to charitable works of behalf of those neglected by the state or otherwise seen as pariahs. It was more popular amongst women than men, an image which remained at least in the period up to the 1960s, though as pointed out, one third of the membership was made up by men. The Legion was less successful in attracting younger Catholics, though by the late 1950s it was making steps to correct this imbalance. The comments by William Donachy reflect a frustration at the attitude of older Legion members. The Legion had a self-image that was determinedly 'militant', standing in opposition to the forces of secularism and atheism, best represented by the communist movement. That militancy was not just for external appearances, it also characterised the recruitment of Catholics to the standard of the Legion. For those who joined the Legion it was expected that they would become involved in not just its public events, but also to devote themselves to prayer and other exhortations on behalf of the Virgin, frequent attendance at Mass, adoration and recitation of the Rosary. The Legion was significant in relation to its field of activity, as it picked up where other Catholic groups had left off, such as the Catholic Women's League, in rescue work, home visits and other charitable events. The success of the Legion also demonstrated the power of the image of Mary in mobilising Catholics from both genders and from different social backgrounds.

Conclusion

The Legion of Mary offers a further perspective on the character of Catholic Action, Catholic social teaching and devotional trends in the inter-war period and its application to Scottish conditions. It was created as a means to radicalise and mobilise the laity to challenge the appeal and influence of secular movements, most notably the Communist Party. It

had local, national and international cultural and gendered dimensions. It was a further advance of so-called visible Catholicism that offered a challenge to the rest of Christian Scotland, and provided a public political role for the female laity (though still under the direction, at least initially, of an all-male leadership). The Legion took the church onto the peripheries of society such as the model lodging houses, red-light districts and prisons to rescue the Catholic fallen, contact those requiring redemption and to keep the vulnerable from temptation. But it was also to further an intransigent faith which sought to hold back the tide of modernity and social change.

Notes

1. Neuner. J and Dupuis. J The Chrisitian Faith pp. 199–200.
2. The term 'theotokos' was established by Pope John II in a letter to the senate of Constantinople in 534. Ibid., p. 201.
3. Ibid.
4. Leo XIII, *Octobri Mense* (1891), in *The Christian Faith* (Neuner and Dupuis, eds), p. 205.
5. Pius X, *Ad Diem Illum* (1904), ibid., p. 206.
6. Ibid., p. 206.
7. *Ubi Primum*, 2 February 1849.
8. *Ineffabilis Deus*, 8 December 1854.
9. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789*, p. 104.
10. Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany*, p. 17.
11. Ibid., p. 18.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 17.
14. Ibid., p. 39.
15. The apparition of the Virgin Mary took place at Fatima in Portugal on 3 May 1917. One of the children who witnessed the vision related an alleged warning from Mary to the church and the world of the consequences of the atheism triumphing in Russia. See Davies, *Europe*: *A New History*, p. 917.
16. Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany*, p. 18.
17. For a comprehensive assessment of Lourdes and it development see Harris, *Lourdes.*
18. Taylor, 'The Very Reverend Monsignor Octavius Francis Claeys', p. 140.
19. See M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex* (London, 1976).
20. McRoberts, 'Scotland and Our Lady', pp. 104–17.

21. Ibid., p. 104.
22. The Clunaic Reformation was the basis of the reorganisation of monastic life in Europe. The model of the Benedictine monastery at Cluny in Burgundy inspired it. The Reformation created new communities of monks united under the authority of an abbot rather than single monks living in isolation. See Davies, *Europe: A New History*, p. 315.
23. McRoberts, 'Scotland and Our Lady', p. 104.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 105.
26. Ibid., p. 107.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p. 114.
29. Ibid., pp. 106, 115.
30. James Darragh, 'David McRoberts, 1912–1979', *The Innes Review*30.1 (1979), p. 9.
31. McRoberts, 'Scotland and Our Lady', p. 117.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany*, p. 16.
35. *The Glasgow Observer*, 12 October 1937, p. 12.
36. Rev. F. J. Ripley, 'Summary of Addresses and Discussions', in *The Legion in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1964, various authors), p. 1.
37. A. McGurnaghan, 'The Origin and Development of the Legion of Mary in Scotland', in *The Legion in Scotland*, p. 17.
38. See *The Christian Faith* (Neuner and Dupuis, eds), p. 358.
39. Ripley, 'Summary of Addresses and Discussions', pp. 1–2.
40. The Society of Jesus used the same martial iconography and terminology.
41. *The Glasgow Observer*, 31 December 1935, p. 14.
42. *The Glasgow Observer*, 27 March 1937, p. 3.
43. Ibid.
44. Frank Duff, *Miracles on Tap* (Dublin, 1961), p. 100.
45. Ibid., p. 95.
46. Ibid., p. 100.
47. Ibid., p. 102.
48. Ibid., pp. 103–21.
49. Ibid., p. 103.
50. See Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1990).
51. Duff, *Miracles on Tap*, p. 81.
52. McGurnaghan, 'The Origin and Development of the Legion of Mary in Scotland', p. 14.

53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 15.
55. Ripley, 'Summary of Addresses and Discussions', p. 10.
56. Duff, *Miracles on Tap*, pp. 283–6.
57. Ripley, 'Summary of Addresses and Discussions', p. 10.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., p. 11.
61. McGurnaghan, 'The Origin and Development of the Legion of Mary in Scotland', p. 16.
62. Ripley, 'Summary of Addresses and Discussions', p. 11.
63. McGurnaghan, 'The Origin and Development of the Legion of Mary in Scotland', p. 17.
64. *The Glasgow Observer*, 15 May 1937, p. 3.
65. McGurnaghan, 'The Origin and Development of the Legion of Mary in Scotland', p. 17.
66. *The Glasgow Observer*, 16 November 1937, p. 3.
67. *The Glasgow Observer*, 23 December 1937, p. 12.
68. McGurnaghan, 'The Origin and Development of the Legion of Mary in Scotland', p. 17.
69. *The Glasgow Observer*, 15 May 1937, p. 11.
70. Ripley, 'Summary of Addresses and Discussions',p. 11.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., p. 6.
75. McGurnaghan, 'The Origin and Development of the Legion of Mary in Scotland', p. 17.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., p. 16.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., p. 17.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ripley, 'Summary of Addresses and Discussions', p. 5.
84. *The Glasgow Observer*, 27 March 1937, p. 3.
85. Ibid.
86. Seamus O'Sullivan, 'Home Visitation', in *The Legion in Scotland*, p. 21.
87. Ibid., p. 18.
88. Ripley, 'Summary of Addresses and Discussions', p. 6.
89. O'Sullivan, 'Home Visitation', p. 19.

90. Ibid., p. 20.
91. Ibid.
92. S. Gallagher, 'The Legion Hostel', in *The Legion in Scotland*, p. 36.
93. Ibid., p. 37.
94. Ibid., p. 33.
95. Ibid., p. 34.
96. *The Glasgow Observer*, 20 February 1937, p. 9.
97. Ibid.
98. V. Buchanan, 'Lodging House Visitation', in *The Legion in Scotland*, p. 40.
99. Ibid., p. 42.
100. Ibid., p. 41.
101. Ibid., p. 42.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid., p. 43.
104. Ibid., p. 44.
105. *The Glasgow Observer*, 6 March 1937, p. 3.
106. W. Donachy, 'The Junior Legion', in *The Legion in Scotland*, p. 22.
107. Ibid., p. 23.
108. Ibid., p. 24.
109. Ibid., p. 25.
110. Ibid., p. 26.
111. M. Tipping, '*Peregrinatio Pro Christo*: "Adventuring for Christ"', in *The Legion in Scotland*, p. 48.
112. Ibid., p. 52.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. Rev. J. McMahon, 'A *Praesidium* in a Seminary', in *The Legion in Scotland*, p. 30.
116. Rev. Brother Noel, 'A *Praesidium* in a Scholasticate', in *The Legion in Scotland*, p. 28.
117. Borstals were the precursors of the modern young offenders' institutions.
118. Noel, 'A *Praesidium* in a Scholasticate', p. 29.
119. Reports from the St Peter's *Praesidia* can be found in the *SPCM*.

CHAPTER 7

The Newman Association, *Aggiornamento* and Post-War Catholicism

From 1945 until the mid-1960s, the Newman Association, the graduate arm of the Federation of University Catholic Student Societies, became the most important focus of Catholic Action amongst the educated laity in the Archdiocese of Glasgow. The Association took its name from Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801–1890), the leader of the Oxford Movement in the Church of England and subsequent convert to Catholicism. Newman championed reform not just within the Church of England but also after his conversion in 1845 within the Catholic Church. Newman's example was crucial to the self-image and identity of the Association.[1] The development of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association highlights both the themes of this work. It reflects the changing character of the Catholic Church in Scotland and in particular puts into sharp focus the period in which concern about the image of the church collided with changing attitudes towards the church by the laity and society in general. The Newman Association, although it has a strong sense of Scottish Catholic identity, was also part of a broader international movement that had a clearly defined role in post-war Catholic culture.

The self-proclaimed role of the Newman Association was as 'spearhead of the intellectual apostolate'.[2] It was also the voice of the Scottish laity before and during the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) in which it sought to bring greater recognition of the role of lay Catholics both as apostles of the church and as an important voice within the church for

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_7

greater democracy and accountability. After Vatican II it was replaced as the radical voice of the laity first by the Scottish Lay Apostolate Movement and then by the Scottish Catholic Renewal Movement.

The Newman Association can be seen as the successor to the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, although it differed in many important ways. The Catholic Union was the creation of the first Archbishop of the restored ecclesiastical see of Glasgow, Rev. Charles Eyre. The inspiration for the formation of the Newman Association in Glasgow came directly from the laity. Although it was autonomous, the formation of the Newman Association Circle in Glasgow was sanctioned on the instructions of Archbishop Donald A. Campbell DD in November1944. The Newman Circle in Glasgow retained good relations with the clergy and hierarchy seeing itself as a partner, if only a junior partner, in the pastoral work of the church. As an independent body, it emphasised its distance from the direct control of the clergy which was the hallmark of the Catholic Union.[3] By the 1940s, as we have seen, the CUAG was a body that was clearly receding in importance, as the Catholic community changed, diversified and dealt with new challenges. The CUAB was effectively made redundant, but the charitable work of the Catholic community continued with the Society of St Vincent de Paul alongside other Catholic groups such as the Legion of Mary providing social services and help for those who had no place in the National Insurance system. In the post-war years Catholic Action was still a phrase used by the papacy and Catholic lay activists, though by that time it often reflected internal and external objectives, that is activity and discussion about external secular problems and also about *aggiornamento* or the renewal of the church and its own institutions. The Catholic Union was the means of advancing Catholic interests in the wider community, and although the Newman Association carried on this ethos it was arguably within the church that it made its most telling contribution.

The Newman Association is a suitable topic for detailed analysis as it emerged at a crucial period, not only in the history of the church, but of Scotland and Western Europe. This chapter is concerned with two key issues. First, it focuses on the self-identity of Catholics and the role of faith in the modern world. Second, it addresses the changing context of Scotland in the first two decades of the post-war years and the response of Catholics to this changing context. The issues that shall be addressed in relation to the self-identity of Catholics will be centred on the structures and objectives of the Newman Association. The chapter will also look at

the early responses of the Newman Association in Glasgow to the Second Vatican Council. As the Newman Association had a narrow membership based on the professions, discussions of changes in Catholic culture are made only with reference to this small seam of society. However, the Newman Association viewed itself as a spearhead, intending that where it pioneered change, it would blaze a trail for other Catholics to follow. Therefore, in considering the Newman Association, it is possible to see the structures and approaches to faith it championed as being the template for the rest of the Catholic community. This was certainly the intention of many within the Association, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter. It could also be argued that although the Newman Association was keen to see the replacement of the clerical elite, it was only replacing it or demanding recognition for yet another elite – themselves.

The second focus or theme in this section is the domestic context in Scotland, and this will be addressed in the second part of the chapter. Three issues will be studied in this section. First, the founding of the Newman Circle in Glasgow in 1945 will be examined. The reasons behind the founding of the Glasgow Circle can be found in the broad context of the state of Catholicism and more specifically, in the case of the situation of Catholic intellectuals in aftermath of the Second World War. The second issue to be addressed is the founding of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association (SCNA) in 1964. The creation of a 'devolved' structure in Scotland was arguably primarily based on efficiency, but there were also strong resonances in the devolution argument within the Newman Association and the emerging debate on Scotland's political identity. Historical and national sentiments had a place in the discussions which led to the creation of the SCNA and the Newman Association in Scotland was certainly conscious of these issues. It had, after all, been instrumental in the founding of the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee in 1950. The period in which the SCNA was founded was significant as it was just at the start of the revival of fortunes of the Scottish National Party and in the aftermath of the failed Scots National Covenant in the early 1950s. It is not intended to argue that Scottish Nationalism was a substantial factor in the creation of the SCNA, but rather to argue that the Newman Circles in Scotland were conscious of a changing dimension in Scottish culture and society. The appearance of the likes of Hamish Henderson, a key figure in the Scots literary revival of the 1960s, at Newman Circle meetings is one example of this. Similarly, it can be argued that the emergence of a Scottish consciousness was an important moment in the life

of the Scottish Catholic community. The emergence of a single Catholic community albeit one with diverse ethnic, social and cultural traditions, was clearly acknowledged. In order to understand the development of the Newman Association, it is important in the first place to understand the role, organisation and structure of the Association.

The role of the Newman Association (and other Catholic student and graduate organisations) was defined by Pope Pius XII at the 1950 Amsterdam conference of *Pax Romana* (the international Catholic Students Association) as 'The permeation of contemporary thought and service to the church'.[4] It was therefore an organisation which was expressly formed to keep the Catholic Church in contact with the changing parameters of discussion across all fields of intellectual activity and through active participation in this way, it aimed to maintain a Catholic voice in these areas. The means to achieving these ends was to 'pool the talents and expertise' of Catholic graduates and 'others of similar interests'.[5] The Newman Association and other similar bodies were to draw into post-war Catholic Action societies whose talents in some respects had been neglected by traditional Catholic Associations. The watchword of inter-war Catholic action was 'defence'. This is demonstrated by the likes of the Catholic Union where the emphasis of the Union was in keeping Catholics out of the way of harm and 'protected' from secular influences. The Newman Association was different. In none of the printed material and actions of the Newman Association does the idea of defence appear, though the broad purpose was the same, that is, to maintain the primacy of Catholic identity and the continuing role of the church in the modern world. The language of the Newman Association is positive and interactive. The 'Newmanite' was to participate in modern debates, to foster understanding of current developments in science, philosophy and politics: 'It [the Newman Association] is in a position to know, better than more specialised Associations, where a lead is most required in order to extend and deepen the theological knowledge of the Catholic community, and to relate its activity to the immediate needs of contemporary society.'[6] The Newman Association clearly saw its role as different from the pre-war Catholic Action societies, as the previous quotation demonstrates. The Circle was made up of graduates and academics of all disciplines and could draw on a wide range of opinions and specialists. The pre-war pattern of Catholic Action was that of occupational groups such as doctors, teachers, lawyers and other professional groups

who formed their own societies. The Newman Association, however, was not opposed to these groups nor sought to draw members away from professional associations. The Glasgow and Edinburgh Circles spawned specialist groups of their own with the founding of the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee in 1950 and the Guild of Catholic Psychologists at the same time. The Newman Association could bring together professionals in pursuit of common Catholic objectives not only those with sectional interests.

All of these developments were of especial interest to educated Catholics. The call of Pius XII for educated Catholics to do more for the church was paralleled with an expansion of the numbers of Catholics in the professions. The Newman Association saw this as an opportunity:

> There is particular scope for the work of the Newman Association in this country at the present time. We see an expansion of Catholic participation in university life, in the legal profession, public administration, in education, the social services, in medicine, the sciences and the arts, indeed everywhere. There is a new generation, one which may either sink into mediocrity and compromise, or perhaps lapse altogether from the faith, if it is not given positive and imaginative leadership.[7]

The Newman Association saw its role as taking advantage of this change and heading off the drift of Catholic intellectuals away from the church, by linking professional careers to the service of the church: 'The Newman Association aims to be a spearhead in the intellectual apostolate.'[8] The Newman Association, the leadership argued, 'can be of the greatest help in [the] forming of an educated lay opinion and a fruitful co-operation between the clergy and [the] laity'.[9] The objectives of the Newman Association lay with the traditional objectives of Catholic Action – associate action in cooperation with the clergy. There was a difference, however. There would be a greater role for lay opinion, although this was not seen as an attempt to usurp the traditional authority of the clergy over the laity. Rather, it can be viewed as an attempt at a partnership between the two, the sort of partnership that would become formalised within the church after the Second Vatican Council. In this way, the Newman Association and other lay Catholic groups were beginning to change the relationship between the clergy and laity with specialist lay groups making a greater impact on the Catholic interpretation of secular trends. In the 1963/1964 Annual Report of the Newman Association, the President of the Newman

Association, Dr Oliver Pratt, defined the relationship between the clergy and the laity in the Newman Association:

> The widening areas of de-Christianisation in the world today demand from the church approaches other than the traditional ones. These can be best made by those concerned with the secular world – the laity. It can be led by the educated laity if they are trained for the task. This preparation can, however, only be carried out in collaboration with the clergy.[10]

In effect, the role was of the clergy preparing the laity to make a contribution to the secular world based on principles taught by them. With this, they would be able to use the proximity to the secular world to address the drift away from Christian values. The Newman Association would evolve a structure which was designed to meet this objective.

The Newman Association of Great Britain was founded in 1942 as the graduate division of the University Catholic Federation, a United Kingdom organisation that was affiliated to the *Mouvement International des Intellectuels Catholiques* also called *Pax Romana*. It had two levels of organisation: a National Association with officer-bearers elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Newman Association and the local circles of the Newman Association made up of full and associate members. In Scotland in 1964, a new devolved level of organisation was added, known as the Scottish Council of the Newman Association (SCNA) which coordinated the work of the Scottish circles. Each of the component parts had individual responsibilities with the most emphasis and importance being placed on the local initiative of Newman Circles.

The Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association was founded on 11 November 1945 at a weekend conference at the convent school of the Sisters of Notre Dame in the West End of Glasgow.[11] The meeting attracted 300 people and from the start had the blessing of the Archbishop of Glasgow, the most Reverend Donald A. Campbell DD, who said to the members at the inaugural meeting 'the more your Association grows, the happier I shall be.'[12] The Archbishop backed up his words with a donation of £100.[13] The intervention of the Archdiocese was crucial in the formation of the Circle. It was necessary to gain approval from the Archdiocesan hierarchy so as not to be seen as 'a splinter group from the extant Associations working, with approval, in the archdiocese'.[14] M. P. Murray pointed out that the situation was further complicated by the status of the Scottish hierarchy as autonomous from Westminster, which 'put

difficulties in the way of introducing to the archdiocese any organisation based on Westminster with jurisdiction from there'.[15]

There had been members of the Newman Association in Glasgow from 1943 onwards who were in contact with the Edinburgh Circle that had been founded in 1944. The Glasgow members led by Mr J. McLay and Dr W. E. Brown, the Catholic Chaplain at Glasgow University, formed a steering group to prepare the ground for the founding of the Glasgow Circle. The first main figure they gained support from was Dr Treanor, the rector of St Peter's College at Bearsden. At the 1944 Newman Association Annual General Meeting, Mr McLay was elected to the post of national treasurer and, with the support of the executive, after clarification from the Archdiocese of Glasgow, a weekend conference was organised.[16] The conference was principally to celebrate the centenary of the conversion of John Henry Newman. Momentum towards a Glasgow Circle was aided by an article in the *Glasgow Observer*, praising the Newman Association and its work.[17]

The Newman Association was formed in 1942 as the graduate wing of the Federation of University Catholic Student Societies of Great Britain. It was intended as a body which would provide 'a corpus of Catholic public opinion and [encourage] Catholics to enter public life and study Catholic Action'.[18] The Association would also encourage the creation of a Catholic University College and Diocesan Newman Colleges to build an infrastructure of Catholic educated opinion at the service of the church. In essence it was to bring together the disparate elements of the Catholic intelligentsia working and teaching in areas where there was no feeling of contact or community. This 'insular' and 'isolationist' ethos was quickly replaced by a new agenda, which stressed the role of the Newman Association in promoting a Catholicism that was reaching out from the 'ghetto'. As M. P. Murray stated, 'the isolation of Catholics from the life of the community can never succeed. The Newmanite is exhorted to study, not only the history of Christendom, but also the history and constitution of his own country.'[19]

Although the Newman Association signalled a departure from the defensive tendencies of the Catholic Church, its intellectual origins were in the mindset and attitudes that were prominent in the church before 1945. Two issues were highlighted: the growing sympathy towards the left in the intelligentsia and the growing gap between science and morality. The growth of sympathy towards the left in intellectual circles grew out of first the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and second the alliance between the

Western democracies and the Soviet Union after the German invasion in June 1941. Murray argued that 'the literati of the 1940s had been caught up in the Spanish Civil War either ideologically or as combatants with distinctly leftist sympathies, and while they were soon to move out to disillusionment with Russia, the effects of their initial enthusiasms were being disseminated down the ranks.'[20] The Catholic intelligentsia had to form a common front to 'combat the attack from the left, which had recently gained respectability as the opponent of Nazi tyranny'.[21] The cohesion in Catholic opposition to this was undermined by the seeming ambivalence of the Vatican and in particular the 'silence' of Pope Pius XII to Nazi atrocities during the war years. This apparent silence was costly to the church in the short term, as it allowed the church to be tarred as 'pro-German' although the local Archdiocese had been prominent in denouncing Hitler. In the longer term, it was to inspire some radical Catholic reformers towards a comprehensive restructuring of the church.[22] The second issue in the intellectual formation of the Newman Association was the advancement in science and technology during the Second World War. Mr J. McLay, first president of the Glasgow Circle, claimed that the original inspiration behind the forming of the Circle came from a small group of Catholic graduates who were involved in scientific research and were concerned at 'certain sinistral movements' and 'their own limitations in attempting to combat these'.[23] The Newman Association in Edinburgh was contacted and the groundwork began to form a Glasgow Circle to try to pool resources, to find a way of developing a response. From these principally defensive ideas, the more outward-looking Newman Circle was to emerge.

The Annual General Meeting of the Glasgow Newman Circle elected the office-bearers for the following year. There were four officer-bearers in the Circle: Chairman, Vice- Chairman, Honorary Treasurer and an Honorary Secretary.[24] In addition to these positions, there was a Circle Patron, who was the Archbishop of Glasgow.[25] The Circle could also confer on an individual the title of Vice-President; this post was for 'those who have rendered notable service to the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association'.[26] The Circle had an executive committee to oversee all of the functions of the Association in the area. The committee comprised the officers of the Circle and an ecclesiastical assistant appointed by the Archbishop of Glasgow who was Chaplain to the circle.[27] In addition, eight members of the Circle were elected to serve on the committee at the Circle AGM.[28] The committee had the power to expand its number by up to four and appoint members when vacancies arose;[29] the committee also

had the power to invite as observers representatives from other Catholic groups, specifically the Glasgow University Catholic Society, although various others could also attend.[30] The committee had the power to appoint standing and ad hoc subcommittees that covered special areas of Circle activities. Committee members, who acted as ex-officio members and reported directly to the governing committee, chaired them.[31]

The Glasgow Newman Circle had two objectives. Its general objective was 'to further the aims of the Newman Association of Great Britain in the Glasgow District'[32] and a special objective was 'to promote the knowledge and application of Christian principles as taught by the Catholic church'.[33] The special objective of the Newman Association was divided into six areas of activity:

1. Uniting in a corporate society university graduates and other persons eligible.
2. Supplementing lay education with Catholic teaching and philosophy.
3. Encouraging members to take an active part in public life and to use their training to help solve the problems which confront society.
4. Endeavouring to foster higher education.
5. Assisting by money donation, or in any other way approved by the Student Chaplain, the work of the Catholic Chaplaincy at Turnbull Hall.
6. Fostering interest in international cooperation on the intellectual and educational levels, especially by participation in the life of *Pax Romana*.[34]

In his address to the 1960 Annual General Meeting of the Glasgow Newman Circle, the Chairman Jack McGavigan defined the meaning of the Association. He said, 'Our objective, our spiritual and intellectual formation and that of our fellow Catholics in similar walks of life … [is] not just directed inwards but also outwards towards salvation of pagan and Protestant neighbours.'[35] The role of the Newman Association was to act in two spheres: first, to bring the Association's aims and attitude towards devotion to the Catholic community itself, and second to operate in an external ecumenical role. The Newman Association fostered two ideas in the pursuit of its first objective—to elevate the role of the laity in the church: first, 'To help the clergy by training laymen who will speak up to them about the problems and difficulties of contemporary society and not

to be hampered by an excess of a mistaken form of respect.'[36] The second aspect of the internal development of the Catholic laity involved the 'freeing [of] Catholic attitudes from [a] Ghetto Climate'.[37]

The Newman Association was an example of a growing and confident Scottish Catholic intelligentsia. Many of those who participated in the activities of the Circle were successful as academics, professionals and business people in secular society. The attitude of the Newman Association was to remove from Scottish Catholic society a feeling of inferiority or alienation in a predominantly Protestant country. They argued that Newmanites were a success because they married ambition to the spiritual devotion of the church. In this respect, the Newman Association stressed 'fostering higher education'.[38] More Catholics in higher education would change the balance within the Catholic community, making it more affluent, socially more involved and successful and therefore more assertive in relations with the Protestant majority. The second arena of action was in ecumenical and international affairs. The Newman Association supported local ecumenical initiatives and, as previously pointed out, in the United Nations Association (UNA) and charities to lift the vision of Catholics beyond domestic concerns to be part of a global community. Beyond the immediate activity of the Newman Association within the Catholic community, the Association also looked outwards to other Christians. It is difficult to gauge whether this was to convert non-Catholics, or as McGavigan suggested in an address the following year, to find common cause or 'to gain the love and respect of our fellows, Protestant or pagan, if not for ourselves then for the Christ whom we all should represent'.[39] The Newman Association's self-view and the role it saw itself as fulfilling, was grander and more dramatic. 'In other words,' McGavigan said, 'we have a mission. We are a movement and not a mere Association.'[40]

The Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association organised a busy timetable of local, regional and national events for its members. A leaflet from 1964 described the activities of the Glasgow Circle: lectures and study groups, extramural courses, pilgrimages, weekend conferences, chaplaincy visits, counselling visits to schools, support for the local branches of the World University Service, Freedom from Hunger (a charity) and the UNA. The Circle would take an active interest in 'educational and social matters locally' particularly the founding of the new Glasgow-based Strathclyde University and the emerging issue of 'a racial problem'.[41] In Glasgow, the close association between the Newman Circle and Glasgow University brought benefits to the membership with access to campus

facilities and contacts within the structure to get leading academics, artists and other leading figures in the media to contribute to the life of the Circle. The Glasgow Circle made extensive use of the alumni of the university and in particular those who had been associated with the Catholic Student sodality.

The *Glasgow Circle Bulletin* of Autumn 1965 gives an example of the range of activities which were organised and supported. The Newman Association in Glasgow organised its events around the university timetable with the programme of activities divided along each of the terms of the academic year. Each term was opened with an 'Academic High Mass' at St Andrew's Cathedral in Glasgow.[42] The *Bulletin* urged as many as possible to attend in 'academic dress' and printed the address of the Glasgow University robe makers.[43] The main focus of Circle activity was the extramural classes run from the university. These classes incorporated a wide range of topics and specialities.[44] The 1965/1966 programme included a series of lectures on 'themes in contemporary theology' by Father Ian Hislop OP.[45] A second series of lectures were on the topic of 'living in a cybernetic age' led by Dr Thomas Taylor of the Glasgow Newman Circle.[46] There was also a third series of lectures on 'Catholic societies in a changing church', which began with 'a view of the Legion of Mary' from the President of the Glasgow Curia of the Legion, William Baird.[47] Aside from the themed series of lectures there were also single lectures on a current topic or papers given by a well-known academic or artist. The 1965 programme had Dr Gabriel Mahklouf on 'The Christian–Marxist Dialogue'; the Rev. John Costigan SJ and the former rector of Beaumont College who delivered a lecture on 'the role of the Jesuits in the modern world' and Dr John Halliday, a world authority on psychiatric medicine, who presented a paper on the subject of 'A psychiatrist looks at Catholicism'.[48] The Newman Association in that year also presented a lecture by Hamish Henderson, a poet in the vanguard of the revival of Scottish folk culture in the 1960s.[49]

An important part of the work of the Newman Association was equipping its members with the knowledge of current events both within and outside of the church, and also in providing training and information in the skills to communicate its message to the church and beyond. These objectives were met through classes outside of the extramural programmes. The Glasgow Circle arranged classes and 'teach-ins' in current doctrine, media relations and the new structures of parish democracy which were especially relevant in the years of the Second Vatican Council.[50] The high-

point in each year was the annual conference of the Glasgow Circle. This was a two-day event based around a single theme. The 1965/1966 special conference, for example, was on 'The mass media in an age of change' with invited speakers from the worlds of television, newspapers and academia.[51] The Glasgow Circle had very good contacts in the media through James Gordon, a senior figure in Scottish Television and the owner of the Independent Television Authority franchise in Scotland. A further attempt at broadening the reach of the Newman Association was a special monthly meeting of the clergy based around the subject of parish councils. Democratisation of the church was a particular priority of the Newman Association. The Newman Association embarked on this through the education and partnership of the clergy. This was seen as the best way to reconcile the priesthood to its change in role initiated by Vatican II.[52]

Many post-war Catholic students were the first from their families to get the opportunity to go into higher education and retained close links with the church; links which were to pay dividends after graduation for the Newman Association. The Newman Association tried to act as a bridge between graduation and the world of the professions through the Glasgow Association of New Graduates (GANG) formed in 1965, a venture which was described as only 'moderately successful'.[53] In addition to GANG, the Newman Association was active in expanding the network of chaplaincies in Scotland. Glasgow University by 1965 had 800 Catholic students out of a total 7,000 students.[54] There were 500 students registered as members of the Catholic Student Society of whom 100–150 regularly used the facilities at Turnbull Hall.[55] The new University of Strathclyde was supported by a recently appointed chaplain and had a Catholic Student Society with 100 members.[56] The Newman Association anticipated a rise in numbers by around 50 per cent by 1970.[57] The Newman Circle in Glasgow by 1965 was a functioning and active group. There were challenges ahead with increases in student numbers predicted and the Second Vatican Council was in its final stages.

The founding of the SCNA in 1963 created a unique structure in the national organisation. There have been three reasons advanced for the formation of the Scottish Council. First, coming as it did in 1963, it can be seen as prefiguring the rise of Scottish Nationalism in the late 1960s and as part of the emergence of a new Scottish social, intellectual and cultural consciousness. The second reason for the formation of the SCNA was as an administrative mechanism to bring together the Scottish Circles of the Newman Association in a form which complemented the separate

Scottish national ecclesiastical hierarchies and therefore could mobilise the Scottish circles in dealing with the unique religious structure in Scotland. A third reason was an attempt to radicalise the Newman Association and muster the potential of the Catholic intelligentsia in renewing the church during the Second Vatican Council. All of these different interpretations have degrees of validity. It is certainly clear that in the approaches made by the Scottish Circles to the National Executive Council in negotiations, that the administrative and national elements were the foremost issues.[58] In his 1982 monograph *Scotland and the Papacy* John Cooney, a journalist and radical Catholic activist from the mid-1960s onwards, argued that the Scottish Council emerged as a response to failure on behalf of the Newman Association in incorporating the growing Catholic intelligentsia and a desire to radicalise the Association.[59]

The SCNA came into being on 31 March 1963. All of the Newman Circles in existence in Scotland formed the Council.[60] In a note to the Executive Council of the Newman Association, the first Chairman of the Scottish Council, Jack McGavigan, underlined three reasons behind its formation.[61] The first reason was to provide 'ourselves with as efficient an administration and means of intercommunication as we can, within the limits of our slender resources of men and money'.[62] The SCNA had to rely upon the resources and good will of its membership. The postal address of the SCNA was the office of its Honorary Secretary John Molleson in Edinburgh's New Town. This was typical of many voluntary organisations. The Catholic Union, although it was under the auspices of the Glasgow Archdiocese, operated out of the offices of John J. Campbell's law firm—Black, Cameron and Campbell in Hope Street in Glasgow.

The second reason for a Scottish Council was 'doing things which cannot be done successfully by individual circles e.g. National Conferences'.[63] Most of the Newman Circles operated their own conferences. They were, however, expensive and demanded substantial sacrifices of time and money. The logic of the National Council running its own conferences was to pool resources, both material and physical, to bring higher-profile speakers and spread the cost across the whole national body. Jack McGavigan envisioned the Scottish Council as an 'initiating body' which 'co-ordinated' the efforts of the local circles.[64] He argued that the local circles should be left to do the things that they 'are able to do themselves'.[65] The model was of a body that promoted a form of 'subsidiarity' in which each of the components of the Newman Association from the National Executive Council down through the Scottish Council and finally the local circles

had their own clear areas of authority and independence away from the interference from the bodies either above or below them in the administrative hierarchy.

The third reason behind the SCNA was to pay 'special attention to those things or problems which are to some degree peculiar to Scotland'.[66] This was a clear acknowledgement of the distinctiveness of Scottish Catholicism, both in terms of the separate hierarchy in Scotland and the distinctive make-up of Scottish religious society. The Scottish Council wanted the freedom to operate in Scotland, to define priorities and to act in common for specifically Scottish Catholic ends without having to make reference to the National Association in London or to go through an 'ad hoc' committee of the Scottish Circles which would only have limited time and a short-term remit. A good example of this was the submission of the SCNA to the bishops' conference in Scotland on the University Chaplaincies. The Council brought an all-Scottish perspective on the state of the universities and the future role of the chaplain in an expanding university sector.[67]

The SCNA would provide a Scottish perspective on Scottish issues, uniting the strength of the Scottish Circles, provide greater resources where the Newman Association was weak and operate to expand the Newman Association into areas without any coverage by existing circles. The Scottish Council was also to provide a voice in the emerging lay apostolate movements. The first sessions of the Second Vatican Council called for a greater partnership between the laity and the clergy. The SCNA was in a position to make real the promises of a more open and accountable Catholic Church. It was, according to McGavigan, an administrative solution to a national question that acknowledged the separate status of the Scottish Church. The reasons advanced by McGavigan can also be seen as implicit criticism of the National Newman Association. The National Council of Great Britain, as previously shown, was top-heavy with committees, special ad hoc councils and representatives to a dozen or more Catholic and non-Catholic organisations. The SCNA was not a copy of the National Executive Council, but a slimmed down forum which defined clear areas of responsibility, between itself and the circles. The ethos of the SCNA was one of action and involvement.

The constitution of the SCNA, adopted at the Convention of Scottish members of the Newman Association in Edinburgh on 19 January1964, had five terms of reference that defined its 'function and powers'.[68] First, it was to 'promote in Scotland the general purposes of the Newman

Association and to provide a medium through which matters of common interest to the Scottish Circles may be pursued'.[69] Second, the SCNA was

> To stimulate by means of conferences of Scottish and any other members, the dissemination of information and otherwise, a progressive interest among the Catholic laity of Scotland in cultural, intellectual and other activities – all with particular reference to the promotion in contemporary Scotland of a deeper understanding of the spiritual and living tradition of the Christian and Catholic faith.[70]

This is a very interesting clause in the constitution. It can be interpreted as having both internal and external relevance to the situation of the Catholic Church in the later post-war years. It can be seen as a rallying call to the Catholic intelligentsia to take a greater interest in the operation of the church, an essential issue for the emerging Lay Apostolate Movement. The clause also has an external ecumenical component to it, where it makes a clear distinction between the general 'Christian' and then the 'Catholic' faith. This may be a reference to the Second Vatican Council and the promotion of ecumenicist ideas. It has a resonance in previous quotes from McGavigan in promoting a coming together of all Christian traditions to fend off the encroachment of secularisation. There is evidence for this on both sides of the argument. The Newman Association was involved in the Lay Apostolate Movement and it invited individuals from other denominations to its meetings to discuss common areas of interest. This term of reference is a very intriguing and interesting aspect of the SCNA and its purpose.

The third function as set out by the constitution was in relation to the delegated powers of the SCNA. The council controlled all aspects of membership to the Newman Association in Scotland. A person wishing to become a full or an associate member submitted an application to the Central Council of the Newman Association in London. The SCNA took over responsibility for this in Scotland. However, the National Association could authorise membership of those living in Scotland who did not want to become members of any of the Scottish Circles.[71] The SCNA compiled a Scottish register of members and collected the annual subscriptions of the membership.[72] The proportion of the annual memberships retained in Scotland and the balance sent to the National Association in London was agreed between the two bodies on an annual basis. Additional to this was the division of the Scottish share between the SCNA and the local cir-

cles.[73] Further delegated powers for the SCNA were in the 'promotion of additional groups of members and associated members in Scotland'[74] and 'to hold or administer other funds and assets of the Newman Association for the benefit of the Scottish Council'.[75] These clauses set out the formal relationship between the Newman Association in Scotland and its parent body in London, as well as between the individual members and the SCNA.

The fourth term of reference defined the role of the SCNA and other bodies which shared 'the purposes and aims of the Association'.[76] The SCNA was to develop relations and contacts with groups that complemented the work of the Newman Association giving them a Scottish dimension. Also, with a view to the distinctive status of the Scottish Catholic community the SCNA could find common cause with exclusively Scottish groups 'where for spiritual and historical reasons the establishment and maintenance of such links would be of special value to Scotland'.[77] The SCNA had the freedom to develop an approach to the work of the Newman Association that took advantage of Scottish circumstances and also to grow outside of the direction of the National Association. This was to bear fruit in 1968 with the founding of the Scottish Lay Apostolate Movement (SLAM) the precursor of the more militant Scottish Catholic Renewal Movement in 1969.

The final term of reference was to transfer responsibility over the maintenance of good relations with the Scottish University Catholic Student Societies and in particular the Scottish Union of Catholic Students to the SCNA.[78] The Scottish further and higher education structure was administered on a number of different levels. The universities were under the control of the Scottish Education Department in Edinburgh but the main funding and administration was under the United Kingdom University Grant Council (UGC). Further education was under the control of the local authorities and the polytechnics were a Scottish Office responsibility. A similar relationship existed in relation to student matters with a separate Scottish Union of Students, although it had close relations with the National Union of Students. The SCNA brought all Catholic student affairs under one organisation.

Irrespective of the successes of the Scottish Catholic community in reaching the peaks of social, cultural and intellectual advance, there could also be detected a degree of conceit and self-satisfaction. In re-examining the Patrons of the SCNA, we can see where there could be grounds for protest and disillusionment. The Patrons were overwhelmingly conser-

vative figures, the bishops of Scotland, middle- and upper-class scholars, lawyers and businessmen alongside lairds and lords. Not at all representative of either the students who were entering higher education by the mid-1960s or of the graduates emerging from the universities, who were on the whole the offspring of those from modest backgrounds and whose main priorities were getting jobs and providing for their families. The founding of the SCNA took place in the context of a period of dissatisfaction and turmoil, both within secular society and in the Catholic Church.

John Cooney, latterly a prominent journalist, was, in the mid-1960s, a student at Glasgow University and radical Catholic activist. He argued in his 1982 monograph *Scotland and the Papacy* that the SCNA was a breakaway group from the National Association. He defined the nature of the division with the Newman Association in London as being between those who 'saw Catholic Action as checking secularism under the guidance of bishops and clergy, and the more reformist members who wanted to apply Vatican II to the Scottish scene'.[79] He added that the adoption of the Scottish Council as the name of the breakaway Newman Association was for tactical reasons: 'This move was partly to establish their claim to be Scottish, and thus to be "legitimate" in the eyes of the local Hierarchy.'[80] As previously quoted, the reasons advanced by the first chairman of the Scottish Council, Jack McGavigan, made no mention of splits or of a divergence of opinion. Additional to this, also previously quoted, the Newman Association, or at least the Glasgow Circle, addressed both the issue of secularism and the ending of a mentality of excessive deference towards the clergy.

In evidence to support his case, Cooney pointed to the failure of the Newman Association before 1963 to successfully recruit the Catholic intelligentsia to the cause. In 1947[81] according to Cooney, despite there being nearly 2,000 Catholic graduates in the Glasgow area, fewer than 80 were members of the Circle,[82] and he also accused the Newman Association of sex-discrimination pointing out that 'three fifths of the original membership were women, but men dominated the executive positions'.[83] The position of the Glasgow Circle by 1962 was little better. Out of 3,620 potential members, the Circle had 125 members[84] and none of the female members held executive positions. By the start of 1966, three years after the founding of the SCNA the number of members was 128,[85] a net gain of just three members in four years. Of the SCNA office-bearers in 1965/1966 none were female and only three out of twelve of them were council members.[86] Whatever the cause or the objective in creating the

SCNA, its new freedom from London did not lead to it expanding in membership to any noticeable extent or to a substantial increase of the gender balance in senior positions. It is, however, impossible with only a few sketchy facts and fragments of memoirs to arrive at any definitive conclusion. This issue requires further study and the availability of more substantial documentation. What is clear is that there was dissatisfaction with the role of the clergy, the status of the Newman Association and in general a frustration at the slow pace of reform after the Second Vatican Council.

The Second Vatican Council was held in Rome over three years from 1962 until December 1965. Pope Pius XII had discussed the idea of a council of the church in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.[87] However, it was not until the coronation of Pope John XXIII in 1958 that it became a more solid prospect.[88] The Council was announced on 25 January 1959 but Pope John did not stipulate the subjects for discussion or the structure of the meetings.[89] Cardinal Domenico Tardini was appointed as president of the preparatory Commission. The Commission was to draw together opinion from across the church in defining the agenda and the objectives of the Council.[90] Pius IX had convened the first modern council of the Catholic Church in 1869 and it confirmed the supremacy of the papacy through the promulgation of the doctrine of papal infallibility and the rejection of modernism, but the hopes and expectations of the Second Vatican Council were different.[91]

In the run-up to the Council, prominent Catholic scholars and reformers produced their own agendas for the Council. Archbishop Lorenz Jager of Paderborn published *The Ecumenical Council of the Church and Christendom* in 1959 advocating greater lay participation in the council and Dr Hans Küng published *The Council, Reform and Reunion* the following year.[92] Both books would become the manifestos of the reformers. The three themes that ran throughout the period before Vatican II were church unity, updating of the church's image and presentation, and renewal of the church's message in the modern age.[93] Pope John XXIII appointed Cardinal Augustin Bea SJ, formerly the rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, as head of the secretariat for promoting church unity.[94] The change in position of the church in relation to other faiths before the Council was best demonstrated by the removal of the prayer for the conversion of the 'perfidious Jews' from the Easter liturgy.[95] Ecumenical contacts extended beyond religion and towards the communist world.[96] Pope John pioneered a thawing of relations between the Vatican and

Moscow. The two phrases that best encapsulated the hopes of reformers before the Council were renewal and *aggiornamento* (updating). To give an indication of the significance of these terms, they can be best described as having the same effect on Catholic reformers as the phrases *glasnost* and *perestroika* were to have on those who hoped for reform in Eastern Europe after they were coined by the General Secretary of the Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985.

Pope John XXIII set out his hopes for the Council in the opening speech on 11 October 1962 delivered at St Peter's Basilica.[97] For Pope John the meaning of the term *aggiornamento* was to assert the authority of the church's teaching but also to find a form of presentation relevant in the modern age: 'the greatest concern of the Ecumenical council is this: that the sacred deposit of Christian doctrine should be guarded and taught more efficaciously.'[98] He added:

> it is necessary first of all that the Church should never depart from the sacred patrimony of truth received from the Fathers. But at the same time she must ever look to the present, to the new conditions and new forms of life introduced in the modern world, which have opened new avenues to the Catholic apostolate.[99]

Pope John made it clear that the substance of the Council was in investigating the means by which the church could reach out to the world, providing clarity in doctrine both to the faithful and to the wider Catholic and non-Catholic world. He stressed the continuity of the church from the Council of Trent and the First Vatican Council and 'the path which the church has followed for twenty centuries'.[100] Where there was to be a major departure was in the mood of the church. The church from the onset of the Counter-Reformation had viewed itself as a 'citadel of truth' denouncing error and heresy. The language of the church was negative. This was best exemplified by the papal *Syllabus of Errors* from 1864, where the church defined what it was for, by stating what it was against.[101] Pope John signalled a different approach, what he called 'the medicine of mercy'.[102] He said: 'She considers that she meets the needs of the present day by demonstrating the validity of her teaching rather than by condemnation.'[103] There would be, in modern language, 'transparency' in all of the areas of the church's teaching and practice. To other Christian faiths, the Catholic Church was 'to show herself to be the loving mother of all, benign, patient, full of mercy and goodness towards the brethren who are

separated from her'.[104] Pope John declared that 'the unity of the Christian and human family must be promoted' as the main object of the Council.[105]

The Scottish bishops all dutifully and on the whole in silence attended the plenary sessions of the Council. Back in Glasgow, news of the Council was transmitted by the main newspapers and television but not the newspaper of the Catholic community, *The Glasgow Observer*. Reports of the proceedings of the Council by Xavier Rynne contained within his book *Letters from the Vatican* had been purchased by the *Catholic Herald*, parent of *The Glasgow Observer*. The east-coast editions of the *Observer* carried edited highlights by Rynne, but following the intervention of Rev. James Ward, Auxiliary Bishop of Glasgow, they were pulled from publication in the west of Scotland.[106] Within the SCNA, the Second Vatican Council was fully discussed, building up opposition to the silence and conservatism of the Scottish clergy. The farcical attempt at censorship in Glasgow produced a substantial backlash both there and across the country. There was before, during and after the Council, unofficial opposition to the conservatives within the church. This was centred on the back room of the Catholic Truth Society shop in Renfrew Street in Glasgow where dissidents met to discuss the latest editions of *The Tablet* and the works of the 'giants of Vatican II' Hans Küng and Karl Rahner.[107]

The most explicit criticism came from a group of clerical and lay dissidents characterised as the 'six', who were amongst those who met at Renfrew Street in Glasgow. They made their opinions known in a four-point attack on the hierarchy. The points were summarised by John Cooney:

1. The Church had become 'corrupt' – it had lost its concern for people and had become more concerned with simple administration and the enforcement of irrelevant attitudes and rules rather than with the problems of the laity and the committed clergy.
2. The paternalistic attitude of the clergy to a laity which they regarded as sheep-like.
3. The complete control of the church organisation by the bishops and clergy had reduced the laity to a subject class.
4. The church system, geared for a previous age, was now inadequate for dealing with the problems of the Catholic community in the sixties.[108]

These four points, as John Cooney himself acknowledges, were not so much a manifesto as 'a programme of organised action'.[109] Most of

the radical programme and attitudes were formed through unofficial and casual contacts between reformers and clergy, such as a journal club run by a prominent 'Newmanite' Dr Thomas Taylor in Glasgow.[110] These attitudes and criticism were familiar to the protest movements of the 1960s, echoing from the Paris and Prague 1968 uprisings to the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations and student campus occupations in Great Britain. The criticism was of the 'paternalism' of the older generations. There was further criticism of the maintenance of a strict hierarchy rather than a meritocracy based on education, support for democracy and pluralism as opposed to natural order and deference and of social action against social conservatism.

Although these criticisms were very much part of the currency of 'youthful rebellion' in the 1960s, they were serious and long-term criticisms of the church endorsed held by the likes of Hans Küng and shared amongst large sections of the professional laity. The criticism of the six, the Newman Association and others, was on the one hand of the lethargy and conservatism of the hierarchy in implementing legislation that it had agreed to during the Second Vatican Council. On the other hand, there emerged an attitude that the church, with its new softer, gentler and ecumenical attitude (all of which were welcomed by reformers) was neglecting some of the basic objectives of Catholic Action.[111] As previously mentioned Vatican II afforded the opportunity for the papacy to meet and establish friendlier contacts with governments and other churches. The Catholic Church for the first time since the Bolshevik revolution cultivated the Soviet bloc and brought the emerging nations of the so-called 'Third World' into the diplomatic network of the Vatican.[112] The social message of the church, particularly with reference to the emerging world, became more pronounced but in the developed world it seemed to be retreating from direct action. The reformers, particularly the more socially radical, were anxious that the liturgical and doctrinal innovations of Vatican II would lead to parallel reconciliation with modern social trends.[113] The issue, which was to provoke a complete breach between radicals and conservatives in the church, was not in relation to the new lay structure, liturgy or even democracy within the church, but the issue at the heart of the youth rebellion of the 1960s: sex and more particularly artificial methods of contraception.[114] This issue was one that was to be dealt with by the post-Vatican II church.

The Newman Association carried sections of the Scottish Catholic intelligentsia through a crucial period in recent Catholic history. From its

initial defensive role in combating the influence of secular ideologies and the moral vacuum emerging in scientific and technological research, it was to emerge championing an outward-looking and pragmatic Catholic Church. Its influence is difficult to summarise as it was for the most part a small and fairly insignificant player in Catholic circles. On the positive side, it retained a link between the church and a community that was diversifying into new areas of Scottish life and society. Similarly, it promoted a critical and questioning attitude towards the church, which offered hope to reformers who may otherwise have abandoned the fight for reform. The Newman Association tried to be both a reforming institution within and a defender of the relevance of the Catholic Church when its influence seemed to be on the wane. It saw itself as a forum for all shades of opinion within Scottish Catholicism and attempted (and to a great extent succeeded in the SCNA and the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee) to unify all of the ethnic and social components of the community under one roof. In one respect, it was a success, as the Newman Association sought to liberate the Catholic community from a 'ghetto mentality' and to raise the status of the laity. On the negative side, it failed to bring large numbers of the growing Catholic intelligentsia to the service of the church. It was to remain throughout the period between 1945 and 1965 a small organisation. Similarly, as it helped to remove the defensive mentality of Scottish Catholics, it may also have helped to accelerate an estrangement between the Catholic intelligentsia and the church, as with affluence and increased confidence many may have felt that there was no need to have the church close to their side. The Newman Association after the Second Vatican Council was eclipsed by other Catholic groups, primarily the Scottish Catholic Renewal Movement, which was made up of former members of the Newman Association. Although small and fairly moderate in its approach, the Newman Association was a vital bridge between the old defensive Catholic Church and the post-Vatican II Catholic Church.

Notes

1. For a more comprehensive assessment of the relationship between the ideas of the Newman Association and John Henry Newman see Marcus Lefebure OP 'Cardinal Newman and the Role of the Newman Association Today', *The Newman* 10 (Summer, 1977), pp. 1–12.
2. 'The Purpose of the Newman Association', *The Newman Association, Glasgow Circle Bulletin* (Autumn, 1965), p. 3.

3. The Catholic Union was a creation of the Archdiocese of Glasgow; the Newman Association although it required the sanction of the Archdiocese was not under the direct responsibility of the Glasgow clerical hierarchy.
4. Newman Association, Recruitment leaflet, 1960, p. 1.
5. Ibid.
6. 'The Purpose of the Newman Association', p. 3.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. 1963–1964 Annual Report of the Newman Association of Great Britain (1964), p. 2.
11. The author acknowledges the use of the essay by M. P. Murray, 'In Retrospect: An Historical View of the Early Days of the Newman Association in Glasgow', *Glasgow Circle Bulletin* (October 1966), pp. 7–10, in the writing of this section.
12. *Glasgow Observer*, 16 November 1945, p. 1.
13. According to a report in *The Glasgow Observer* of 16 November 1945, *The Jewish Chronicle* had claimed that this amount was given by the Archdiocese. M. P. Murray does not corroborate this in her article 'An Historical View of the Early Days of the Newman Association in Glasgow'.
14. Murray, 'In Retrospect', p. 9.
15. Ibid., p. 8.
16. Ibid.
17. *Glasgow Observer*, 8 November 1945, p. 1.
18. Murray 'In Retrospect', p. 8.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 7.
21. Ibid.
22. In an interview by the author with the founder of the Scottish Catholic Renewal Movement, J. P. Armstrong in May 1997, Armstrong stated that his inspiration to change the church dated from the behavior of the Vatican during the Second World War.
23. 'In Retrospect', *Newman Bulletin*, p. 8.
24. Constitution of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association. The Newman Association (1963) Clause 6.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., Clause 7(b).
27. Ibid., Clauses 8(a) i, ii.
28. Ibid., Clause 8(a) 3.
29. Ibid., Clause 8(b).
30. Ibid., Clause 8(d).
31. Ibid., Clause 8(c).
32. Ibid., Clause 2(a).

33. Ibid., Clause 2(b).
34. Ibid., Clause 2(b) 1–6.
35. Hand-written notes for the Chairman's address to the 1960 Annual General Meeting of the Glasgow Newman Circle. Papers of J. L. McGavigan.
36. Ibid.
37. Notes for the Chairman's address, 1961.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Chairman's address, 1960 AGM.
41. 'What the Newman Association is doing', Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association, 1964.
42. Newman Association *Glasgow Circle Bulletin* (Autumn 1965), p. 2.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., pp. 2–3.
45. Ibid., p. 3.
46. Ibid., p. 2.
47. Ibid., p. 3.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. See Glasgow Circle bulletins 1963–1966.
51. Glasgow Newman Circle, 'The Mass Media in an Age of Change', *Conference Agenda* (Spring 1966).
52. Newman Association, *Glasgow Circle Bulletin* (Autumn 1965), p. 4.
53. Ibid., p. 7.
54. Membership List of the Newman Association Glasgow Circle. Papers of J. L. McGavigan.
55. Submission to the hierarchy on Scottish University Chaplaincies by the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, 1965, p. 4.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Note on the founding of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, 1963. Papers of J. L. McGavigan.
59. John Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 97–101.
60. Constitution of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, Clause 1, SCNA, 1963.
61. Note on the Founding of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.

67. Submission to the hierarchy on Scottish University Chaplaincies by the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, 1965.
68. Terms of Reference of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, *Handbook of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, 1965/66*, p. 7.
69. Ibid., Clause 1, p. 7.
70. Ibid., Clause 2, p. 7.
71. Ibid., Clause 3(a), p. 7.
72. Ibid., Clauses 3(b) and 3(c), pp. 7–8.
73. Ibid., Clause 3(c), p. 8.
74. Ibid., Clause 3(d), p. 8.
75. Ibid., Clause 3(e), p. 8.
76. Ibid., Clause 4, p. 8.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid., Clause 5, p. 8.
79. Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy*, p. 98.
80. Ibid., p. 98.
81. The Glasgow Circle was in fact founded in 1945.
82. Cooney *Scotland and the Papacy*, p. 98.
83. Ibid.
84. Annual Report of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association,1961/1962. Papers of J. L. McGavigan. The breakdown of figures was Dentists 60; Doctors 250; Lawyers 110; Pharmacists 200; Teachers (Glasgow) 2,000; Outwith Glasgow 1,000.
85. Membership list of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association year ending January 31 1966. Papers of J. L. McGavigan.
86. Handbook of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, SCNA, 1965/66.
87. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789*, p. 213.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid., pp. 213–14.
93. Ibid., p. 214.
94. Ibid., p. 216.
95. Ibid..
96. Ibid., p. 226.
97. Pope John XXIII, Opening speech to the Second Vatican Council, 11 October 1962. Papal Encyclicals Online. <http://listserv.american.edu/catholic/church/papal/papal.html>, Fordham University, 1998.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.
101. See *Quanta Cura* (Rome, 1864).
102. Pope John XXIII, Opening speech to the Second Vatican Council.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Cooney *Scotland and the Papacy*. p. 97.
107. Ibid., p. 99.
108. Ibid., pp. 98–9.
109. Ibid., p. 99.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid., p. 101.
112. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789*, p. 225.
113. Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy*, p. 100.
114. Ibid.

CHAPTER 8

Breaking the Chain! Catholic Scholars and Scottish History

The incorporation of two chapters which take as their theme Catholic contributions to the study of history in Scotland into this work at first glance may seem unusual or out of place. However, a number of factors dictated that they would be valuable. First, a central aim of *Pax Romana* was to bring into the orbit of the Catholic Church all areas of intellectual endeavour. The Newman Association as the affiliated body in the United Kingdom of *Pax Romana* embarked on a series of initiatives to build a distinctively Catholic social science movement of which the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee was just one example. So in the first instance, historical study was important as a part of this movement to incorporate the Catholic intelligentsia. Second, the scale of historical work embarked upon stands out in contrast to the relative poverty of activity in other intellectual spheres.

Third, the focus of historical research in Scotland reveals an abiding interest in the role of Catholicism in Scottish life. This is significant for two reasons; first, it created a challenge to the accepted historical conventional wisdom on the role of Catholicism in the making of Scotland and also the potential role of Catholicism in the reshaping of modern Scottish identity. The second and most compelling reason is that the study of history involved all parts of Scottish Catholic life; it was not simply the preserve of the recusants or the converts, but more significantly major contributions came from the Scoto-Irish community. Similarly interest in historical topics is found among both the laity and the clergy. It is the fusion of the

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_8

old Catholics, converts and the Scoto-Irish clergy and laity that makes the study of the contributions of Catholic historians relevant to this study as it reveals a major religious, social, intellectual and cultural effort to bring together all of the components of the community for the dual purpose of preserving a strong Catholic presence in the arts and sciences and also in the development of a clear Scottish Catholic identity.

The final factor that makes this theme relevant is the role of Catholics in the west of Scotland to this effort. We can see two trends. First is the key role of the west of Scotland Catholics in bringing together the disparate trends in Catholic historical scholarship, initially under the umbrella of the *St Peter's College Magazine* and second, the pivotal role of Dr James Edmund Handley in bringing together the different branches of the Catholic historical community in a permanent organisation: the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee (SCHC). These developments represent a trend seen elsewhere, the changing centre of gravity within Scottish Catholicism from the old Catholics in the north to the majority in the Archdiocese of Glasgow.

There are four objectives in these chapters. First, to define the approach of Catholic historians to the experiences of the institution of the Catholic Church and the Catholic peoples of Scotland. Second, to examine the methodological and historiographical themes in the above issues as prominent Catholic scholars expressed them. Third, to assess the nature of the critique argued by Catholic historians relating to the reasons why the Scottish historical profession failed to address Catholic concerns in history. And fourth, to relate the significance of Catholic historical research in the period between 1918 and 1965 to, in the first instance, the self-perception and identity of Catholics in Scotland and second, how history and historical scholarship were used to further overtly Catholic interests in the period under discussion. The chapters also address the question of why Catholic intellectuals turned to historical study, particularly in the formative post-war years and why of all the Catholic action societies formed, the SCHC (latterly the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, SCHA) not only managed to continue when the Catholic Union and the Newman Association, the parent body of the SCHC, gradually disappeared from prominence but also to grow and evolve into a respected scholarly institution. Issues that we should address include: did the post-war years witness a change in the self-perception of the Catholic community? Similarly, was the founding of the SCHC an example of the disparate Catholic traditions in Scotland, most prominently the recusant community and the

community of Irish immigrants, finding a common interest and voice? In short, are we seeing through the SCHC an example of an integrated and united Catholic community in Scotland?

As a preface to this and the next chapter, it is important to consider the role of anti-Catholicism in historical writing and in Scottish identity. In confronting the issues of the history and identity of Scotland, Catholics were moving into hostile territory. In 1582, George Buchanan (1506–1582), an early moderator of the reformed Church of Scotland, produced a monograph entitled *Rerum Scoticarium Historia* in which he effectively wrenched from the hands of pre-Reformation (Catholic) scholars the origin myths and religious heritage of Scotland, promoting a new view of the origins and culture of Scotland in line with the new religious orthodoxy.[1] At the start of the process of rebuilding or building a new religious landscape Protestant scholars recognised the significance of myth in justifying and consolidating their revolt both in religious and regal terms. Buchanan, ironically, drawing upon the works of prominent Catholic scholars such as Hector Boece and John Fordun, created a *mythology* which emphasised the antiquity of Presbyterianism and viewed Catholicism as, historically, an alien imposition. Through the Reformation, therefore, Scotland was recovering its ancient faith. As Bishop John Spottiswoode (1565–1639), historian, Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church and Lord Chancellor to Charles I in Scotland said, 'We are not a new church, but one truly apostolicall.'[2] By focusing on history, Catholics were exposing issues that were not simply antiquarian history, but at the core of Scotland's religious and national identity. Each of the debates which arose around the *Celi Du* or Culdees (a wandering monastic order of the Celtic period) or the synod of Whitby in the seventh century (which discussed and debated the dating of Easter in the Christian calendar with rival camps of Celtic and Latin clerics participating), or the arrival of papal episcopacy in the eleventh century carried with them significance in contemporary politics both regal and religious. In this situation Catholicism, ditched and abandoned by the majority of Scots, lost much of its relevance and significance to national identity. However, this is not to say that Catholicism was forgotten or irrelevant. Anti-Catholicism was vital to mobilising Presbyterian and Episcopalian interests to defend their position in the religious turmoil of the 200 years following the Reformation, but it played, according to some, a secondary role. Dr Colin Kidd in his monograph *Subverting Scotland's Past*, on Scottish historiography, argued that 'both for Presbyterian and Episcopalians the need to bind Scotland's religious

traditions to an ethnocentric historiography depended less on justification of the nation's original break from Rome at the Reformation than on the later need to fend off the encroachments of Protestant Canterbury'.[3] This is certainly true in terms of the immediate threats from English dynastic and political rivals but it does not explain the salience of anti-Catholicism right into the twentieth century.[4] William Ferguson in *The Identity of the Scottish Nation* has attempted to pass off anti-papist sentiment of scholars of ecclesiastical history as effectively incidental. Irrespective of the literary conventions which may have demanded a few 'incidental sneers and jibes' at the so-called anti-Christ in Rome, anti-Catholic sentiment must have served some purpose and must also have been necessary for some reason.[5] Both Dr Kidd and Dr Ferguson have argued the supplementary role of anti-Catholicism in the making of Scottish identity. It would though be useful to examine how this phenomenon, if it was a secondary role, operated in the intellectual culture of modern Scotland.

We can view anti-Catholicism as a tactical response to contemporary problems. By reviving the threat of Catholicism, rival Protestant denominations could accuse their opponents of the worst possible calumny. Anti-Catholicism has evolved over the centuries. In its earliest incarnation it was both an alien threat and theologically in error. The alien threat was from Rome, and also from Catholic France. The theological error was part of the debates over the Reformation. As the Catholic community shrank from political and regal influence, anti-Catholicism still held a strong degree of influence and popular appeal. Major Malcolm Vivian Hay, in preparation for his work *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, collected well over 300 examples of 'anti-papist' literature from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries published in Great Britain.[6] In the late nineteenth century, anti-Catholicism merged with anti-Irish immigration agitation. This situation was a curious revival of the traditional basis of anti-Catholicism in Scotland; the threat to Scottish nationality came from Ireland not France. There was a distinctive factor in this period, which lasted well into the twentieth century and that was in the fusion of traditional racist anti-Catholicism with the popular language of ethnic superiority. As both Dr R. J. Finlay and Professor S. J. Brown have argued, in the twentieth century, anti-Catholicism became synonymous with anti-Irish rhetoric, and the supposed fear of the dilution of the pure ethnic Scottish race by Irish immigrants.[7] Not all of the Irish were seen in this way, as pointed out by Graham Walker, in that there were of course other immigrants from the north of Ireland whose ancestors were Scottish, not

just in family terms but also in that they shared with their Scottish predecessors a preference for Presbyterianism.[8] It would, however, be partially correct to see anti-Catholicism in twentieth-century Scotland as solely driven by ethnicity. As Walker argued, Protestantism represented values, an inheritance in social, political and educational terms, which emphasised the role of Protestantism in emancipating the individual through learning. Protestants challenged the authoritarianism of Catholicism through the values of civic freedom and ecclesiastical democracy. These values were best represented by the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, which challenged regal authority through the promotion of a new partnership between the Commons and the sovereign. Protestants contrasted the 'meritocratic' and 'democratic' Presbyterian Church of Scotland governed, at a national level, by its General Assembly made up of representatives of all the Kirks (church parishes) in Scotland and at the parochial level, by elders selected from the members of the parish, with the 'absolute monarchy' of the papacy and its 'pretensions' towards infallibility. A second and more visibly popular form of 'anti-Catholicism' was the Loyal Orange Order in Scotland.[9]

Twentieth-century anti-Catholicism was defined by two characteristics: ethnic concern for racial survival but also, and this should not be seen as secondary, defence of Protestant values against the perceived 'alien' values of Catholicism. An example quoted by S. J. Brown demonstrates this coupling of the two trends.[10] In late 1926, a meeting took place between the Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir John Gilmour, and representatives of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches. The background to this meeting was in the debates of the Church of Scotland over the impact of Irish immigration on Scotland. The Kirk in 1922 commissioned a study of immigration published in 1923 as the 'Report of the Joint Committee of the Scottish Churches' entitled *The Menace of the Irish Race to our Scottish Nationality*. The committee delegation was led by the Rev. Dr John White, co-convenor of the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland.[11] At the start of the meeting, Rev. White stressed that the issue at stake was Irish immigration, 'as a national question only'.[12] However, as the meeting progressed and the committee's concerns were coolly received by the minister, White changed tack by bringing up the issue of the 1926 Catholic Relief Act, which was in the process of being given the royal assent at this time, and strongly opposed by the Protestant Churches in Scotland.[13] This incident was very revealing of the attitudes of the Kirk. Although the ethnic issue was paramount in the concerns of the Kirk, Brown argues

that the reason behind this was more complex than simple racism. When the extremely contemporary issue of race was dismissed by Gilmour, the Kirk fell back on 'anti-Catholicism' as a religious concern, not a 'national question only'. We should therefore not pass off 'anti-Catholicism' as simply about ethnic relations but recognise that it retained a strong religious dimension also. The irony of these exchanges was that at a time when the Protestant elite were trying to portray Catholicism as 'alien' both ethnically and religiously, Catholics in Scotland were turning their attention to Scottish history to find a means to unite the distinctive ethnic and social cultures of the community.

Confronted with the accumulation of a proto-Protestant mythology and symbolism, the situation for Catholics in attempting to assert their identity as Scots was perilous and problematic. Two overarching themes emerge out of Catholic scholarship on the problems of Scottish history and identity: misrepresentation of the Catholic contribution to Scottish history and under-representation of the Catholic peoples in the written histories of Scotland. A further theme is the deliberate attempts at forgery and the plain lies which both portrayed Catholicism in a malign light and sought to appropriate Catholic symbols for Protestantism. So, not only had Catholic scholars to correct the misrepresentation of Catholicism in Scottish history and unearth the lost history of the penal years and before, they also had to tackle the mythology of Protestantism and its claim, in the words of Rev. David Calderwood, to be 'the ethnick religion of the Scots'.[14]

The twin themes of misrepresentation and under-representation were analysed by representatives of the three main Catholic communities in Scotland: Major Malcolm Hay, a recusant from Aberdeenshire, Compton Mackenzie, an English convert who was active in the Catholic Church and the Scottish Nationalist movement, and Dr James Handley, an Irish immigrant Marist teacher. This chapter will concentrate on the first two of these writers and the following on Handley as his contributions will be part of the era of *Pax Romana* as opposed to the unique context of the inter-war period. In the first instance it analyses Malcolm Hay's monograph *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* published in 1927. Although it is for the most part a forgotten volume, Hay's work was regarded by Mgr David McRoberts as helping to 'establish a more objective and critical spirit in the writing of Scottish ecclesiastical history'[15] not least because on its publication it provoked amongst the Scottish historical profession a reaction demonstrating the sensitivity towards Catholic scholarship on the

ecclesiastical history of Scotland. It was also a reaction which Major Hay had anticipated in *A Chain of Error* when he observed:

> When in history an error has been repeatedly copied and continuously taught in the schools, it acquires the status of truth. Criticisms or questionings are looked upon as attempts to disturb a vested interest, as a rebellious and improper interference with the duly established order.[16]

Compton Mackenzie as part of the 'Voice of Scotland' series (published ironically in England) produced *Catholicism and Scotland* in 1936. This work was an introduction to the role of Catholicism in Scottish history. Mackenzie argued that the Catholic Church was the ancient defender of Scottish nationhood stretching back to the dark ages when the church was instrumental in uniting Scotland under a single crown. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the intervention of the Catholic Church on the side of the Scots brought legitimacy to the struggle by King Robert the Bruce in asserting the independence of Scotland against the claims of the English crown. The Reformation in the 1560s, according to Mackenzie, started the slide of Scotland towards incorporation into the United Kingdom and he proposed a Catholic Nationalism that would raise Scotland again to an independent state. Mackenzie's analysis turned on its head the traditional interpretation of Protestantism as a central component of Scottish identity and presented an alternative Catholic interpretation of the process of Scottish history.

In many respects it is possible to view these three examples as not necessarily about Catholicism. The essential criticisms of both Handley and Hay involved methodological and scholarly concerns. It is perhaps not surprising that it was over Catholic issues that the flaws showed, as for the most part the orthodoxy went unquestioned, and as Hay wrote was not so much a question of 'the popular mind but of popular will'.[17] Similarly it is not as though scholars were careful to conceal their methods; the same errors had been exposed in the past. It had been the Catholic scholar Father Thomas Innes, who in the late eighteenth century had very simply and decisively debunked much of the Presbyterian orthodoxy with the application of values with which all historians should by instinct approach historical questions, namely through study and analysis of primary sources, rather than as many post-Reformation scholars attempted to do through 'violently partisan and abusive'[18] secondary sources. The failures in addressing and assessing Catholic history in Scotland were not

the product of a conspiracy or of a coordinated campaign, but rather were failures of the most simple and basic kind. Unfortunately even today some historians are content to pass off shortcomings in scholarship and intellectual standards as reflecting the foibles and archival problems involved in antiquarian research. As will be demonstrated with reference to the works of Malcolm Hay, Compton Mackenzie and James Handley, these scholars refused to accept the conventional wisdom of Scottish ecclesiastical history or the superiority of Protestantism in historical insight or alleged archival limitations. These Catholic writers demonstrated that there had been serious shortcomings in the presentation of Catholic history, substantial failures on the part of Scottish ecclesiastical scholars in presenting an objective study of the religious history of Scotland and, most damagingly, a breach of trust in the most basic aspects of historical inquiry: in the choice and selection of sources.

A further point to be made regarding the historical 'profession' is that the majority of those who contributed to the debate on Catholic Scotland were not 'professional historians'. They were for the most part self-declared 'amateurs'. Much of the groundwork in establishing a Catholic critique of Scottish historicism was carried out by men whose academic backgrounds were not of the same pedigree as the professionals. The first wave of criticism came from a laird – Malcolm Vivian Hay, a political maverick – Compton Mackenzie, and a clergyman – Dr James Handley. Finally, the Catholic element of this should also be recognised. All of these authors were Catholics. Each represented a different perspective within the Catholic community. Malcolm Hay was from the recusant or old Catholic community in Scotland, Compton Mackenzie was a convert to Catholicism, an Englishman who adopted the lifestyle of a Scottish laird, and James Handley was an Irishman who lived most of his life in the west of Scotland. They all had different contributions to make, in Hay's case to establish the vitality of the recusant experience, in Mackenzie's case to make a point about the role of Catholicism in Scottish nationality and in Handley's to integrate the Catholic experience into the generality of Scottish history. All of these Catholic 'amateur' scholars sought to break the orthodoxy of Scottish Protestant history, not necessarily to establish a Catholic school of history, but to have the hidden Catholic history of Scotland revealed, to have Catholics, whether they were of Scots, English or Irish descent recognised as having contributed in the making of modern as well as ancient Scotland.

A Chain of Error in Scottish History

A Chain of Error in Scottish History by Major Malcolm Hay, written in 1927, is a unique contribution by a Catholic historian to the intellectual and cultural debate on the role of religion in Scottish history and identity. The monograph is unique, as it comes not from within the historical profession or even from the tradition of clerical scholarship in Scotland. Hay described himself as a 'part-time amateur historical critic'.[19] He regarded this situation as an advantage as unlike the professor of history he was not 'tied to his curriculum' or the demands of students.[20] The professor of ecclesiastical history, wrote Hay, has no independence of thought, as he cannot afford to 'ignore a mass of national and sometimes sectarian prejudice which may, if sufficiently provoked, become unpleasantly articulate'.[21] Hay saw his role in *A Chain of Error* as that of 'The destructive critic, the despoiler of legends, the breaker of idols',[22] a deliberately combative posture as the target of his pen was the entire inherited tradition of Scottish ecclesiastical historicism from the Reformation onwards. The main theme of *A Chain of Error* is misrepresentation. In the work, Hay deals with the issue of misrepresentation in two ways, both of which were interconnected: the nature of historical scholarship, and the intellectual mindset of Scottish historians. Hay argues that the Reformation created a tradition that mixed history with religious rebellion. Moreover, this tradition served to shut off the historian from the fundamental obligation towards objectivity and in some cases to the validity of sources.

In this part of the chapter, the objectives will be to define Hay's approach to the issues of Scottish ecclesiastical history and to give examples of Hay's methodological approach, and the ways in which he sought to demonstrate the failings in scholarship. Hay recognised that criticism is meaningless without some form of alternative to the problems identified. He therefore outlined examples of a means to rectify the situation and restore some degree of objectivity to this area of history. This part of the chapter also relates Hay's work to the issue of the Catholic contribution to Scottish history both in terms of the role of Catholicism in shaping the Scottish nation, and the role of Catholics in the historical profession. In relation to this, Hay was not specific in *A Chain of Error*, but it was identified as an issue by other Catholics after reading the work and in many respects it is the subtext of Hay's book. Even a brief understanding of Hay's background and the other areas in which he studied would suggest that this is not an unreasonable conclusion to draw.

Major Malcolm Vivian Hay (1881–1962) lived on the periphery of the heartland of the recusant Catholic population in Scotland at Seaton in Aberdeenshire. A similarly unique and dramatic background and life matched his unique and dramatic contribution to Scottish Catholic history. His family was a mix of English and Scots lower aristocracy. Hay was born in London but the majority of his life was spent at Seaton House or in the military. He was educated in both France and in England specialising in languages. On his twenty-first birthday he officially inherited his father's estate at Seaton. Alongside his brother Cuthbert, he had fought in the local regiment, the Gordon Highlanders, during the First World War. Major Hay was amongst the earliest volunteers in July 1914. The Hay family had a long military heritage stretching back to the Battle of Waterloo where his grandfather was one of the *aides-de-camp* to the Duke of Wellington and Military Governor of Paris following Napoleon's capture.[23] Taken prisoner at the Battle of Mons in Belgium, early in the war, and severely wounded, Hay's active military service ended when the Germans parolled him and a relative who had married a Prussian aristocrat, Madame Blucher, helped him in gaining an exchange.[24] On his return to London, Major Hay volunteered for work in military intelligence. Hay joined the War Office's department M.I.1B that was involved in designing ciphers for the armed services and breaking the codes of the enemy.[25] Major Hay's term with the War Office ended in 1919, though the main code he designed for the British Army stayed in use until 1939.[26] After the Great War, he was to maintain his close links with the Gordon Highlanders and was the District Lieutenant for Aberdeen City for many years.

The experience of the Western Front provided the material for Hay's first book, a memoir entitled *Wounded and a Prisoner of War* published in 1915. His second book *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* was published in 1927 and after this he continued to produce works with clerical and historical themes: *The Jesuits and the Popish Plot* (1934); *Winston Churchill and James II* (1937); *The Enigma of James II* (1934); *Failure in the Far East* (1957); as well as editing *The Blairs Papers* (1929). Hay maintained a long-standing friendship with the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Right Rev. George Bennett, and through the northern seminary at Blairs he played a pivotal role in cataloguing many antiquarian documents in the substantial collection at the college. His literary efforts did not stop at historical monographs. He was also an avid correspondent to the main national daily newspapers, as well as magazines and journals, contributing in *The Universe*, *The Tablet*, *G. K.'s Weekly* (the newspaper of G. K. Chesterton's distributionist

movement) and many others. His papers and archives were deposited in the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh after his death.

Through access to ecclesiastical papers and a command of classic languages, Hay was able to put together in *A Chain of Error* a substantive assessment of Scottish history and religious politics. A striking feature of the volume is the great range of scholars and sources which are cited in the promotion of his argument, from the Centuriators of Magdeburg, through the works of Walter Scott, Edward Gibbon and Jules Michelet to George Buchanan, Dr Hill Burton, W. Skene, George Grub, William MacPherson and Father Thomas Innes. In addition to this were original and never before used sources, many of which had come from the newly catalogued Blairs papers. Not since Father Innes's two monumental studies of Scottish history had a Catholic scholar attempted to discuss and criticise the established historical orthodoxy or attempted to assess critically the scholarship of the giants of Scottish historical writing.[27] Hay's ambition in *A Chain of Error* was no less substantial when one considers that he approached the subject with little formal academic or professional training. Like Dr Handley, Father Innes and many other clerical scholars he was a part-time historian, an amateur.

The objective set out by Hay in *A Chain of Error* was to 'show by dissection and analysis the mentality and methods of English and Scottish historians generally in their treatment of a particular section of ecclesiastical history'.[28] The two essential terms in this definition are 'mentality' and 'methods'. Hay argued that the bias in Scottish history was based on a mindset that asserted the intellectual as well as the liturgical superiority of Protestantism. A quote much used by Major Hay to exemplify this attitude was taken from Hill Burton, the nineteenth-century Scottish historian who described himself as a 'layman brought up on the principles of the reformation'. It was the application of these principles that was necessary to understand the truth of Scottish history.[29] It can be regarded as a Scottish form of the Whig interpretation of history that was deterministic, positivist and sectarian. The methodology of the Protestant historians carried on from the mentality in which evidence and sources were regarded as authentic and legitimate if they conformed to this worldview. Hay was in relation to sources highly critical as he believed that the majority of the Protestant historians were regarding sources uncritically when they conformed to this view; he regarded this as a reversal of the usual rules of evidence saying 'if the documents do not fit the prejudice the documents must be scrapped'.[30]

The starting point for Hay in discussing the methods and mentality was the contribution of the Reformation. Hay was certainly not the first historian to argue that the Reformation was a pivotal moment in the intellectual and social history of Europe. From Max Weber to R. H. Tawney, the influence on the modernisation of the continent of the break with Rome had been assessed and argued with every shade of political, religious and economic opinion contributing.[31] Tawney summed up the intellectual contribution of Protestantism to the emergence of capitalism as 'the spear-head of revolution'[32] commenting, 'Calvin did for the *bourgeoisie* of the sixteenth century what Marx did for the Proletariat.'[33] Hay argued, in a different context, an interesting point in relation to history and its use in the mobilisation of public opinion. At source, the Reformation was a complex and sometimes obscure debate about the nature of belief and its application in everyday life. The problem for the Reformers, argued Hay, was to translate this debate into recognisable and accessible symbols in order to bring the masses to the rebels or as Hay said 'an argument the ignorant mob could understand'.[34] The vehicle for this was history, as it could act as a means of highlighting the failures of Rome and it could act as a means to reinterpret the past in line with the new religious orthodoxy which by providing 'proof that the old system had long ago broken down and had always been inefficient and corrupt would be a telling justification of the new order'.[35] There were many different routes to this objective: underlining the doctrinal errors in Catholicism, portraying the Roman Church as sexually and financially decadent and more ambitiously arguing that Romanism was an alien imposition and that it had been concealing the true and authentic religion of the peoples of Europe. Hay identified the Centuriators of the University of Mageburg in Germany as the originators of this historiography.[36] The works he centred upon were of the Reformation historians Flacius Illyricus and Baronius that he regarded with disdain as 'a collection of scandals and calumnies' including rumours that monks ritually murdered children and ditched the corpses in nearby lakes.[37] However simplistic they may have been, the Centuriators were important in that they established two important principles in Protestant historicism.[38] First, the continuity of history, that the past was usable in propaganda, and second, the value of incorporating intellectual opinion behind their ideas, in effect giving their own point of view academic and institutional legitimacy.

The process by which these principles were applied was the route of error. Hay identified two separate trends in this process: first, the continu-

ity of anti-Catholic propaganda based on historical evidence and second, the incorporation of error into general historical writing. The first trend Hay dealt with in a short summary of anti-Catholic literature published in the United Kingdom from the fifteenth century onwards, through the collection of over 300 pamphlets and books that he had assembled.[39] Although the intellectual quality of these works was questionable, they did point to a continuous aspect of Protestant propaganda, that no matter how small the Catholic Church was in the United Kingdom, maintaining hostility towards 'this cursed *Papistrie*' remained important; 'the propaganda though occasionally theological was in the main historical; at any rate the historical part made the strongest appeal to patriotism'.[40] The national dimension for Hay was significant, as it bonded national identity to religious identity and operated to actively exclude Catholicism from national symbols.

Hay argued that from the Reformation in Scotland in the 1560s onwards, ecclesiastical historians devoted much of their effort to proving the alien character of Catholicism. The argument focused on so-called 'Celtic Christianity', that is, the period in Scottish history from the appearance of the first Christian evangelists in Scotland until the twelfth century with the raising of the first ecclesiastical sees under the Roman Church. Post-Reformation historians starting with George Buchanan in his 1582 work *Rerum Scoticarium Historia* scoured Scotland's early history for evidence of a pre-Catholic Christianity which could give a degree of antiquarian legitimacy to Protestantism. The argument centred around the *Culdees* (meaning literally those who lived alone), a monastic movement of the eighth and ninth centuries. The proto-Protestant thesis sought to create an image of an ancient church that was similar in character and outlook, or as the Historiographer Royal Dr Hume Brown characterised it, in 'spirit, method and aims' to the Scottish Reformers of the sixteenth century.[41] The *Culdees* seemed to fit this model as they were independent, practised a simple faith without bishops, and did not demonstrate any characteristics that could be considered Roman. The thesis was broadened through the incorporation of all 'Celtic Christianity' as anti-Roman.

The majority of Hay's *A Chain of Error* deals with each of the issues in Celtic Christianity assessing each of the claims in turn based on original sources. It is not possible to analyse the whole of *A Chain of Error*, as the focus here is not on 'Celtic Christianity'. However, it is useful to give at least one example of Hay's approach, of what we may call the 'spirit, methods and aims' of *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*. The example

concerns the attitude of some Scottish historians to the issue of papal authority and the principles that governed their approach.

Hay highlighted throughout *A Chain of Error* what he saw as indications of the mentality of Scottish Protestant historians. In one example he deals with a comment made by George Grub, the distinguished Scottish ecclesiastical historian, in his monograph the *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* published in 1861. Professor Grub, commenting on the hagiography of St Kentigern (aka Mungo, patron saint of Glasgow) by the eleventh-century monk Jocelyn of Furness, made the following observation:

> Hardly any part of Jocelyn's work is so absurd as his conclusion … When we are informed that [Kentigern] gave special instructions for observing the laws and customs of the Holy Roman Church, the mother of all churches, we see at once that Jocelyn is using the language of a later age attributing its opinions to St. Kentigern.[42]

This excerpt was indicative of the attitude of Protestant scholars, although as Hay pointed out, all monastic hagiography should be treated with caution.[43] It is not the validity of the observations of Jocelyn on St Kentigern's life which Grub regarded as improbable, but the idea that the Catholic Church was seen in the sixth century as 'the mother of all churches'. Hay picked up on this statement and then set out three examples from the fourth century onwards in which this term 'the mother of all churches' was used or where the Catholic Church is described as the 'mother church'.[44] The first was from a synodal epistle of the First Council of Arles in 314 to the Pope signed by three British bishops.[45] The letter refers to the church 'United in the bond of communion and of the union of our mother the Catholic Church'.[46] The second example, from Victor Vitensis's *History of the African Persecutions* written in the middle of the fifth century, refers to Rome as '*quae caput est ominium ecclesiarum*' or head of the church.[47] The third example was a phrase used by the Irish Abbot Cummian on a delegation sent to Rome 'as children to their mother'.[48] With these three examples from the Gallic, African and Celtic churches Hay summed up, 'It is absurd to suggest that the words "the Holy Roman Church, the mother of all churches" do not belong as much to the sixth as to the twelfth century.'[49]

The implications of Hay's methodology are clear, that the mentality of post-Reformation scholars was not to let the facts get in the way of an accepted prejudice. The simple fact of the matter was that post-Reformation historians could not conceive that Rome was seen as the head of

Christendom. It would undermine all of the cherished notions of the 'proto-Protestant' thesis advanced from George Buchanan onwards. So the facts were simply ignored or in the case of Grub and others, denounced. Just as the likes of George Grub accused Jocelyn of improperly using eleventh-century language, Hay turned the argument on its head by accusing historians of seeing the past 'through post-Reformation spectacles'.[50] This was, according to Major Hay, the route of error and the fault-line in Scottish ecclesiastical history. The examples just discussed illustrate Malcolm Hay's methodology in *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*. But even where sources were contradictory, Hay looked at the reasons why Scottish historians chose not to use them, arguing that distinguished writers were willing participants in concealing the truth, in some cases to further their own careers, but generally to pander to the prejudices of their times. Malcolm Hay's thesis, in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, could not help but be inflammatory and controversial; in effect, he accused the whole profession of 'being economical with the truth', if not lying.

Responses to and criticism of *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*

The response to Malcolm Hay's *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* is illuminating particularly the reception it received in the academic press. The book was reviewed by most of the national newspapers and by the Catholic press. *A Chain of Error* in general received good notices with even some Protestant writers praising its scholarship. The Church of Scotland minister Rev. David Graham wrote in a review for the *Perthshire Advertiser* that he saw the book 'as a protest against the bitter partisanship which has disfigured so much protestant historians dealing with Catholic affairs'.[51]Amongst those who wrote to Malcolm Hay on his monograph was Hilaire Belloc who said 'Your Chain of Error was a completely conclusive bit of work.'[52] In the academic press, the verdict was mixed. The *Times Literary Supplement*, in a long and anonymous review, attacked the work as biased and selective.[53] One of Hay's closest friends, Father Martindale SJ of the Jesuits, wrote a rebuttal of the *TLS* for *The Universe*.[54] However, by far the worst and most significant review came in the journal of the Scottish History Society, *The Scottish Historical Review*. The review confirmed much of Hay's judgement on Scottish history and in *A Chain of Error* he had anticipated the type of criticism to which he would be subject. J. H. Baxter, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St Andrew's University,

wrote the 83-word review or rather non-review.[55] He said, 'The violently partisan and abusive character of the work precludes any serious notice in a review of this nature. It is a specimen of immoderate and fanatical vituperation which is now, for the most part, happily extinct.'[56] That Professor Baxter saw fit not to challenge Hay on his sources, his argument or his view of the history of Scotland is intriguing, and without any real evidence as to what he regarded as its scholarly shortcomings one can only guess at the reason for his condemnation. The very fact that Baxter chose himself to be violently partisan and abusive is certainly ironic but also as the Rev. David McRoberts was to comment seemed to confirm to Catholics that 'Scotland had shared with Great Britain as a whole, a restricted, but very persistent tradition of hostility to Catholic scholarship'.[57]

Equally unique was the deluge of complaints from readers of Baxter's review. Amongst those who sent letters were prominent Catholic intellectuals such as Sir Donald-Oswald Hunter Blair, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Professor John Fraser, Professor of Celtic history at Jesus College, Oxford as well as the likes of Sir Bruce Seaton and J. R. N McPhail KC. In an unprecedented move, the editors of *The Scottish Historical Review* were forced to acknowledge the complaints:

> It is evident that there are a considerable number of readers of the SHR who are of the opinion that Major Hay 'has shown beyond the possibility of quibbling that a number of documents of the greatest importance for early Scottish history have been consistently misrepresented by historians'.[58]

The responses to the review continued: 'In regard to some features in the early history of Scotland, writers on the subject have established and followed a tradition which has no support in the known facts.'[59] Major Hay's arguments may have made little impact on supposedly objective historians in acknowledging the serious complaints which Catholics scholars had in relation to the way the past was represented and understood. But *A Chain of Error* helped to give voice to the disparate Catholic historical community and provided a cause to rally round. Monsignor David McRoberts, writing in *The Innes Review*, regarded the *Scottish Historical Review* intervention as significant, seeing it as on the one hand, 'the high watermark' of the misrepresentation of Catholic history but also, that Hay had contributed to a 'turn of the tide' in Scottish historiography.[60] An unexpected sequel to this event was that within a year the *Scottish Historical Review* ceased publication only to be revived in 1947.

A final contribution to the debate on *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* came from an unusual source. On 9 March 1931, Malcolm Hay had an audience with Pope Pius XI. The audience had been arranged by a friend, the British *chargé d'affaires* to the Holy See, Sir George Ogilvie-Forbes.[61] Hay took with him to the Vatican copies of his published works including *Wounded and a Prisoner of War*, *The Blairs Papers* and *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*.[62] The audience lasted for three-quarters of an hour during which the pair discussed topics of common interest such as Pius XI's time as apostolic visitor to Poland. Hay was familiar with the period, as he was involved in M.I.1B with the ciphers used by the Vatican.[63] They discussed archives and antiquarian research; Pius XI had been the senior archivist at the Vatican Library.[64] When Hay presented the Pope with a copy of *A Chain of Error*, Pius commented 'the word chain is well chosen, for all the unfortunate errors circulated about the history of the [Catholic] Church are all linked together.'[65]

A Chain of Error in Scottish History brought sharply into focus many of the difficulties that a number of Catholic scholars saw as an impediment to the development of an inclusive and objective Scottish historical profession. The issue of misrepresentation was a sensitive subject for Catholics and Protestants alike. For Catholics, raising the issue could result in a hostile reaction from the profession, which may have confirmed what many believed to be the truth, but could also result, as in the response to *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, to a closing of the ranks within the profession and a further sharpening of tensions over Scottish ecclesiastical history. For non-Catholic historians, the portrayal of the profession as antagonistic to Catholic concerns undermined confidence in the objectivity of the academic community. Not since Thomas Innes's writings had the ecclesiastical orthodoxy been so forthrightly challenged as it had been by Major Hay, and the clumsy rejoinder of Professor Baxter demonstrated that no real response had been worked out to a challenge. Malcolm Hay in *A Chain of Error* brought Catholic scholarship back into the public domain. Its impact on Catholic intellectualism was significant. For the first time in the twentieth century, a Catholic had dealt directly with a subject that had been for the most part since the Reformation the preserve of Scottish Protestant historians. Hay reminded his readers, both Catholic and non-Catholic, that there was not just one Scotland, but many ways of defining a nation and its people, that the construction of identity was just that: an invention based on access to influence and knowledge, a reflection of political and intellectual power.

Catholicism and Scotland

In 1936 as part of collected series of works called *The New Voice of Scotland*, Compton Mackenzie published *Catholicism and Scotland*. The monograph was a highly individual interpretation of Scottish history, but it came in a period of emerging Catholic interest in Scottish history. Compton Mackenzie was a convert to Catholicism. He was received into the Catholic Church in Italy in 1914 just before his service in the First World War. He was educated at Magdalen College Oxford and gained an LL.D at Glasgow University in 1919. His war service as a Royal Marine was distinguished; he was decorated by the French, Greek and Serbian governments during his service in Balkans. After the war he took up residence on the Isle of Barra in the Western Isles and settled down to his role as laird, novelist and Scottish Nationalist. The Isle of Barra is the most prominent of the Catholic Western Isles. It forms one of the three main islands of the Inner Hebrides alongside Harris and Lewis. Barra is almost exclusively Catholic whereas the other two islands are strongholds of the Free Church of Scotland. The new laird described Barra as possessing a 'peculiar magic' which was a mix of the scenery, character of the people and religion.[66] Mackenzie was part of the enormous explosion of literary activity in inter-war Scotland. Amongst his contemporaries were Eric Linklater, Edwin Muir, John Buchan, Lewis Grassic Gibbon and Christopher M. Grieve (aka Hugh MacDiarmid). He was the author of a number of important Scottish novels including *Whisky Galore*, *Monarch of the Glen* and *Sinister Street*. The role of Mackenzie in the Scottish literary community is difficult to assess despite his adopted homeland and faith.[67] It is a task full of problems to characterise Compton Mackenzie, as he defies almost any attempt to pigeonhole him. He was a British war hero who tried to organise a guerrilla war in Scotland against London. He was a high born sophisticated intellectual, with friends who included other aristocratic rebels such as Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr and R. B. Cunninghame Graham, who spent the majority of his life in the more humble surroundings of the crofting communities of Scotland.[68]

As a Scottish Nationalist, Mackenzie was a pioneering figure. In 1935 he gave the nascent Scottish National Party (SNP) it first notable success in winning the Glasgow University rectorial election. With Erskine of Marr and Hugh MacDiarmid he tried to form a secret cadre of Scottish Nationalists called *Clann Albain* (Children of Scotland). The Clann members were expelled from the SNP; amongst the stunts they had planned was

to steal or liberate (depending on your point of view) the Stone of Destiny from Westminster Abbey where it formed part of the coronation throne. (In 1950, a group of student Nationalists did remove it.) Leslie James Mitchell (Lewis Grassic Gibbon) described Mackenzie's Scottish Nationalist vision as 'a Scots Catholic kingdom, with Mr Compton Mackenzie Prime Minister to some disinterred Jacobite Royalty'.[69] He has also recently been described as having had views that were 'cheerfully batty'.[70] Although, the SNP in its early years attracted to it (and expelled) all manner of literary and political mavericks, Mackenzie's views were serious and sincerely held, despite his clipped Oxford tones, false teeth and Catholic romanticism.

Catholicism and Scotland owes a great debt to Malcolm Hay's *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*. Mackenzie acknowledges this with many quotations from and references to Malcolm Hay throughout the monograph. In the early parts of *Catholicism and Scotland*, almost the only source cited is that of *A Chain of Error*. Like Hay, Mackenzie is dismissive of the post-Reformation giants of Scottish historical scholarship noting that the 'best thing', about George Buchanan, author of the seminal *History of Scotland* 'was his Latin'.[71] They are, however, two different books written from different viewpoints but pursuing the same broad objective to highlight the value of Catholicism to the Scottish historical experience and its contribution to Scottish identity. The main area of departure is conceptual; Mackenzie seeks to argue that Scottish independence was based on the nation in communion with Rome, that Catholicism was in effect the guarantor of Scottish self-government. Mackenzie turns on its head the Presbyterian interpretation of Scottish identity, that the Reformation returned Scotland to its indigenous faith and away from foreign Catholic practice. In *Catholicism and Scotland* Mackenzie's most important contribution was to present for the first time since Thomas Innes's *Essays on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland* in the late eighteenth century, a wholly Catholic narrative on Scottish history. In stylistic terms, it is similar to the writings of Sir Walter Scott and particularly his multi-volume popular history of Scotland *Tales of a Grandfather*.[72] There is a real sense that *Catholicism and Scotland* is a response to the romantic style and presentation of Scott. There are ironies for Catholics in the contribution of Sir Walter Scott to the romanticising of Scottish history. In Scott's works, several of the 'heroes' of Catholic Scotland such as Mary Queen of Scots and Bonnie Prince Charlie feature heavily. The romantic images of the last Catholic queen and the last Catholic pretender still resonate and these were invented in the fiction of Walter Scott.

In *Catholicism and Scotland*, Compton Mackenzie surveys the history of Scotland from the establishment of Christianity in the sixth century until 1935. His main focus is on the relationship between Scotland's religious loyalties and the maintenance of nationhood. The work is deliberately controversial, an antithesis of the received wisdom of Scottish history and to some extent of Catholic interpretations of Scottish history. The first point that should be made is to highlight Mackenzie's own political and religious views. Compton Mackenzie was a Scottish Nationalist, and as pointed out he was a pioneer of the Scottish self-government movement. Therefore, he campaigned for the restoration of Scottish national sovereignty. He was also a Catholic. This could be seen as anachronistic as Catholicism was implacably opposed to liberalism and the nation state in its modern form is very strongly associated with liberalism. So *Catholicism and Scotland* is both a nationalist reading of Scottish history and a Catholic reading of Scottish history. Throughout the monograph, Mackenzie draws a strong connection between the Catholic faith and Scottish nationhood, arguing in a metaphorical sense, that Catholicism was the glue of Scottish society. Mackenzie charts the growth of the Scottish nation, its fall (with the Union of the Parliaments) in 1707 and the reinvigoration of the Scottish Nationalist movement in parallel with the emergence of Catholicism, the Reformation and the re-emergence of Catholicism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Mackenzie regards the Scottish Reformations of the 1560s as a series of disasters for the nation which paved the way for Scotland's eventual incorporation into Great Britain. There are contradictions in Mackenzie's approach. On the one hand he blames the clergy for the collapse in the church: 'That the Catholic clergy themselves were to a large extent to blame for the whole business cannot be denied.'[73] He does though offer praise to some, and in particular Cardinal David Beaton of St Andrews. Cardinal Beaton was traditionally presented as all that was worst in sixteenth-century Scottish Catholicism and regal politics. He was the senior Scottish cleric but as most of narratives on Scottish history have pointed out, he was also a libertine, a deviant and a greedy swindler. He obtained ecclesiastical titles for his friends and his family (he was alleged to have had eight children by his mistress). He was also involved in all of the main court intrigues of the time but perhaps the main reason why he was given such a dark reputation by post-Reformation historians was because he was the pivotal figure behind the execution of Protestant pastors on charges of heresy. Mackenzie's opinion is a little different: 'David

Beaton stands with Bruce and Wallace … among the great patriots of a country which has produced an unenviable number of traitors'.[74] Even today, the reputation of David Beaton is a difficulty for Catholic and non-Catholic scholars. Professor Michael Lynch pointed out the contradiction between the image of Catholic Scotland and the role played by Catholics in the promotion of humanism and the Renaissance. David Beaton, alongside his non-clerical 'pastimes', still managed to found St Mary's College, an institution which pioneered internal reform in the Scottish Catholic Church, and Bishop William Elphinstone, a much respected reformer, used his extended family network to restructure the northern parishes.[75] Mackenzie's fulsome praise of Cardinal Beaton is a clear example of his approach to subvert the conventional wisdom of Scottish history. His approach is along the lines of Malcolm Hay's *A Chain of Error*, in that he draws a clear line between historical interpretation and clear facts, or at least demonstrates that to every argument there are alternatives based on a scholar's own point of view. He pushes aside the snipes and calumnies over Beaton's private life as propaganda and concentrates on the larger issue of statehood.[76] He regards the Reformation as 'a spectacular attempt at self-destruction' which started the 'undistinguished decline of the country'.[77] The end of the process of Reformation was union with England, argued Mackenzie: 'In 1707 the political metamorphosis of Scotland into North Britain was effected by the Act of Union which was first made by the Reformers when they sacrificed their country on the altar of religious hate.'[78]

For the most part, *Catholicism and Scotland* is a fiery narrative on the development of the modern Catholic community focusing on Mackenzie's own adopted homeland among the islands of Scotland. It has for the most part been superseded by other scholars most notably the work of Peter F. Anson and Rev. William Anderson in *Underground Catholicism* published in 1970.[79] Anson published the first version of this work as *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland* at the same time as Mackenzie's *Catholicism and Scotland* in 1936 and was himself a convert, a founder of the Stella Maris, Apostleship of the Sea in 1920. His interest in maritime issues was based on his great ancestor Admiral Lord Anson and he gained recognition as an artist, exhibiting paintings at the Royal Academy in London.

The latter sections of Mackenzie's work are centred on the contemporary debates on Scottish nationality and Catholicism. The rise of the Scottish Protestant League (SPL) in Glasgow and Edinburgh, where the

party managed to win a couple of local authority seats, threatened to revive a popular form of anti-Catholicism.[80] Mackenzie regarded the SPL as a threat but as he pointed out a temporary phenomenon, although it had managed to revive anti-Catholic sentiment: 'The embittered religious feeling is still further embittered by the habit anti-Catholics have of identifying Catholicism in Scotland with the Irish population.'[81] This issue was a difficulty for Scottish Nationalists. It was not only some anti-Catholic Scots who equated Catholicism with the Irish and the Scots with Presbyterianism but also there was a seam in Scottish Nationalism that held the same opinion.[82] This was best demonstrated by the pamphlet of the Scottish Nationalist John Torrance *Scotland's Dilemma: Province or Nation?* Published in 1939, a few years after Mackenzie's work, it discusses what it calls 'The Green menace'. The menace was of the eventual and inevitable domination of the Irish over Scotland. 'The key to the racial destiny of the Scots', wrote Torrance, 'is the establishment of a sovereign legislature in Scotland'.[83] The equation of ethnic purity with racial destiny was common currency in nationalist and racist literature and although Catholicism is not mentioned, the inference is clear. The pamphlet was a bestseller with early editions selling 55,000 copies.[84]

Scottish Nationalism has conflicting elements with left and right, racists and anti-imperialists mixing in the same organisations. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Labour and socialist movements were the guiding forces behind Scottish Home Rule with the likes of Keir Hardie, R. B. Cunnighame Graham and on the fringe the likes of Hugh MacDiarmid, John Maclean and the Scottish Workers Republican Party.[85] The SNP founded in 1934 was an amalgamation of the National Party of Scotland, which had strong connections in the left-wing intelligentsia and the Scottish Party which was founded by members of the Glasgow Cathcart Unionist Association in Glasgow and various other figures, of whom Compton Mackenzie was only one representative.[86] The Scottish Nationalist movement was broad and open to almost all opinions and therefore depending upon which section was in ascendancy took its policy positions accordingly.

In terms of the approach to Ireland, there were real issues to deal with for both Nationalists and socialists. The left and the Nationalist movement had an unusual attraction to the 'Irish problem'. For Scottish Nationalists there was an attraction to Ireland, as it was an example of a component part of the United Kingdom which had gained self-government from London. Scotland had been offered self-government by the Liberal Party

as part of the 'Home Rule all-round' policy under Gladstone and Asquith. There were negative elements for Scottish Nationalists as the parliamentary progress of Home Rule stalled and Ireland exploded into conflict after the First World War and following partition in 1922, there was a bloody civil war which left Southern Irish society divided. There was also the question of Northern Ireland and the Scottish legacy in that province. The left was also attracted to Irish politics through Karl Marx's interest in Ireland in his writings, and the figure of James Connolly, the leader of the Irish Citizen Army who was born in Edinburgh and mixed militant Marxism with Irish Nationalism. However, the idea of nationalism was the antipathy of the internationalism of socialism. The contradictory lessons of the Irish Nationalist movement all made Ireland the most tantalising and problematic issue for political activists.

Mackenzie posed the 'Irish Question' in an (appropriately) unorthodox manner. He dealt with two issues: first, the ethnic cohesion of the Irish community and second, the implications of Catholicism for national loyalty. The first point, which Mackenzie made in relation to the Irish, was to turn the issue on its head considering the Irish problem to be one of a Scottish problem saying 'The Irish nation is faced by a much more difficult Scottish problem than the Irish problem which vexes Scotland.'[87] The legacy of Scottish Presbyterianism is of division in the north, just as the legacy of Presbyterianism in Scotland was of national apathy. The reason advanced by Mackenzie as to why the Irish Catholic community was insular was that the indigenous community 'treated' the Irish 'as aliens, and heathen aliens too',[88] arguing that the Scots were not open enough to assimilate the Irish into Scotland. Mackenzie said that the problem of assimilation was not insoluble. There had been steps towards integration which were successful, such as the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. He also saw another purpose in the integration of the Irish into Scotland, in drawing the disparate elements of the Catholic community together: 'nothing makes their relations [the Scottish Catholics] with their Scoto-Irish brethren more difficult than these shameful outbursts of shameful bigotry'. It was also amongst Mackenzie's objectives to see the end to the hyphenation of Scoto-Irish and to see all Catholics in Scotland as Scots.[89]

The accusation of divided loyalties between Catholics and the state was not unique to the situation of the Irish in Scotland. Catholics throughout Europe had been tarred with this accusation from the Reformation onwards. The emergence in Europe after the sixteenth-century Reformation of national churches who identified all religious minorities as

potential traitors or at least unconcerned with national survival, was also true of countries where Catholics formed the majority such as France. This was enhanced through the rise of the liberal nation state where religious loyalties were pitted against loyalties to the constitution and the state. The character of nineteenth-century Catholicism was to draw strength, not from the individual monarchs who had been the traditional defenders of the church but from the united strength of a Rome centred church. The papacy endeavoured to create an independent Catholic civil and devotional system with faith and morals under the direct control of the Pope and papal instruction in politics and society. The accusation of disloyalty against Catholics over the supremacy of ecclesiastical law was a puzzle to Compton Mackenzie. He reminded Protestants of their own belief in the pre-eminence of the sword of God over civil authority. 'Should civil Law ever conflict with the laws of God, Catholics will undoubtedly yield their allegiance to the laws of God, and we may surely suppose that every good Protestant would follow the same course.'[90] He added, 'the existence of any ecclesiastical law which conflicts with the civil law of Scotland is unknown to any Catholics'.[91] Earlier in *Catholicism and Scotland*, Mackenzie pointed out that Catholics had routinely given prayers for the welfare of the British monarchs and their heirs and successors since the time of George II in the eighteenth century. There was a further point to Mackenzie's discussion of Catholic national loyalty and the Irish. Irish national pride and determination was contrasted to lack of national sentiment in Scotland. Scotland, argued Mackenzie, has been plunged by Protestantism into a provincial backwater status; why should Catholics, especially those of Irish background, have any loyalty to a feeble nation and a spiritually vacuous land? Mackenzie continued, 'The Irish who settled in Scotland settled in a country which seemed to them have surrendered what they never surrendered – nationhood.'[92] All that the Scoto-Irish had seen of Scottish pride was bigotry and they preferred to 'remain Irish'.[93]

Each of the volumes of *The Voice of Scotland* was a personal statement and did not represent anything but the author's own views. It is therefore hard to estimate the influence of Mackenzie's work or his views on the role of Catholicism. When Mackenzie was elected Rector of Glasgow University he was given support by both the Glasgow University Student Nationalist Association and the Catholic Students sodality. He was a well-known, if eccentric, figurehead for young Catholics and Scottish Nationalists. Mackenzie was certainly detached from the experiences of the majority Scotto-Irish community and he was not the atypical island Catholic either.

He was arguably typical of the Scottish converts to Catholicism or rather the converts to Catholicism who now lived in Scotland as he was educated, politically aware and affluent. *Catholicism and Scotland* is today used much more as a narrative on the history of Catholicism in Scotland than as a Catholic interpretation of Scottish history. This distinction may seem trivial but it is of significance, as it is the essence of Mackenzie's analytical approach. Of his other works *Whisky Galore* is the most remembered and principally because it was used as the basis of one of the great Ealing film comedies of the 1940s. However, *Catholicism and Scotland* is an important work of Catholic historicism. It appeared on the back of Major Hay's *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* revealing a deep interest amongst some Catholics to come to grips with the intellectual and cultural legacy of Catholicism in Scottish history. Mackenzie challenged the orthodoxy of Scottish history; he turned villains into heroes and 'great' moments in Scottish history into tragedies. The most controversial approach was to reverse the logic of Scottish history, marking the end of Scottish independence in the Reformation and reducing the symbols of Scottish nationhood – Protestantism and the Church of Scotland – into obstacles to asserting Scottish national identity.

Notes

1. George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarium Historia* (Edinburgh, 1582).
2. Quoted in William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: A Historic Quest* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 112.
3. Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 24.
4. For a recent study of the role of anti-Catholicism in Great Britain, see John Wolffe, 'Change and Continuity in British Anti-Catholicism, 1829–1982', in *Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789* (F. Tallet and N. Atkin, eds) (London, 1996), pp. 67–86.
5. Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation*, p. 106.
6. Malcolm Vivian Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* (London, 1927), p. 7.
7. S. J. Brown 'Outside the Covenant: Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922–1938', *The Innes Review* 42.1 (Spring, 1991), pp. 19–45; R. J. Finlay, 'Nationalism, Race, Religion and the Irish Question in Inter-War Scotland', *The Innes Review*42.1 (Spring, 1991), pp. 46–67.
8. Graham Walker, 'Varieties of Scottish Protestant Identity', in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (T. M. Devine and R. J. Finlay, eds) (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 250–68.

9. See E. McFarland, *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990) and Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*.
10. Brown, 'Outside the Covenant', pp. 28–9.
11. The Church and Nation Committee was a special committee of the General Assembly with responsibility for home affairs and domestic policy initiatives.
12. Brown, 'Outside the Covenant', p. 28.
13. See S. McGhee, 'Carfin and the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926', *The Innes Review*16.1 (Spring, 1965), pp. 56–77.
14. David Calderwood quoted in Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation*, p. 113.
15. David McRoberts, 'Scottish Catholic Archives 1560-1978', *The Innes Review*. XXVII(2)
16. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, p. 68.
17. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, p. 67.
18. J. H. Baxter, 'Review of *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*', *Scottish Historical Review* 25 (1928), p. 206.
19. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, p. 192.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., p. 193.
22. Ibid., p. 192.
23. A. I. Hay, *Valiant for Truth: Malcolm Hay of Seaton* (London, 1971), p. 23.
24. See Hay, *Valiant for Truth*, pp. 52–7. Count Blucher was a descendant of the Duke of Wellington's Prussian commander at Waterloo.
25. For an assessment of Major Hay's contribution to military intelligence and counter-intelligence see D. Kahn, *The Codebreakers* (New York, 2nd edn., 1996), pp. 309–11.
26. For recollections of Major Hay's wartime service see M. V. Hay, *Wounded and a Prisoner of War* (London, 1915) and Hay, *Valiant for Truth*, pp. 52–7.
27. Thomas Innes, *The Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1853) and *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland: 1729* (Edinburgh, 1879).
28. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, p. vii.
29. Ibid., p. 64.
30. Ibid., p. 66.
31. See R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (Harmondsworth, 1926); Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London, 1930, English translation by Talcott Parsons).
32. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 120.
33. Ibid.
34. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, p. 1.

35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 4.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p. 6.
39. Ibid., p. 7.
40. Ibid.
41. P. Hume Brown, *A History of Scotland for Schools* (Edinburgh, 1907), part 1, p. 35.
42. George Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1861), volume I, p. 39 quoted in Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish Histor*y, pp. 58–9.
43. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, p. 58.
44. For an introduction to 'dark age' Christendom, see J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (London, 1987).
45. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, pp. 59–60. Just in case there was any room for doubt on this, Major Hay presented the statement in both English and in a footnote in Latin.
46. Ibid., p. 60.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Hay, *Valiant for Truth*, p. 121.
52. Ibid., p. 116.
53. Ibid., p. 120.
54. Ibid., p. 117.
55. Baxter, 'Review of *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*', p. 206.
56. Ibid.
57. McRoberts, 'Scottish Catholic Archives', p. 122.
58. *Scottish Historical Review* 26 (1928), p. 379.
59. Ibid.
60. McRoberts, 'Scottish Catholic Archives', p. 122.
61. Hay, *Valiant for Truth*, p. 92.
62. Ibid., p. 93.
63. Ibid., p. 94.
64. Ibid. In 1910, Ambrogio Ratti (Pius XI) was called to Rome to serve in the Vatican Library. Between 1918 and 1921 he was apostolic visitor to Poland.
65. Ibid.
66. C. Mackenzie, 'Catholic Barra', in *The Book of Barra* (J. L. Campbell, ed.) (London, 1936), p. 5.
67. P. Reilly, 'You Are the People, Who Are We?' in *Out of the Ghetto: The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland* (R. Boyle and P. Lynch, eds)

(Edinburgh, 1998), pp.142–62. See also, P. Reilly, 'Catholics and Scottish Literature, 1878–1978', in *Modern Scottish Catholicism* (McRoberts, ed.), pp. 183–203.

68. Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr, founder of the Scottish National League and a host of other pan-Celtic and Scottish Nationalist groups. Robert B. Cunninghame Graham, Liberal MP, founder of the Scottish Labour Party in 1888, founder member of the National Party of Scotland and President of the Scottish National Party.
69. A. Marr, *The Battle for Scotland* (London, 1992), p. 82.
70. Ibid., p. 83.
71. C. Mackenzie, *Catholicism and Scotland* (London, 1936), p. 94.
72. W. Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather* (Edinburgh, 1869).
73. Mackenzie, *Catholicism and Scotland*, p. 72.
74. Ibid., p. 53.
75. M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), p. 195.
76. Mackenzie, *Catholicism and Scotland*, p. 142.
77. Ibid., p. 73.
78. Ibid., p. 142.
79. P. F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland* (Montrose, 1970).
80. See T. Gallagher, 'Protestant Extremism in Urban Scotland 1930–1939: Its Growth and Contraction', *Scottish Historical Review* 64.178, Part 2 (1985), pp. 143–67.
81. Mackenzie, *Catholicism and Scotland*, p. 184.
82. See Finlay, 'Nationalism, Race, Religion and the Irish Question'; Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, ch. 4.
83. J. Torrance, *Scotland's Dilemma: Province or Nation?* (Edinburgh, rev. edn., 1939), p. 38.
84. This figure is based on a statement on the cover of the pamphlet. Ibid., p. 1.
85. See N. Milton, *John Maclean* (London, 1973), ch. 62.
86. See J. Brand, *The National Movement and Scotland* (London, 1978); R. J. Finlay, *Independent and Free* (Edinburgh, 1994); and Marr, *The Battle for Scotland*.
87. Mackenzie, *Catholicism and Scotland*, p. 184.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., p. 125n.
90. Ibid., p. 185.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.

CHAPTER 9

James E. Handley and the Scottish Catholic Historical Association

Over 20 years after Malcolm Hay made his controversial assessment of Scottish ecclesiastical history and 15 years after Compton Mackenzie's *Catholicism and Scotland*, Catholic scholars and activists returned to the vexing issues of Catholicism, history and national identity. The inspiration came from an unusual source – the reinvigorated Catholic Action movement of the post-war years. In 1949 as part of the annual weekend conference of the Edinburgh Newman Circle, with members from all over Scotland including a large contingent from the Glasgow Newman Circle, Dr James Edmund Handley (Brother Clare FMS), the headmaster of St Mungo's Academy in Glasgow and the author of two volumes on the Irish in Scotland was invited to speak. Handley's conference paper was entitled 'The Position of Catholics in Social and Economic History'. In the paper, Handley conducted a survey of the state of the broad Scottish historical profession and attitudes of both Catholics and non-Catholics to researching the hidden Catholic history of Scotland. Unlike Major Hay, Handley was to cast his net wide across disciplines within history and also across the border to England in his search to find a methodological and intellectual structure which could open up the Catholic experience to greater scrutiny and understanding. However, like Hay, Brother Clare was concerned with the shortcomings of the practice of Scottish history, but argued at the same time that Catholics could still carve a niche in the profession.

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_9

James Handley in his 1949 address to the Newman Association examined the shortcomings, as he viewed them, of both the Scottish historical profession and Catholic history as it was presented within the generality of Scottish history. A point which is key in this preamble is to emphasise that for Handley, Hay and others, Scottish Catholic history was neither separated nor divorced from the mainstream of Scottish history, but integral to it. As Father Anthony Ross OP, the first chairman of the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee expressed it: 'the history of no section of the human race can be isolated completely, either in its happening or in the hands of scholars'.[1] The under-representation of Catholic history was a failure on the part of the whole of the historical profession to understand the nature of Scottish history. Handley was to argue that the Scottish historical profession had not caught up with the innovations in historical methodology pioneered by social history in England, by such as G. M. Trevelyan, Sidney Webb and J. L. Hammond.[2]

Before the Handley address in 1949, Catholic clerical historical activity was maintained through the seminaries and in particular through the student journals of St Peter's College in Glasgow and Blairs College in Aberdeenshire. The college journals started as in-house magazines for the students to write articles, compose poems and songs. They contained reports from students abroad and provided advice on matters of theology and liturgy. However, they also published original research on historical and religious themes. Much of the inspiration came from the editors of the magazine who used the magazines as forums to promote their own scholarly interests. The *SPCM* is of interest for two reasons. First, as pointed out in the chapter 4 on the Catholic Union, it was from *SPCM* that a Scottish interpretation of Catholic Action was developed through the writings of the then editor Canon Joseph Daniel.[3] The second important feature was in the link between the *SPCM* and the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee journal *The Innes Review* both of which were edited between 1951 and 1957 by the same man, Monsignor David McRoberts. In the *SPCM*, McRoberts gave space and encouragement for writers from the clergy and the secular world to discuss historical issues and themes. In this way it can be seen as a precursor and partner of the *SCHC* and *The Innes Review*.

Handley's address was significant as it acted as the catalyst to the founding in 1949 of the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee (SCHC), the forerunner of the now well-established Scottish Catholic Historical Association and its journal *The Innes Review*. In addition to this, Handley's

impact on the *SCHC* and the *Innes Review* was more particular, not least because he was the chairman of the SCHC from 1951 until 1963. The SCHC was to follow very clearly the guidelines set down by Brother Clare. An indication of this can be seen in an article written for *The Innes Review* by the first chairman of the committee Father Anthony Ross OP which was published in the second edition of *The Innes Review* in 1950, an analysis of which will form the final section of this chapter.

The influence of clerical scholarship on the SCHC came from two sources. First, was the influence of Father Thomas Innes, the distinguished eighteenth-century historian and antiquary. Second, were the magazines of the powerful, if remote, Scottish seminaries primarily the *SPCM* published by the Literary Society of St Peter's College, the seminary of the archdiocese of Glasgow.[4] This journal produced between 1911 and 1968 (when it ceased publication) was initially an in-house magazine/journal for the student priests. However, as it developed, it broadened its contents to include historical essays, original research and theological discussions that took it beyond its original function to 'liven things up'[5] for the students during the 'pretty dull' Christmas holidays.[6] During its publication the *SPCM* published many benchmark articles on Scottish Catholic history, written by the clerical professors at the college, university scholars (both James Darragh and John Durkan, members of the editorial board of *The Innes Review*, contributed) and other prominent members of the Catholic community (including William Maley, the former manager and secretary of Celtic Football Club[7]). This tradition began with the first issue published in December1911, with articles by Thomas Nimmo Taylor and Monsignor Alexander Hamilton who as a member of the College Literary Society first proposed the idea of a magazine based on *The Blairentian*, the journal of Blairs College in Aberdeenshire.[8] Another important first contributor was Professor John Swinnerton Phillimore, Professor of Classics at Glasgow University.[9]

The most important link between the *SCPM* and *The Innes Review* was Monsignor David McRoberts (1912–1978).[10] Mgr McRoberts was Professor of Church History at St Peter's between 1943 and 1963. He was editor of the *SPCM* between 1945 and 1957 and of *The Innes Review* from 1951 until his death in 1978. Mgr McRoberts's link with the college and the magazine began in his childhood at St Ignatius' Wishaw in Lanarkshire where his parish priest was Mgr Octavius F. Claeys, founding editor of the *SPCM* and rector of the college between 1907 and 1923.[11]

From 1911 until 1968, the *SPCM* published a number of articles on Scottish Catholic history. The importance of the journal was not simply as a link between two eras in Scottish Catholic historiography but in that it maintained and fostered the tradition of clerical scholarship in modern history and antiquarian history. Mgr McRoberts was the important figure in this, by contributing many of his own original pieces of research.[12] An example of his work is 'Scotland and Our Lady', a study of Marian devotion in Scotland before the nineteenth century cited previously.[13] This article details the enduring tradition of the Marian cult in Scotland, a trend that McRoberts dates back to the times of the Celtic church in Scotland. The article is of interest as it is a piece of original scholarship and because it emphasises continuity in Scottish Catholic history. The modern Marian cult emerged during the nineteenth century through the processional movement and Pius IX's promotion of the cause of Mary from 1854 onwards. McRoberts's article was written in commemoration of the passing of the 'Marian Century' (1854–1954). The continuity in Marian devotion was part of McRoberts's own thesis on the history of Scottish Catholicism. This thesis was enunciated in another article from the *SPCM* called 'The Undefeated'.[14] McRoberts argued that although there were many periods in Scottish history when Catholicism went underground or was suppressed, it was nevertheless maintained by small groups of the faithful. When, in the nineteenth century, Catholics gained political rights through the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act and could practise their faith undisturbed, it did not result in the establishment of a new community but the return of Catholicism to prominence. This approach of unearthing continuities in Catholic history and promoting the idea of an enduring tradition was taken up by the SCHC. The contributors to *SPCM* and *The Innes Review* stressed the 'Scottish' character of Catholicism challenging the orthodoxy of Protestant historiography that promoted the so-called 'alien character' of Catholicism.

'The Undefeated' is in miniature a reflection of many of the themes in early twentieth-century Catholic writing on Scottish history. It deals with the issue of misrepresentation of the Catholic Church in the 'traditional' history books. In the opening paragraph of the article, McRoberts gives so succinct a précis of the orthodox Protestant interpretation of the Reformation in Scotland that it could almost have came from George Buchanan himself.

> The usual impression given by old-fashioned, non-Catholic history books which deal with the Reformation is of a population long since driven to desperation by the tyranny of ignorant and licentious priests and bishops, repelled by the degraded superstition of popery, kept unwilling in ignorance of sound doctrine and especially of the written word of God – the Bible. We are given a picture of such a down trodden people eagerly clutching at every crumb of evangelical religion that comes their way and finally, under the guidance of saintly and heroic preachers like George Wishart or John Knox, they rose in widespread revolt against the medieval church and, confronted by this 'uproar for religion' the old church, too corrupt even to attempt to save itself, simply disintegrated and vanished almost overnight, and that no Scotsman regretted its disappearance.[15]

Although this interpretation borders on caricature it contains all of the issues which post-Reformation historians highlighted as at the root of the Reformation: a bankrupt and venal Catholic Church, jealous and protective of its own interests which deliberately prevented access of the individual to the word of God. The account of the religious revolt was one welcomed by the population, of a Catholic Church so rotten it could not resist the popular will and as a result when the Catholic Church was swept away, no one really lamented its demise. So complete was this interpretation, that Mgr McRoberts had himself heard another priest remark 'that the sixteenth century Catholics of Scotland must have been a poor lot indeed when they gave up their religion so quickly and with so little fuss'.[16]

The failure of the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century to produce a counter-Reformation in Scotland on par with the successful recovery of the church elsewhere in Europe, has cast a long shadow on Scottish Catholicism. Mgr McRoberts addresses the issue of Scottish Catholic failure in a novel and contemporary manner. Writing in 1960, McRoberts draws a comparison between the post-war state of Eastern Europe where the communists managed almost overnight to topple states and create the impression that they were acting as an expression of the popular will.[17] He does not argue that the Reformers of the sixteenth century were communists, but rather he suggests that awareness of the revolutionary experiences of the twentieth century could provide an insight to a previous revolutionary epoch. He says 'The Scottish Reformation was a revolution and we modern men can, in all humility, claim to know more than our forefathers of the last two hundred or three hundred years.'[18] McRoberts sees no difference in the actions and objectives of revolutionaries over

the years, to take power and then to set up an intellectual and social system that promoted the virtues of the victors and damned the failures of the vanquished.[19] In the Scottish case, the winners wrote the history and wrote out of history those who were defeated. Therefore, in terms of the misrepresentation of Scottish Catholic history, McRoberts argued it was a logical and natural process of revision based on the beliefs and self-image of those who succeeded, a form of action which anyone in 1960 would recognise from the experience of contemporary Eastern Europe.[20]

This contemporary parallel is maintained by McRoberts into the second theme of much of the Catholic writing on Scottish history, that of the under-representation of the surviving Catholic community, and the resistance of Catholics to the new orthodoxy in the sixteenth century. Mgr McRoberts points to the works of *émigrés* from the communist states on the resistance to the march of totalitarianism as the example for Catholics to follow in trying to find truth beyond propaganda; 'to establish the facts for posterity, how necessary it is to describe the contemporary reaction and say what exactly took place before all memory of it is blotted out by the "party line" story and the propaganda of the victorious clique.'[21] The rest of the article is devoted to a number of examples of either resistance to the new Protestant orthodoxy or of the strong maintenance of Catholic customs and practices. The importance of this section is that McRoberts urges scholars to look at contemporary sources (in much the same way that Malcolm Hay urged) rather than rely on established works and also for Catholics to address their past not as a defeated community, which accepts its previous failures as inevitably leading to the Reformation, but to critically treat all interpretations of history and to regard their own present recovery as being made possible by those who maintained the faith.

There is a final point in all of this discussion of the undefeated Scottish Catholic tradition, as Mgr McRoberts viewed it. For the vast majority of Catholics in Scotland, they were not part of the 'undefeated'. They were of Irish descent, the Reformation never overturned their church, and they maintained their faith, often under greater physical retribution than the Scots. Part of what McRoberts may be doing in this article is to bring the two trends together: the Scottish experience, of the maintenance of tradition despite repression, and the Irish bringing Catholicism back into the centre of Scottish life by building upon the small but resilient Scottish Catholic community. Both contributed with the converts to create a new Catholic identity for Scotland and assisted in recovering the lost history of Catholic Scotland. These themes were to find their clear-

est expression in Handley's address to the Newman Association weekend conference in 1949.

James Edmund Handley (1900–1971) was a Marist teacher and headmaster at St Mungo's Academy in Glasgow. He was born at Cavan in Ireland but educated in England by the Marist Brothers, an order which he joined as a juniorate, that is as a student teacher, in his late teens. He was given the monastic name of Brother Clare and sent, as all of the brothers were, to university to study for a Bachelor of Arts. The Marist Order had been established in the west of Scotland since the 1850s where it ran a number of schools and charitable concerns.[22] Its principal focus was on the East End of the City of Glasgow where it established a number of schools including the two establishments which bore the name of the city's patron saint, one a local parish school and the other an academy founded in 1858 to prepare children for university. In addition to this it was the Marist Brother Walfrid who proposed the founding of a football team to help subsidise free Sunday meals provided for the poorer parishioners of St Mary's Church in Abercromby Street which became the Celtic Football Club.[23] Handley joined the staff of St Mungo's Academy in 1933 as principal teacher of English. By this time he had added to his academic achievements by studying part-time for an MA (Hons) in 1924, a BSc in 1928 and a doctorate in 1933.

Handley wrote five major volumes on the social and economic history of Scotland: *The Irish in Scotland 1798–1845* published in 1943, *The Irish in Modern Scotland 1845–1945* in 1947, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century* in 1953, *The Agricultural Revolution in Scotland* in 1963 and *The Navvy in Scotland* in 1970. He also was involved in the preparation of the Scottish Catechism and wrote a number of other minor works and journal articles; most notably histories of St Mungo's Academy and Celtic FC. A major work that was unpublished was a substantial history of the Marist Order in Great Britain written in the 1930s for the internal use of the Brothers. His work and contribution was substantial, all the greater if you consider that he was the Headmaster of Glasgow's second most prominent Catholic school from 1944 until he retired in 1960 because of ill health. His long-time associate, James Darragh, recorded the impact which Brother Clare had had on the rest of the SCHC members: 'his greatest contribution was probably the confidence he gave to other members of the committee that the work was worth doing and keeping them united in this endeavour by the example of his own sincerity and capacity for hard work'.[24] Darragh also recounted Handley's maxim in the approach to the

writing of history when he said 'the gentle art of writing is the gentle art of applying one's backside to the seat of a chair'.[25]

The audience for the 1949 Polmont address was made up of predominantly Newmanites and therefore it is possible to view Handley's paper, although primarily in relation to the state of Scottish history as part of the broader ambition of the Newman Association as part of *Pax Romana* to draw all areas of intellectual and academic opinion into the orbit of the post-war Catholic Action movements.[26] The objective of *Pax Romana* was 'The permeation of contemporary thought and service to the church',[27] and historical study, therefore, could act as a means to achieve this end, through a greater awareness of the changing horizons of historical study and through this, revealing the deep contributions of Catholics to Scottish life, bringing Catholicism closer to the centre of Scottish society. There is a second significant reason why the Newman Association could act as a catalyst to a better understanding of Scottish and Catholic history. Throughout his address, Handley talked of the 'part-time' worker or historian.[28] The conference was not made up of professional scholars who were beginning to find common cause across the disciplines within history. His audience with a few exceptions was of clerical scholars and professionals, the majority of whom worked in commerce, in science and in the teaching profession; Handley being a case in point.[29]

An objective for Handley was to enlist to the study of Scottish Catholic history as many people from as many different occupations as possible; even a small amount of time devoted to historical study would help in bringing forward the Catholic experience, not just to show to Catholics the contributions they had made, but also to illustrate achievements to the wider historical and national community in Scotland.[30] There was a degree of scepticism towards the 'objectivity' of the historical profession in dealing with Catholic history as the academic responses to Malcolm Hay's *A Chain of Error* seemed to confirm. There was a further reason for expanding beyond the professional historical community. Many of the Catholics who had contributed to the study of history were effectively part-timers, not only Handley or Malcolm Hay or Sir Compton McKenzie, but also Father Thomas Innes, although he was primarily an archivist. There was a shortage of Catholics in the Scottish historical profession. Irrespective of this, Catholic history, little though there was, had been well served by those whose time was devoted primarily to other occupations.

The approach that Handley took in his 1949 address was to argue for an inclusive and integrated historical profession. There were, however,

qualifications, particularly in the field of ecclesiastical history. In the preamble to the address Handley, although welcoming of any scholarship on church history and with reference to the contribution made by Canon Bellesheim of Hamburg through the four volumes of *The Catholic Church in Scotland* published in the 1880s,[31] argued that only a Scottish Catholic can properly address the ecclesiastical history of the nation:

> Bellesheim did no direct work over here. Much of the material was collected by correspondence and therefore, whilst the volumes are an example of German industry, they lack that intimate touch with the temper of ecclesiastical Scotland essential for the presentation of its Catholic history and to be achieved only by a Catholic reared in its atmosphere.[32]

This is the only reference in the speech to a specifically Catholic contribution to Scottish history. Handley was well aware of the past treatment of Scottish ecclesiastical history and his concern was not with any fears of bias, as he applauds the Episcopalian minister J. F. S Gordon[33] on his contribution to the knowledge of the post-Reformation Vicars Apostolic through the multi-volume *Ecclesiastical Chronicle of Scotland* published in the 1860s.[34] Later in the paragraph Handley makes reference to a 'Catholic point of view' but it is unclear what he meant by this statement or indeed what the very specific attributes were outside of what he already alluded to in terms of geographical and denominational proximity, which a Scottish Catholic could bring to the discipline. There is a mention of Major Hay's *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* which Handley describes as 'brilliant'.[35] Essentially Handley and Hay, although dealing with the issues and concerns of Scottish history, examined two different issues. For Malcolm Hay it was the misrepresentation of Scotland's ecclesiastical history, for Handley the issue was of under-representation of the Catholic experience in the broader arena of Scottish history. Both can also be seen as dealing in the methods and mentality of the Scottish historical profession, though there is a difference of emphasis. In the case of Malcolm Hay his criticism was in the way in which the mentality of the profession of intellectual and religious superiority had a direct bearing on the approach to history and its methodology and the manner by which errors were maintained and celebrated in national '*mythistorie*'. For Handley it can be summed up as the methods of the profession in the treatment of social history, which he regarded as well behind the English historical schools, and the mentality of Catholics towards their own history. An indication of this

is Handley's opening declaration: 'Catholics on the social and economic history of Scotland have no position.'[36]

Brother Clare does not deal with the issue as to why Catholics had no position on this question in any detailed manner. He regards the reason as down to 'apathy, excusable apathy perhaps'.[37] Others such as Malcolm Hay and David McRoberts have been more forthright in producing reasons for this state of affairs. Hay argued that the profession in Scotland had been the willing participant in promoting a 'false tradition' which through the proto-Presbyterian thesis of Buchanan and the writings of Episcopalian scholars in appropriating many of the symbols of Scotland's Celtic past, as well as the portrayal of the medieval Catholic Church as corrupt and degenerate and the Reformation as a return to the authentic religion of the Scots, Scotland had been robbed of much of its Catholic heritage.[38] McRoberts writing much later argued that Catholics felt that they had been misrepresented in the history of Scotland.[39] As the responses to Professor Baxter's review of *A Chain of Error* in the *Scottish Historical Review* had illustrated, it was an opinion that many shared.

There could also have been a deeper reason for the lack of concern amongst Catholics for Scottish history. The make-up of the Catholic community could also be cited as a factor. The debate over the Reformation, the *culdees*, and the writing of Scottish history was divorced from the experience of the majority of the Catholic people of Scotland as their ancestors were not themselves Scottish. Malcolm Hay came from the recusant tradition, as did many of the most prominent lay Catholics in Scotland. Their milieu was professional and thoroughly bourgeois. For the Irish, the period from emigration, even for those who had settled in the middle of the previous century, to the start of the Second World War, as well as the major institutions of Scottish life both civil and religious reinforced a message of separate identity based on religious affiliation. Not only the far reaches of the Orange and Loyalist communities, but the Church of Scotland and the Unionist Party in Scotland indulged in anti-Irish and anti-Catholic rhetoric. Some Scottish Nationalists were inclined towards derogatory statements about the 'Green menace' although there were the likes of Hugh MacDiarmid and Compton Mackenzie who promoted vague notions of Celtic brotherhood. Catholics remained cut off from many of the symbols of Scottish national identity and while Scottish nationhood revolved around institutions such as the Kirk, and few Catholics made inroads into the professions, an antipathy towards Scottish nationality and a common heritage with the recusant community was a highly under-

standable and natural response. The intervention of Handley and others representative of the Irish community in the discussion of the status of Scottish history can be regarded as significant, as the SCHC represented an almost unique fusion of the different traditions and promoted an ethos of a single Catholic history.

Handley's use of the terms economic and social history is extremely suggestive and how they figured in his critique of the Scottish historical profession and the manner in which they could reveal the significance of the Catholic contribution to Scotland need to be explained. There is a degree of irony in the appropriation of these terms, as for the most part the social history movement or 'history from below' has been associated with the French *Annales* school and its solidly empirical and rational scholarship. As noted previously (see chapter on the Catholic Union), Catholic activists had shown themselves as quite capable of 'borrowing' and adapting initiatives which the communistic left had introduced, so lifting ideas to be used in specifically Catholic objectives was not unknown. In Britain, social history which was to become the preserve of Marxists particularly from the 1960s onwards, had grown from a less extreme section of the Liberal and socialist movements with social improvers such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb and G. M. Trevelyan. There was less of a concern for the left-wing sympathies of social historians and more emphasis on the value of history from below both as a means of opening up the past and, as Handley desired, the modernisation of the Scottish historical profession.

Social and economic history had an important advantage to Catholic scholars as it took the emphasis away from the controversial and divisive issue of ecclesiastical history. As has been demonstrated with reference to Malcolm Hay, the sensitivity of the senior academic establishment towards the church history of Scotland was acute. This was not a deterrent to further study, but ecclesiastical history could be incorporated into the study of the social history of Scotland through examining the role of the church in the emergence of the modern Catholic community. A second advantage of social history was that it opened up the study of the ordinary people of Scotland, rather than the elite. Part of the explanation for a relative lack of study of the Catholic or any other community was that the focus in the profession was on elite history whether political, diplomatic or ecclesiastical. Catholics were statutorily prevented from the sixteenth until the middle of the nineteenth century from participation, with a few exceptions, in the political process. By shifting the focus of history on to social change, the invisible becomes visible and by advocating such a change in approach

for the profession, it could bring the Catholic experience into the broader experience of the Scottish people in shaping the modern nation.

The majority of Handley's address was devoted to a survey of the current state of Scottish history. Handley stressed the relative inferiority of Scottish social history as compared to the English equivalent, and he maps out for Catholic part-time scholars a series of benchmarks as sources for further research. He said, 'as we survey the field of Scottish Catholic literary action – it is all ours. The soil is virgin. We may drive a plough in almost any direction in the assurance that what we turn up will bear abundant fruit.'[40] He breaks down Scottish history into geographical, occupational and social categories. In the broad field of social and economic history, Handley made his most significant criticisms in relation to the Scottish historical profession: 'this country can show nothing proportionate to the work that has been done for England', pointing to the examples of Sidney Webb, G. M. Trevelyan – author of the seminal *English Social History* amongst other monographs – and John and Barbara Hammond.[41] He does afford some measure of recognition to William Skene, author of *Cetlic Scotland* as well as *Social Scotland* by Rogers and Mackintosh's four-volume *History of Civilisation in Scotland*, of which he says, 'all [are] excellent in their way, but all sixty or seventy years old and all requiring a revision of fact and judgement'.[42] In terms of scale, the quantity was small and also antiquated. For more recent material on Scotland's social and economic history, Handley could find only seven sources for the whole of the period from the Middle Ages up to the nineteenth century, including Tom Johnston's *History of the Working Classes of Scotland*, which Handley recommended only as a bibliographical source.[43] His conclusion on this state of affairs was to observe that for the Catholic historian 'we are in an embarrassing position of not knowing where to turn'.[44] Having said this, however, Handley did acknowledge that there was a vast open territory for the 'pioneers', his fellow Catholic part-time scholars, to stake their claims to try and change things.[45] He points in some clear directions for research, partly because they were almost without any study but also with a mind to the limited time and expertise of his potential fellow historians. For instance, medieval history was not highlighted because of the skills required in translating documents written in Latin or even in broad Scots.[46] Throughout his address Handley highlighted issues and projects which could be studied in an individual's spare time or holidays and could be published within a short period of time. The imperative was bringing material to public notice, not letting it lie unnoticed or unrecognised.[47]

In this he used the example of Lord Acton who on his death after years of devoted historical study and an impressive number of published works, still had material which was collected, researched and partly collated but left incomplete and unpublished.[48]

Handley highlighted the study of Highland Scotland, particularly the history of the penal years, patterns of migration and immigration to and from the Highlands.[49] This was an interesting area as it cut across both the history of the old or recusant Catholic community and the history of Irish immigration. The crofting communities were also highlighted: 'who', Handley asked, 'is going to write of the highland crofter and the crofting system generally?'[50] For the period of industrialisation, the development of Scotland's transportation infrastructure was the 'first priority' with the road, rail, canal and steamship networks identified as the main areas of research.[51] A number of the areas highlighted by Handley as providing strong foundations for all Scottish study of industrialisation have distinctive Catholic and Irish themes. All his suggested areas of study were intended to make the Catholic experience visible as a manifestation of the role played by Catholics in the general history of Scotland, and arguably to build a stronger identification between Catholic industry and Scottish nationality.

The address by Handley in 1949 identified a whole series of issues and topics to be researched by Catholic scholars, from the Highlands experience to the struggles of Irish immigrants to gain a livelihood out of the industrialisation and urbanisation of Scotland. This plan of action though required a far more substantial intellectual infrastructure and to this task, Handley made two important recommendations. The first was to set up a Catholic Records Society in Scotland.[52] The model was to be the Catholic Records Society formed in England in 1904 to identify and collect information on the public and private collections held of Catholic manuscript sources. There were in Scotland a number of primary sources which were held by individuals, dioceses and by monastic orders but no centrally collected bibliography was available.[53] Also, access to collections for scholars was difficult and Handley appealed for greater access to sources in general. The second task was in relation to publication. Handley made a point of urging research which could be turned over swiftly into material for publication: 'Research is only useful if its results get into print.'[54] This objective was laudable but Handley was aware of the difficulties which confronted Catholic scholars with so few outlets for publication: 'Who is going to print the fruits of your labour?'[55] He asked his audience, 'Are we able to

launch a Catholic Historical Quarterly?'[56] The solution to the needs of Catholic scholarship was to go alone and provide a forum for themselves. Handley concluded, 'It would be a splendid sequel to this conference if we could.'[57]

The 'splendid sequel' to James Handley's 1949 Newman address was the founding of the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee and its twice-yearly journal: *The Innes Review*. The journal was named in honour of the eighteenth-century historian Father Thomas Innes. Father Anthony Ross OP (1917–1993),[58] the first chairman of the SCHC, explained the reason behind this, 'he was at one and the same time an ardent Catholic and a scrupulously careful scholar, and as such set a standard'.[59] The twin objectives of the SCHC can be summed up as to encourage Catholics to take an active interest in their history and for necessarily high standards in terms of scholarship. Through the journal, the committee was setting its sights on respectability within the broader historical profession. In this, there were areas of concern. There was a shortage of professional historians, with the bulk of the committee and the articles contributed to *The Innes Review* from part-time scholars made up of clerics and laity. As the response to Malcolm Hay's *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* demonstrated, there was resistance within the profession to 'amateur' scholars, particularly in relation to religious history. In addition, Handley had been scathing about the Scottish historical profession's backwardness in current historical practice. In particular, Handley lamented the shortcomings in economic and social history in Scotland and the demise of outlets for concerted scholarship in print. More emphasis on social and economic history had a bonus for Catholic scholarship, as it opened up areas where the Catholic and Irish contribution would be more visible where the traditional emphasis on regal and political history had concealed these groups. The SCHC and *The Innes Review* had three objectives: to promote publication, to set high standards in scholarship and, through both, to gain professional recognition for Catholic scholarship.

In the first objective subscribing to *The Innes Review* was seen as the means to subsidise research. Ross stated that the 'primary purpose of *The Innes* is to stimulate research.'[60] Few avenues were available in Scotland at this time to bring to the public at large the latest research in Catholic themes. The *Scottish Historical Review*, the journal of the Scottish Historical Association, had begun appearing again in 1947 after a gap of nearly 20 years. The *Review* and the Association were centred on the Department of History at Glasgow University and took in articles from all

the major Scottish historical schools. It tended to favour senior scholars from Scotland as well as English-based Scottish academics. The members of the SCHC were in a difficult and competitive environment with so few *bona fide* historians and a Scottish situation with only a single major journal covering the whole country. The senior SCHC members were predominantly either clergymen (Ross was the Prior of the Dominicans in Edinburgh; Rev. David McRoberts was lecturer in Church History at St Peter's College and Dr Handley's main concern was as the headmaster of St Mungo's Academy in Glasgow) or graduates who had joined through the Newman Association. The SCHC did draw in many able scholars who had been active in the Catholic Action societies in Glasgow before the Second World War such as James Darragh and John Durkan. However, the seam of society from which the SCHC drew its members was very narrow. It was only really after 1960 that in combination with the post-war baby boom, the expansion of the Scottish university sector in 1963 and as a result of a more affluent Catholic community, particularly in the west of Scotland that more Catholic students started to opt for postgraduate research and helped to swell the numbers of professional historians in the committee. In the interim, *The Innes Review* and the SCHC utilised the considerable amount of work carried out by clerical scholars and part-time historians.

The priority of research in *The Innes*, very much under the influence of Handley, was presented as essential for a number of reasons. First, if work which has been carried out remained unpublished it would become redundant, as it would be superseded by other writers in the field. Second, there was the intellectual value of publishing. 'Research languishes', said Father Ross, 'unless its results can be presented to the world, to receive criticism, and if need be correction'.[61] The SCHC envisioned a dynamic purpose to research, in which the work of *The Innes Review* and elsewhere would help to drive towards a better and clearer understanding of the role of Catholicism and the Catholic peoples in the making of Scotland. The absence of an antithesis to orthodox accounts of Scottish history was well understood. Malcolm Hay had set out clearly what he saw as the detrimental effects of the sometimes deliberate and sometimes borne of ignorance misrepresentation of Catholic history when he said: 'The misrepresentation of history is a matter which does not merely concern the descendants or the successors of the misrepresented … nor is it only in the interest of Catholics that truth should be told.'[62] In addition for Hay, was the bleeding of poor and partial scholarship into the generality of histori-

cal practice. Hay had used the example of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to show how this process operated, in which worthy and important work was undermined by poor scholarship, dubious secondary sources and bias.[63]

The Innes Review was seen as providing not so much an antithesis but an example of the standards that all historians of Scotland should set themselves, in integrating all aspects of Scottish history. This can be assessed in the conceptualisation of history that Father Ross set out. 'The history of no section of the human race can be isolated completely, either in its happening or in the hands of scholars.'[64] The SCHC was principally concerned with Catholic history; however it would have been a contradiction in its perception of the failures of Scottish history to operate in a totally isolated environment. Both Handley and Hay had been critical of the Scottish historical profession over its misrepresentation and under-representation of Catholic themes. In addition, both had been equally critical of the broader attitudes of the profession in relation to scholarship and in keeping up with current trends in the practice of history, all of which contributed to the SCHC having an interest in promoting an integrated approach to the history of Scotland and of Catholicism. Scotland was not just one nation; it was an amalgam of all of the different communities, which had both a separate and a common history. The history of Scotland, wrote Ross, 'is a story of Catholics and Protestants, Episcopalians and Quakers, and in more recent times of Plymouth Brethren and Jehovah's witnesses.'[65] The Scotland of the second half of the twentieth century was not neatly divided between Catholics and non-Catholics but had a vast number of different traditions and experiences. The integration of Catholic history would take place in recognition of these differences and of the need to understand that the battle lines of the Reformation were gone.

In addition, another factor, although seemingly uncontroversial, gives an indication of the self-perception of the SCHC and by extension a growing section of the Catholic community. Ross refers in his article to the 'Catholic people of Scotland'.[66] This unselfconscious remark is recognition of the fusion of the separate experiences of the components of the Catholic community into a single definable group. There was of course an understanding of the unique contributions made by the different elements – recusant, convert and Irish – a fact that can be seen in the two volumes written by Handley on the Irish in Scotland and published just prior to the founding of the SCHC. Previously the conception of Scottish Catholic history outlined by Handley has been explained and his view of

it as contributing to the whole experience of Catholics in Scotland. As the many writers to *The Innes Review* have shown, the reaching of this point was not without problems, but the marrying of the Scottish and Irish communities is the pivotal moment in the definition of a single Catholic people in Scotland. The Newman and the SCHC both represented a new identity for Catholics, at least those in the professions and in the learned clergy. Just how much this was shared by the generality is debatable. It is certainly clear that even a generation earlier the term 'Scottish' would only rarely have been applied to the Catholic community in terms of both self-identity and an external definition; the SCHC was unselfconsciously Scottish.

A further indication of this trend is in the audience that was envisaged by the SCHC. A major priority was to get work into print via *The Innes Review*. In his address to the Newman Association, Handley had warned against endless research without anything to show in the final analysis. Ross carried this theme further in his article when he warned, 'it is a private eccentricity, or a form of escape unless it [research] has a public in mind'.[67] The 'public' which was targeted, said Ross, was 'not only the Catholic Community and elsewhere, but all who were concerned about the history of the country and anxious for deeper exploration'.[68] The two themes of misrepresentation and under-representation could be addressed as well as broader themes of the recasting of the Scottish historical profession with a sensitivity to the impact, bad and good, of the Catholic people as well as moving the profession on to ground which would allow for a greater recognition of their social and economic contribution.

Notes

1. A. P. Ross OP, 'The Position of the *Innes Review*', *The Innes Review*1.2 (1950), p. 78.
2. J. E. Handley, 'The Position of Catholics in Social and Economic History', *The Innes Review* 1.2 (1950), p. 100.
3. See Chapter 2 on the Catholic Union.
4. See MgrA. Hamilton, 'How it All Began', *SPCM* 25.97 (1961), pp. 46–9.
5. Ibid., p. 46.
6. Ibid.
7. W. Maley, 'Celtic Memories', *SPCM* 20.76 (1951), pp. 15–19.
8. Hamilton, 'How it All Began', p. 40.
9. Ibid., p. 48.

10. See J. Darragh, 'David McRoberts 1912–1978', *The Innes Review* 30.1 (1979), pp. 3–13.
11. Ibid., p. 3.
12. A complete bibliography of McRoberts's work is appended in Darragh, 'David McRoberts 1912–1978', pp. 12–15.
13. McRoberts, 'Scotland and Our Lady'.
14. D. McRoberts, 'The Undefeated', *SPCM*24.94 (1960), pp. 227–30.
15. Ibid., p. 227.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Compton Mackenzie made much the same comparison between the methods of the Bolsheviks and the Protestant reformers in *Catholicism and Scotland*, pp. 71–2.
20. McRoberts, 'The Undefeated', p. 227.
21. Ibid.
22. See T. A. Fitzpatrick, 'The Marist Brothers in Scotland before 1918', *The Innes Review*49.1 (Spring, 1998), pp. 1–10.
23. See T. Campbell and P. Woods, *Dreams and Songs to Sing*: *A New History of Celtic* (Edinburgh, 1996).
24. J. Darragh, 'Dr. James Edmund Handley', *The Innes Review* 22.1 (Spring, 1971), p. 5.
25. Ibid.
26. See Chap. 7 on the Newman Association.
27. Newman Association Pamphlet (1960), p. 1.
28. Handley, 'The Position of Catholics in Social and Economic History', p. 104.
29. For an account of the Polmont Conference see J. Durkan, 'Our First Half Century', *The Innes Review* 50.1 (Spring, 1999), pp. i–vi.
30. Handley, 'The Position of Catholics in Social and Economic History', p. 104.
31. Canon A, Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1840, trans. D. O. Hunter Blair).
32. Handley, 'The Position of Catholics in Social and Economic History', p. 100.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. See Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, pp. vii–viii.
39. McRoberts, 'Scottish Catholic Archives', p. 122.

40. Handley, 'The Position of Catholics in Social and Economic History', p. 100.
41. Ibid., p. 102.
42. Ibid., p. 103.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., p. 100.
45. Ibid., p. 101.
46. Ibid., p. 103.
47. Ibid., p. 107.
48. Ibid., p. 101.
49. Ibid., pp. 104–5.
50. Ibid., p. 104.
51. Ibid., p. 105.
52. Ibid., p. 108.
53. Amongst the MSS of the Catholic Church in Scotland, Malcolm Hay had systematically catalogued the papers of the northern church for his 1929 monograph *The Blairs Papers*.
54. Handley, 'The Position of Catholics in Social and Economic History', p. 101.
55. Ibid., p. 108.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. For an introduction to the role played by Father Ross in the SCHC, see J. Durkan, 'Father Anthony Ross, OP: A Memoir', *The Innes Review*44.2 (Autumn, 1993), pp. 113–18.
59. Ross, 'The Position of the *Innes Review*', p. 78.
60. Ibid., p. 77.
61. Ibid., p. 78.
62. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, p. 207.
63. Ibid., p. 20.
64. Ross, 'The Position of the *Innes Review*', p. 78.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., p. 77.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 78.

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion

The primary purpose of this work has been to examine and interpret the intellectual contribution of Catholics to the issues of identity, politics and piety both in the context of their self-image as Catholics and as Scots. The topics chosen for discussion demonstrate a wide-ranging movement within sections of the Catholic community to redefine the nature and meaning of Catholicism as it affected both their actions as part of the faithful and as citizens. It is clear from the whole range of interests from political action to personal devotion, from attempts to unite the growing Catholic professional classes in the Newman Association to the revisions of Scottish historical writing, that Catholics were not only attempting to break out from the so-called 'ghetto' but also seeking to construct a new role for Catholicism in Scottish life. The secondary purpose of this work has been to put the changes in Scottish Catholicism into context, not only in terms of the domestic situation in Scotland in general but also to place them, where relevant, in the context of the changing characteristics of the Holy Roman Catholic Church between 1918 and 1965. The relevance of this second purpose has been to bring the discussion of Scottish Catholicism into the mainstream debate on religiosity as a phenomenon in modern Europe. Too often academic studies on Scottish Catholicism have been concerned with parochial concerns, viewing the development of the Catholic community as only having relevance to Scottish concerns and of no significance beyond this.

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6_10

The protection and advancement of Catholic interests were the objectives of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow. From its founding in 1885 until 1929, the CUAG operated as the voice of the Catholic community in local government. It was born out of the need to unite the community in the aftermath of the dangerous split between the Scottish clergy and the predominantly Irish born laity. The Union also fitted into the broader pattern of Catholic Action in Europe through the organisation of the community to defend its interests through political involvement. So although it had priorities defined by domestic circumstances, it also operated within, and was influenced by, the mainstream development of European political Catholicism. This interaction between domestic and international Catholic ideas was more closely demonstrated after 1930 with the founding of the Catholic Union Advisory Bureaux. The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929 threatened the existence of the Union, through the amalgamation of the autonomous School Boards into the local authorities. The intellectual leadership of the Union, both clerical and laity, had to re-examine the priorities of the CUAG in the light of changed circumstances, and they looked to Rome for new ideas and new priorities. The recasting of the role of the Union was aided by the re-energising of Catholic Action by Pius XI through his 1931 encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. The encyclical inspired local Catholic intellectuals to define and redefine the meaning of Catholic Action and also how it could act to integrate the Catholic community within the larger community, to make them better citizens based on the application of Catholic values.

The contribution of the Advisory Bureaux to the culture of Catholicism, like its parent body, the Catholic Union, has been almost forgotten by Catholic and non-Catholic scholars. Yet in its time it was proclaimed as the 'zealous watchdog of Catholic interests'[1] and the CUAB made a major contribution to helping Catholics and non-Catholics in times of want. To many post-war Catholic activists the CUAG was seen in the same way as the *ancien régime* was to the Jacobins in revolutionary France. Therefore, the need to demonise, or at least ignore, its contribution is understandable from their point of view, but not to 'objective' scholars. It has been necessary to redress the balance and reassess the CUAG in its role as the senior Catholic Action society in the Archdiocese of Glasgow. Further to this is the role of the Union in developing a civic identity for Catholicism. There is no doubt that an important objective behind the CUAB was to ward off the encroachment of the communist left, but as argued in this work there

was also a positive dynamic based on Catholic social teaching to promote an alternative between unfettered capitalism and 'atheistic' communism. Also, Catholics from the Archbishop downwards in the potentially volatile atmosphere of the west of Scotland, were totally aware that developing institutions which were exclusive could be dangerous and were at pains to emphasise the non-sectarian character of local action.

The period between 1918 and 1965 saw a flourishing of visible and popular piety in the west of Scotland. Scottish Catholics were as willing as their continental co-religionists to demonstrate the relevance of faith and devotion in the modern world. They were also keen to attach a powerful social message of active involvement and concern to their piety for those forgotten by the universal welfare state introduced following the Beveridge Report in the 1940s. Scottish Catholicism had to exist in an environment in which it was assumed that there would be hostility from the majority Protestant community and that therefore devotion would have to be less brightly painted and voluble. The example of Carfin confounds this impression, as far from producing a humble and dull Catholic piety, Scots were instrumental in defining and promoting an emotional and vibrant devotion.

The construction of the shrine at Carfin united two of the most distinctive forms of popular Catholic piety: Marianism and 'spiritual childhood'. This mix of the intense private devotion associated with the memory of St Thérèse of Lisieux and the Marian processional movement was unique to Scottish Catholicism. Indeed, without the intervention of important Scottish clerics and lay figures, Thérèse may have remained a French Catholic cult. Carfin became, and in most respects remains, the key devotional centre in Scotland, so although Scots missed out on the wave of Marian visitations during the nineteenth century, they had, by the middle of the twentieth century, a focus for piety which provided them with an identity to rally round.[2] The Legion of Mary, although founded in Ireland, emerged in the west of Scotland as a mass organisation within local parishes on a par with the Society of St Vincent de Paul. It has not attracted very much in the way of scholarly attention as other Catholic societies have despite the fact that in terms of membership, organisation and staying power it has lasted where almost all the other Catholic Action societies failed: the Catholic Social Guild, Catholic Truth Society, Catholic Union and the Newman Association which all briefly flourished but fell from prominence. The intellectual contribution of the Legion has similarly been underestimated or ignored. The Legion was not a dragooning

of the laity by the clergy. Its success came gradually from the energy and enthusiasm of the laity, like Carfin and 'spiritual childhood'. The progress of the Legion reflected a reconstruction of popular piety, which had at its centre lay participation and direction. In many ways, the Legion pre-empts the demands for a greater role for the lay apostolate in the Catholic Church which was a key objective of reformers in the years up to the convocation of the Second Vatican Council. It was to be Frank Duff, the founder of the Legion, who was the only senior lay figure to address the full Council in 1963.

After the Second World War, Catholics in Scotland as elsewhere had to cope with a new environment and new opportunities. Three issues emerged as the focus for the Catholic lay intelligentsia. First, there was the need to provide a means to retain within the activity of the Church the growing educated numbers of professionally educated Catholics in Scotland. The second issue was to provide an intellectual bulwark to secular ideologies, particularly Marxism. The third was the emerging demands for reform within the church. The Newman Association attempted to incorporate all three of these issues. It set out to provide a vehicle through which the Catholic intelligentsia could find common interests and a focus for their activities. It also attempted to pool the talents of professional Catholics for the service of the church, to promote Catholic values within their professions, and to ensure that the undoubted benefits of technical and scientific progress were advanced within a set of Catholic moral and spiritual ethics. It had been the Vatican that had sought out the Catholic lay intelligentsia, to co-opt them and their talents, to be in the words of Jack McGavigan, 'the spearhead of the intellectual apostolate'.[3] It was natural therefore that with this greater dependency on their abilities that there had to be some form of *quid pro quo* through democratising the church.

Set against these substantial ideals was the reality of the Newman Association. The Newman Association did provide a means to incorporate the growing Catholic professional classes but its success was not universal. As the statistics on membership suggest, the proportion of potential members to actual members of the Association was very low. A similar situation existed in relation to the gender balance within the Association, where only limited success was achieved in attracting female members. The intellectual role of the Association through attempting to bring a Catholic dimension to modern science and other highbrow spheres was also not an overwhelming success. The biggest impact was made in historical study through the founding of the Scottish Catholic Historical

Association, though this was primarily due to strictly domestic Scottish circumstances. The same can be said for the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, a success in highlighting the Scottish dimension of Catholicism but less so in promoting the broader ambitions of the Association. A final area of success was in expressing the desire for change within the Catholic Church on the eve of the Second Vatican Council, but this was again achieved at a price as it failed to remain relevant as demands for change in the aftermath of the Council became more militant. Overall, the main success of the Newman Association was as a bridge between different eras in the history of Catholicism and the ambitions of Catholics. The Newman Association carried Catholics from an old defensive church defined by the First Vatican Council in 1870 to the pragmatic post-Vatican II church.

A preoccupation of the Scottish Catholic intelligentsia was historical study. History became an essential area of interest for a number of prominent Catholic intellectuals. It was a sphere in which both the clergy and the laity made a substantial contribution. The great success of the development of Catholic historical writing was in the manner in which it united all sections of the Catholic community – immigrant, convert and recusant – in a common effort to redress the misrepresentation and underrepresentation of Catholicism in Scottish historical study. The individual successes of Malcolm Hay, Compton Mackenzie and James Handley, alongside the collective success of the SCHA, had relevance beyond purely Catholic concerns but in the whole arena of Scottish historical study. They were able to provide a national history for Catholics in giving them a sense of the contributions they had made to Scotland but they also forced the Scottish academic establishment to rethink its assumptions about the historical and contemporary relevance and role of Catholicism.

The emerging Catholic intelligentsia, both laity and clergy, addressed a wide range of topics and situations and at all times attempted to meet these challenges with two objectives in mind. The first was to maintain a strong Catholic voice in the changing culture of Scotland and to emphasise that Scottish identity was in no way in conflict with Catholic identity. Indeed, they sought to demonstrate that the promotion of Catholic values could deepen and broaden perceptions of local civic identity and by extension build a modern Scottish identity. The second was to define an identity that recognised the importance of Catholicism in Scotland's past while ensuring that in the Scotland of the late 1960s, national identity was no longer the preserve of one community at the expense of another.

Notes

1. Archbishop D. Mackintosh, *The Glasgow Observer*, 24 May 1930, p. 2.
2. Outside of the Archdiocese of Glasgow was the pilgrimage site of Whithorn devoted to one of the early pioneers of Christianity St Ninian and throughout this period it also acted as a centre of devotion and worship.
3. McGavigan, 'The Purpose of the Newman Association', p. 3.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscript Sources

Papal Encyclicals On-line, Fordham University, United States of America (http://listserv.american.edu/catholic/church/papal/papal.html)

Pope Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus: The Immaculate Conception* (8th December 1854).

Pope Pius IX, *Quanta Cura: Condeming Current Errors* (8th December 1864).

Pope Pius IX, *Quanta Cura: Syllabus of Errors* (8th December 1864).

Pope Leo XIII, *Quod Apostolici Muneris: On Socialism* (28th December 1878).

Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum: The Condition of the Working-Classes* (15th May 1891).

Pope Pius X, *Une Fois Encore: On the Separation of Church and State* (6th January 1907).

Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno: On Reconstruction of the Social Order* (15th May 1931).

Pope Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris: On Atheistic Communism* (19th March 1937).

Pope John XXIII, *Opening Address to the Second Vatican Council* (11th October 1962).

Pope Paul VI, *Second Vatican Council II Closing Speeches and Messages* (8th December 1965).

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6

Neuner J. (SJ) and Dupuis J. (SJ) (Eds.). (1988). *The Christian faith in the doctrinal documents of the Catholic church* (London, etc., 1988 edition).

Pope Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus: Papal Bull* (8th December 1854).

The First Vatican General Council, *Dei Filius on the Catholic Faith: Dogmatic Constitution* (1870).

The First Vatican general Council, *Pastor Aeternus on the Church of Christ: Dogmatic Constitution* (1870).

Pope Pius XII, *Munificentissimus Deus: Apostolic Constitution* (1st November 1950).

Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra: Encyclical Letter* (1961).

Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris: Encyclical Letter* (1963).

The Second Vatican General Council, *Lumen Gentium: Dogmatic Constitution* (1964).

The Second Vatican General Council, *Unitatis Redintegratio: Decree* (November, 1964).

The Second Vatican General Council, *Gaudium et Spes: Pastoral Constitution* (1965).

Pope Paul VI, *Humanae Vitae: Encyclical Letter* (1968).

Personal Papers of Jack McGavigan (former Chairman of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association and inaugural Chairman of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association), private collection, Dumbartonshire.

Unindexed Documents Including:

Annual Report of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (1961).

Annual Report of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (1962).

Annual Report of the Newman Society of Great Britain (1963–1964), The Newman Association (1964).

Background to the Formation of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, written by Jack McGavigan, The Newman Association (1964).

Ballot/Electoral Papers of the Newman Association.

Constitution of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association: Clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9, The Newman Association (1963).

'Constitution of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association': Clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 in *Handbook of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association*, The Newman Association (1965/1966).

Handbook of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, The Newman Association (1965/1966).

Handwritten notes for the Chairman's address to the 1960 Annual General Meeting of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association.

Handwritten notes for the Chairman's address to the 1961 Annual General Meeting of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association.

'In Retrospect: An Historical View of the Early Days of the Newman Association', written by M. P. Murray in *Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association Bulletin*, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (October, 1966), pp. 7–10.

List of Qualifications for Full Membership of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (1961).

Membership List of the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association.

Newman Association Pamphlet, The Newman Association (1960).

Newman Association Recruitment Leaflet, The Newman Association (1960).

Note on the Founding of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, written by Jack McGavigan, The Newman Association (1963).

Scottish Council of the Newman Association: Terms of Reference: Clauses 1, 2 and 3a, The Newman Association (1963).

Statutes for the Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association: Clauses 2a, 2b (i-vi), 3, 6, 7b, 8a (i-iii), 8b, 8c and 8d, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (March, 1958).

Submission to the Hierarchy of Scottish University Chaplaincies by the Scottish Council of the Newman Association, The Newman Association (1965).

'Terms of Reference of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association' in *Handbook of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association*: Clauses 1, 2, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4 and 5, The Newman Association (1965/1966).

'The Mass Media in an Age of Change': Conference Agenda, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (Spring, 1966).

The Newman Association Glasgow Circle Bulletin, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (Autumn, 1963).

The Newman Association Glasgow Circle Bulletin, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (Autumn, 1964).

The Newman Association Glasgow Circle Bulletin, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (Autumn, 1965).

The Newman Association Glasgow Circle Bulletin, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (Autumn, 1966).

'*The Purpose of the Newman Association*', The Newman Association, Glasgow Circle Bulletin (Autumn, 1965).

'What is the Purpose of the Newman Association?' in *Handbook of the Scottish Council of the Newman Association*, The Newman Association (1965/1966).
What the Newman Association is Doing, Glasgow Circle of the Newman Association (1964).

The Glasgow Archdiocesan Archive, Kentigern House, Clyde Street, Glasgow.

Catholic Union Box 1
Unindexed Documents Including:
(i) Part I, Section A (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8) and (9) - Constitution of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, 1930.
(ii) Part II, Section A (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5).
(iii) Part III, Section A (1) and (2).

Catholic Union Box 2

Unindexed Documents Including:
(i) Annual Report of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, May 1934.
(ii) Election Address by the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow for the 1903 Glasgow school Board Elections.
(iii) Letter from Baillie John Heenan to the CUAB Supreme Council, 7th March 1935 (44).
(iv) Minutes of the 1924 Annual General Meeting of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow: Address by the Archbishop.
(v) Regulations for Municipal and Ward Committee Elections (35).
(vi) Watt L. (1935, May). Christian Democrat, Recorded in the Minutes of the Catholic Union Advisory Bureau.

Catholic Union Box 3

Unindexed Documents Including:
(i) 'Activity, History and Future Prospects': An Address by John Joseph Campbell to the National Catholic Union of Great Britain. Sheffield, July 1944.
(ii) Address by Counsellor John Storrie to the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow's Supreme Council on the subject of local government in May 1934.
(iii) Annual Report of the Catholic Union Advisory Bureau 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936 and 1937 by John Joseph Campbell.

(iv) Letter from Archbishop Donald MacIntosh to John Joseph Campbell, 25th November 1931.
(v) Letter from Archbishop Donald MacIntosh to John Joseph Campbell, 28th October 1934.
(vi) Letter from J. McMonagle to John Joseph Campbell, 30th October 1931.
(vii) Letter from John Joseph Campbell to H. Bickerdyke, Ministry of Labour, 1st February 1939.
(viii) Letter from John Joseph Campbell to the Ministry of Labour, 13th November 1934.
(ix) Letter from the Secretary of Plymouth Catholic Action to John Joseph Campbell, 30th October 1934.

Catholic Union Box 4

Unindexed Documents Including:
(i) Letter from John Joseph Campbell to Anti-Catholic/ Anti-Socialist Union, 9th January 1941.
(ii) Letter from John Joseph Campbell to Anti-Catholic/ Anti-Socialist Union, 6th October 1941.
(iii) Memorandum by John Joseph Campbell to the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow's Supreme Council, 1938.
(iv) Report on a Speech by William Gallacher MP to the Communist Party of Great Britain, 15th. December 1940.

Catholic Union Box 5

Unindexed Documents

Catholic Union Box 6

Unindexed Documents Including:
(i) Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow's Commission into Belfast Disturbances (35).

Catholic Union Box 7

Unindexed Documents Including:
(i) Address by His Grace the Archbishop of Glasgow Donald MacIntosh to the Inaugural Meeting of the Glasgow Catholic Federation: Reprinted in the Constitution of the Glasgow Catholic Federation, 1932.

(ii) Letter from Archbishop Donald MacIntosh to Colonel Cranstoun, 20th September 1932.
(iii) Letter from P. J. Sillitoe to John Joseph Campbell, 14th January 1932.
(iv) Memorandum from John Joseph Campbell to Archbishop Donald MacIntosh, 26th May 1932.
(v) Minutes of the Glasgow Catholic Federartion's Inaugural Meeting.
(vi) Report by Reverend Collins on the Catholic Union, September 1926.

Catholic Union Box 8

Unindexed Documents.

Catholic Union Box 9

Unindexed Documents.

Catholic Union Box 10

Unindexed Documents.

Catholic Union Box 11

Unindexed Documents Including:
(i) Constitution of the Catholic Union Advisory Bureau, 1932.
(ii) Letter from John Joseph Campbell to Reverend Laydon DD on the subject of the Advisory Bureau, 8th December 1934.
(iii) Letter from St. Paul's, Whiteinch Catholic Union Advisory Bureau to John Joseph Campbell, 28th August 1935.

Catholic Union Box 12.

Unindexed Documents.

Catholic Union Box 13.

Unindexed Documents.

Printed Primary Material

Andersonian Library, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow

Abbot, W. (Ed.). (1966). *The documents of Vatican II*. London/Dublin.

Bellesheim, A. (1887). *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland: From the introduction of Christianity to the present day* (translated with notes and additions by D. O. Hunter Blair, Volumes I-IV) Edinburgh/London.

Mackenzie, C. (1936). *Catholicism and Scotland*. London).

The Holy Bible (Glasgow and New York, 1971 edition).

Walsh, J. (1874). *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland: From the introduction of Christianity to the present time*. Glasgow.

Main Library, University of Glasgow

Anderson, Rev. W. J. (1955, December). The archives at Blairs College. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XXII* (85), 47–52.

Buchanan, G. (1582). *Rerum Scoticarium Historia*. Edinburgh.

Cusick, J. (1925, December). Saints of the Jubilee Year - St. Therèse of the Child Jesus. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *VII*(25), 51–55.

Daniel, Rev. J. D. (1931, June). A Plea for social study. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *X*(36), 14–20.

Daniel, Rev. J. (1931, December). The organisation of Catholic action. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *X*(37), 62–64.

Daniel, Rev. J. (1932, December). Gael and Galilean. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *X*(39), 129–133.

Daniel, Rev. J. (1934, June). Catholic social sense. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XI*(42), 83–86.

Daniel, J. (1935, June). Priests and people. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XII*(44), 27–32.

Dolan, J. M. (1913, December). Devotion to the blessed Virgin in Scotland, before the time of St. Margaret. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *II*(5), 80–87.

Durkan, J. (1954, June). Catholic survival in the west of Scotland. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XXI*(82), 87–91.

Forbes Right Rev. Monsignor, H. (1944, December). "*Omen Novum*". *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XVI*(63), 142–145.

Gallagher, H. (1944, June). The legion of Mary. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XVI*(62), 128–129.

Gallagher, H. (1944, December). The legion of Mary. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XVI*(63), 163.

Gillan, Rev. D. (1924, June). Archbishop Eyre: The last phase. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *VI*(22), 114–118 (includes an address, a reply and details of a degree conferment).

Graham, Rev. H. G. (1914, June). The Catholic side of Bannockburn. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *II*(6) , 124–131.

Grub, G. (1861). *Ecclesiastical history of Scotland: Volume I*. Edinburgh.

Hamilton Right Rev. Monsignor Alexander Canon. (1961, December). How it all began. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XXV*(97), 46–49.

Hay, M. V. (1927). *A chain of error in Scottish history*. London.

Innes, T. (1853). *The civil and ecclesiastical history of Scotland*. Aberdeen.

Innes, T. (1879). *A critical essay on the ancient inhabitants of the Northern parts of Britain or Scotland*. (Edinburgh, 1879 edition).

Kenneth, Rev. Brother (1950, June). Fifty years of Scottish Catholic education. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, XIX(74), 104–114.

MacMillan F., 'Frederic Ozanam and the Lay Apostolate', *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, Volume XXI, no. 81 (December 1953), pp. 50–56.

Maley, W. (J. P.). (1951, June). Celtic memories. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XX*(76), 15–19.

McRobert, Rev. D. (1960, June). Scotland and our lady. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XXIV*(94), 227–230.

McRoberts, Rev. D. (1956, June). Scottish Catholics in the seventeenth century. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XXII*(86), 114–120.

McRoberts, Rev. D. (1958, June). Editorial: The Carfin Jubilee. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XXIII*(90), 54.

McRoberts, Rev. D. (1960, June). The undefeated. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XXIV*(94), 93–99.

Mullen, G. (1934, June). The director in Catholic action. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XI*(42), 91–94.

Paterson, Rev. D. (1925, December). Catholic teachers' pilgrimage to Rome'. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, VII(25), 71–75.

Rae, J. (1941, June). Quinquagesimo Anno. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, XV(56), 15–20.

Taylor Right Rev. Monsignor T. N. Canon. (1958, June). The province of Glasgow - the Carfin Grotto. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XXIII*(90), 93–99.

Taylor Very Rev. T. N. Canon. (1947, December). St. Teresa and Scotland. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *XVIII*(69), 61–64.

Taylor, Rev. T. N. (1925, December). The Herald of the Christ Child. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *VII*(25), 44–50.

Taylor, Rev. T. N. (1928, December). Very reverend monsignor O. F. Clays. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, *VIII*(31), 137–143.

Treanor Right Rev. Monsignor C. (1961, December). Editorial: The first fifty years. *Saint Peter's College Magazine*, XXV(97), 43–45.

The Mitchell Library, Glasgow

An exhaustive study was carried out of *The Glasgow Observer* newspaper, 1918–1965.

Items of Special Importance Were As Follows:

The Glasgow Observer, 24th May 1930: Quotation by Archbishop Donald McIntosh regarding the Catholic Union.

The Glasgow Observer, 7th May 1932: Details of Catholic May-Day rally.

The Glasgow Observer, 4th February 1933: Article by T. Colvin entitled 'Catholics and Public Life.'

The Glasgow Observer, 31st December 1935: 'Annual Reunion of the Legion of Mary.'

The Glasgow Observer, 20th February 1937: 'The Wayside Club for Men.'

The Glasgow Observer, 27th March 1937a: 'Feast of the Annunciation. Legion of Mary meeting.'

The Glasgow Observer, 27th March 1937b: 'Feast of the Annunciation. Legion of Mary meeting.'

The Glasgow Observer, 15th May 1937: 'First National Rally of the Legion of Mary in Scotland.'

The Glasgow Observer, 10th November 1937: 'Rally address by Mr Frank Duff to Legion of Mary'

The Glasgow Observer, 16th November 1937: 'Opening of the Sancta Maria Hostel in Glasgow'

The Glasgow Observer, 8th November 1945: Discussion of the founding of the Newman Association.

Secondary Sources

Books (Including Volumes of Essays)

Anderson, R. D. (1992). *Universities and elites in Britain since 1800*. Basingstoke.

Anson, P. F. (1937). *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland: 1560–1937*. London.

Anson, P. F. (1970). *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622–1878*. Montrose.

Beecher, J. (1986). *Charles Fourier: The visionary and his world*. Berkley, California, etc.

Belloc, H. (1913). *The servile state*. London/Edinburgh.

Bentley, M. (1984). *Politics without democracy 1815–1914*. London.

Blackbourn, D. (1995). *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany*. London.
Blake, R. (1988). *The conservative party from peel to Thatcher* (1988, ed.). London.
Bone, T. R. (Ed.). (1967). *Studies in the history of Scottish education, 1872–1939* (Vol. 54). London.
Bonner, J. (2008). *The road to renewal: Victor Reed and Oklahoma Catholicism 1905–1971*, Washington, DC.
Bonner, J., Connolly, M. B. F., & Denny, C. D. (Eds.). (2014). *Empowering the people of God. Catholic action before and after Vatican II*. New York.
Boyd, K. M. (1980). *Scottish Church attitudes to Sex, marriage and the family 1850–1914*. Edinburgh.
Boyle, R., & Lynch, P. (Eds.). (1998). *Out of the Ghetto?: The Catholic community in modern Scotland*. Edinburgh.
Brand, J. (1978). *The national movement in Scotland*. London.
Brogan, C. (1952). *The Glasgow story*. London.
Brogan, C. (1955). *The educational revolution*. London.
Brown, C. G. (1987). *The social history of religion in Scotland since 1730*. London/ New York.
Brown, C. G. (1993). *The people in the pews: Religion and society in Scotland since 1780*. Studies in Scottish Economic and Social History No. 3, Dundee.
Brown, C. G. (1997). *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707*. Edinburgh.
Brown, C. G. (2001). *The death of Christian Britain. Understanding secularisation* 1800–2000. Oxford.
Bruce, S. (2015). *Scottish Gods: Religion in modern Scotland*, 1900–2012. Edinburgh.
Bruce, S., Glendenning M., & Rosie, M. (Eds.). (2004). *Sectarianism in Scotland* Edinburgh.
Buchanan, T., & Conway, M. (Eds.). (1996). *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918–1965* Oxford.
Butler, D., & Butler, G. (1987). *British political facts 1900–1985* (1987 ed.). Basingstoke.
Byron, R. (2000). *Irish America*. Oxford.
Cage, R. A. (Ed.). (1987). *The working class in Glasgow 1750–1914*. London.
Callahan, W. J., & Higgs, D. (Eds.). (1979). *Church and society in Catholic Europe of the eighteenth century*. Cambridge.
Campbell, J. L. (Ed.). (1936). *The book of Barra*. London.
Campbell, T., & Woods, P. (1992). *Rhapsody in green: Great Celtic moments*. Edinburgh.
Campbell, T., & Woods, P. (1996). *Dreams and songs to sing: A new history of Celtic*. Edinburgh.
Carr, W. (1991). *A history of Germany 1815–1990* (1991 ed.). London.

Catholic Communications Commission for Scotland. (1982). *Catholic Scotland: A profile*. Glasgow.
Chadwick, O. (1983). *Newman*. Oxford.
Checkland, S. G. (1981). *The Upas Tree: Glasgow 1875–1975, and after 1975–1980*. Glasgow.
Cleary, J. M. (1960). *Catholic social history in Britain 1909–1959: A history of the Catholic social guild*. Oxford.
Collins, K. E. (1988). *Go and learn: International story of Jews and medicine in Scotland*. Edinburgh.
Collins, K. E. (2001). *Be Well! Jewish immigrant health and Welfare in Glasgow, 1860–1914*. East Linton.
Connolly, M. B. F. (2014). *Women of faith: The Chicago Sisters of Mercy and the evolution of a religious community*. New York.
Conway, M. (1997). *Catholic politics in Europe 1918–1945*. London.
Cooney, J. (1982). *Scotland and the Papacy*. Edinburgh.
Coppa, F. J. (1998). *The modern Papacy since 1789*. Essex.
Davies, N. (1996). *Europe: A new history*. Oxford.
De Meester, C. (Ed.). (1997). *Saint Thérèse of Liseux: Her life, times, and teaching*. Washington.
Dealy, M. B. (Sister). (1945). *Catholic Schools in Scotland*. Washington, DC.
Devine, T. M. (Ed.). (1991). *Irish immigrants and Scottish Society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Edinburgh.
Devine, T. M. (Ed.). (1995). *St. Mary's Hamilton: A social history 1846–1996*. Edinburgh.
Devine, T. M. (1999). *The Scottish nation 1700–2000*. London.
Devine, T. M. (Ed.). (2000). *Scotland's shame? Bigotry and sectarianism in modern Scotland*. Edinburgh.
Devine, T. M., & Dickson, D. (Eds.). (1983). *Ireland and Scotland 1600–1850: Parallels and contrasts in economic and social development*. Edinburgh.
Devine, T. M., & Finlay, R. J. (Eds.). (1996). *Scotland in the twentieth century*. Edinburgh.
Devine, T. M., & McMillan, J. F. (Eds.). (1999). *Celebrating Columba: Irish-Scottish connections 597–1997*. Edinburgh.
Devine, T. M., & Mitchison, R. (Eds.). (1988). *People and society in Scotland: Volume I, 1760–1830*. Edinburgh.
Devine, T. M., & Wormald, J. (Eds.). (2014). *The Oxford handbook of modern Scottish history*, Oxford.
Devine, T. M., & Young, J. R. (Eds.). (1999). *Eighteenth century Scotland: New perspectives*. East Linton.
Dickson, A., & Treble, J. H. (Eds.). (1992). *People and society in Scotland: Volume III, 1914–1990*. Edinburgh.

Donnachie, I., Harvie, C., & Wood, I. S. (Eds.). (1989). *Forward! Labour politics in Scotland 1888–1988.* Edinburgh.
Duff, F. (1989). *Miracles on tap* (1989 ed.). New York.
Ferguson, W. (1998). *The identity of the Scottish nation: An historic quest.* Edinburgh.
Finlay, R. J. (1994). *Independent and free: Scottish politics and the origins of the Scottish national party 1918–1945.* Edinburgh.
Finlay, R. J. (2005). *Modern Scotland 1914–2000.* London.
Fitzpatrick, T. A. (1986). *Catholic secondary education in south-west Scotland before 1972: Its contribution to the change in status of the Catholic Community of the area.* Aberdeen.
Fraser, W. H., & Morris, R. J. (Eds.). (1990). *People and society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830–1914.* Edinburgh.
Furet, F. (1995). *Revolutionary France 1770–1880* (translated by A. Nevill) (1995 ed.). Oxford/Cambridge.
Gallagher, T. (1987). *Glasgow the uneasy peace: Religious tension in modern Scotland, 1819–1914.* Manchester.
Gallagher, T. (2013). *Divided Scotland, ethnic friction and Christian crisis.* Glendaruel.
Gibson, R. (1989). *A social history of French Catholicism 1789–1914.* London/New York.
Gordon, G. (Ed.). (1985). *Perspectives of the Scottish city.* Aberdeen.
Handley, J. E. (1945). *The Irish in Scotland.* Cork.
Handley, J. E. (1947). *The Irish in modern Scotland.* Cork.
Handley, J. E. (1959). *A history of St. Mungo's academy.* Paisley.
Harris, A. (2013). *Faith of the family. A lived religious history of English Catholicism, 1945–82.* Manchester.
Harvie, C. (1977). *Scotland and nationalism: Scottish society and politics 1707–1977.* London.
Hay, A. I. (1971). *Valiant for truth: Malcolm Hay of Seaton.* London.
Hay, M. V. (1915). *Wounded, and a Prisoner of War.* London.
Hebblethwaite, P. (1994). *John XXIII: Pope of the council* (1994 ed.). London.
Heimann, M. (1995). *Catholic devotion in Victorian England.* Oxford.
Herrin, J. (1987). *The formation of Christendom.* London.
Heyer, F. (1969). *The Catholic Church from 1648 to 1870* (translated by D. W. D. Shaw) (1969 ed.). London.
Hume-Brown, P. (1907). *A history of Scotland for schools.* Edinburgh.
Humes, W. (Ed.). (1983). *Scottish culture and education 1800–1900.* Edinburgh.
Irving, R. M. (1979). *The Christian democratic parties of Western Europe.* London.
Johnson, C. (1983). *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789–1829.* Edinburgh.
Kahn, D. (1996). *The Codebreakers* (1996 ed.). New York.

Karly Kehoe, S. (2010). *Creating a Scottish Church*. Manchester.
Kenny, K. (2000). *The American Irish*. Oxford.
Kidd, C. (1993). *Subverting Scotland's past: Scottish Whig Historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1830*. Cambridge.
Levitt, I. (1988). *Poverty and welfare in Scotland, 1890–1948*. Edinburgh.
Levy, R. (1990). *Scottish nationalism at the crossroads*. Edinburgh.
Lichtheim, G. (1983). *A short history of socialism* (1983 ed.). London.
Lunn, K. (Ed.) (1980). *Host, immigrants and minorities: Historical responses to newcomers in British society, 1870–1914*. Kent.
Lynch, M. (1992). *Scotland: A new history*. London.
Macdonald, C. M. M., & McFarland, E. W. (Eds.). (1999). *Scotland and the great war*. East Linton.
MacDougall, I. (Ed.) (1978). *Essays in Scottish labour history: A tribute to W.H. Marwick*. Edinburgh.
Mahood, L. (1990). *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the nineteenth century*. London.
Marr, A. (1992). *The Battle for Scotland*. London.
Marshall, R. K. (1983). *Virgins and Viragoes: A history of women in Scotland from 1080–1980*. London.
McFarland, E. (1990). *Protestants first: Orangeism in nineteenth century Scotland*. Oxford.
McGhee, S. (1972). *Monsignor Taylor of Carfin*. Glasgow.
McLean, I. (1983). *The legend of Red Clydeside*. Edinburgh.
McLellan, D. (1986). *Marxism after Marx: An introduction* (1986 ed.). London/Basingstoke.
McLeod, H. (1981). *Religion and the people of Western Europe 1789–1970* (1981 ed.). Oxford.
McLeod, H. (Ed.). (1995.) *European religion in the age of great cities 1830–1930*. London/New York.
McLeod, H. (1996). *Religion and society in England 1850–1914*. Basingstoke.
McRoberts, D. (Ed.). (1979). *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.
McShane, H., & Smith, J. (1978). *Harry McShane: No mean fighter*. London.
Mews, S. (Ed.). (1982). *Religion and national identity: Papers read at the nineteenth summer meeting and the twentieth winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society*. Oxford.
Midwinter, A., Keating, M., & Mithcell, J. (1991). *Politics and public policy in Scotland*. Basingstoke.
Milton, N. (1973). *John Maclean*. London.
Mitchell, J. (1990). *Conservatives and the union: A study of conservative party attitudes to Scotland*. Edinburgh.
Mitchell, M. (1998). *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797–1848: Trade unions, strikes and political movements*. Edinburgh.

Mitchell, M. (2008). *New perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*. Edinburgh.
Morgan, K. O. (1985). *Labour in power 1945–1951* (1985 ed.). Oxford.
Morrogh, M. (1991). *The unification of Italy*. Basingstoke.
Mullett, M. A. (1998). *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558–1829*. Basingstoke.
Neuner, S. J. J., & Dupuis, J. (Eds.). (1983). *The Christian faith* (1983 ed.). Glasgow.
O'Connor, K. (1974). *The Irish in Britain*. London.
Pelling, H. (1984). *The labour governments 1945–51*. Basingstoke.
Rosie, M. (2004). *The sectarian myth in Scotland of bitter memory and bigotry*. Oxford.
Roxburgh, J. M. (1971). *The school board of Glasgow*. London.
Saint Thérèse of Liseux. (1926). *L'Histoire d'une Ame* (translated by Thomas Nimmo Taylor). London.
Scott, W. (1869). *Tales of a Grandfather*. Edinburgh.
Scott, P. H. (1991). *Towards independence: Essays on Scotland*. Edinburgh.
Scott-Moncrieff, G. (1960). *The mirror and the cross: Scotland and the Catholic faith*. London.
Shiels, W. J., & Wood, D. (Eds.) (1986). *Voluntary religion: Papers read at the 1985 summer meeting and the 1986 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical history society: Studies in church history* (Vol. 23). Oxford.
Smout, T. C. (1969). *A history of the Scottish people 1560–1830*. London.
Smout, T. C. (1987). *A century of the Scottish people 1830–1950*. London.
Snyder, L. L. (1955). *Fifty major documents of the nineteenth century*. New York, etc.
Swift, R., & Gilley, S. (Eds.). (1985). *The Irish in the Victorian city*. Kent.
Tallett, F., & Atkin, N. (Eds.). (1996). *Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789*. London.
Tawney, R. H. (1977). *Religion and the rise of capitalism* (1977 ed.). Middlesex.
Thomas, R. (1999). *Lourdes*. Oxford.
Torrence, J. (1939). *Scotland's Dilemma: Province or nation?* Edinburgh/London.
Truman, T. (1960). *Catholic action and politics*. London.
Various Authors. (1937). *The Catholic who's who 1937*. London.
Various Authors. (1964). *The legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.
Vaughan, G. (2013). *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland, 1851–1921*. Basingstoke.
Wade, N. A. (1939). *Post primary education in the primary schools of Scotland 1872–1936*. London.
Walker, G., & Gallagher, T. (Eds.). (1990). *Sermons and Battle Hymns*. Edinburgh.
Warnar, G. (1988). *The Scottish Tory party: A history*. London.
Warner, M. (1990). *Alone of all her sex: The myth and cult of the Virgin Mary* (1990 ed.). London.

Weber, M. (1930). *The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* (translated by Talcott Parsons). London.

Whyte, J. H. (1982). *Catholics in Western democracies: A study in political behaviour*. Dublin/London.

Wohl, A. S. (1984). *Endangered lives: Public health in Victorian Britain* (1984 ed.). London.

Young, J. D. (1985). *Women in popular struggles: A history of British working class women 1560–1984*. Edinburgh.

Articles (Including Essays from Collective Works)

Anderson, R. D. (1987). Scottish university professors 1800–1939: Profile of an Elite. *Scottish Economic and Social History, 7*, 42–45.

Anderson, R. D. (1998). Ideas of the university in nineteenth century Scotland: Teaching verses research? *Leeds Working Papers in Victorian Studies, 1*, 1–13.

Anderson, Rev. W. J. (1958, Autumn). Narratives on the Scottish reformation: Thomas Innes on Catholicism in Scotland 1560-1653. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *VII*(2), 112–122.

Aspinwall, B. (1982a). *The formation of the Catholic community in the West of Scotland: Some preliminary outlines* (pp. 44–57). XXX: The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association.

Aspinwall, B. (1982b). The Scottish religious identity in the Atlantic world 1880-1914. In S. Mews (Ed.), *Religion and national identity: Papers read at the nineteenth summer meeting and the twentieth winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society*. Oxford.

Aspinwall, B. (1986a). *Popery in Scotland: Image and reality, 1820-1920* (pp. 235–257). XXII: Records of the Scottish Church History Society.

Aspinwall, B. (1986b). The welfare state within the state: The Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Glasgow, 1848-1920. In W. J. Shiels, & D. Wood (Eds.), *Voluntary religion: Papers read at the 1985 summer meeting and the 1986 winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society: Studies in Church history* (Vol. 23). Oxford.

Aspinwall, B. (1991). The Catholic Irish and wealth in Glasgow. In T. M. Devine (Ed.), *Irish immigrants and Scottish society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Edinburgh.

Aspinwall, B. (1992, Autumn). Children of the dead end: The formation of the modern archdiocese of Glasgow, 1815-1914. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XLIII*(2), 119–144.

Aspinwall, B. (1996–1997). Anyone for Glasgow? The strange nomination of the right reverend Charles Eyre in 1868. *Recusant History: The Catholic Record Society, 23*, 589–601.

Aspinwall, B. (1996, Spring). Scots and Irish Clergy ministering to immigrants, 1830-1878. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XLVII*(1), 45–68.

Aspinwall, B. (1999). William Robertson and America. In T. M. Devine, & J. R. Young (Eds.), *Eighteenth century Scotland: New perspectives*. East Linton.

Aspinwall, B., & McCaffrey, J. (1985). A comparative view of the Irish in Edinburgh in the nineteenth century. In R. Swift, & S. Gilley (Eds.). *The Irish in the Victorian City*. Kent.

Baxter, J. H. (1928). Review of a chain of error in Scottish history. *Scottish Historical Review, 25*, 206.

Bebbington, D. W. (1982). Religion and national identity in nineteenth-century Wales and Scotland. In S. Mews (Ed.), *Religion and national identity: Papers read at the nineteenth summer meeting and the twentieth winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society*. Oxford.

Bradley, J. (1998). Images, perceptions and the Ghetto: Conformity and invisible identity? In R. Boyle, & P. Lynch (Eds.), *Out of the Ghetto?: The Catholic community in modern Scotland*. Edinburgh.

Brown, C. G. (1983). *The Sunday-school movement in Scotland, 1780-1914* (pp. 3–26). XXI: Records of the Scottish Church History Society.

Brown, C. G. (1988). Religion and social change. In T. M. Devine, & R. Mitchison (Eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Volume I, 1760–1830*. Edinburgh.

Brown, C. G. (1990). Religion, class and Church growth. In W. H. Fraser, & R. J. Morris (Eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830–1914*. Edinburgh.

Brown, S. J. (1991, Spring). "Outside the Covenant": The Scottish Presbyterian churches and Irish immigration, 1922-1938. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic historical association*, *XLII*(1), 19–45.

Brown, C. G. (1992). Religion and secularisation. In A. Dickson, & J. H. Treble (Eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Volume III, 1914–1990*. Edinburgh.

Brown, C. G. (1995). The mechanism of religious growth in urban societies: British cities since the eighteenth century. In H. McLeod (Ed.), *European religion in the age of great cities 1830–1930*. London/New York.

Brown, C. G. (2001). *The death of Christian Britain. Understanding secularisation* 1800–2000. Oxford.

Bruce, S. (1992, Autumn). Out of the Ghetto: The Ironies of acceptance. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XLIII*(2), 145–154.

Buchanan, V. (1964). Lodging house visitation. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.

Buchanan, T. (1996). United Kingdom. In T. Buchanan, & M. Conway (Eds.), *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918–1965*. Oxford.

Burnett, R. (1998). "The long nineteenth century": Scotland's Catholic Gaidhealtachd. In R. Boyle, & P. Lynch (Eds.), *Out of the Ghetto?: The Catholic community in modern Scotland*. Edinburgh.

Burns, J. H. (1950, Autumn). Catholic Critics of George Buchanan. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *I*(2), 92–110.

Coggan Archbishop. Christian believing and public life. *The Tablet* 5th August 1978.

Connolly, G. (1985). Irish and Catholic: Myth or reality? Another sort of Irish and the renewal of the clerical profession among Catholics in England, 1791-1919. In R. Swift, & S. Gilley (Eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City*. Kent.

Conway, M. (1996). Belgium. In T. Buchanan, & M. Conway (Eds.), *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918–1965*. Oxford.

Corr, H. (1990). An exploration into Scottish education. In W. H. Fraser, & R. J. Morris (Eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830–1914*. Edinburgh.

Crowther, M. A. (1990). Poverty, health and welfare. In W. H. Fraser, & R. J. Morris (Eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830–1914*. Edinburgh.

Cunningham, J. (1979). Church administration and organisation. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Darragh, J. (1953, Spring). The Catholic population of Scotland since the year 1680. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, IV*(1), 49–60.

Darragh, J. (1971, Spring). James Edmund Handley 1900-1971. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XXII*(1), 35–49.

Darragh, J. (1978). Hierarchy centenary supplement. *The Universe,* 3rd March 1978.

Darragh, J. (1979, Spring). David McRoberts, 1912-1978. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XXX*(1), 3–16.

Darragh, J. (1979). The Catholic population of Scotland, 1878-1977. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Dilworth Brother M. (1979). Religious orders in Scotland, 1878-1978. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Donachy, W. (1964). The junior legion. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.

Donnachie, I. (1989). Scottish labour in depression: The 1930s. In I. Donnachie, C. Harvie, & I. S. Wood (Eds.), *Forward! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888–1988*. Edinburgh.

Durkan, J. (1993, Autumn). Father Anthony Ross, OP: A Memoir. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XLIV*(2), 113–118.

Durkan, J. (1999). Our first half century: A personal reflection by Dr. John Durkan to mark the publication of volume 50 of the Innes review. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XLX*(1), i–vi.

Editors. (1928). Editorial. *Scottish Historical Review, 26*, 379.

Edwards, O. D. (1978, Autumn). The Catholic press in Scotland since the restoration of the hierarchy. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XXIX*(2), 156–182.

Edwards, O. D. (1979). The Catholic press in Scotland since the restoration of the hierarchy. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Feldman, D. (1983). There was an Englishman, an Irishman and a Jew … immigrants and minorities in Britain. *The Historical Journal, 26*(1), 185–199.

Finlay, R. J. (1991). Nationalism, race, religion and the Irish question in inter-war Scotland. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XLII*(1), 46–67.

Finlay, R. J. (1999). Keeping the covenant: Scottish national identity. In T. M. Devine, & J. R. Young (Eds.), *Eighteenth century Scotland: New perspectives*. East Linton.

Finn, G. P. T. (1991). Racism, religion and social prejudice: Irish Catholic Clubs, Soccer and Scottish Society - I: The historical roots of prejudice. *International Journal of the History of Sport, VIII*(1), 72–95.

Fitzpatrick, T. A. (1949). Education in Scotland. *The Tablet,* 22nd January 1949.

Fitzpatrick, T. A. (1998, Spring). The Marist Brothers in Scotland Before 1918. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XLIX*(1), 1–10.

Gallagher, S. (1964). The legion hostel. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The legion in Scotland* Glasgow.

Gallagher, T. (1983, Spring). Scottish Catholics and the British Left 1918-1939. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XXXIV*(1), 17–43.

Gallagher, T. (1985). A tale of two cities: Communal Strife in Glasgow and Liverpool before 1914. In R. Swift, & S. Gilley (Eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City*. Kent.

Gallagher, T. (1985, October). Protestant extremism in Urban Scotland 1930–1939: Its growth and contraction. *Scottish Historical Review, LXIV*(178), 143–167.

Gallagher, T. (1991). The Catholic Irish in Scotland: In search of identity. In T. M. Devine (Ed.), *Irish immigrants and Scottish Society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Edinburgh.

Gilley, S. W. (1980). Catholics and socialists in Glasgow 1906-1912. In K. Lunn (Ed.), *Host, immigrants and minorities: Historical responses to newcomers in British Society, 1870–1914*. Kent.

Handley, J. E. (1950, Spring). French influence on Scottish education in the nineteenth century. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *I*(1), 22–34.

Handley, J. E. (1950, Autumn). The position of Catholics in social and economic history. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, I*(2), 100–108.

Harvie, C. (1989). Before the breakthrough, 1888-1922. In I. Donnachie, C. Harvie, & I. S. Wood (Eds.), *Forward! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888–1988.* Edinburgh.

Harvie, C. (1989). The recovery of Scottish Labour, 1939-1951. In I. Donnachie, C. Harvie, and I. S. Wood (Eds.), *Forward! Labour politics in Scotland 1888–1988.* Edinburgh.

Harvie, C., & Walker, G. (1990). Community and culture. In W. H. Fraser, & R. J. Morris (Eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830–1914.* Edinburgh.

Heimann, M. (1996). Devotional stereotypes in English Catholicism, 1850-1914. In F. Tallett, & N. Atkin (Eds.), *Catholicism in Britain and France Since 1789.* London.

Herbert, M. (1999). The legacy of Columba. In T. M. Devine, & J. F. McMillan (Eds.), *Celebrating Columba: Irish-Scottish connections 597–1997.* Edinburgh.

Hornsby-Smith, M. P. (1980a). Catholic opinion. *The Tablet,* 2nd February 1980.

Hornsby-Smith, M. P. (1980b). Catholic opinion. *The Tablet,* 9th February 1980.

Hornsby-Smith, M. P. (1980c). Catholic opinion. *The Tablet,* 16th February 1980.

Hornsby-Smith, M. P. (1980d). Catholic opinion. *The Tablet,* 23rd February 1980.

Hutchison, I. G. C. (1987). Glasgow working class politics. In R. A. Cage (Ed.), *The working class in Glasgow 1750–1914.* London.

Jackson, D. A. (1979). The Catholic curriculum. *The Tablet,* 26th May 1979.

Johnson, C. (1983, Autumn). Secular Clergy of the Lowland district 1732–1829. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XXXIV*(2), 66–87.

Jones, H. (1983, March). Employers' welfare schemes and industrial revolution in inter-war Britain. *Business History*, *XXV*(1), 61–75.

Keating, M. (1989). The labour party in Scotland, 1951-1964. In I. Donnachie, C. Harvie, & I. S. Wood (Eds.), *Forward! Labour politics in Scotland 1888–1988.* Edinburgh.

Keating, J. (1996). Looking to Europe: Roman Catholics and Christian democracy in 1930s Britain. *European History Quarterly, 26*, 57–79.

Kenneth, Rev. Brother. (1968, Autumn). The education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XIX*(2), 91–129.

Knox, W. W. (1988). Religion and the Scottish labour movement 1900-1939'. *Journal of Contemporary History, 23*, 609–630.

Lefebure, Rev. M. (1977, May). Cardinal Newman and the role of the Newman association today. *The Newman, 10*(1), 1–12.

MacDonald, R. (1979). The Catholic Gaidhealtachd. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

MacDougall, I. (1978). Some aspects of the 1926 general strike in Scotland. In I. MacDougall (Ed.), *Essays in Scottish labour history: A tribute to W.H. Marwick*. Edinburgh.

Macinnes, A. I. (1989). *Catholic recusancy and the penal laws* (pp. 27–63). XXIII: Records of the Scottish Church History Society.

Mackenzie, C. (1936). Catholic Barra. In J. L. Campbell (Ed.), *The book of Barra*. London.

Maver, I. (1996). The Catholic community. In T. M. Devine, & R. J. Finlay (Eds.), *Scotland in the twentieth century*. Edinburgh.

McCaffrey, J. F. (1970, Spring). The Irish vote in Glasgow in the later nineteenth century: A preliminary study. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XXI*(1), 30–37.

McCaffrey, J. F. (1978, Autumn). Politics and the Catholic community since 1878. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, 29*(2), 140–155.

McCaffrey, J. F. (1979). Politics and the Catholic community since 1878. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

McCaffrey, J. F. (1983). *Roman Catholics in Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (pp. 275–300). XXI: Records of the Scottish Church Society.

McCaffrey, J. F. (1988, Spring). Irish immigrants and radical movements in the west of Scotland in the early nineteenth century. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XXXIX*(1), 46–61.

McCaffrey, J. F. (1991). Irish issues in the nineteenth and twentieth century: Radicalism in a Scottish context. In T. M. Devine (Ed.), *Irish immigrants and Scottish society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Edinburgh.

McDermid, J. (1996, Spring). Catholic working-class girls' education in Lowland Scotland, 1872-1900. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XLVII*(1), 69–80.

McElliot, T. J. (1978). The role of the laity. *The Tablet,* 29th August 1978.

McFarland, E. (1999a). "Glasgow's greatest Irishman": John Ferguson 1836-1906. In T. M. Devine, & J. F. McMillan (Eds.), *Celebrating Columba: Irish-Scottish Connections 597–1997*. Edinburgh.

McFarland, E. W. (1999b). Scottish radicalism in the later eighteenth century: "The Social Thistle and Shamrock". In T. M. Devine, & J. R. Young (Eds.), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New perspectives*. East Linton.

McGhee, S. (1965, Spring). Carfin and The Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XVI*(1), 56–77.

McGurnaghan, A. (1964). The origin and development of the legion of Mary in Scotland. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The Legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.

McKee, J. J. (1978). The struggle to maintain Catholic schools. *The Universe,* 3rd March 1978.

McLeod, H. (1986). Building the "Catholic Ghetto": Catholic organisations 1870-1914. In W. J. Shiels, & D. Wood (Eds.), *Voluntary religion: Papers read at the 1985 summer meeting and the 1986 winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society: Studies in Church history* (Vol. 23). Oxford.

McLeod, H. (1995). Introduction. In H. McLeod (Ed.), *European religion in the age of great cities 1830–1930*. London/New York.

McMahon, J. Rev. (1964). A *Praesidium* in a seminary. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.

McMillan, J. (1981, Spring). Scottish Catholics and the Jansenist controversy: The case reopened. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XXXII*(1), 22–33.

McMillan, J. F. (1982, Spring). Thomas Innes and the Bull "*Unigenitus*". *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XXXIII*(1), 23–31.

McMillan, J. F. (1996). Catholicism and nationalism in France: The case of the Fédération Nationale Catholique, 1924-1939. In F. Tallett, & N. Atkin (Eds.), *Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789*. London.

McMillan, J. F. (1999). Mission accomplished? The Catholic underground. In T. M. Devine, & J. R. Young (Eds.), *Eighteenth century Scotland: New perspectives*. East Linton.

McRoberts, D. (1977, Autumn). The Scottish Catholic archives, 1560-1978. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, XXVII*(2), 59–128.

McRoberts, D. (1979). The restoration of the Scottish Catholic hierarchy in 1878. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Millar, W. (1985). Politics in the Scottish city 1832-1982. In G. Gordon (Ed.), *Perspectives of the Scottish city*. Aberdeen.

Mitchell, M. J. (1999). The Catholic Irish in the West of Scotland: A "Separate and Despised Community". In T. M. Devine, & J. F. McMillan (Eds.), *Celebrating Columba: Irish-Scottish connections 597–1997*. Edinburgh.

Mitchison, R. (1988). The poor law. In T. M. Devine, & R. Mitchison (Eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Volume I, 1760–1830*. Edinburgh.

Nichols, M. K. (1978). Towards a theology of education. *The Tablet,* 4th August 1978.

Noel Brother Rev. (1964). A *Praesidium* in a Scholasticate. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.

O'Donnell, E. (1998, Autumn). "To Keep Our Father's Faith. . .": Lithuanian immigrant aspirations and the policy of the West of Scotland Catholic Clergy, 1889-1914. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XLIX*(2), 168–183.

O'Driscoll, F. (1999). In search of Christian social order: The impact of social Catholicism. In T. M. Devine, & J. F. McMillan (Eds.), *Celebrating Columba: Irish-Scottish connections 597–1997*. Edinburgh.

O'Riordan, M. (1977). Comprehensivisation. *The Tablet*, 29th January 1977).

O'Sullivan, S. (1964). Home visitation. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.

Phillimore, J. S. (1922, October–December). The prospects of the Catholic Church in Scotland. *Dublin Review*, 171, 183–200.

Quinn Rev. J. (1979). Ecumensim and Scottish Catholics. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Reilly, P. (1979). Catholics and social literature, 1878-1978. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Reilly, P. (1998). You are the people, who are we?: Reflections on the Irish-Catholic contribution to Scottish society. In R. Boyle, & P. Lynch (Eds.), *Out of the Ghetto?: The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland*. Edinburgh.

Ripley, F. J. Rev. (1964). Summary of addresses and discussions. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.

Roberts, A. F. B. (1991). The role of women in Scottish Catholic survival. *The Scottish Historical Review, LXX*(2), 129–150.

Rogers, M. (1985, July). Immigration into Britain: The Lithuanians. *History Today*, *35*(7), 15–20.

Ross Rev A. (1979). Development of the Scottish Catholic community, 1878-1978. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Ross Rev. A. (1950, Spring). Some Scottish Catholic Historians. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *I*(1), 5–22.

Ross Rev. A. (1950, Autumn). The position of the Innes review. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *I*(2), 77–79.

Ross, A. (O.P.). (1978, Autumn). Development of the Scottish Catholic community 1878-1978. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, XXIX(2), 30–55.

Sefton, H. R. (1982). The Church of Scotland and Scottish Nationhood. In S. Mews (Ed.), *Religion and national identity: Papers read at the nineteenth summer meeting and the twentieth winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society*. Oxford.

Skinnider, S. (Sister). (1967). Catholic elementary education in Glasgow 1818-1918. In T. R. Bone (Ed.), *Studies in the history of Scottish education, 1872–1939* (Vol. 54). London.

Tipping, M. (1964). "*Peregrinatio Pro Christo*" - Adventuring for Christ. In Various Authors (Eds.), *The legion in Scotland*. Glasgow.

Treble, J. H. (1979). The development of Roman Catholic education in Scotland, 1878-1978. In D. McRoberts (Ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978*. Glasgow.

Treble, J. H. (1980, Spring). The working of 1918 education act in Glasgow archdiocese. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XXXI*(1), 27–44.

Turner, G. (1981). Catechesis and theological education. *The Tablet,* 28th February 1981.

Walker, W. M. (1972). Irish immigrants in Scotland: Their priests, politics and parochial life. *The Historical Journal, XV*(4), 649–667.

Walker, G. (1991). The protestant Irish in Scotland. In T. M. Devine (Ed.), *Irish immigrants and Scottish Society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Edinburgh.

Walker, G. (1996). Varieties of Scottish protestant identity. In T. M. Devine, & R. J. Finlay (Eds.), *Scotland in the twentieth century*. Edinburgh.

Williamson, C. (1998). "An Antidote to Communism": Catholic social action in Glasgow, 1931-1939. In R. Boyle, & P. Lynch (Eds.), *Out of the Ghetto?: The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland*. Edinburgh.

Wolffe, J. (1996). Change and continuity in British Anti-Catholicism, 1892-1982. In F. Tallett, & N. Atkin (Eds.), *Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789*. London.

Wood, I. S. (1978). Irish immigrants and Scottish Radicalism, 1880-1906. In I. MacDougall (Ed.), *Essays in Scottish labour history: A tribute to W.H. Marwick*. Edinburgh.

Wood, I. S. (1980, Autumn). John Wheatley, The Irish and the labour movement in Scotland. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XXXI*(2), 71–85.

Wood, I. S. (1989). Hope deferred: Labour in Scotland in the 1920s. In I. Donnachie, C. Harvie, and I. S. Wood (Eds.), *Forward! Labour politics in Scotland 1888–1988*. Edinburgh.

Young, J. D. (1988). The Irish immigrants' contribution to Scottish Socialism, 1880-1926. *Saothar [Ireland], XIII*, 89–98.

Zwolinski, F. A. (1998, Spring). The congregation of Christian Brothers in Scotland, 1951-1983. *The Innes Review - The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, *XLIX*(1), 11–40.

Unpublished Theses/Dissertations

Fielding, S. J. (1988). *The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford: Aspects of their religious and political history, 1890-1939.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Warwick.

Ives, E. J. (1988). *The Irish in Liverpool: A study of ethnic identification and social participation.* Dissertation, University of Liverpool.

Keating, J. (1992). *Roman Catholics, Christian democracy and the British labour movement, 1910–1960.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester.

Morris, P. (1989). *The Irish in the Glasgow region and the labour movement 1891-1922.* Dissertation, University of Oxford.

Neal, F. (1987). *Sectarian violence in nineteenth century Liverpool: A study of the origins, nature and scale of the Catholic-Protestant conflict in working class Liverpool, 1819-1914.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Salford.

Quigley, D. (1990). *The Catholic Church and the labour movement: Dublin and Clydeside, 1906-1932.* Dissertation, University College, Dublin.

Sloan, W. (1988). *Aspects of the assimilation of highland and Irish migrants in Glasgow, 1830-1870.* Dissertation, University of Strathclyde.

Zwolinski, F. A. (1992). *A critical analysis and evaluation of the history and development of the congregation of Christian Brothers Roman Catholic teaching order and its respective impact on education, with particular reference to Scotland.* Dissertation, University of Dundee.

Index

C. Williamson, *The History of Catholic Intellectual Life in Scotland, 1918–1965*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-33347-6

D