



Calvin in Scotland

David Fergusson

It may be as well to begin an essay such as this by admitting to the inherent difficulties in appropriating Calvin today. He has had a bad press, not least here in Scotland where the term ‘Calvinist’ has become a pejorative term, usually of opprobrium. It is employed to designate whatever is socially cramping, repressed, overindustrious, or intolerant of diversity and the simple pleasures of life. Almost as much as the term ‘medieval’, ‘Calvinist’ is misused as a broad brush term of reproach.

Calvin is often singled out by church historians and theologians for two things – his doctrine of predestination and his treatment of Michael Servetus. I discovered this when in the year 2000 I contributed an article to *The Tablet* for a series on spiritual stars of the millennium. My draft was returned to me for revision on both subjects. When he telephoned, I told the editor that Calvin’s doctrine of predestination was not much different from that held by Augustine and maintained throughout the Middle Ages, while there was plenty of textual support in Thomas Aquinas for the burning of Servetus. But even while accepting the point, he required me to say more about both these subjects which I dutifully did.

A further challenge facing the exponent of Calvin is his personality and style. It must be admitted that Calvin does not command the devotion and interest amongst Reformed churches that for example Luther does for Lutherans or Wesley for Methodists. We don’t have anything like a Reformation Sunday or an Aldersgate Sunday in the church year. What’s more, Calvin is not instantly quotable and memorable; and there is little trace of humour in his writings, something that Karl Barth remarked upon last century, suggesting that it might be symptomatic of some deeper theological problem. And nor do we have a hymn of Calvin to rival *Ein’ Feste Burg* or any of Charles Wesley’s great compositions.

Despite all this, we have to acknowledge the considerable influence of Calvin upon the sixteenth-century Reformation and in particular upon the church here in Scotland. Calvin's place in church history is set largely by his writings and his ministry in Geneva. These are connected. As he lay dying, he said that when he first came to Geneva there had been preaching and the destruction of idols but no reformation. He followed Luther in proclaiming the doctrine of the free and justifying grace of God and he similarly criticised the Roman Catholic church for its failure to teach this doctrine clearly. But what emerges in his writings is an attempt to reorganise church and social life around this single gospel vision. This results in several distinctive features of theology and church life which would become significant in Scotland. Let me try briefly to summarise these under the headings of *doctrine*, *church*, and *politics* or *society*.

Doctrine – For Calvin, doctrine is not an abstract matter to be studied by theologians only. An understanding of true doctrine is necessary for the Christian life and it is therefore important that everyone come to a right understanding. For this reason, the Bible is to be read in the vernacular, studied daily, and expounded by those set apart to teach it. To assist us in our understanding of Scripture, short confessions and catechisms are introduced. These offer instruction in the doctrines of the faith, often making use of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, all traditional teaching aids. The doctrines that characterise Calvin's theology include the sole authority of Scripture within the church, justification by faith, sanctification by the Holy Spirit, the predestination and providence of God as overruling and directing our affairs, and the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments as the marks or signs of the visible church on earth.

Church – Worship is organised around the preaching and teaching of the Word of God. There is a concentration on Scripture now translated into the vernacular, and two simple sacraments to be administered within congregational worship – baptism and the Lord's Supper. Each individual Christian is required to study Scripture, to pray, to devote himself or herself to the Christian life, to be committed to a process

of catechisation, and to serve God in whatever secular calling he or she is occupied. The office of the ordained ministry is still essential to the life and well-being of the church, but the minister is no longer a priest performing a sacrificial act at the altar. The minister or pastor is someone whose primary functions are the preaching of the Word and the right administration of the two sacraments. Pulpit and table are now the focal points of ministry. This leads to a keener awareness of the centrality of the congregation and the parish as the locus for ministry and the ongoing life of the church. Worship is an action engaging all the people of God – congregational psalm-singing becomes important in this context. The church service is not a mysterious performance to be viewed but an intelligible action in which all participate.

The life of the church is also marked by discipline. Calvin refers to discipline as the sinews by which the body of Christ is held together. The system of church discipline that he advocates requires nurture, admonition, rebuke, repentance, and in more severe cases excommunication. Several reasons are put forward in support of this but principally these are the command to honour God, the need to maintain the purity of the church, and the importance of reclaiming those who have gone astray.

Politics – The Reformation is also a political programme for Calvin. It is not merely about the reorganising of the church but also about the sanctification of the entire social order. In Geneva there is a close partnership of civil and ecclesiastical powers. Every citizen belongs to the church and is under its discipline. But similarly the whole social realm is to be reformed according to the Word of God. A divine commonwealth is to be created. The church authorities are to work in tandem with the political authorities to order the life of the church but also to regulate the social and economic life of Geneva. This included provision of education, of poor relief, and of the care of the sick. Calvin was not strongly committed to any one form of political government. He argued for a reasonable liberty in this respect. Societies might differ in their preferred model of organisation – this was a matter of indifference amongst Christians although Calvin himself expressed a preference for aristocracy supported by democratic consent. Nevertheless, what he offers us is an integrated

vision of church and state working closely together for the reform of the whole social realm according to the Word of God.

Before we assess the impact of this Calvinist vision upon Scotland, it may be worth noting two points. The first is that Calvin is only one of several representatives of the Reformed tradition as it develops in Switzerland and other parts of Europe. It's a mistake to describe the Scottish Reformation or the Kirk as Calvinist. Other influences are also at work, for example the work of Martin Bucer and Heinrich Bullinger. We should be wary of overstating the influence of Calvin himself or pretending that the Scottish church or the Reformed tradition more broadly has seen itself as exclusively and uncritically attached to the defence of Calvin. Nevertheless, Calvin does stand apart as the leading and most influential exponent of that Reformed tradition that became so important here. Second, when we come to assess their work we should always remember that the Reformers did not perceive themselves to be setting up a new church. They were reforming a church that had existed since the time of the apostles and therefore they perceived themselves to be in continuity with the first Christians and those who had maintained the faith ever since. So it is a mistake to talk in terms of the Church of Scotland as beginning in 1560 at the time of the Reformation.

So how then should we evaluate the influence of Calvin on Scotland? Of course, Calvin never came to Scotland but his Genevan ministry and his writings were influential in different parts of Europe. His influence therefore is mediated by those who knew him, read him and the movements that he subsequently shaped. As Euan Cameron writes, 'Although Calvin's authority in his adopted city of Geneva remained precarious almost to the end of his life, his charisma attracted settlers not only from France but from other regions of Europe, especially during the later 1540s and 1550s. From the 1560s the Genevan models of Reformed doctrine, worship and pastoral discipline found passionate adherents in France, the Low Countries, Scotland, Hungary, Poland, and even in the extreme northwest of the Italian peninsula.'¹

To consider Calvin's influence in Scotland, let us return to these three heads of *doctrine, church, and politics*.

Doctrine – The Scots Confession of 1560 was produced very quickly by John Knox and his associates at the behest of the Scottish Parliament. It is a passionate document that offers a rousing and occasionally intemperate expression of the Reformed faith. Knox himself had spent time in Geneva ministering to a congregation of English exiles and he was profoundly impressed by the work of Calvin there. The Confession of 1560 expounds a range of doctrines that bear the influence of John Calvin. These include the supreme authority of Scripture, the sovereignty of God, our justification by grace alone, the two marks of the church, our predestination in Christ, the sanctification of the Christian life, and the divinely-ordained role of the civil magistrate. The Scots Confession was the subordinate standard of faith until 1647 when it was replaced by the Westminster Confession which retains its authority within the Kirk today.

The Westminster Confession reflects the developments within Reformed theology that took place in the seventeenth century – the stress on divine grace preceding and determining human freedom, the greater control given to the doctrine of predestination, the salvation of the fixed number of the elect as determined by God before the creation of the world, the scope of Christ’s work as limited to the elect only, the need to seek for the signs of election in one’s life, the elements of the Christian life, and again the duties of the civil magistrate. Debates have taken place about whether the Westminster Confession reflects or departs from the spirit of Calvin’s own writings. Perhaps this is an anachronistic question. What we seem to have are developments in a tradition over a period of a hundred years yet obvious continuities with what was claimed in the sixteenth century.

The Church of Scotland has had an ambivalent relationship to the Westminster Confession of Faith over the last three hundred years. Its status as the subordinate standard of faith is embedded within our constitution and to this day all ministers and elders must subscribe to it. Yet it is seldom studied or cited, and only a small number in the Kirk remain enthusiastic about its status. Why is this so? Its doctrine of predestination has occasioned anxieties about whether all people are loved by God and thus whether the gospel can be freely offered to all with assurance. These concerns surfaced in the Marrow Controversy at the beginning of the eighteenth century and again in the deposition of

John McLeod Campbell, parish minister at Rhu, following his trial at the General Assembly of 1831. Later in the nineteenth century, others worried whether the Confession's doctrine of Scripture provided space for the work of historical criticism and non-literal readings of parts of the Bible such as the six days of creation. In another famous heresy trial, William Robertson Smith was removed from his post as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Aberdeen by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1881. There were further concerns about the Confession's blunt condemnation of those professing other religions, its denunciation of the Pope and Roman Catholicism and its seeming failure to admit any degree of religious toleration within civil society. All these scruples led to the passing of a series of Declaratory Acts in the Victorian period which qualified the Confession's teaching on various points of doctrine. And early in the twentieth century, the so-called conscience clause was introduced. This permitted ministers and elders liberty of opinion on those points of doctrine not entering into the substance of the faith. And of course there is no explicit agreement on what constitutes the substance of the faith.

All these are the neuralgic features of Calvinism. But what then are its more positive and enduring qualities that are maintained in the life of our church? Perhaps there are more of these than we realise. There is the providence of God that overrules our lives with a parental love; the commitment of every Christian to a reading and right understanding of Scripture; the free love of Christ known personally by each one of us and received especially in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; the sanctification of every area of human life by the grace and command of God; the public worship of the whole people of God each Sunday; a collective commitment to understanding the church's creeds, confessions and catechisms; the need to glorify God in everything we do and not just in our religious devotions. In listing these, we are reminded that Calvin's theology is not just for the head only. It's for the heart, the community of faith, and the life of the world. Doctrine is practical, rather than speculative in the Calvinist tradition.

Church – The Scottish Reformation sets out a programme for the reform of the church. We have already seen the commitment to two sacraments, the stress upon the worship of the whole people of God, and the importance attached to church discipline. These are all stressed in 1560 and in the years thereafter. The pulpit becomes a focal point of the church building. People gather to hear the Word preached. The sacrament is celebrated around tables in accordance with the example of the New Testament, as opposed to an event that takes place at the altar away from the people. Church music engages the whole people of God. It is no longer the province of the choir, so that tunes and words must be accessible to everybody. This becomes important too as a way of appropriating and understanding the faith. You learn to sing it, especially through the Psalms. When John Durie, the exiled minister of St Giles, returned to his pulpit in 1583 he was accompanied up the Royal Mile by a crowd of 2000 people singing in four-part harmony the 124th Psalm, *Now Israel may say and that truly*. My colleague Jane Dawson has written, ‘The psalms and religious singing were an essential method of disseminating the new Protestant culture, because they cut across the literacy divide. [...] The metrical psalms became, and remain, a marker of a distinctively Scottish Reformed identity.’²²

The Bible was to be read and studied in translation. This meant the Genevan Bible and later the 1611 King James Bible. Both are English Bibles of course, one effect of which was to diminish somewhat the significance of Scots. Similar remarks could be made of Gaelic at that time. So, ironically, the Scottish Reformation contributed to the decline of Scots and Gaelic in favour of English. Yet literacy and first-acquaintance with the Scriptures were promoted, along with a commitment to the catechising of the whole church.

In terms of church government, what emerges towards the end of the sixteenth century is a system of Presbyterian church government whereby a hierarchy of church courts comprising elders and ministers is established, these including the local Kirk Session, the regional Presbytery, and the national General Assembly. Until quite recently we also had Synods at a level between Presbytery and Assembly. Neither Calvin nor Knox were actually Presbyterians but the key principles of church government that they espoused are taken up into the Presbyterian model. These include parity of ministry, the role of

the ruling elder, and the synodal nature of church government whereby there is a balancing of local and more regional forms of oversight. These have come down to us today and are worth preserving. In this respect, the influence of Calvinism is transparent. Yet in other ways we may not always have lived up to his vision for the church.

Let me hazard four comments on some typical patterns of our church life. Calvin offers us a strong doctrine of sacramental grace. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are not only signs of God's free grace, but they actually convey to us what they signify. Christ is really present to us in the sacraments. This is Calvin's teaching and, in this respect, he can fairly be described as a Reformed Catholic. But have we always taken his commitment to the sacraments with sufficient seriousness? Calvin himself advocated a weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper in Geneva, but the Reformed tradition in Scotland has been largely stuck for several centuries with the practice of celebration only during the communion season that takes place two, three or four times a year. Do we really believe what Calvin teaches about the sacrament as a simple, accessible and easily-managed practice that God generously gives to us as a people, or have we tended to displace this with too exclusive a concentration on the preached Word?

Church discipline was heavily stressed at the time of the Reformation. The Scots Confession even lists it as a third mark of the church. It later became identified with the policing of sexual morals in a somewhat intrusive and salacious way. The most famous sinner who was required to take his place on the seat of penance was of course Robert Burns, who was found guilty of fathering Jean Armour with child out of wedlock. There is a tendency to lampoon church discipline nowadays but it is necessary in some measure for all the reasons cited by Calvin. And we should remember that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the best friend to an unmarried pregnant woman was often the Kirk Session. It was they who would ensure that errant fathers would make provision for the maintenance of mother and child.

Third, Calvin's theology contains many works about the sin of schism. He was worried about the fragmented nature of the Protestant Reformation. The unity of the church and of all Christian people is a powerful theme in his writings. Repeatedly, he cautions against

division over issues of indifference where strong personalities and ecclesiastical politics take over. There is an abhorrence of disunity and separation in his writings on the church. And yet through the course of subsequent history the Reformed churches have failed to heed these warnings. We have had so many splits, divisions, schisms and only partially successful unions in our history that much of it represents a failure of Calvin's animating vision. To understand the different denominations in Scottish Presbyterian church history should need a diagram that resembles the London Underground or a complex draining chart.

Fourth, although Calvin is committed to the principle of parity of ministers this does not prevent him from recognising that some ministers may be set apart for roles of regional leadership, teaching and wider pastoral oversight. Nor does he have any objection to their being described as bishops. This is not a separate order or rank of ministry but a function for which a few may be deployed. So Calvin's theology is not as hostile to the office of the bishop as later Presbyterianism became in the course of the struggles of the seventeenth century. This might be worth considering at times when we lack a ministry of leadership and oversight at regional and national levels.

Politics – The *First Book of Discipline* (1560) and its sequel, the *Second Book of Discipline* (1578), offered a programme not only for the reform of the church but for Scottish society as a whole. This included in particular provision for comprehensive education – a school was to be established in each parish and the universities were also to be reformed – and provision for poor relief. We should not assume that this was an invention of the Reformers however. The Middle Ages had bequeathed to the church three universities – St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen – to which two were added after the Reformation, Edinburgh and Marischal College in Aberdeen. Grammar schools had been established in Scottish towns by 1500 while there were also schools attached to abbeys and cathedrals. But what the Reformation sought to do was to introduce a comprehensive system in each parish, ensure that these were funded by taxation of landowners and heritors, and enable the church to exercise rigorous control over standards. It took a long time for this system to be implemented but by the

eighteenth century it was pretty effective and stood comparison with European standards. Here is Tom Devine's assessment.

Not all the assumptions therefore made about the 'democratic intellect' and 'lads o' pairts' stand up to close scrutiny. Nevertheless, the achievement in schooling initiated by the Presbyterian Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was still impressive by any standards. Reading literacy was widespread and education available in most parts of the country at low cost. Close connections existed between the parish school system, the burgh schools and the universities. Profound differences of attainment did exist on the basis of gender, social class and region, but even these complexities cannot hide the fact that a national system had developed in the eighteenth century which was later enlarged by the dynamic expansion of private schooling in subsequent decades.³

Of course, the care of the sick and poor relief were also earlier ideals of the medieval church. After the Reformation, poor relief was largely determined by the statute of 1574. This had two main effects – one was the organisation of relief at a local level through voluntary contributions, and the other was a distinction between those unable to look after themselves and the able-bodied poor who were not offered relief. Historians differ as to how effective this was. It seems to have worked in some areas and to some degree. Yet here is the verdict of one recent historian.

Parishes regularly put the old and infirm on pension rolls, supported orphans and foundlings by boarding them out with pensioners, paid for the schooling of these children and of others whose parents could not afford school fees, arranged for the care of the insane, made contributions towards the cost of surgery or wet-nursing, joined with other parishes in supporting poor students at the University and buried paupers with a reasonable allocation of ale and tobacco for the mourners, while claiming whatever personal property these paupers left.⁴

The Reformation programme only slowly took hold but by about 1700 Scotland had become, according to some estimates, the most literate country in Europe. Given its poverty, this was impressive and is one legacy of the Reformation. This educational system also facilitated the Scottish Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, and the emergence of world-class scholars in the sciences and the arts including Thomas Reid and David Hume in philosophy, Adam Smith in economics, and Adam Ferguson, a founding figure in sociology.

The Reformation also brought with it a new politics, partly founded on Scriptural precedents and partly deriving from philosophies that had flourished in the late Middle Ages. Two principles, in particular, might be identified. The first is what today we describe as a system of checks and balances. No single individual or institution should have too much power invested in it. The corruption of human nature is such that this is highly dangerous. Always there must be mechanisms for checking and correcting the abuse of power. Second, government is directed towards the common good of the people rather than the personal ends of rulers or factional interests. Each human being is tied by covenant bonds to the welfare of all others. This is not quite democracy as we have it today, but it suggests ways in which political rule is directed towards popular support and consent. Scottish Reformed writers like John Knox and Samuel Rutherford made much of this in checking the absolute rule of the monarch. It provided them with criteria for civil obedience and even violent resistance, although Calvin himself was very reluctant to develop his political theory in this way. Knox was too much of a hothead and a destabilising influence for his liking. You could argue, therefore, that the organisation of church and society prepared Scotland for later ideals of equality, civic community and democracy.

We have already noted Calvin's commitment to a partnership between church and state for the good of society. This is expressed in the parish system whereby each parish has its own church for the administration of the ordinances of religion. The minister of the parish church is not just the minister of the congregation but of all the people. It is his duty to provide the rites of passage at birth, marriage and death. Again, this is not a new vision – it simply takes up and develops a model that became well established in the Middle Ages. Richard

Hooker, the great Anglican theologian, had said that everyone who is a member of the commonwealth is also a member of the Church of England, and everyone who is a member of the Church of England is also a member of the commonwealth. The same could have been said of the Church of Scotland at the same time.

Nevertheless, there are weaknesses in this vision that were later to be felt even in Scotland. In particular, it does not allow much space for religious dissent, freedom of worship, toleration, or the creation of churches with different theologies, politics and styles of worship. Religious coercion and the suppression of dissent seemed to be features of this model. As the Secession churches begin to appear in the early eighteenth century, it is not surprising that the Calvinist understanding of the civil magistrate underwent some revision. The civil authorities are to provide the space within which people can worship God according to the dictates of their conscience – an ideal with which most of us would now sympathise, but not one that is present in the teaching of Calvin or Knox. Nor should we really expect to find it there, given their historical location.

What then about the influence of Calvin on other aspects of Scottish cultural life? One criticism that is frequently laid at the door of Calvin and his followers is that they were hostile to the arts. This again is at best a partial truth. Calvin was fearful of the effect of visual images (e.g. paintings) inside churches. These had a tendency towards idolatry and therefore violated the commandments.

In the poetry of the Orcadian writer Edwin Muir the evils of a repressed, cramped Scottish social order with its ersatz artistic depictions of national identity are deplored. These are attributed directly to the legacy of Protestantism that destroys a rich, life-affirming culture with its censorious judgements. So the poet is crushed ‘with an iron text’.⁵

The Word made flesh here is made word again,
A word made word in flourish and arrogant crook.
See there King Calvin with his iron pen,
And God three angry letters in a book,
And there the logical hook

On which the Mystery is impaled and bent
Into an ideological argument.⁶

Muir is not egregious amongst Scottish literati. Iain Crichton Smith complains about the black-hatted and white-collared ministers of Lewis – with their tight-lipped brilliance, they have suppressed the magic of the theatre.⁷

But what actually happens in the visual arts under the impact of Reformed criticism of idolatry is not so much the suppression of artistic work as its refraction. In the absence of ecclesiastic patronage and no longer required for the adornment of church buildings, works of art continued to be commissioned by private individuals and to be displayed in households and other more secular contexts. This led to a process of disenchantment by which the visual arts could be used for a wider range of functions. No longer tied to the church, the arts could find other outlets. The release of art from serving God in only an ecclesiastical milieu can, even if unintentionally, have a liberating effect in spawning a greater variety of forms and functions. Of course, the iconoclasm of the Reformation was not without serious defects and excesses. The destruction of cathedrals and abbeys, the loss of artistic treasures, and the general lawlessness that attended these actions are to be deplored. Indeed the vandalism of artefacts and theft of church property appalled Calvin himself in later life, his theological position notwithstanding.

Leaving aside the visual arts, we should note also the promotion of other artistic forms. Some of these are central to worship, most notably church architecture, music and rhetorical styles. Furthermore, the Reformed accentuation upon Scripture promoted higher literacy rates and a heightened awareness of the vernacular. The dedication to linguistic precision, scholarly attainment and intellectual understanding was later manifested in the production of dictionaries, lexicons and encyclopaedias, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* first emerging on Presbyterian soil.⁸ The qualities exhibited in such output again reflect something of the distinctive aesthetic of the Reformed tradition: a concern for clarity; the search for truth in every sphere; a scorn for pretentiousness; the importance of exactitude; and integrity,

both moral and intellectual. The command of language in writers such as Burns, Scott and MacDiarmid owes something to the inheritance of the Reformation, as Robert Crawford has argued in a recent essay.⁹ In the case of music, we have the rich inheritance of the metrical psalms, the paraphrases and later hymnody, all of which flourished on Scottish Presbyterian soil.

Something much harder to define and identify might be called the spirit of Calvinism. This is all about the energy, the self-discipline, the industriousness, and the habits of mind and the determination that Calvin himself displayed. This spirit was fostered in the lives of Reformed Christians, and it energised them to make an impact. Sometimes this energy was directed towards sacred ends – the work of theology, of Biblical scholarship, of great preaching, of missionary activity, and of church leadership. In many other cases, it was released for more secular purposes in writers, scholars, business leaders, inventors, scientists, and politicians down to the present day. To trace the works of sons and daughters of the manse over several centuries would make for an interesting research project.

It's good for us to be reminded of Calvin and his legacy in this anniversary year, and particularly of the enormous contribution made to Scotland by the Reformed tradition. The caricatures and negative stereotypes need to be called into question. At a time of rapid change and secularisation, we need to be recalled to our rich heritage lest we assume that the future is one in which we must forget the past, tear up the script and start all over again. Moreover, we need to remember the strong ecumenical impulses that characterised Calvin's work and to recognise that his theological vision can continue to be carried forward with confidence, not in a narrow sectarian vein but as a contribution to the one holy catholic and apostolic church.

Notes

- 1 “Reformation”, in *Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology* (ed. Ian McFarland, David Fergusson, Karen Kilby and Iain Torrance; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming [2011]).
- 2 Jane E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 227.
- 3 T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* (London: Penguin, 1999), 98–99.
- 4 Rosalind Mitchison, “The Poor Law”, in *People and Society in Scotland I, 1760–1830* (ed. T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison; Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), 253.
- 5 Edwin Muir, “Scotland 1941”, in *The Narrow Place* (London: Faber, 1943), 16.
- 6 Edwin Muir, “The Incarnate One”, in *One Foot in Eden* (London: Faber, 1956), 47.
- 7 Iain Crichton Smith, *Murdo: The Life and Works* (ed. Stewart Conn; Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), 227.
- 8 The first edition was published in Edinburgh in 1768.
- 9 The connections between this aspect of Protestant culture and the development of literature are explored by Robert Crawford, “Presbyterianism and Imagination in Modern Scotland”, in *Scotland’s Shame?: Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* (ed. T. M. Devine; Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000), 187–96.