

O U R L I T U R G I C A L T R A D I T I O N S

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

CHARLES ROBERTSON

\* \* \* \* \*

*The substance of a paper given at an in-service course on "New Forms of Worship and Praise" for ministers, in Carberry Tower on 3rd May 1989.*

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

PRE-VIEW

I know well the perils of serving scotch broth. In goes the ladle, and out comes - well, it is always scotch broth, but the precise mix of bree, vegetables, barley, and peas depends on how deep down the ladle goes. The pot contains nothing but broth, but it is in layers, so to speak, and what anyone gets is determined by the level at which the ladle makes its scoop.

Similarly with our subject. What is Scottish Worship, what is Church of Scotland Worship, what is Scottish Presbyterian Worship? The answer you get depends on where you strike with your ladle. No one helping is by itself definitive, and with only one ladleful in your plate, you cannot say, "This, without qualification, is the undivided mind and the universal practice of the Kirk". Sweeping generalizations about worship in Scotland are better to be avoided. Our Scottish Presbyterian worship has never been uniform and static. There has always been diversity of opinion, variety of practice, and allowance for individuality over against uniformity. It is impossible to look at all the divergent views and changing practices of the centuries and say "this or that is the essential or characteristic tradition of Scottish Presbyterian worship". It all depends on your point of view, on where your ladle strikes in the rich pot of broth.

And here we reach another problem: it is a rich pot, this Presbyterian worship of ours; much has gone "intill't" as they say, and is impossible in a short talk of this kind to give more than just a flavour of it. It is fatally easy to look back on the expanse of our Church's history with a limited vision that takes in either the foreground, or the background, or the space between. The difficult task is to try to see all three at once. We cannot hope to survey the whole scene in this one session but perhaps we may be able to catch a glimpse of some of the more salient features of our liturgical tradition.

## LEGAL

Where to begin ? Perhaps the best place to begin is the one place that is tolerably free from dispute, and that is the law. What do the law and the constitution of the Church say about worship and, in particular, about the minister's role in worship ? Cox's Practice and Procedure in the Church of Scotland states that "*It belongs to the Presbytery to regulate matters concerning the performance of public worship and the administration of ordinances, in accordance with the laws and settled usages of the Church; and they are to take cognisance of the alleged existence or proposed introduction of any innovation or novel practice coming regularly to their knowledge; and after inquiry, if this appears necessary, are to give such deliverance as seems to be warranted by the circumstances of the case and the laws and usages of the Church; and it is their duty to enjoin the discontinuance, or prohibit the introduction, of any novel practice inconsistent with the laws and settled usages of the Church, or a cause of division in the congregation, or unfit from any cause to be used in the worship of God, either in general or in the particular kirk (P 1592; 1866, vii with 1865, vii). In the matter of worship the minister is not in the same relation to the Presbytery as in other matters. The Presbytery itself is the party directly responsible to the Church. The minister is its executive. From which it follows, and is enacted by the Assembly (1866, vii), that in case of an appeal against its order, he and*

*all must abide by the order till final judgement is given.*"<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the Presbytery is the sovereign and final authority in matters of worship, and both the substance and the structure of worship are under its jurisdiction. The minister is subject to the Presbytery, and has no real freedom to do merely as he or she pleases. Scottish Presbyterian worship has never been regulated solely by the parish minister: it has always been subject to a higher authority. Practically speaking, this is perhaps not the view upon which we act Sunday by Sunday in our own parish kirks: we each tend to "do our own thing" and go our own way, with little or no consideration of our true constitutional position. But in leading the public worship of God, the minister is now, and always has been, under authority. The minister may be an executive; but the agenda is in the hands of the Presbytery.

The passage from Cox goes on to say "*It is to be noted that the Book of Common Order issued in 1940 by authority of the General Assembly and since revised periodically, expresses 'the mind of the Church with regard to its offices of worship, in orders and forms which, while not fettering individual judgement in particulars, will set the norm for the orderly and reverent conduct of the various public services in which ministers have to lead their people.'*"<sup>2</sup> The words themselves, and their appearance in Cox, may seem to some to give the Book of Common Order an authority it does not in fact possess; but it is clear that constitutionally, in some sense at least, the Book of Common Order and its successors is meant to be normative for the conduct of public worship. Mention of the 1940 Book of Common Order may serve to refer to two other worship books of the Church of Scotland which are both mentioned in The Basis and Plan of Union 1929. The first is A Directory for the Public Worship of God 1645 which is referred to along with other "leading documents, setting forth a constitution, standards, rules and methods of the United Church".<sup>3</sup> It is as Cox admits "nominally" the standard of the Church with regard to worship.<sup>4</sup> The second book, "also held in honour as having an important place in the history of Scottish Presbyterianism" is the Book of Common Order 1564. Professor Cheyne has written that each of these books expresses the attitudes of influential Scotsmen to Divine Service at

turning points in their nation's history.<sup>5</sup> Together they offer invaluable guidance as to the major impulses and emphases of Scottish religion in liturgical matters - especially if taken in conjunction with a third document, The Book of Common Order which was authorized by the General Assembly of 1940. An examination, then, of our liturgical traditions, would at the least involve us in a survey of these three books, but this is neither the time nor the place for that. Perhaps the easiest way to see them is to set them against one another and in one wide sweep to notice what they contain and what they leave out.

#### COMPARATIVE

Take first the middle one of the three, The Directory for Public Worship. When the Westminster Divines had finally adjusted this book and sent it down to Edinburgh, "the Scots were gratified to find that the arrangement of the ordinary worship was nearly the same as that to which they had been accustomed" in the old Book of Common Order. But the work as a whole introduced or recognized various alterations some of them slight but others considerable. For example, the Order for Administration of Baptism mainly followed the previous Scottish practice but it omitted to prescribe repetition of The Creed or of The Lord's Prayer; nor did it include any mention of a godfather in addition to the child's parents; and in order to accommodate conflicting views about the Church and The Sacraments which were represented at the Westminster Assembly, the wording of the vows to be taken by sponsors was intentionally vague. The Order for Celebration of the Communion, was by no means identical with the 1564 Book of Common Order. The new book replaced extreme simplicity with somewhat fuller forms; it put the words of exhortation before the words of institution; it provided for a distinct invocation of the Holy Spirit, thus supplying an obvious deficiency in the old book; and it included a crucially important rubric - "The Table being... so conveniently placed, that the Communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it." This rubric might have been understood as implying permission to abandon the honoured

custom that prevailed in Scotland of sitting round the Table for Communion, were it not for the special action taken by the General Assembly to interpret it in such a way as to make the round meaning unmistakable.

The Marriage Service in the Directory, unlike its counterpart in the Book of Common Order, indicated the content of a prayer for blessing upon the contracting parties. Above all, the reader's and the minister's services, which users of the Book of Common Order had regarded as separate parts of a full diet of worship, were now combined; and the controversial practice of "lecturing" was introduced, with careful warnings against ministerial abuse - "Let it not be done until the whole Chapter or Psalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither Preaching or other Ordinance be straitened, or rendered tedious"<sup>9</sup> - though these safeguards, alas, were not long respected.

It is clear that the Directory marks a material departure from the ways of worship sanctioned by the service book of the first reformers. The changes are even more marked when we come to examine the 1940 Book of Common Order and compare that with the older books. The 1564 book contained private prayers for the ordinary worshipper; the only private prayers included in the 1940 book were vestry prayers and the like for the clergy - a difference which suggests that while the former was designed for the use of members as well as ministers, the latter had none but ministers in mind. The 1564 book contained a reformed Confession of Faith; the 1940 book included the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds only. The 1564 book assigned a large place to penitential discipline; 1940 gave it almost no place at all. 1564 included rules for fasting; 1940 passed the whole subject over in silence. 1564 focussed attention on the interior nature of religious worship; 1940 concerned itself much more with the externals of the ecclesiastical institution. 1564 was "so framed as to make responsive worship impossible"<sup>10</sup>; 1940 almost the exact opposite. The Directory in 1645 went out of its way to affirm that "Festival days, vulgarly called Holy-days, having no warrant in the Word of God are not to be continued"; 1940 devoted a whole section to "Prayers for the Seasons of the

Christian Year". 1645 declared that "no place is capable of any holiness under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration"; 1940 included orders "for laying the foundation stone of a church", "for the dedication of an organ", and "for the dedication of church furnishings and memorials". And 1645 offered detailed counsel on preaching; 1940 left the subject completely untouched.<sup>11</sup>

For all that these books differ from one another they demonstrate patterns in liturgical life in Presbyterian Scotland. In particular they show worship was evangelical, liturgical, and catholic. We look at each of these in turn.

### EVANGELICAL

It almost goes without saying that the worship of the reformers was evangelical, but it is evangelical in the sense of being instinct with the evangel. The Word of the evangel is what matters, and worship must reflect the Word and make it more eloquent. The reformers' emphasis led them to allow in worship only that which was permitted in scripture. Hence, for example, their exclusion of saints' days and holy days from the routine of public worship. The Lord's Day alone could claim scriptural authority. But there were secular reasons for the continuance of the Calendar of the Christian Year at least in form: the fairs and markets of many burghs traditionally fell on saints' days; the legal terms - Candlemas, Whit Sunday, Lammas and Martinmas - were all based on the Christian Year, and the most important of them, Whit Sunday, was a moveable feast; the terms of the Court of Session continue to be determined by Fastern's Eve or Shrove Tuesday, Palm Sunday, Low Sunday and Whit Sunday. And not civil courts only, but courts of the reformed Church made frequent use of days in the Church's Calendar for dating purposes. The Calendar contained, besides the dates required by lawyers, a variety of others, including, almost incredibly, "The Assumption of Mary".<sup>12</sup>

The emphasis on the Word of the evangel gave impetus to the production of worship material in the vernacular. If the

Word were to have its due place in worship, the people must be able to understand the words used, and therefore worship in a strange language (Latin) was no longer supportable. Worship in the vernacular, in language that is relevant and meaningful to the people in contemporary usage, is still a problem for today; it constitutes one of the major areas of concern, for example, of the work of the present Panel on Worship.

The daily services of the 1564 Book of Common Order owe something of their existence to the insistence on the flourishing of the Word. This daily service, whose order appears in the 1564 book, was certainly conducted in the cities and in some towns, and even in some country areas. The service consisted of read lessons as well as a read liturgy, the Word and prayers together read every day in the Parish Church. The notion that the reformation doctrine of the "Priesthood of all Believers" meant that the parish kirks were locked up during the week, the father of the household as a priest in his own home to conduct daily family prayers, is not one that withstands investigation. In fact the parish kirks were not locked at the Reformation but were kept open expressly for the daily service, and the Priesthood of all Believers had a quite different significance from the one normally given to it today.

The vision of the reformers of a people inspired and enlivened by the Word is perhaps expressed most vividly by Erasmus pleading for ready access to scriptures. "I wish that even the weakest woman should read the Gospel - should read the epistles of Paul, and I wish these were translated into all languages, so that they might be read and understood not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens. To make them understood is surely the first step. It may be that they may be ridiculed by many, but some would take them to heart. I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey."<sup>13</sup>

The importance of the Word in the service gave a marked

prominence to the reading of the scriptures and the ordinance of preaching. It is clear that the sermon was not seen as an occasional adjunct to the service. Without it other ordinances were incomplete: some of them hardly valid. "Neither judge we that the sacraments can be rightly ministered by him in whose mouth God hath put no sermon of exhortation," says the Book of Discipline; and one of the standing arguments against private communions at Baptism was that they were disconnected from the preaching of the Word. The sound of the evangel was all in all, even though the structure of the service was plainly sacramental, whether the actual sacrament itself was celebrated or not. The understanding seemed to be that there could be no sacrament without the operation of the divine Word, that Word which created the heavens and the earth. The Word spoken in lections and sermon was necessary for the explicit faith which was stressed in all the standard services of the Church.

The daily services of the first book show quite clearly the relationship of Word to prayer. This relationship is perhaps best seen in terms of a duet rather than a duel.<sup>14</sup> The people, as well as engaging in common prayer, received constant and regular instruction and exhortation out of the holy scriptures on week days and on Sundays alike. Although there was no lectionary provided in the Common Order, what was enjoined was tantamount to a lectionary, in that each book of scripture was to be begun and orderly read to the end, and the rule for the reader was to hold for the preacher. There was to be no "skipping and divagation from place to place of scripture, be it in reading or be it in preaching."<sup>15</sup>

The new emphasis on the Word, and on allowing in worship only that which was permitted in scripture, gave rise to two entirely different practices which seem odd to our modern way of doing things. In the matter of burials, both the 1564 book and the 1645 book are all but silent: the few sentences that occur in each do not permit any kind of service. On the other hand, the insistence on the primacy of the Word suggested that weddings should be conducted on Sundays only after sermon. How many wedding services nowadays

in the Church of Scotland have a sermon as the focal point of the service ?

## LITURGICAL

That the worship of the Church of Scotland has always been evangelical is obvious to all: that it has also been liturgical is perhaps not self-evident to some. It is pointed out that the service books of the Church have always allowed discretion, and that its provisions are not mandatory. It is of course true that none of the service books of the Church is a fixed and absolute formulary, but it is equally clear that from the beginning the books were intended to be more than mere directories. They do offer a standard of worship and provide models for services, but in the beginning they were not as permissive as is sometimes argued. To begin with, the liturgical principle itself was by no means alien to the thought of the early reformers. John Calvin so far from objecting to set forms, wrote:

*"I highly approve of it that there be a certain form from which the minister be not allowed to vary: that, first some provision be made to help the simplicity and unskilfulness of some; secondly, that the consent and harmony of the churches - one with another - may appear; and lastly, that the capricious giddiness and levity of such as affect innovations may be prevented, to which end I have showed that a Catechism will be very useful. Therefore there ought to be a stated Catechism, a stated form of prayer and administration of the sacraments".<sup>16</sup>*

It is equally clear that the Scottish reformers had few if any inhibitions about the use of a service book in worship. In the decade prior to the Reformation various forms of service were in use in Scotland including the Prayer Book of Edward VI, and the Genevan service book. Professor Donaldson has written that "There is no evidence that the idea of conducting worship without written or printed guidance had yet taken

root, and in any event the demand was for 'common prayers' in which the people would take part, with books in their hands, instead of being more or less passive while a service was conducted by a priest who alone had a book."<sup>17</sup> He concludes in another place that "It would seem that, even for ministers, the structure of the service, the substance of each part of it, and even the words of some of the prayers were intended to be invariable."<sup>18</sup> An entry in the Kirk Session Minute Book of Canongate Kirk confirms the view that in the early days of the Reformation ministers were unembarrassed about the use of a book in worship:

*"1556. May 5th. - The quhilk day the Communion wes ministrat according to the order, viz., ains at 4 houris in the morning, the uthair atnyne, and XI hundreth personis or thairby commoncattit, bayth the saidis services done be the minister self."*<sup>19</sup>

"According to the order" presumably means according to the Book of Common Order just then published. The fact that the book passed through 70 editions before it was displaced by the Westminster Directory in 1645 is clear evidence that the demand for it must have been both general and sustained, and that much use must have been made of it. Alexander Henderson writing in 1641 says of the use made by ministers of the Book of Common Order that "although they be not tied to set forms and words, yet are they not left at random, but for testifying their consent and keeping unity they have their directory and prescribed order. Nowhere hath preaching and the ministry more spiritual and less carnal liberty."<sup>20</sup> The reading of prayers was not then the objectionable thing it later became. Indeed in 1563 the Privy Council defined public worship as "The preaching of the word of God, ministrati<sup>o</sup>n of the sacraments and reading of the common prayers."<sup>21</sup> The early book was sometimes called a "Prayer Book"<sup>22</sup> and even the word "liturgy" was a word which held no terrors for the reformers, as Dr Maxwell has shown.<sup>23</sup>

It is also clear that while there was a certain discretion allowed to ministers (although perhaps no discretion at all allowed to readers), the fact that there were permissive rubrics for some of the services implies that where these permissive rubrics are absent in other services, these were

to be taken word for word as they stood: and it may well have been so. Whatever the precise use made by individual ministers of the Book of Common Order, there was a general reluctance to amend it in any way, almost as though the book itself was jealously guarded from any change. Dr Leishman tells us of a proposal to revise it in 1601, but the Assembly forbade all alterations, though it was ready to permit well considered additions.<sup>24</sup> At all events the name which the reformers gave their book, The Book of Common Order, indicates that they expected it to be generally adhered to, for an Order cannot be called Common<sup>25</sup> when everyone pleases himself whether he uses it or not. At the Reformation and afterwards the people of Scotland were not only the "people of the Book" in the sense that they sought to derive all their religion from the scriptures; but were manifestly also "the people of a book", in the sense that they used a service book at least as a norm in their public worship and as a model for the ordinances of religion.

From the beginning it seems that there was a balance between set forms and free prayers. But even the free prayers were not always extemporaneous. There is evidence that these were "conceived" or "composed" prayers, carefully prepared and written down and used for the occasion. In the specimen services for Holy Communion given by Alexander Henderson there are written prayers; and Principal Rollocks' prayers have survived in a written form from the 1590's.<sup>26</sup> The pattern of free prayers and set forms is one which developed over the centuries and is marked by successive service books of the Church. If there is today an emphasis on free prayers and experimental forms, it is perhaps right that we should remind ourselves of the tradition in which we stand, a tradition where the liturgical principle has been well observed.

## CATHOLIC

If the Church of Scotland liturgical tradition has been evangelical and liturgical it has also been catholic. It is well known that the structure of the early reformed services

for public worship are redolent of the classical liturgies and of the Roman Mass. The fact that in the Book of Common Order the intercessions are made after the sermon is no accident: this is the order of the normal eucharistic pattern. It is clear that the Sunday morning service was shaped by attitudes to the Lord's Supper. The reformers had aimed to restore Holy Communion as the service for every Lord's day: Calvin certainly regarded this as the ideal, and the Book of Common Order recommended a monthly observance as a minimum. Dr Donaldson has argued that the reformers were able to make clear where their ideals lay by the form and order of the service they provided.<sup>27</sup> Worship on Sunday morning included the first part of the communion service. The intercession after the sermon concluded with the Lord's Prayer, after which the Creed, a Psalm, and the Blessing followed. When the Lord's Supper was observed the elements were prepared and solemnly brought to the Table while a Psalm was sung after the saying of the Apostles' Creed. The words of institution followed and the service proceeded as set out in the Order. From this order of service, and from the corresponding description in the Book of Discipline it is clear that the Scots had firmly grasped the "four action shape" of the liturgy, and were engaged in what was recognizably catholic practice.<sup>28</sup>

But if the structure of the service were catholic, the doctrine that lay behind the service was equally catholic. The reformers had no doubt about a Real Presence in the sacrament. "We utterly damn", they wrote, "the vanity of those that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs ... In the supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that he becomes the very nourishment and food of our souls ... The faithful in the right use of Lord's Table, so do eat the body and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them and they in him."<sup>29</sup> This high doctrine of the sacrament is continued and developed in the 1645 book and in the successive Books of Common Order.

The Scottish view of the ministry was equally high, and indeed as high as anything found in any other formulary, if not actually higher. An impressive instance of ministerial powers

is to be found in the Form of Absolution in the Book of Common Order. Dr McMillan has argued that "not one of the forms of Public Absolution used in the contemporary book of the Church of England allows such a power to the Priest as the Minister here claimed for himself."<sup>30</sup>

After an excommunicated person had appeared before the Session "and given satisfaction as they think most expedient," on a given day the Elders were to bring him to "a certain place appointed for penitents." The Ministers addressed the penitent and required "his peculiar confession" for every one of the faults for which he had been excommunicated. The "Prayers appointed to be said on the receiving of the penitent" were "to be said here also", the penitent admonished, and the "Prayer containing his receiving to the church" followed. Then the Absolution was pronounced in these words:

*"In the name and authority of Jesus Christ, I, the minister of His blessed Evangel, with consent of the whole Ministry and Church, absolve thee, N., from the sentence of Excommunication, from the sin by thee committed, and from all censures laid against thee for the same before, according to thy repentance; and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in heaven, and thee to be received again to the society of Jesus Christ, to His body the Church, to the participation of His sacraments, and, finally, to the fruition of all His benefits: In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. So be it."*<sup>31</sup>

This high power of the ministry was claimed not only on fairly rare occasions, as when an excommunicated person was received again to the society of the church, but was invoked at the more frequent and more normal Order of Public Repentance. When the penitent affirmed his willingness to be subject to the discipline of the Church, "the Minister shall say in manner of absolution: 'If thou unfeignedly repent thy former iniquity, and believe in the Lord Jesus, then I, in His name, pronounce and affirm that thy sins are forgiven, not only on earth, but also in heaven, according to the promises annexed with the preaching of His Word, and to claim the power put in the Ministry of His Church'."<sup>32</sup> This claim as a right of the ministerial office to declare sins remitted both in

heaven and on earth is scarcely made so forcibly in other service books.

The sitting around the communion table and the passing of the elements from hand to hand, in particular the sharing of the common cup, is also suggestive of catholic practice. It had been the pre-Reformation custom in many places in Scotland that, after the Agnus Dei, a small object called the "pax" or "pax board" was passed among the people and kissed by everyone as a way of sharing a kiss of peace. The pax board was itself abolished at the Reformation; but the readiness with which the people took up the sharing of the common cup may have been due in part to the fact that in passing it from hand to hand, and raising it to the lips, they were repeating a practice with which they were perfectly familiar. It is interesting to note that in the Dominican rite the pax board is still used at this point in the Communion.<sup>33</sup>

Evidence of further catholic practice may of course be seen in the Great Entrance, when the elements of bread and wine are brought in for the communion and laid on the table, reflecting a practice common in the Orthodox churches; and in the Little Entrance where The Bible is brought in and laid on the lectern. This solemn bringing in of the Book may well go back to the earliest days of Eastern Christianity where the Gospel book was "regarded as representing Our Lord himself and the ceremonies surrounding its use are of great antiquity."<sup>34</sup> Or it may be traced to a custom described by Dr McMillan which goes back to pre-Christian days in Rome when the Prefects for the city entered their courts and the Liber Mandatorum or book of the Emperor's decrees was carried before them. In the days of Constantine when the Church took over many of the Basilicas or Courts and converted them into places of worship they also took over some of the civil ceremonial. The bishop's throne replaced a curule chair in the centre of the apse and when he entered the church in solemn procession he was preceded by one carrying the book of the gospels which was laid before him on the Holy Table just as the Liber Mandatorum<sup>35</sup> had been carried in place before the Prefect.

Whatever the source of this custom of the Little Entrance, it is odd that it is objected to by many as being "too ritualistic", and yet these same people may see no harm in, or have any objection to, standing at the entrance of the haggis at a Burns' Supper !

Speaking of catholic practice, is it too far-fetched to suggest that in at least two of what came to be thought of as distinctively Presbyterian practices there are echoes of old catholic practices ? I refer to the reader's service on the one hand and to the custom of the communion season on the other. The reader's service of the Book of Common Order is essentially a service of lessons and liturgy or readings and prayers. This is itself characteristically the substance of the old Offices or Hours when the psalms were read and prayers said. This daily office carried over into the reformed Church of Scotland in the form of the reader's service which was meant everywhere to be attended by everybody in the parish church. So far as the great communion seasons are concerned, there is more than an echo in them of the old catholic practice of going to confession and engaging in the penitential rite before the annual Easter communion. No provision is made in the service books of the Church for what came to be a protracted and intense preparatory season for communion, beginning on the Thursday with fast day, continuing on the Friday with the question day and the Saturday with the day of preparation, and concluding after the sacrament on the Sunday with thanksgiving day on Monday. The only suggestion of a preparatory service in the earliest days is a reference in the Session Minute Book of Canongate Kirk of an exhortation to be made on the Saturday afternoon before communion in 1566, and there are references<sup>36</sup> to the preparation sermon at intervals from that time onwards.

We have seen that officially the Christian Year was abandoned by the Church of Scotland at the time of the Reformation but there is widespread evidence that<sup>37</sup> the chief dominical feasts were still kept in many places. We have noticed that the calendar continued to be printed in successive editions in the Book of Common Order. The churches also were on occasion decorated with flowers; and with velvet, damask or brocade

hangings, though the changing of colours to accord with the seasons of the Christian Year, was abandoned because the year itself was not generally observed. There never was a fixed and absolute scheme of colours in pre-Reformation days.

Catholic practices, catholic doctrine and catholic devotion have always played their part in Church of Scotland worship. By becoming Reformed, and later Presbyterian, Scottish Christians did not cease to be catholic, but rather took with them the best of the catholic tradition that they had experienced. It would be a pity were that catholic tradition in our worship to be diminished in our day.

## CONCLUSION

Time has failed me to tell of music in worship and the place of psalms and hymns in our tradition; or to speak of the use of The Creed and of The Lord's Prayer and of the Doxology and of all the battles that have raged around this subject through the generations; or to investigate postures in worship and particularly of the Scottish practice of kneeling at prayer in church until well into the 17th century; or to speak of such things as clerical dress or church furniture or the setting of worship. There has been no time to speak of the influence of early Celtic Christianity, or of the borrowings that have been made from the Eastern and Orthodox Churches in our rituals and in our doctrine. What I hope I have exposed is a rich vein of diversity and delight, of flexibility and inflexibility, of change and growth in worship as it has been practised in Scotland since the Reformation.

I have to conclude now and I do so with a quotation from the last paragraph of the book edited by Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray, where Professor Forrester says "Change in worship is inevitable in the Church of Scotland. The important questions for the future are about the kind of change, and the pace of change, and the handling of change. For change is a matter as important as worship is always disturbing and must be introduced with great sensitivity,



- see:
- 7 Cheyne, AC The Transformation of the Kirk. The  
Saint Andrew Press, 1983. p 89
- 7 Leishman, T The Church of Scotland - Past and  
Present (Edited by RH Story) Vol V  
The Ritual of the Church of Scotland  
William McKay, London. p 381
- 8 Cheyne, AC Op cit p 78
- 9 Leishman, T Editor The Westminster Directory.  
Church Service Society, published by  
William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh,  
1891. p 19
- 10 Leishman, T The Church of Scotland Past and  
Present (Edited by RH Story) Vol V  
The Ritual of the Church of Scotland  
William McKay, London. p 327
- 11 Cheyne, AC Op cit pp 80 - 81
- 12 Donaldson, G Studies in the History of Worship in  
Scotland (Edited by D Forrester and  
D Murray). T & T Clark Ltd, Edinburgh,  
1984. pp 37 - 38
- 13 Quoted in:  
Hackett, F Henry VIII. The Reprint Society Ltd  
(Jonathan Cape), 1946. p 115
- 14 Keir, TH Word in Worship. Oxford University  
Press, 1962. p 35
- 15 First Book of Discipline Chapter IX,  
Paragraph 6.
- 16 Leishmann, T Op cit p 328
- 17 Donaldson, G Op cit p 34
- 18 Donaldson, G The Making of the Scottish Prayer  
Book of 1637. Edinburgh University  
Press, 1954. p 14
- 19 Quoted in Lectures on the History of  
the Church of Scotland by John Lee.  
William Blackwood and Sons,  
Edinburgh, 1860. Vol I. p 395.
- 20 Cheyne, AC Op cit p 73
- 21 Reg. The Privy Council Scot. i. p 247
- 22 Donaldson, G Op cit p 14

- 23 Maxwell,WD A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland. Oxford University Press, 1955. p 49
- 24 Leishman,T Op cit p 364
- 25 McMillan,W The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church 1550 - 1638. The Lassodie Press, Dunfermline, 1931. p 65
- 26 Leishman,T Op cit p 334 & Maxwell,WD Op cit p 68
- 27 Donaldson,G Op cit p 16
- 28 Donaldson,G Ibid p 16
- 29 The Scots Confession 1560 Chapter xxi
- 30 McMillan,W Op cit p 228
- 31 The Book of Common Order (Edited by GW Sprott). William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1868. p 69
- 32 McMillan,W Ibid p 51
- 33 Grant,A Independence and Nationhood, Scotland 1306 - 1469. A New History of Scotland. Edward Arnold, 1984. pp 109 and 116-118
- 34 Underhill,E Worship Nisbet & Co Ltd,1937. p 131
- 35 McMillan,W Op cit p 125
- 36 Leishman,T Op cit p 342
- 37 Maxwell,WD Op cit p 66
- 38 Forrester,D Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland. (Edited by D Forrester and D Murray). T & T Clark Ltd, Edinburgh, 1984. p 169.