SIDELIGHTS ON SCOTTISH HISTORY

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BY

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I.

WHEN EDINBURGH WAS CATHOLIC.

IT is interesting to travel back in spirit to past ages and try to realise what life was like amid circumstances now entirely changed, and not likely to live again in our days—to those ages when the Church, Catholic and Roman, was recognised as supreme spiritual authority by all, however neglectful some may have been in observing its precepts. Should it have no other beneficial result, such a review cannot fail to impress the fact that Scottish men and women at that period considered religion to be—as it truly is—the most important factor of man's daily life. It is proposed to make such an investigation as regards the capital of Scotland, taking as our point of view the latter part of the fifteenth and earlier half of the sixteenth centuries.

Edinburgh, at that date, differed greatly from the city as we know it now; in some respects it was greatly inferior, but in others—as a Catholic estimates things—it far surpassed the modern city. It was much less in size, in the first place; so much so that it appears at first sight as almost insignificant.

In its earliest days, the town centred round the Castle; a few streets branched off, in course of time, from this centre towards south and east. Southwards lay the Grassmarket and the Cowgate;

Castle Hill led eastward to the Lawnmarket and through High Street to Canongate. These main streets and open spaces, connected by many branching closes and wynds, had come into existence gradually during the passing of centuries; but they comprised the whole city as it existed in the late fifteenth century.

From a very early period a protecting wall ran round that portion lying near the Castle, whose northern, western and southern sides were inaccessible by reason of its position on a rocky spur. The city wall was further extended during the reign of James II. so as to include the additions made to the primitive town up to that period. This wall seems to have enclosed Castle Hill, Lawnmarket, High Street, and their respective closes. After the dire disaster of Flodden Field, it appeared desirable to bring within the fortified area the houses built during the previous century. This was accordingly done, but so hurriedly was it accomplished that the result was not an entire success, regarded as masons' work.

Entrance was gained to the inclosed city by numerous gates. And here it is well to avoid ambiguity by a word in explanation of the designation given to certain quarters of old Scottish towns. In Edinburgh are examples: we find "Cowgate" and "Canongate." In such cases the suffix signifies the old term — often spelled "gait"—used to designate "way." A time-worn saying has it: "Gang y'r gait"; it is, of course, equivalent to "Go y'r way!", or "Get ye gone!" The word "port," derived from the Latin *porta* (a gate), was used to denote the various entrances to a city. In Edinburgh the chief of these was the West Port on

the south-west of Grassmarket; it communicated with the principal roads leading to various parts of the kingdom, and was approached by a road on the north, in the line of the present Princes Street. Through this many a monarch made his approach in state. Netherbow Port divided High Street from Canongate; Cowgate, Leith Wynd and St. Mary's Wynd Ports stood in those respective localities; Bristo (or Grey Friars') and Potterrow Ports were other entrance gates.

To take a brief survey of the streets:—Lawnmarket gained its title from the stalls or booths set up there on market days for the sale of linen goods. From thence a curiously crooked and steep lane, known as West Bow (supplanted in modern days by Victoria Street), led to the Grassmarket, devoted, as its name implies, to the sale of hay and corn, and to the West Port. From Grassmarket, Cowgate opened out; its title suggests pastoral surroundings, and in the sixteenth century it was a wide road, bordered by grass and shady trees, with a clear stream running through it. This, from the days of James III., was the aristocratic quarter in which stood the mansions of the rich and great; Archbishop Beaton (of Glasgow), when Lord High Treasurer, had a splendid residence here; so also had the Earl of Haddington, styled by James VI. "Tam o' the Cowgate." From the upper level of the Lawnmarket, High Street stretched eastward to meet Canongate; innumerable wynds and closes, branching out southwards, connected the parallel streets.

A traveller who visited Edinburgh in the closing years of the sixteenth century has left a description of the city which was probably an accurate enough

picture of it nearly a century earlier. He speaks of the route from the castle to Canongate and Holyrood as a "broad and very fair street, which is the greatest and sole ornament" of the city. "The houses are built of unpolished stone," he says, "and in the fair street, good part of them is of freestone."[1] These he describes as "faced with wooden galleries, built upon the second storey of the houses," and this feature he praises highly, since it afforded the residents "a fair and pleasant prospect." The group of buildings which then encroached upon High Street near St. Giles' seems to have added picturesqueness to the distant view. It is noteworthy that a later writer (in 1636) criticises the wooden balconies as tending to "much blemish" the street, "and derogate from its glory and beauty.[2] The wooden structures in question were greatly encouraged by the municipal authorities of the time as a means of disposing of the overgrowth of trees on the Boroughmuir.

There were certainly other features which must have helped to "blemish" the city at the period of which we are speaking. Roads were entirely unpaved, and for the most part extraordinarily defiled with filth of every kind. Many of the houses, too, were merely thatched; it was a century later that an Act of Parliament ordered all dwellings to be covered with "slates, lead, tyles or thackestone"—evidently as a preventive of destruction by fire. Far from satisfactory, too, were the arrangements for lighting up the streets; a few flickering oil lamps hung from poles here and there, but they

[1] Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Fynes Morrison).
[2] *Ibid.* (Brereton).

were extinguished by "nine of the clock"—an hour when respectable persons were supposed to remain within doors.

Churches.

St. Cuthbert's.—Catholic Edinburgh, as might be expected, was wonderfully rich in places of worship. The most ancient of the city churches seems to have been that dedicated in honour of St. Cuthbert. It was a large cruciform building, and stood not far from the castle, on its northern side, for it is alluded to in documents as being situated *sub castro.* (Its site is probably occupied now by the comparatively modern West Church.) St. Cuthbert's was possessed of considerable revenues; it ranked at one time as the richest in Scotland with the exception of that of Dunbar. It had many clergy and chaplains attached to it, since it had many dependent chapels in various quarters of the town and neighbourhood, and there were numerous altars in the church itself; of the latter we have record of those dedicated to the Holy Trinity and to St. Anne. Outside chapels were those of St. Mary in Leith Wynd; St. John's and St. Roch's on the Boroughmuir; and others at Liberton, Corstorphine and Newhaven. In the twelfth century King David I. gave over this opulent church with all its possessions—including tithes of fishings on the Forth—to form part of the endowment of his new foundation at Holyrood. Thus, in spite of its ancient prestige, St. Cuthbert's ceased to be so prominent a feature of ecclesiastical life in Edinburgh as it had once been.

St. Giles'.—Though almost equally ancient in

origin, St. Giles' ranked as less important than St. Cuthbert's in the early history of the burgh. This may have been owing to the sparser population in its neighburhood, for, in its primitive condition, Edinburgh was but a hamlet clustered round the castle. With the further growth of the town St. Giles' increased in importance, and finally surpassed in dignity the older church and parish of St. Cuthbert's, now reduced to the status of an appanage of Holyrood Abbey.

In its early state St. Giles' was but a small building containing three altars. In the frequent wars with England during the struggle for Scottish independence, the church suffered greatly. When Richard II.'s army penetrated to Edinburgh in 1385, the whole town was given to the flames, and St. Giles' shared the same fate. The town was speedily rebuilt after the fire, and a far more spacious and beautiful parish church was commenced. For a century and a half, at least, additions in the shape of chapels and aisles continued to be made, and the adornment of the building had not ceased by the middle of the sixteenth century.

In 1467 St. Giles' acquired an increase of dignity by being constituted by a Bull of Pope Paul II. a collegiate church; the privilege was granted in answer to a petition of the diocesan at the instigation of James III. Henceforth a larger body of clergy was requisite, as in addition to the ordinary Masses and other services, the solemn and public celebration of the Divine Office by provost and canons became a perpetual obligation. From that period until the Reformation swept away everything Catholic, the

daily chanting of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext and None—during the morning hours—and of Vespers and Compline at eventide formed part of the orderly and devout worship paid to God in that beautiful church.

A visitor to St. Giles' in the middle ages, after the completion of its main fabric and more important chapels, would find there something far different from the rather cold and gloomy aspect the building now wears, in spite of the work of restoration which banished some of the unseemly results of its desecration three centuries ago. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the parish church, of which the citizens of Edinburgh were justly proud, was a truly magnificent building. Its many fine chapels, erected at various times, the numerous altars with their costly fittings, and the general condition of the church itself, witnessed to the lavish generosity of monarchs, nobles and burghers towards perfecting the glory and beauty of the House of God.

The worship paid there, too, was worthy of the noble surroundings. In the choir the Divine Office was daily celebrated at the appointed hours, and the solemn Mass offered, in presence of all the canons, with varying degree of ceremonial observance in accordance with the varying grade of season and festival. In addition to the High Mass, another (probably sung also, as was the custom in most collegiate churches) would be offered at an earlier hour in honour of the Blessed Virgin—popularly styled the "Mary Mass."

Since there were at least fifty altars in the church, and Mass was offered at many of them daily, in accordance with the charter of foundation of various

chaplaincies, the number of priests must have been very great. The canons numbered fourteen; together with their superior, known as "provost," the officials—such as sacrist, director of the singing, vicars of choir—and chorister boys, they were responsible for all choir offices. For the altars in the church additional chaplains were necessary.

The deed by which a certain priest named Alexander Hunby bound himself in 1447 to fulfil his duties, when acccepting from the provost and council of the city one of these chaplaincies, will illustrate this point. He undertakes "daily to say Mass at the said altar, for the prosperity of our sovereign lord the king, for the souls of his predecessors and successors, and for the prosperity of the said provost, dean, bailies, council and community, and for their predecessors and successors, and for the souls of them that have given any annual rents to the upholding of the said service." He promises "to be present with surplice on week days at High Mass and evensong," and to observe all the statutes of the "said kirk."[1]

Other deeds throw more light upon the subject Andrew Mowbray, when granting certain houses and lands in 1494 to endow a chaplaincy at St. Ninian's Altar, stipulates for a Mass to be sung by the chaplain on each anniversary of his death, with the assistance of sixteen other chaplains of the church, for each of whom he provides a suitable stipend. Twenty other priests are to say private Masses for his soul on the same day, and he provides generously for every requisite—bread, wine, wax candles, the tolling of the bell, etc. Everyone

[1] Cameron Lees, p. 30.

concerned in the celebration was to receive fitting remuneration. Other benefactors made the like provisions.[1]

Another fact indicates that the clergy were very numerous. The tradesmen of Edinburgh, like those of all the larger towns, had formed themselves into corporations called guilds ; these bodies became in course of time not only extremely wealthy, but an important factor also in social life. Each guild, besides protecting the interests of its own special craft, had at heart the temporal and spiritual welfare of its members ; provision for sickness, old age and other contingencies was supplemented by an equally generous bounty towards the needs of the soul, both during life and after death. Thus it came about that each of the Edinburgh guilds, as time went on, undertook to support a priest as their chaplain, who should say Mass at regular times at one of the altars in the parish church—the guild supplying all necessary expenses for the upkeep and adornment of the altar in question. We gather from records that the tanners had St. Christopher's Altar; surgeons and barbers, St. Mungo's ; tailors, St. Anne's ; candlemakers, that of Our Lady of Pity, etc. Considering such foundations, together with many others made during the course of centuries, Maitland, the historian of Edinburgh, has computed the number of such bequests at about a thousand, at least. The opinion which estimates the number of clergy attached to St. Giles' in that church's palmy days as little less than a hundred, seems in the light of the evidence given above quite reasonable.

[1] Cameron Lees, p. 50.

It goes without saying that the services were distinguished by beautiful and stately ceremonial. The records, which speak of church plate, vestments and furniture, show that in all such things the church was exceedingly rich.

The municipal authorities gloried in continually disbursing large sums of money towards the adornment of the fabric. Thus when William of Preston brought from France, by favour of Charles VII., the arm-bone of St. Giles, and presented it to the Parish Church, the town undertook in 1454 to build a chapel in memory of the donor, to the south of the choir—known ever since as the "Preston Aisle"—and to provide for the offering of certain Masses to be said there for his benefit. A precious reliquary, set with costly jewels, was procured at the same time for enshrining the relic. The patronal festival was henceforth kept with redoubled splendour. The church was decorated with flowers and green boughs at the expense of the burgh, and a procession took place all round the city in which the richly vested statue of St. Giles was borne in state.

Frequent visits of royal personages to the church added to its renown. Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II., did much towards the adornment of the building in memory of her husband. James III. often heard Mass there. His son, James IV., was a still more frequent worshipper in St Giles' and a generous benefactor.

Despite its interior beauty, the surroundings of the church without left much to be desired. On the south side lay the common burying place of the city, stretching down to the lower level of the Cow-

gate. The manses of Provost and Canons were probably grouped east and west. But it was on the north side that St. Giles' appeared to least advantage. A row of lofty houses, with a clustering array of shops and tenements of a squalid description, encroached upon the building and well nigh hid it from view. The ordinary approach to the church was through a lane from High Street to the north porch, since removed. A dark and narrow alley—often described as filthy in the extreme—ran along the north wall to some steps at the north-east corner of the church, known as "Our Lady's Steps" from a statue of the Blessed Virgin hard by. From its disgraceful state, the alley acquired the title of the "stinking style." Dunbar, in his satire addressed to the "Merchantis of Edinburgh," stigmatises this and other nuisances as follows :

> Your stinkand style that standis dirk
> Halding the lycht fræ your Parroche Kirk,
> Lyk na countray bot heir at hame ;
> Think ye nocht shame,
> So litill polesie to work
> In hurt and sklander of your name !
>
> At your hie Croce, quhair gold and silk
> Sould be, thair is bot crudis [1] and milk,
> And at your Tronk but cokill [2] and wilk
> Pansches,[3] pudingis of Jok and Jame.
> Tailyouris, souteris, and craftis vyle,
> The fairest of your streetis dois fyle ;
> And merchants at the stinkand style
> Are hamperit in ane honey-came.[4]

Sir Daniel Wilson has left on record that this was a picture of what was little less characteristic of

[1] Curds. [2] Cockles. [3] Tripe.
[4] Wilson, Vol. I., p. 339.

Edinburgh three centuries later—lofty stone tenements, cumbered with fore-stairs, and dark with timber-fronted galleries. As to the dark lane in question, the scene of more than one murder—"the unsavoury alley which formed the approach through hampering crames and luckenbooths to the Parish Church . . . continued to merit its opprobrious designation till swept away" in the nineteenth century.[1]

The Mercat Cross, referred to by Dunbar as degraded by the sale of country produce, stood close to the east end of the church in those days; on great occasions it was draped and garlanded. But it was the scene of less joyful ceremonies when, on a scaffold hard by, criminals were executed.

We must now pass on to consider some of the other ecclesiastical buildings of Edinburgh.

Religious Houses.

Holyrood.—The most wealthy and important of the monastic establishments of the city was the royal abbey of Holyrood. It was founded by David I. about 1128 for Canons Regular of St. Augustine, popularly styled Austin, or Black Canons—the latter designation referring to the black choir cloak worn over their white habit. The community was formed of members brought from St. Andrews, where the canons, who had a large and flourishing monastery, formed the chapter of the diocese. The Edinburgh house seems to have been primarily dedicated to St. Mary, St. Andrew and All Saints, but it was early known as Holyrood Abbey, from the relic of the True Cross preserved there. This

[1] Wilson, *loc cit.*

relic, styled the "Black Rood" from the ebony and gold reliquary in which it was enshrined, had been brought by St. Margaret from Waltham Abbey, and was her choicest treasure; she bequeathed it to her son David, who gave it to Holyrood. The relic was seized by the English in the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, and, although placed in Durham Cathedral, disappeared at the time of the Reformation.

Holyrood Abbey Church in the sixteenth century was of considerable size. Though a mere abbey, it was as large as some of the smaller cathedrals of England when it had been rebuilt after the fire of Edinburgh in 1385. It was a cruciform church of much beauty; it had two western towers and a great central tower at the junction of nave and transepts. Among its many altars were those in chapels dedicated to St. Andrew, St. Stephen, St. Anne, St. Catherine, SS. Crispin and Crispinian, and others. In church vestments and plate this house was exceedingly rich; at the end of the fifteenth century it possessed more than fifty copes, besides other vestments. In the solid brass font many royal children were baptised.

The monastic buildings stood south of the church. They were of sufficient capacity to serve as a frequent residence for various monarchs, and the site of parliamentary assemblies. Two of the sons of James I. were born at Holyrood; one of them, afterwards James II., was also crowned, married and buried in the church. James III., James IV., Mary Stuart, and James VI. were all married there, and in its vaults were laid to rest James V. and his wife, Queen Magdalene, as well as other royal

personages. It was to a palace, built apart from the house of the canons to form a royal residence, that James IV. conducted his young bride, Margaret Tudor, previous to their marriage.

The burgh of Canongate (named after the canons) was ruled by the Abbey, whose community enjoyed extensive privileges in trading and shipping. The Abbey precincts were recognised as a "sanctuary"; fugitives from justice, or persons escaping from persecution, might not be molested as long as they claimed there the Church's protection. The "Girth Cross," at the foot of Canongate, marked one of the boundaries of this sanctuary. Under the rule of the canons, and with the continued favour of Scottish sovereigns, the ecclesiastical burgh gradually pushed its way westward to meet at Netherbow Port the eastern limit of the city proper.

Black-Friars.—A monastery for Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, was founded in Edinburgh by King Alexander II. in 1230. The King is said to have met St. Dominic, their founder, in Paris, and to have besought the saint to send some of his friars to Scotland. Alexander founded as many as eight houses of the Order in his kingdom.

The site of the Edinburgh monastery at the south end of the present Blackfriars Street, is styled in the foundation charter "Mansio Regis"; this seems to indicate the gift of one of the royal residences for the purpose, though the title may have come from the frequent visits of the sovereign to that monastery. The house had extensive gardens and pleasure grounds reaching to Cowgate, the Pleasance and Potterrow. The lane near the

monastery acquired the name of Blackfriars' Wynd, and together with the Vennel, which crossed it, was the property of the friars. The church (situated east of the present University) was large and stately, of cruciform shape, with central tower and spire. It was spacious enough to serve as a place of assembly for the Provincial Council of the clergy in 1549. Though burned in 1528, it was restored later. Monarchs and nobles were generous in bestowing lands and houses for the sustentation of church and monastery throughout the ages. It is evidence of the zeal of the friars for Catholicism that Knox abused them so roundly: "Black Friars!" he exclaimed, "Black Fiends!"

Grey Friars.—The Franciscans came to Edinburgh at a later date. James I. built for them a house and church south of the Grassmarket. (Their extensive gardens were formed into Grey Friars' Churchyard later.) The friars considered the buildings too magnificent for sons of the poor and humble Francis, but they were induced to accept them and entered into possession about the year 1446. Six friars went from this house about 1449 to make a foundation in Glasgow.

Carmelites.—Before the early part of the sixteenth century the White Friars had no convent in Edinburgh. In 1526, under the auspices of the provost of the burgh, the monastery of Holy Cross was founded at Greenside, at the foot of Calton Hill. Here for a few years the friars lived their life of prayer and mortification, until the Reformation banished them. St. Teresa's reform of the Order of Carmel had not yet been set on foot; the

Edinburgh friars would no doubt devote themselves to a more ornate rendering of the offices prescribed in the time-honoured breviary of their Order than that reform permitted, and thus attract the Catholics of the city to their church. The establishment seems never to have been other than small.

Houses of Nuns.—There were fewer houses for religious women in Edinburgh than might have been expected. St. Mary's Wynd (now St. Mary's Street) took its name from a monastery founded there in the twelfth century for Cistercian nuns. Near the city wall, in the district known as the Pleasance, was a convent of Carmelites also designated St. Mary's. Lady St. Clair of Roslin, Countess of Caithness, assisted with others in the foundation of a house of Dominicans on the Boroughmuir in the fifteenth century. It was dedicated to St. Catherine of Siena, and that quarter of the city acquired the title of Sheens (or Sciennes)—a corrupted form of the patron's name. Lady Jane Seton, one of the founders, lived in the convent for forty-five years after her widowhood. These nuns bore an unblemished reputation, even among the promotors of the Reformation, for purity and austerity of life.

Collegiate Churches.—Besides St. Giles', Catholic Edinburgh possessed other churches of a like nature. A collegiate church was situated at the foot of Leith Wynd, and was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The royal foundress, Mary of Gueldres, did not live to see the work completed, since she died in 1463, the year following the foundation. The building was never entirely finished; the choir

with aisles, fifty-two feet in length, and short transepts, gave promise of an exceedingly fine church, which would have proved one of the city's architectural gems. Although attempts were made to go on with the building, nothing was really accomplished after the death of the Queen. The collegiate body consisted of a provost and eight canons. The foundress required each of the clergy to repair to her tomb daily after saying Mass, and to recite there, still clad in his vestments, the psalm *de profundis* for her soul's rest. In addition to their choir duties, the canons had charge of an hospital near by, in which thirteen poor persons were sheltered.

St. Mary's, "Kirk o' Field," was another collegiate foundation. It stood on the site later occupied by the University buildings in South Bridge and Drummond Street. The founder is not known, The church was of considerable size, of cruciform shape, and with a lofty central tower. Ten canons, under a provost, served it. A hospital for poor men formed part of the establishment.

Hospitals.

The city was particularly rich in institutions for the benefit of the poor and sick ; the fact is evidence of the spirit of Christian charity which reigned there in Catholic ages. Some hospitals have been referred to already, but we must note others.

An ancient *Maison Dieu* which stood in the neighbourhood of Grey Friars was restored by James V., who gave it the name of Magdalene's Hospital. It received later bequests for the housing of seven bedesmen and the support of a chaplain.

A chapel formed part of the buildings. At the head of Bell's Wynd there was another hospital and chapel; its founder is not known. Another of like nature stood in St. Mary's Wynd. In Leith Wynd was Our Lady's Hospital, founded by Bishop Spence of Aberdeen in 1479, for the benefit of twelve poor men. On the road to Dalkeith stood a like institution, which Robert Ballantyne, one of the Abbots of Holyrood, built to accommodate seven poor folk, under the care of a master. Another hospital and chapel in the city was dedicated to St. Paul. Near Salisbury Crags was St. Leonard's Hospital for the poor and infirm.

The munificent provision for the needy made by Bishop Crichton of Dunkeld in the foundation of St. Thomas' Hospital, situated in the Canongate, was of later date than the above. Yet the spirit of its statutes, reproducing, no doubt, the feeling which animated earlier founders, must not be overlooked. One of its rules was that the inmates should rise daily at eight o'clock. This seems scarcely worthy of mention, did we not consider that eight o'clock would be quite a late hour at that period. This one fact is an illustration of the merciful indulgence always extended by our Catholic forefathers to such poor worn-out pensioners.

Various Chapels.

We have already made allusion to many chapels attached to larger churches or various institutions, but some others remain to be noticed.

From an early period a chapel existed in the precincts of Edinburgh Castle, and tradition linked

with it the name of St. Margaret. The holy queen had lived much there and died in the castle, and the dedication of a chapel to her memory was to be expected. The small Norman building stood at the highest part of the castle rock. Charters of various sovereigns record benefactions made to it at various times. A larger building—St. Mary's—stood in the Castle precincts.

A chapel dedicated to St. Antony, with a hermitage attached, stood on the declivity of Arthur's Seat.

On the light of the evidence here adduced it cannot be denied that Edinburgh in the days we are reviewing was extraordinarily well supplied with churches and priests. Yet all this provision was made for a population of not more than twenty thousand—the estimated number of Catholics alone in the city to-day! Recalling the large number of clergy serving St. Giles', the communities of Holyrood, and of the monasteries, of White, Black and Grey Friars, besides the many other priests of the city, we are lost in admiration of the wonderful spiritual advantages possessed by the people in pre-Reformation days. And from the glimpses obtained from some of the ecclesiastical records, we must admit that the people, as a whole, were warmly appreciative.

A Joyous City.

It is not from the point of view of religion alone that we must pursue our investigations regarding Catholic Edinburgh. For religion, though it should of right dominate man's daily life, never has or will exclude his participation in the social life of his fellows. Yet in our endeavour to form an idea of

daily life in Edinburgh in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we need not attempt to exclude religion, for, as is always the case where Catholicism is in question, it formed an integral part of the daily round of every God-fearing citizen, and could not be wholly ignored by the ungodly.

The prominent characteristic of a truly Catholic people is joyousness ; for the Catholic religion tends to joy of life. This the Catholic Dunbar, styled "the chief of the ancient Scottish poets," seems to emphasize in the poem he wrote welcoming Queen Margaret Tudor to Aberdeen in 1511. The burden of his song ran :

Be blyth and blissfull, Burgh of Aberdeen!

He may indeed have been alluding to a well-known feature of that Catholic city; since the Catholic Church has ever favoured that spirit of innocent mirth and merriment which Puritanism, with its chilling doctrines, has always discouraged. To this fact a Protestant writer has borne witness in no measured terms. "The popular pleasures," says Andrew Lang, speaking of post-Reformation times, "which the ancient faith had patronised were abolished. From a holiday and feast, Sunday was turned into a lugubrious penance."[1]

We may take it for granted that Edinburgh was capable of a spirit no less "blyth and blisfull" than that of the granite city. For it was in the very centre of the national life of the period. Assuredly it had many motives for joyousness, despite the troubles which must inevitably affect from time to time both social and family life.

[1] *History of Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 422.

The Presence of Royalty.

The predilection of so many of the Scottish kings for Edinburgh must have wonderfully increased the welfare of the people, and added greatly to their joy and contentment. But more than that: it provided a continual source of pleasure in the frequent public display of the splendour and dignity which in those days, far more than in our own, were the inseparable accompaniments of royalty. We have but to glance at the events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to realise this.

To pass over such comparatively ordinary matters as the long-continued residence of monarchs in the castle at various times; the meeting of Parliaments, presided over by the king in person; the attendance of the sovereign at public worship in the churches, and the like: what interest and excitement must have attached to some of the great events which took place from time to time!

We may picture to ourselves the enthusiasm of the day which saw the landing at Leith of Mary of Gueldres, the chosen bride of the eighteen-year-old James II. With what joy would the populace welcome their future queen, as she rode pillionwise on horseback, behind the Count de Vere, followed by a numerous suite, through the West Port to the Grey Friars' monastery, where lodgings had been provided for them! How much greater the joy when a few days later the royal bride was taken in solemn procession, amid the acclamations of the people, down the broad way of High Street and Canongate for the double ceremony of her marriage and crowning at Holyrood Abbey, with all available splendour!

Or to take an even more joyous occasion, the reception of the little fourteen-year-old princess, Margaret Tudor, in 1503, the chosen bride of James IV. We have a graphic account of all the circumstances attending it; for Young—Somerset Herald—was in her train of attendants, and although his gossiping narrative is too tedious for consecutive reading, it supplies many details which afford a wonderfully clear picture of the manners and customs of the age.

James had welcomed his bride at Dalkeith on her arrival there. Her solemn entry into the capital was fixed to take place on August 7th. The previous days, therefore, were filled with unusual bustle and excitement in the preparations for an event so important. The whole city was astir at an early hour on the appointed day; citizens in festal array filled the streets; sight-seers from the country poured in too. At the West Port the throng was greatest, for there the procession was to enter.

The king had ridden out to meet the princess and her company at an earlier hour, in all the bravery of a jacket of cloth of gold and violet velvet, scarlet hose and golden spurs. A mile from the city, the princess left her litter and was assisted to mount to the pillion-saddle behind the king, and thus they rode on towards the city gate. At the West Port a pageant had been prepared, damsels vested as angels sang joyously, and another such angel, flying down from above the gateway, presented the keys of the city to the bride. Riding through the archway into the Grassmarket, the procession encountered the community of Grey Friars

with cross and relics for the veneration of the royal pair. The clergy of the Parish Church then presented the great relic of the city, the armbone of St. Giles, and when bridegroom and bride had kissed it, the king intoned the hymn *Te Deum*, which all took up lustily. So they rode on up the little crooked street of West Bow and on towards the centre of the city.

At the Mercat Cross, adorned with flowers and hangings, was a fountain flowing with wine for the refreshment of all who chose to partake. Here were more pageants; heathen deities, as well as Scripture scenes being represented. Everywhere might be seen entwined in wreaths the thistle of Scotland and the red rose of England. Amid the sound of bells, the acclamations of the townsfolk, the pealing of trumpets, the stately procession moved along towards Holyrood—the stalwart bridegroom on his charger, and behind him the youthful bride in her cloth of gold array, decked with shining jewels, a gaily attired crowd of lords and ladies, in velvet and silk and flowing plumes, with many attendants, bringing up the rear.

Next day the marriage was solemnised with all possible pomp. The Archbishops of Glasgow and York officiated; the Archbishop of St. Andrews, brother of the king, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Orkney, Caithness, Dunkeld, Ross, and Dunblane, with many mitred abbots, assisting at the ceremony. The glory of the raiment of the royal spouses would doubtless form the theme of many a gossip of the good wives of Edinburgh, recounted as they would be by admiring servitors who had been privileged to see the brave show; the king's doublet of white

and gold slashed with crimson; the queen's robe of white and gold, her magnificent crown and collar of diamonds, and the beauty of her abundant hair "hanging down the whole length of her body."[1]

Other nuptials and receptions saw equally splendid surroundings; the frequent coming and going of royal personages; pilgrimages carried out with the utmost magnificence to St. Ninian's, St. Duthac's, the Isle of May; the festive celebration by the court of Christmas, Easter and the like; rejoicings for various felicitous events; all would tend to keep the city in an atmosphere of gay good-will. Even royal funerals would have their compensation in the costly trappings of woe which accompanied them.

Popular Pleasures.

The Edinburgh people, however, were not wholly dependent upon royal feasting and pageantry for their enjoyment, or upon royal spectacles for their interest and amusement. They had their own special pleasures. There were guild processions and festivals, miracle plays too, may be—about these we shall speak later—May-games and such like revels, Christmas mummers, carnival rejoicings, besides ordinary recreations and amusements.

May Day, with its dramatic interludes—its Abbot of Unreason, Robin Hood, Little John, the May Queen, etc., had been intensely popular in Edinburgh from remote ages. The people loved and revelled in such sports. No doubt such gatherings needed restraint—possibly they tended to foster coarseness and vulgarity; but the age was not

[1] Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 49, etc.

refined—in the sense we use the word—and the effects of such amusements were less serious, probably, than many popular yet more insidious pleasures of our own day.

It was only when the Catholic religion was abolished by law that the simple joys of the people were likewise abolished, and by the like means. Nor was the latter easily accomplished. "It came to be one of the first difficulties of the men who had carried through the Reformation, how to wrestle the people out of their love of the May-games," says a Protestant writer.[1] "Wrestled out" they were effectually in the end, but whether to the advantage of religion and morality is questionable.

We have striven to depict—somewhat sketchily, maybe—the state of things in Edinburgh when the Catholic faith was held by all. The city had its joys, but it had its sorrows too; Flodden brought weeping and lamentation and terror as to the future. But in sorrow as in joy folk turned to the supreme aid of religion, whose consolations had been so abundantly provided for them, as to their ever-present help. For godliness, as St. Paul reminds us, "is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."[2]

We who are Catholics—and we alone—are able to estimate fully and truly the loss which befell Edinburgh—and Scotland in general—when the ancient Church was overthrown and Puritanism set up in its place.

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I., p. 9.

[2] I Tim., iv. 8.

Authorities followed:—Chalmers, *Caledonia* — Edinburghshire; Groome, *Gazetteer of Scotland;* Maitland, *History of Edinburgh;* Cameron Lees, *St. Giles', Edinburgh;* Wilson, *Memorials of Old Edinburgh.*

II.

WHEN GLASGOW WAS CATHOLIC.

Primitive Extent.

THE great city on the Clyde, which is now reckoned as the second in the British Isles as regards population, did not contain more than five thousand inhabitants in the sixteenth century; the area of Catholic Glasgow was consequently much circumscribed. In its first beginnings the city centred round the ancient Cathedral of St. Mungo. Thence it gradually extended westward down Rotten Row, and eastward along the Drygate; High Street, stretching southwards, became in due time the *Magna Via* ("Great Street"), the most important in the city. The Market Cross, which stood originally at the junction of these three main streets, was later on removed beyond High Street to the lower ground between the city and the river. High Street, therefore, was designated in old documents, "The gat at strekis fra the Merkat Cors tyll the He kyrk of Glasgu."[1]

The cross being the centre of the developing burgh, it was but natural that new streets should stretch from it in different directions. Towards the South Port, leading to the river, ran Walcargate (Fuller Gate), which became known in the seventeenth century as Saltmarket; a further extension after the bridge was built in the fourteenth century, was called Briggate. Westward from the cross ran St Thenew's Gate, so named from the church which

[1] The terms "gate" and "port" were explained on p. 10.

stood there; the West Port divided this street. The portion lying within the Port acquired the name of Trongate, from the "trone" for weighing goods which was kept there; the remaining portion beyond West Port became known in the eighteenth century as Argyle Street. From the cross towards the east stretched the street still called Gallowgate, leading to the East Port. These more modern streets, together with those round about the Cathedral, comprised the whole of mediæval Glasgow.

The Cathedral.

The centre of Catholic life in ancient days was, of course, the Cathedral. It had risen over the tomb of St Mungo, the Apostle of Glasgow and the surrounding country, and was the Parish Church, the "High Church," as it was called, from its situation on the rising ground towards the north.

It is quite possible that many Catholics who read this may have never set foot inside the old Cathedral; for strange to say, its possession by Presbyterians seems to have alienated the interest of many Glasgow Catholics from this beautiful building—the pride of their forefathers in the Faith. If so, they will find it well worth a visit. Its present state gives little idea of what a splendid church it must have been in Catholic days. Two western towers of probably thirteenth century work were unhappily removed early in the last century, under the extraordinary plea of improving the appearance of the building; otherwise, this Cathedral —alone of all others on the mainland—is intact.

Entering the building, the visitor finds himself

in the lofty nave, unencumbered by benches or pews; for the choir alone, beyond the stone rood-screen, is used for Presbyterian worship. In Catholic days the church was not cold and bare as we now see it. Against each of the great pillars stood an altar, with its necessary adornments, arranged so that the priest celebrating faced towards the east. Two altars still remain—an almost unique instance in Scotland; they are those which form part of the screen stretching across the nave at the eastern end. We know that the one on the right was dedicated to Our Lady of Pity, and the other to the Holy Cross. Catholics ought to reverence these precious relics, for the Holy Sacrifice has often been offered upon them. It is wonderful that they have been spared from the ruthless destruction meted out to almost everything holy in those godless days of so-called Reformation. In front of the eighth pillar on the right hand—counting from the western entrance—stood formerly the altar of SS. John Baptist and Nicholas, and near it, towards the centre of the nave, was a statue of Our Lady of Consolation, at which the Canons used to assemble each evening to sing a hymn to the Blessed Virgin, in fulfilment of the condition of a bequest made by a benefactor. All the public services were held in the choir beyond the rood-screen—so-called from the great cross (or rood) which stood upon it, with the figures of Our Lady and St John on either side—a feature in every Catholic Church in the land in ancient days. There, in their beautifully carved stalls, the thirty-two Canons, with the numerous clergy who comprised the staff of the Cathedral, sang daily at the appointed

hours the various portions of the Divine Office, and the regular public masses. To provide accommodation for private Masses the church possessed no less than thirty altars, in various parts of the building. Most of these were endowed by benefactors for certain fixed masses, and in this way many of the clergy were supported. Thus with the continual succession of Offices and Masses, the worship of God was daily celebrated. What a contrast must the great church have presented—with its constant influx of worshippers, the colour and brightness of its appointments, the glow of its hanging lamps and altar lights, the frequent voice of praise rising from its sanctuary—to the desolate chill of its present week-day aspect! What greater contrast still, its magnificent ceremonial on feast-days—Archbishop, Canons, clergy, attendants, all in stately array, paying to their Creator their debt of worship in the worthiest manner possible—compared with the dreary monotony of psalm, sermon and stilted oration which comprise Presbyterian Sunday services all the year round, with never a feast or fast to vary the routine of their man-made formulas!

But a visit to the upper church alone will not sufficiently repay the visitor. Below, in the exquisitely beautiful under-croft, will be found a church such as is seldom met with. Competent judges have declared it to be of unique merit; some have gone so far as to proclaim it as unrivalled in Europe. Here, under the ornate vaulting still called the "catafalque," stood the shrine which covered the tomb of St. Mungo, the centre of attraction in the great building, where even kings thought it a privilege to make oblations. The shrine with its

golden adornments and precious jewels has gone, and nothing remains to mark the spot of the saint's resting place except a huge flat stone in the pavement, devoid of inscription or decoration. Hard by is one of the saint's holy wells, now covered by a wooden cap. The whole building is well kept, and in some parts has been redecorated with painted windows and the like; but the Catholic cannot restrain a sigh of regret for the lost glories of this House of God from which the Sacramental Presence which animated it has departed, leaving a glorious church cold and lifeless—for all its beauty—like some lovely corpse from which the soul has fled.

Manses and Castle.

The portion of the ancient city of Glasgow which was situated near the Cathedral contained the residences of the thirty canons and the other ecclesiastics attached to the great church. Most of these were in what is still styled Rotten Row. The signification of the term is somewhat doubtful. "Row" is probably a corruption of the French *rue* (street); "Rotten"—it has been suggested—may stand for "routine"; as it was the ordinary way for the clergy to and from their daily duty of regular attendance at the Cathedral, during their respective terms of residence.

For the use of the Bishops there had existed from a very early period—for it is mentioned as far back as 1290—the episcopal palace or castle, not far from the western entrance of the Cathedral. Its site is now occupied by the Royal Infirmary. To the original building successive prelates had made im-

portant additions. A great tower was built by Bishop Cameron between 1426 and 1446; his armorial bearings were sculptured upon it. Half a century later, Archbishop Beaton enclosed the whole property with a high wall of freestone, having a bastion at one corner and a tower at another, facing High Street; his arms were graven upon this wall in various places. Archbishop Dunbar, his successor, completed the work by erecting a stately gateway, bearing his own arms and the royal arms of Scotland, on the side nearest the Cathedral. The whole building must have been of real magnificence, and was surrounded by a spacious garden. After the Reformation it was neglected and fell into ruins. In the eighteenth century much of the stone was taken, with the connivance of the magistrates, to build houses. In 1778 part of it was removed to widen the street, and in 1792 its remains were finally cleared away. In addition to the interest attaching to the residence for many centuries of the Bishops of Glasgow, the castle is memorable as having been the scene of the first trial of Father John Ogilvie, the Scottish Jesuit martyr, and the prison whence he was finally haled to his condemnation and to the scaffold.

Stable Green Port.

Beyond the Cathedral, towards the north, stood one of the city gates, known as Stable Green Port. Near it, on the west side of Castle Street, and therefore not far from the castle, stood St. Nicholas' Hospital. It was founded by Bishop Andrew Mureheid about 1455, and was endowed for the

support of twelve poor men and a resident priest who acted as superior. A beautiful Gothic chapel was attached to the establishment. After the Reformation the endowments dwindled away, the tenants of the property neglecting to pay their rents; the chaplain's house and the unused chapel fell into ruins, and a century ago the revenues provided a pittance of a shilling a week for four poor men only! In 1795, shameful to relate, the chapel was in use as a byre for cows! Another alms-house, still further north, had been founded by Roland Blackader, sub-dean of the Cathedral, in 1491, for the benefit of homeless vagrants coming to the city (tramps, as we should style them now). Six beds were to be always in readiness, and an honest man and his wife were to take charge of the place. This seems to have been merged later into the more important establishment of St. Nicholas' Hospital.

Just within the Stable Green Port, in the district still known by the corrupted title of St. Rollox, stood St. Roch's Chapel, which was founded about 1508 by Canon Mureheid, and endowed for the support of a chaplain to officiate there, and had a cemetery attached to it. "Of the saint to whom this chapel was dedicated," says a Protestant antiquarian, "no account can be found; yet he seems to have been honoured by the dedication of other chapels in Scotland."[1] We can supply that information. He was a fourteenth century saint who, when on pilgrimage to Rome, devoted himself to the care of the plague-stricken in Italy. Having contracted the disease, he dragged himself into a forest to die, but a dog came to lick his sores and he

[1] Chalmers, *Caledonia.*

made an unexpected recovery. He was invoked after death against plague and pestilence, and many cities benefited by his intercession. His statue, with the dog by his side, is familiar to travellers on the Continent.

St. Roch's memory has been revived in Glasgow in modern times by the erection of a church in his honour in the district once named after him. The new mission has outrivalled its ancient namesake in the benefits it affords to the large Catholic population of that district.

The University.

Though the first distinctive buildings of Glasgow University were erected further southwards, on the spot now occupied by the College Station, east of High Street, the beginnings of the University are connected with the precincts of the Cathedral. It was Bishop William Turnbull who obtained from Pope Nicholas V., in 1450, the bull of erection, together with the grant of privileges which placed Glasgow University on a level with those existing on the Continent. In the following year took place with great solemnity the inauguration of the new institute. The University began in poverty, for it owed its origin to the Bishop's zeal for the promotion of learning, and especially of ecclesiastical science. For a time lectures were given in the crypt of the Cathedral, and students were housed in a small building in Rotten Row; by the generous assistance of the Dominicans and Franciscans, competent lecturers were provided, and a lecture hall improvised from the Refectory of the Dominican Friary. Later on, benefactors endowed the University with houses

and lands; one such was James, Lord Hamilton, who in 1459 gave the property upon which, a century and a half later, the buildings of the "Old College" were erected. In return for this benefaction he required the regents and students to pray every day after dinner and supper for his own soul and those of the Lady Euphemia, his wife, his ancestors and successors, and all to whom he was indebted for any benefit. If a chapel should be built in the college, Lord Hamilton desired that the regents and students should sing, on bended knees, an antiphon to the Blessed Virgin with a collect, for the above intentions. Additional property was bestowed later by Sir Thomas Arthurlie.

The University flourished and did a great work for the education of Scottish youth up to the Reformation period, when the overthrow of the Church and the banishment of her ministers nearly brought it to an end. It was reconstructed on Protestant lines by James VI. late in the sixteenth century.

Flourishing as Glasgow University now is, we must never forget that it owed its inception to the Catholic Church. In this connection it will be well to quote the praises bestowed upon the founders of this and the like institutions by two Protestant writers of fame. "It may with truth be said," remarks Dr. Hill Burton, the renowned historian, "that in the history of human things there is to be found no grander conception than that of the Church of the fifteenth century, when it resolved in the shape of universities to cast the light of knowledge abroad over the Christian world."[1] "The uni-

[1] *History of Scotland*, iv., 109.

versities of Scotland," says Cosmo Innes, "are the legitimate offspring of the Church. They alone, of our existing institutions, carry us back to the time when the clergy were the only supporters of schools, and the bishop of the great diocese was the patron and head, as well as the founder, of its university."[1] Honest words these, for which Catholics must needs be grateful!

Religious Houses.

The Dominicans, or Black Friars, who showed such a warm interest in the establishment of the University, came to Glasgow about the year 1240, under the auspices of Bishop William de Bondington. They built a monastery and church on the east side of High Street, near the place now occupied by the offices of the Midland Railway Company. In 1246 Pope Innocent IV. granted an Indulgence to all the faithful who should contribute towards the building of the Black Friars' Church, adjoining their monastery. They were able through the abundant alms bestowed upon them to erect a building of more than ordinary beauty, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St John; even as late as 1638 it was praised by an architect as surpassing any building in Scotland, except Whithorn Cathedral, for the grandeur of its Gothic style—and this, be it remembered, after its chief ornaments had been destroyed by a "reforming" mob.

The Friars were the recipients of many valuable grants of property bestowed by royal and noble patrons, and their convent became very wealthy. It was probably on account of the extent of their

[1] *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 220.

buildings, which stood in a large garden with orchard adjoining, that Edward I. of England was lodged at the Friary with his train of attendants for a fortnight in 1301. After the Reformation the property came into possession of the University. The church served for Presbyterian worship until it was destroyed by a thunderstorm in 1668; it was replaced by the old "College Church," now no more.

In an alley on the west side of High Street, a little above the Black Friars' monastery, a small convent was erected for the Franciscans through the generosity of Bishop William Turnbull about the year 1449. The friars, six in number, came from Edinburgh. In 1476, under Bishop John Laing, a more commodious monastery and church were bestowed upon them by Canon Thomas Forsyth, who erected them at his own expense. The name of Greyfriars' Wynd was attached to the spot on which these buildings stood. The church was solemnly consecrated for divine worship, under the patronage of Blessed Mary the Virgin, on the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, July 27th, 1477.

The Grey Friars suffered even more than the Black Friars in the turbulence of the Reformation; not only was their friary swept away, but their church also was cast down. All their revenues were eventually bestowed upon the University. The Franciscans, however, have been happily compensated for the loss of their ancient house by the acquisition, in our own days, of a monastery and stately church, far surpassing those of the fifteenth century, in the city which knew and reverenced their Order in the ages of Faith. Their former

neighbours, the Dominicans, have not, as yet, been thus consoled ; let us hope that they too may return in a not far distant future.

It was in 1868 that the Grey Friars came back to Glasgow ; their new monastery in Cumberland Street was opened in the very same week in which the scanty remains of the ancient friary were finally removed. An amusing incident in this connection is worth recording. A leading Glasgow newspaper of that date (July 12th, 1869) gave an account of the event which, apparently unconsciously, bridged over the 300 years of the absence of the friars from the city. "We are happy to inform our readers," it gravely stated, "that the ancient Grey Friars, who formerly resided in the Greyfriars' Wynd, have removed to more commodious quarters on the South Side."

In the quadrangle of the nineteenth century friary stands a Calvary of which the Guardian whose zeal and energy brought about the erection of the greater part of the buildings — the late venerable Father Cuthbert Wood — was justly proud ; it is built of stones from the ruins of the fifteenth century monastery, and is all that remains of the historic Grey Friars of Glasgow.

"The Laigh Kirk."

The most important of the Glasgow churches before the Reformation—the Cathedral excepted—was that which stood upon the site of the present Tron Church. It was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Anne, and was constituted a collegiate establishment early in the sixteenth century. A collegiate

church was one served by a body of secular canons, who maintained within it the daily celebration of the Divine Office and the prescribed functions of the Church. At Glasgow there were eight priests under a provost, and three singing boys were also maintained. Later on three additional benefices were added to increase the number of the clergy. Near the church was a "song school" in which one of the canons taught church music.

St Mary's had several altars, as was necessary in a church of that nature; and in course of time the richer ecclesiastics and citizens of Glasgow provided for the offering of Masses at stated times, in perpetuity, for the welfare of their own souls and those of the members of their respective families. There are records of the dedication of these altars to Our Lady, St. Michael, St. Mungo, and other saints.

Even before the Reformation, St. Mary's was popularly known as the "Laigh Kirk," to distinguish it from the Cathedral or "High Kirk"; after the general destruction of everything savouring of Catholicism, it was rarely spoken of as St. Mary's, since, as a Protestant writer remarks, "the name of the Blessed Virgin was (then) less respected at Glasgow than in former times."[1]

In 1560 a mob of "Reformers" destroyed all the altars, images and ornaments of this spacious and beautiful church, and for a long period it remained disused and neglected. All its revenues, which were considerable—since so large a body of clergymen was supported by them—were appropriated by the magistrates of the city. As in all other cases of the like spoliation, no thought was given to the

[1] Chalmers, *Caledonia.*

object for which the clergy had been established there—to celebrate Sacrifice and offer prayer and praise "for ever" on behalf of the founders of the many benefices; the faithful dead were robbed of their due for the benefit of the living!

In 1592 the church was sufficiently restored to serve for Presbyterian worship. In 1637 the magistrates built a square tower in front of it, in which two bells were placed; under this tower the "trone" or weighing machine was kept, and the circumstance gave to the building the title of the "Tron Church," and to the street that of "Trongate." Old St. Mary's was burnt down in 1793, and the present Tron Church erected on its site.

Chapels.

The street now known as Trongate, leading from Glasgow Cross towards Argyle Street, was called in the early middle ages St. Thenew's Gate. At its junction with Argyle Street stood one of the city gates—the West Port—and from this circumstance, Argyle Street, also called St. Thenew's Gate, began to be known as West Street before it gained its present title. St. Thenew's Gate led to the chapel dedicated to the saint—hence its designation. The distinction in ecclesiastical terminology between a church and a chapel is, roughly speaking, this: the former is a large building with many altars, the latter a small building with one altar only. The chapel in question stood near the site of the present St. Enoch's Church, at the end of the square of that name and on its western side. The titular saint was the mother of St. Mungo; her name still

survives in that quarter of the city in the corrupted form of Enoch, which has come through Thenog, a variation of Thenew, to St. Tennoch's, and finally St. Enoch's. This chapel is mentioned in records as early as 1426. At that period it stood in quite rural surroundings; it had a cemetery attached which has long been built over. Near the chapel was St. Thenew's Well, which was resorted to by pilgrims in Catholic ages; so lingering are old traditions that up to the end of the eighteenth century this well was a favourite place of resort, and votive offerings of metal eyes, hands, feet and ears were remaining attached to the old tree that drooped over it—witnesses, no doubt, to cures received through the saint's intercession. Traces of the chapel itself—which was entire in 1597—were to be seen as late as 1736, but every vestige has long disappeared. From the terms of a charter of 1475 it has been conjectured that the chapel was the actual burial-place of the saint; James III. at that date bestowed upon the cathedral church of Glasgow half a stone of wax, provided by the income of certain lands in the lordship of Bothwell to furnish lights to be burned at the tomb of St. Thenew "in the chapel where her bones were buried." It seems more probable that the reference is to the chapel in the cathedral itself, where tradition says her remains were entombed with those of St. Mungo. However that may be, the chapel outside the West Port was always held in great estimation, since the very street leading to it was called by the saint's name—"The gait passing fra the West Port to Sanct Tenewis Chapell," it is styled in a document of 1548. Not far from St.

Thenew's Chapel stood that of St. Thomas the Martyr, dedicated to the great Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Thomas a Becket. It was situated in St. Thenew's Gate, near the present St. Enoch's Square. In 1320 Sir Walter Fitz-Gilbert, progenitor of the Hamiltons, bequeathed a set of rich vestments to the cathedral, with the condition that they should be lent twice each year for use at the altar of this chapel—on St. Thomas' Day, December 29th, and on the feast of the translation of his relics, July 7th. St. Thomas 'Chapel was in use in 1505, but there are no traces of it after the Reformation. It is not improbable that it was ruined by the "Reformers" when they paid their visit to Glasgow to destroy all "monuments of idolatry."

Beyond the West Port, on the north side of the present Trongate, another chapel, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, stood not far from the Market Cross. This was the most ancient of all the ecclesiastical buildings in Glasgow, with the exception of the cathedral. It was in existence in 1283, as a charter of that date makes allusion to it. Nothing is known of its later history, but it had fallen to ruin in the sixteenth century; possibly the number of chapels in the vicinity had led to its disuse and consequent decay.

"Little St. Mungo's."

In the opposite direction to St. Thenew's Chapel stood the small church known as that of "St. Mungo Outside-the-Walls," often styled "Little St. Mungo's," to distinguish it from the cathedral. It stood in a cemetery shadowed by trees, on the

Dow Hill, near Gallowgate, in a spot which was formerly covered by a forest. It is said to have marked the locality of the first residence of the saint; near by was St. Mungo's Well. The church was built and endowed about sixty years before the Reformation troubles broke out; its founder and benefactor was David Cuninghame, Archdeacon of Argyll, and Provost of Hamilton Collegiate Church. The trees which stood near it were known long after as St. Mungo's Trees. No trace remains of the building or of the well; the cemetery has been built over. The title of St. Mungo's Street in the vicinity is the only reminder of a once sacred spot.

It is worthy of note that at the time of the Reformation the priest who held the benefice of Little St. Mungo's, and who also had a chaplaincy attached to the Rood Altar in the cathedral, was a Sir John Knox. It is a singular coincidence that the "Father of the Scottish Reformation," being a priest who had taken no degree in his University, was known by this title "Sir," common to all such clergy; but for more reasons than one, it does not appear probable that the notorious John Knox, during his priestly life, had any connection with Glasgow. The John Knox who matriculated at the University there, in 1522, may have been the priest who was later attached to St. Mungo's; it could not have been the Reformer, according to more recent opinions as to the date of his birth, which is now believed to have been in 1513 or 1515.[1] Moreover, he was more probably a student at St. Andrews.

[1] A. Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 5.

Polmadie Hospital.

Not very far from Little St. Mungo's was a hospital or almhouse. It was situated at a spot then known as Polmadie—so called from a rivulet of that name, which in Gaelic signified "Dog's" or "Wolf's Rivulet"—on the west bank of the Clyde, above Glasgow Green. The institution seems to have been founded by a Bishop of Glasgow for poor men and women; those prelates, at any rate, had the right of presentation, for Matthew, Bishop of Glasgow, in 1391, gave a precept to the master and brothers of the hospital of Polmadie to receive Gilian de Waux as a sister and portioner of that house during her life. The hospital was in existence before 1319; for when the English King, Edward II., pretended to dispose of certain benefices in the diocese of Glasgow, he presented William de Houk to the guardianship of the hospital of St. John at Polmadie. Nothing is known of the fate of this institution; not a vestige of it has remained to our days.

Dearth of Provision for Protestants.

With its cathedral, served by thirty-two canons, and many other clergy, its Collegiate Church, and parish churches, with the various other places of divine worship mentioned above, Glasgow was exceptionally rich in Catholic ages in all that pertains to religious worship. The contrast brought about by the Reformation is striking. Dr. Chalmers, a Protestant, says in his *Caledonia*:—"Glasgow had a very ample ecclesiastical establishment. The Reformation swept away the whole, and planted

in the Cathedral Church one solitary Protestant preacher (John Willock), who for nearly thirty years was the sole religious instructor of about 7000 people in Glasgow and its surrounding parish."[1] Even when the population had increased to more than 14,000, there were only four ministers to look after the people. It is not to be wondered at that the Kirk Sessions were perpetually lamenting the prevailing immorality, profane swearing and blasphemy which were rife, or that the most elementary knowledge of religious truths had become forgotten. So ignorant, indeed, were the people that it was considered necessary to refuse to baptise children whose parents could not repeat the Commandments, the articles of faith, and the Our Father. Later on, in 1640, it had to be enacted that householders should give an account of all those in their family who knew not the ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed, etc. Yet people are still to be found who regard the Reformation as the dawn of the light of Gospel truth in a benighted Scotland.

Leper Hospital.

At a period when leprosy was not uncommon in these islands, a hospital for the shelter and maintenance of the unfortunate sufferers from that dire disease was to be found in most of the larger towns. Such an institution was in existence at Glasgow in the Middle Ages. The Hospital of St. Ninian was founded about 1350 by a Lady of Lochawe, wife of one of the Campbells of Lochawe, ancestors of the Dukes of Argyll. It stood on

[1] Vol. VI., Lanarkshire.

the west bank of the Clyde, near the Gorbals end of the old (now the Victoria) bridge, somewhere between Main Street and Muirhead Street. The lands of Gorbals belonged in those days to the Bishops of Glasgow; it may have been for this reason that the prelates had the right of presenting patients to the hospital—that they exercised such a right is certain.

The hospital was rebuilt in 1494 at the expense of Canon William Stewart, who endowed it liberally for the support of a chaplain, in addition to its former revenues. He required in return that after his decease the lepers in residence should pray every evening for his soul, and that on each anniversary of his death the chaplain should assemble twenty-four poor scholars, skilled in church music, who should sing a Requiem Mass for him in the chapel; after the Mass and the recitation of the seven penitential psalms and the *De Profundis*, each scholar was to receive a stipend.

St. Ninian's was not molested at the Reformation, as far as the harbouring of lepers was concerned; but as much cannot be asserted regarding chaplain and revenues. In 1589 there were six in residence; as late as 1610 it was still occupied. In the latter year the Town Council legislated as follows: "It is statut and ordanit that the lipper of the hospital sall gang onlie upon the calsie (causeway) syde near the gutter, and sall haif clapperis, and ain claith upon thair mouth and face, and sall stand afar off, quhill they resaif almous or answer, under the payne of banischeing tham the town and hospital."[1] From this it would appear that the poor creatures were compelled to beg for

[1] *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 18.

subsistence at that period; what had become of the endowments provided by the foundress and later benefactors?

The name of St. Ninian's Croft, which clung to the district a century ago, recalled the site of this charitable institution. A number of human bones discovered near the bridge some years back were thought to indicate the position of the cemetery attached to the chapel. Some ancient buildings still standing in the early part of last century were called "Leper Hospital." Fifty years ago the chapel was in existence on the east side of Main Street, but all trace of it has long disappeared.

Glasgow Fair.

There is one annual occurrence, dating from Catholic times, which is firmly rooted in the affections of the citizens of Glasgow, and which must not be passed over unmentioned; it is Glasgow Fair. When the place was little better than a village, the Bishop to whom is owing the beginnings of the splendid Cathedral—Jocelin, formerly Abbot of Melrose—obtained from King William the Lion a charter constituting Glasgow a burgh. The document declared that the King granted and confirmed "to God and St. Kentigern, and Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, and all his successors for ever, that they shall hold a burgh at Glasgow, with a weekly market on Thursday, fully and freely, with all freedoms, liberties, and customs which any of my burghs throughout the whole of my kingdom enjoy." Later on, about 1190, the Bishop obtained the further privilege of "a fair to be kept at Glasgow, and to be held every year for ever, from

the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul, for the space of eight days complete," with the King's full protection. This is but one instance out of many to show how dear to the ecclesiastical superiors of the ages of Faith was the temporal as well as the spiritual well-being of those under their charge.

To Bishop Jocelin Glasgow owes both its fair and its Cathedral, since it was he who by his exertions gained sufficient funds to commence a new building in the place of the old one destroyed by fire; some, indeed, are of opinion that at least a part of the present undercroft, if not the whole, was completed in his day, although the upper building was the work of a subsequent Bishop.

The people of Glasgow have been tenacious of their fair, and they alone of the dwellers in the Scottish cathedral cities of the mainland preserved up to comparatively modern times in the entirety of its external form the great Church of which they are deservedly proud.

Lingering Reverence for Catholicism.

It is refreshing to turn from the lamentations of the Presbytery—almost as soon as the Reformation had become an accomplished fact—over the shortcomings of people reared on Reformation principles, to the contemplation of the lingering reverence of the men of Glasgow for the glorious temple in which their forefathers had worshipped God for so many ages. Spottiswood, the Protestant historian, relates that in the spring of 1579, by the earnest persuasion of Mr. Andrew Melville, the Principal of the College of Glasgow, and some other Protestant ministers, the magistrates agreed to demolish the

Cathedral and to build several small churches with the materials. But when the workmen were assembled for the purpose, the craftsmen of the city appeared in arms, and threatened death to anyone who should dare to cast down a single stone of the building. The workmen had therefore to be dismissed. When the complaint of the magistrates was brought to the King, it is to the credit of James VI. that he took the part of the craftsmen; too many churches had been destroyed already—he is reputed to have said—and he would not tolerate any more abuses of that kind. It was left for an age which considered itself vastly more enlightened to mutilate—by the demolition of its western towers—the noble building which the craftsmen of the sixteenth century had so bravely protected from injury.

It is scarcely probable that Glasgow will ever again become wholly Catholic. Yet, compared with the statistics of even fifty years ago, it can boast of a huge percentage of Catholics in its vast population never dreamed of by the most enthusiastic in those days. The "Isle of Saints" has sent—and is daily sending—her sons and daughters to swell the ranks of faithful Catholics in the city of St. Mungo. Our prayer for a continued increase of the Faith may be fitting expressed in the words of the motto of the city arms in its extended—and, as tradition says, its authentic—form :—"LET GLASGOW FLOURISH BY THE PREACHING OF THE WORD."

Besides authorities noted already, M'Ure, *View of the City of Glasgow;* Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scotland;* Eyre-Todd, *Book of Glasgow Cathedral;* Groome's *Gazetteer of Scotland* and Chalmers' *Caledonia*, Vol. vi. (Lanarkshire), have supplied the material for the above chapter.

III.

THE RELIGIOUS DRAMA OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE origin of the Mystery and Miracle Plays which formed so prominent a feature of the middle ages is to be sought for in the popular method, customary about the tenth century, of celebrating certain of the greater festivals of the Church. This consisted in the presentation of a kind of liturgical drama, interwoven with the ordinary offices of the Church, in which the highest dignitaries of the choir—canons or beneficed clergy—assisted by acolytes were wont to take part.

At Christmas, for example, in many churches, after the matins of the festival had been solemnised, and before the Midnight Mass commenced, the "Office of the Shepherds," as it was styled, was carried out. The clergy represented the shepherds seeking the manger, while choir boys personated angels. No costumes were worn except the ordinary choir dress, and the musical dialogue consisted of antiphons and responsories taken from the liturgy of the day. All moved in reverent procession to the sanctuary, where, behind the altar, had been prepared statues of Our Lord and His holy Mother. After venerating these, clergy and choristers returned to their places in choir, and Mass was celebrated. Before the Office of Lauds, which is now required by the rubrics to follow

immediately after the Mass, the drama—if we may call it so—was resumed. The celebrant and the shepherds would sing alternately some of the antiphons still to be found in the Roman Office of Lauds. *Quem vidistis Pastores*, etc., Whom have you seen, O Shepherds, speak, tell us Who it is that hath appeared upon this our earth? The shepherds would reply, *Natum vidimus*, etc., "We have seen the Child that is born and choirs of angels singing praises to the Lord."

Upon the Epiphany would be represented "the Office of the Star," in which the clergy personated the Magi, while the boys acted as their retinue. A little more of the dramatic element was possible on this feast, for the Kings wore copes and church vestments, and carried their gold, frankincense and myrrh to offer at the manger. The music, like that of the Christmas "Office," consisted entirely of hymns and antiphons from the liturgy of the festival.

At Easter, also, there was an interlude representing the visit of the three Maries to the Sepulchre. The holy women were personated by three of the clergy, vested in white albs, carrying their perfumes to the Altar of Repose, known generally under the name of the Holy Sepulchre. Here two other clerics, wearing dalmatics to represent angels, carried on with them a musical dialogue, traces of which are still preserved to us in the familiar Easter sequence, *Victimæ Paschali laudes.* Ceremonies such as these might have been witnessed in many of the cathedrals and principal churches of the early middle ages.

These "Offices," however, were destined in

course of time to be superseded by representations of a far different kind. In place of canons, clergy and choristers, clad in ecclesiastical vestments, and moving about the church in decorous processional order to the music of appropriate hymns and canticles, much in the same way as we still do in commemoration of Our Lord's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, many English cities and towns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were accustomed to produce regular dramas, with stage, scenery (of a sort), properties and costumes suitable to the occasion. These became known as Miracle or Mystery Plays, the former title designating a drama depicting the life and miracles of some saint, the latter some mystery of the life of Our Lord.

The development was gradual. From the "Offices," carried on in choir and sanctuary, were evolved the more theatrical representations relegated to the nave of the church. An example is to be found in the celebration of the Christmas festival at Rheims. Before the Solemn Mass, personages portraying many of the ancient prophets, together with King Nabuchodonosor, the "Three Children," St. Elizabeth, mother of the Baptist, and others carried on a dialogue in doggerel Latin verse upon the Birth of the Messias; a prominent feature was some sort of burning of the Three Children in the fiery furnace, which was represented by a vessel of flaming tow, and their speedy deliverance by an angel.

It will easily be understood that at this juncture it began to be thought more decorous to transfer such performances to the churchyard. A manu-

script preserved at Tours, dating from the twelfth century, mentions for the first time the erection of a stage outside the church door. Yet the dramas still retained much of their liturgical character, ecclesiastical formulas being interwoven with the dialogue. Fairs, as is well known, had their origin in the gathering together of people for the celebration of the feasts of the Church. It was convenient, when so many were met in the same spot, to carry on business together. The churchyard was the most natural place for such assemblies and continued for a long time to be so; but eventually, on account of want of space and other obvious reasons, the fair retired into the village. With it would, as a matter of course, be shifted the stage and its actors, and thus the drama became more and more secular in character. Even earlier than this, while the plays were still acted in the precincts of the church, many bishops objected to the clergy taking an active part in them. Eventually, the Church legislated on the point. Thus, by degrees, laymen became the exponents and Latin was discarded for the vernacular.

There is no evidence to show that such performances were known in Great Britain previous to the Conquest. The first play we know of was one composed by a certain Geoffrey of Dunstable, about A.D. 1100. He was a learned Frenchman who had been invited by the Abbot of St. Albans to assume the direction of the school of that abbey, but his arrival in this country being long delayed he found another master in possession and took up his residence at Dunstable for a time to await events. While there he produced a play in honour of St. Katharine, for which he borrowed certain copes

from the sacristy of St. Albans to serve as costumes. A fire breaking out in his house, these vestments were all consumed, and Geoffrey, having, as the chronicler, Matthew of Paris, informs us, no other means of making good the loss, offered himself to the abbey as a monk. In due time (1119) he became abbot, and took care to furnish the church with many costly copes to supply the place of those which had been destroyed while in his charge.

A century later, such plays had become common in England. The actors were generally the lay officials of each particular parish; the clergy henceforth, although as the only literary men of the period they continued to compose the plays and direct their production, no longer took public part in the performance. The parish clerks of some large towns seem to have been prominent personages in these representations. Chaucer is a witness to the custom in his day, when, in his *Canterbury Tales*, written during the closing years of the fourteenth century, he says of the London parish clerk, "Joly Absolon," in the "Miller's Tale":—

> Sometime to show his lightness and maistrie,
> He plaieth Herod on a scaffold hie.

These London clerks, indeed, became renowned for their acting; they played before Richard II. in 1390, and in 1409 they appeared before Henry IV., the performance on the latter occasion lasting more than a week. The choristers of London seem to have been among the recognised actors at the same period, for in 1378 those of St. Paul's petitioned for the prevention of performances by "unexpert people." Female characters were, of course, per-

formed by boys and youths; this was the universal practice, even in Shakespeare's plays, up to the latter part of the seventeenth century. In some instances these boys wore masks representing female faces.

But in many of the chief towns, the representation of the Miracle Plays became the almost exclusive right of those trade-guilds which took so prominent a part in the social life of the middle ages. Corpus Christi and Whitsuntide, falling as they did in the summer, were the favourite feasts for these plays in England. York preferred the former. In 1476 the city corporation decreed:—

> "That yerely in the time of lentyn there shall be called afore the maire for the tyme beying iiij of the moste connyng discrete and able players within this citie, to serche, here, and examen all the plaiers and plaies and pagentes thrughoute all the artificers belonging to Corpus Xti. Plaie."

The players thus selected then began their preparations, each guild being responsible, either by itself or in conjunction with another, for the production of one or more scenes or "pageants" constituting the set of plays. These numbered in that city no less than forty-eight. Beginning with the creation of the heavens and the earth, they comprised the Fall, the death of Abel, Noe and the Ark, Abraham and Isaac, Moses, Pharao and the prophecies of Christ, and then passed to the New Testament mysteries, such as the Nativity, the visits of the Shepherds and Kings, the Circumstances attending the Holy Childhood, the Passion and Death of Our Lord, His Resurrection and

Ascension, and, finally, the Assumption and Coronation of Our Lady.

From a writer of the sixteenth century, Archdeacon Rogers, who witnessed the performance of the Whitsuntide plays at Chester in 1594, we learn that each scene or pageant was performed on a stage to itself. This stage—itself originally known as the "pageant," a title afterwards extended to the scene acted upon it—had two storeys or rooms, the upper one serving for the representation, and the lower, concealed from the view of the spectators by drapery, forming a kind of green-room for the actors. Each platform was fixed on wheels, so that it could be moved at will from one street to another. The first station was at the Abbey gates, and when the first scene had been played, the scaffold was moved on to the High Cross to be succeeded by the next in order, and so on through the various streets; in this way each guild represented its own particular portion of the play. The same arrangement was evidently followed in other towns.

As to Scottish custom with regard to such plays we have little reliable information. There were Corpus Christi processions in most of the large towns, as may be gathered from the Burgh Records. Edinburgh, as we have seen was one; Haddington, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Lanark were others. Though some of these demonstrations are alluded to as "plays," it is possible that the term is used in a less restricted sense than in England, and may have signified what are often named "pageants," or *tableaux vivants*, grouped on large cars and forming part of the religious procession.

The trade-guilds, which formed so prominent

a feature of mediæval life, were the subject of frequent enactments by the magistrates of Aberdeen. "Every craft within this town," says one decree, "shall have a pair of torches, honestly made of four pound of wax, to adorn and worship the Sacrament on Corpus Christi Day and at the feast of Pasch at the Resurrection, at Yule (Christmas) and at all other times when need is to the honour of the town." In the solemn processions through the streets on festivals, the order of each guild was strictly legislated for, since there seems to have been some rivalry on the point of precedence. Thus in more than one ordinance of the magistrates "the old lovable consuetude and rite of this burgh and of the noble burgh of Edinburgh" is quoted, in proof of the traditional place occupied by each guild in these processions. All were required to appear "every craft with their own banner, with the arms of their craft therein, with their pageant; and they shall pass," continues the decree, "each craft by itself, two and two, in this order." Every trade is then enumerated; the fleshers (butchers) led the way, followed by the barbers, the skinners and furriers, tailors, weavers, fullers and dyers, bakers, carpenters, masons, slaters and coopers, while the smiths and hammerers brought up the rear in the much-coveted post of honour "next the Sacrament". These processions were restricted in later times to Candlemas and Corpus Christi.

The Aberdeen pageants varied in different years; in the year 1531 they are enumerated as follows:—

St. Bestian (evidently Sebastian) and his tormentors.
St. Lawrence and his tormentors.
St. Stephen and his tormentors.

St. Martin.
The Coronation of Our Lady.
St. Nicholas.
St. John.
St. George.
The Resurrection.

Twenty years earlier the pageants mentioned are the same as those which had been arranged nearly a century before, in 1442 ; they are altogether different from those enumerated above. The characters represented in the earlier pageants comprised The Three Kings of Cologne, St. Helen, St. Bride, The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, etc. The absence of any connection between the subjects portrayed is an argument against any attempt to produce a regular dramatic representation, as was the custom in England.

From the pen of an Elizabethan Protestant a description is extant of a Corpus Christi procession in the streets of London ; it shows than even in England there were sometimes detached " pageants " of the kind alluded to by Scottish Records.

There doth ensue the solemne feast of Corpus Christi Day—
Who then can shewe their wicked use, and fonde and foolish play ?
The hallowed bread, with worship great, in silver Pix they beare
About the Church, or in the Citie, passing here and theare.
His armes that beares the same, two of the wealthiest men do holde,
And over him a Canopey of silke and cloth of golde
Foure others use to beare aloufe, least that some filthie thing

Should fall from hie, or some mad bird her doung thereon should fling.
Christes passion here derided is, with sundrie maskes and playes.
Faire Ursley, with hir maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes:
And valiant George, with speare that killed the dreadful dragon here:
The Devil's house is drawne about, wherein there doth appeare
A wondrous sort of damned sprites, with foule and feareful looke,
Great Christopher doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke:
Sebastian full of feathred shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele:
There walketh Kathren, with hir sworde in hande and cruel wheele.

This would seem to bear out the suggestion that the Scottish "plays" were of the kind here described. It must be noted, however, that the Aberdeen Burgh records refer to the provision made by the magistrates in 1440 for the expenses of the production of the "Play of the Holy Blood" at Windmill Hill. As this grant was made about a fortnight before the feast of Corpus Christi, which fell in that year on May 26th, it seems probable that the provision was made for a performance on that festival, especially since there is express mention of a Corpus Christi play in later years.

Perth is said to possess a set of regular Corpus Christi dramas, but it does not appear that they have yet been made public. The loss of so many Scottish records at the Reformation leaves us in much uncertainty as to the established practice in

the northern kingdom with regard to the matter we are considering. We have to be content with the scanty information to be gleaned from those still extant.

It may be pointed out here that the order of the procession in Scottish towns was different from that observed in England; in Scotland the continental usage prevailed. Thus, as we have seen, the trade guilds walked before the Blessed Sacrament in Aberdeen, where the "old lovable consuetude . . . of the noble burgh of Edinburgh" was followed; in York, on the contrary, the clergy led the way, and the Lord Mayor and all other laymen followed the canopy.

There can be no doubt that the people of Scotland were with difficulty restrained from their ancient practice on Corpus Christi Day. This is evident from the Kirk Session Registers. That of Perth, for example, gives instances of the citation of several "Corpus Christi players," who in defiance of a prohibition from the pulpit of the Kirk had taken part in the traditional "play"; this took place in 1577, nearly twenty years after the accomplishment of the Reformation.

We may now direct our attention in a more particular way to the manner in which the regular dramatic representations were produced. There were slight differences, in the manner of representation, between the plays of France and England, although the latter borrowed almost everything from French sources. In France the stage was divided into three storeys; the topmost represented Heaven, and was exclusively set apart for the Divine Persons and the angels; the lowest stage

was appropriated to men on earth, and the middle to the saints. "Hellmouthe" was depicted in both countries by the highly coloured, gaping jaws of a huge, dragon-like monster, from out of which hideous devils would emerge from time to time; there was, however, this difference between the conception by the two nationalities of those spirits of evil: with the French they constituted the comic element—darting out without warning and gambolling about among the spectators; in England, on the contrary, they were intended to terrify by their very appearance, as, bristling with horsehair and wearing grotesque heads like those of fearful beasts, they dragged into "Hellmouthe" the actors who personified lost souls, clad in coats of yellow, red and black. Hell itself was rendered more realistic by the flames which from time to time would burst forth from its open jaws.

Although the action took place chiefly upon the raised stage, yet in some instances certain of the players carried on their part in the street below; as when Herod, according to the stage directions, had to "rage on the pageant and also in the street"; or when St. Paul was required to ride "forth with his servants about the place, and out of the place"; or messengers, forming part of the play, had to ride up as though coming from a distance. It would seem that in some cases more than one stage would be required for the same scene; for in the Digby Play, "Mary Magdalene," the Queen of Marcylle (Marseilles) is taken out of a ship sailing across the sea and placed upon an island. In the same play there is evidence of the adoption of the French practice of having divisions or storeys on the platform

to represent Heaven, Hell and this world respectively. One stage direction says: "Here shall come a cloud from Heaven and set the temple on fire," and again: "Here shall two angels descend into the wilderness and another shall bring an oble"—a wafer representing the Sacred Host—"openly appearing aloft in the clouds." Another runs as follows: "Here shall Satan go home to his stage, and Mary shall enter into the place alone." It is, however, quite possible that much of this would be left to the imagination of the audience, who would know what to expect, and would be able to dispense with many realistic effects.

The dresses seem to have been magnificent rather than appropriate; the Eternal Father—who, with a familiarity contrary to the feelings of the present age, was often personified—was clothed in white, with gilded hair and beard; Our Lord also wore white, with red sandals (in allusion to His treading of the wine-press), and He, as well as the apostles, had also both hair and beard of some gilt material. Judas, an exception, wore a red beard and was clad in yellow. Herod was gay in blue satin and silver, and Pilate wore green. The souls of the Blessed appeared in white robes, contrasting strongly with the flame-tinted dresses of the Lost, already alluded to. Annas and Caiphas wore church copes.

As regards the text of these plays, although there are many differences of style and arrangement, the general features are the same in all; no doubt changes and additions have been made by various hands and at various periods to give them the form in which they have come down to us. The Miracle

Plays known to exist in English are few compared with those which must have been in use in the middle ages, when every town of any note had its plays at fixed times during the year; there are records of at least thirty of such places, some of them quite small villages. The collections extant comprise the York, Chester, Coventry, Townley (supposed to have been acted at Wakefield), Digby (so called from having formed part of the Digby MSS.), Cornish, and a few other stray specimens. Several of these collections have been edited by one or other of the literary societies.

The plays are written in quaint English rhyme, in some cases disfigured by the affected alliteration parodied by Shakespeare in the tragedy composed by Bottom the Weaver. The best are the York plays, both for variety of measure and quality of verse as well as dramatic power. The Townley plays stand next; they, like the York collection, abound in humour—sometimes of a rather coarse kind. The Chester plays are more religious in tones; their humour is less broad than that of the other two, and more in accord with modern taste. The Coventry plays are still more refined; they are thought to have been put together in the first instance by the Grey Friars of that city.

In all these plays there is to be found that sudden transition from grave to gay so noticeable in Shakespeare. This is evidently dictated by a desire to relieve the tension caused by the solemnity and even tragic character of so many of the incidents portrayed. Thus, in the Townley plays, after the sorrowful scenes of the Via Dolorosa and the Crucifixion, comes a farcical interlude in which Pilate and

the executioners wrangle over the Seamless Robe. In like manner, the Chester play of the Nativity is enlivened by the homely humour of the shepherds, who are unmistakably English peasants of the period.

Certain characters in almost all the plays supply the comic element when needed. Herod is invariably a blusterer. This fact may account for "Joly Absolon's" choice of the character; he is portrayed as a worshipper of Mahomet! In the Townley play of "Herod the Great," the King is introduced by his herald, who recites his power and prowess. Among the list of his possessions come "Tuscany and Turkey, all India and Italy." His name is known "from Paradise to Padua . . . from Egypt to Mantua," etc. He rants at the audience in appropriate fashion, threatening to break all their bones unless they hold their peace and attend to him. Pilate's wife is another comedy character; so also is Noe's wife, in the Chester play of the Flood—persisting in drinking ale with her "gossips" in spite of her husband's repeated injunctions to come aboard, and when forcibly removed by her sons, cuffing her husband vigorously.

Of pathos of a homely, simple kind there is no lack. The mere presentation of the sublime mysteries of the Gospel, however rudely portrayed, could not fail to stir hearts whose spiritual life was bound up in them. A few examples will show the style of these compositions. To give them in their ancient dress would be to render them unintelligible to many readers; they will therefore be presented in more modern form, but with as little change as possible.

A striking specimen of the pious simplicity of the Townley Plays is seen in that representing the Visitation of Our Lady to St. Elizabeth.

Mary. The Lord of Heaven that sits on high
And all things seeth with His eye
Thee save, Elizabeth.

Eliz. Welcome, Mary, blessed bloom,
Joyful am I of thy come (coming)
To me, from Nazareth.

. . . . . .

Blessed be thou of all women,
And the Fruit that I well ken
Within the womb of thee;
And this time may I bless,
That my Lord's mother is
Comen thus unto me.

. . . . . .

Mary. My soul loveth my Lord above,
And my ghost gladys (rejoices) with love
In God that is my hele (salvation);
For He hath seen again
The buxumnes (obedience) of His bane (ready servant)
And kept me maiden lele (loyal).
Lo, thereof what me shall betide
All nacyons (nations) on every side
Blessed shall me call;
For He that is full of might
Meckle (great) thing to me hath dight (done),
His name be blessed over all.

The tender devotion expressed in the York play of the Nativity could not but touch all who witnessed the scene in which Mary rejoices over her new-born Child:—

Now in my soul great joy have I,
I am all clad in comfort clear.

. . . . . .

Jesus my Son that is so dear,
Now born is He.
Vouchsafe, sweet Son, I pray Thee,
That I might Thee take in these arms of mine
And in this poor weed to array Thee;
Grant me Thy bliss!
As I am Thy Mother chosen to be
In sothfastness (very truth).

Heartrending, indeed, must have been the Passion scenes — embracing the Betrayal, the Buffeting, the Scourging, the Way of the Cross and the Crucifixion. How simple, yet how touchingly pathetic the words in which Mary "Mawdleyn" addresses Joseph of Arimathea, over the dead Body of her Lord, in the Digby play of "The Burial of Christ"!

O friend Joseph! this prince had never peer!
The Well of Mercy that made me clear (clean);

. . . . . .

O dear Joseph! I feel my heart wax cold,
These blessed feet thus bloody to behold,
Whom (which) I washed with tears manifold
And wiped with my hair.
O how rueful a spectacle it is!
Never has been seen, nor shall be after this,
Such cruel rigour to the King of Bliss
The Lord that made all.

The yearly portrayal of these sacred mysteries in so graphic a manner, yet in a way so thoroughly within the comprehension of all, could not but strengthen faith and drive home to the hearts of

those who witnessed these plays many a valuable lesson. Such dramas were the fruit of Catholicism, and when the Church had been cast down, they too, although they might linger here or there for a time, had necessarily to disappear. They did their work in their day, and we are bound to regard them, in spite of their many imperfections, as powerful aids in keeping alive in the hearts of the people the knowledge and love of those Gospel truths which Protestant bigotry would fain have us believe were almost wholly unknown to our Catholic ancestors.

Authorities followed: — Du Cange, *Glossarium;* Fosbrooke, *British Monachism;* Toulmin Smith, *York Mystery Plays;* Pollard, *English Miracle Plays;* Bates, *English Religious Drama; Townley Plays* (Surtees Soc.); *Digby Mysteries* (Abbotsford Club); *Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen.*

IV.

FACTORS IN THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

IN speaking of the religious troubles of the sixteenth century, we have to bear in mind that the movement known as the Reformation in Scotland differed considerably from that which took place—in its beginnings, at least, in the southern kingdom. In England, as everyone knows, the monarch took the lead. He did not wish for a change of doctrine so much as for a change of Church government; as long as he could free himself from the inconvenient trammels of a higher ecclesiastical authority in the person of the Vicar of Christ, he was content to leave the English Church otherwise unchanged. It is true that in after years the loss of Papal guidance and authority led—as it was inevitable it should—to the loss of doctrines; yet that was not what Henry VIII. desired. He passed out of life calling himself a Catholic, and took care to fortify his soul—as he imagined—with Catholic Sacraments.

The Scottish Reformation came later, and was conducted in a manner far different. In the northern kingdom, it was not the monarch who led the way, but the nobles, bribed by Henry and Elizabeth, who wrought the havoc for their own ends The English sovereigns had their own interests to serve and the Scottish traitor nobles had theirs. Religion

was not the real motive which actuated them, as the sequel will show; the overthrow of the Church could never have been accomplished by the weak party of Reformers had the Scottish nobility been staunch to their Faith and their sovereign, but they were traitors to both, and the Reformers worked under the shelter of their protection. We might call the unscrupulous nobles the hands, as compared with the directing brain-power of the fanatical Knox and his party.

What fills us with wonder about the Scottish Reformation is the apparently sudden way in which it was brought about. We find the Catholic Church in full sway, the people holding its doctrines and living up to its teachings; then in a few years the Church is proscribed and an entirely new religion set up by authority in its place. But, as a matter of fact, it was less suddenly accomplished than appears at first sight. False teaching had long been undermining the Faith of the people, and the neglect of regular instruction by the clergy helped towards the fatal loss of Faith later on.

The factors in the Scottish Reformation may be summed up as:

1. The seeds of heresy, sown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
2. Too great mildness in the punishment of heretics.
3. English intrigues.
4. Apathy on the part of many of the clergy.
5. Ignorance of the laity.
6. Greed on the part of the nobles.
7. Relentless persecution by the State.

On each of these heads we shall have something to say in the following pages.

I.—Seeds of Heresy.

Lollardism.

The history of England shows clearly that Protestantism had its rise in the Wickliffe heresy; for the principles which it introduced brought about the final rejection of the Catholic religion later on. The prominent doctrine of that primitive revolt against authority was that the Bible was the sole source of religious truth, and it was this very doctrine which was at the root of the Reformation. One of the most unprejudiced of modern English historians, the late Professor Gairdner, has brought out most clearly in his *Lollardy*, the close connection between the earlier and the later rebellion against the Church.

We find from contemporary records that Lollardism sowed the seeds of error in Scotland also; it is not very clear when the heresy found a hearing there, but in the early part of the fifteenth century it attracted the attention of the authorities of the Church. John Resby, an English priest, was denounced, apprehended, put to trial, and, proving obstinate in his errors, handed over to the secular power for punishment. Thus, whether or not the introduction of the heresy was due to the Duke of Lancaster and his followers, who had fled to Scotland after Wat Tyler's rebellion in 1381—a fact asserted by some—it was from England that it actually came.

The teaching of Resby continued to be secretly upheld and propagated by his followers; a Bohemian, Paul Crawar, practising as a physician, took his

place as leader, and suffered the same fate as Resby in 1433. The condemnation of Wickliffe and Huss at the Council of Basle, in which some of the Scottish prelates had taken part, seems to have stirred up the ecclesiastical authorities to fresh vigilance; about thirty Lollardists of Kyle were summoned before the Archbishop of Glasgow in 1494 to give an account of their belief. They were charged with denying the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist, the necessity and value of Confession, and the utility of prayers to the Blessed Virgin and the saints; they were said to maintain that priests ought to marry, that princes and prelates of the Church were but thieves and robbers, that the Pope was the head of the "Kirk of Antichrist"—he and his ministers being murderers of souls.[1]

For some reason, never satisfactorily explained, the accused received no punishment; they were merely cautioned to "take heed of new doctrines, and content themselves with the Faith of the Church."[2] For the next thirty years history is silent on the subject of Lollardism; but events proved that the more insidious heresy of Lutheranism—embodying many of its chief tenets—had been secretly spreading among the favourers of the earlier revolt. Constant intercourse with the Continent had brought the learned into the society of German Protestants, and as early as 1525 it became necessary to pass an Act of Parliament forbidding the introduction of Lutheran books into Scotland, where they had already done much harm.

[1] Knox, *Hist. of Ref.* (Ed. 1644), p. 54.
[2] Spottiswoode *Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 121.

Lutheranism.

The promulgation of Lollard doctrines in Scotland prepared the way for the acceptance of the teaching of Luther and the German Protestants. The first to preach publicly the tenets of Protestantism was Patrick Hamilton, a connection of the powerful family of Arran, and a descendant through his mother of King James II. He had been nominated in youth titular Abbot of Ferne, but it seems improbable that he ever became a priest. He had already shown sympathy with heretical teaching when he entered the University of Wittenberg, and became acquainted with Luther and his colleagues in error; becoming an enthusiastic disciple of Protestantism, he gave himself with energy to spread the new doctrines in Scotland. Summoned by an ecclesiastical tribunal to give an account of his belief, he persisted in his errors and was handed over to the secular power to be dealt with as an obstinate heretic. In accordance with the rigorous laws then in force, he was burnt at the stake at St. Andrews in 1528. Among the false opinions of which he was accused were the following: That Baptism does not wash away sin; that man is justified by faith alone; that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation; that there is no such place as Purgatory; that the Pope is Antichrist. Hamilton's religious views, therefore, were justly held up to reprobation by the authorities of the Church.

Punishment of Heretics.

The infliction of capital punishment upon heretics has met with severe condemnation on the part of

twentieth-century critics, Catholic as well as Protestant. But it is unfair to judge the procedure of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the standard of our own times. Heresy was then regarded everywhere as a crime against society; for the ruin of souls was looked upon as more serious than any temporal evil that could be inflicted upon the body. It must be borne in mind also that Protestants, when they gained the supreme power, put to death those who rejected their tenets, just as Catholics had done before them. Thus, under Elizabeth, the saying or hearing of Mass, the succouring of priests and like offences—of a purely spiritual nature—were punishable by death. Yet the proceedings, examined impartially, were far from being equally justifiable in both Catholics and Protestants. The former recognised the doctrinal authority of the Church as binding upon all Christians, and looked upon any wilful disobedience to it as deserving of punishment; the latter recognised no such authority as existing in the world, but accepted as the sole rule of faith the interpretation of the Scriptures by individual opinion. The Catholic position is consequently understandable; but for Protestants to punish for false doctrine is inconceivable, since it is a contradiction of their fundamental principle. It has to be conceded, moreover, that not all Catholics in the Middle Ages advocated the extreme punishment for spiritual offences; we have instances to the contrary —of the denunciation of such procedure as out of keeping with the mild spirit of the Gospel, which demanded patience rather than impetuous severity in the correction of the erring.

The enforcement of the laws against heresy

during the following years, 1533-1539, shows that Protestantism was growing steadily. Among those who underwent the extreme penalty during that time was Henry Forrest, a Benedictine monk. David Straiton of Lawrieston, a layman, and Norman Gourlay, a priest, were tried by the Bishop of Ross, who represented the Primate, in the presence of the King, James V. The monarch wore the judicial dress of the period; for a contemporary describes him as being "all cloathed in reid."[1] Both accused were found guilty and condemned to death. On August 27th, 1534, the sentence was carried out in as public a manner as possible; they were burned at the Cross or "Rude" of Greenside, between Edinburgh and Leith, "to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be stricken with terrour and feare," says the same authority.

Forret, a Canon Regular; Simson, a priest of Stirling; Forrester, a layman; Beveridge and Keillor, Dominicans; Russell, a Franciscan; and Kennedy, a layman, were others who suffered death for their opinions about this time. All these executions were sanctioned by an Act of Parliament passed in 1535, which renewed the old prohibition against heresy and the keeping of heretical books.

Many recanted when brought to justice—"burning their bill," as the saying went—a phrase that originated in the custom of compelling the accused to set fire to a dry faggot, in token of destroying the instrument which would have brought about his death had he persisted in error. Others fled to the Continent from the face of danger.

[1] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I., p. 210*.

In 1539, Cardinal David Beaton succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of St. Andrews. He continued the same policy with regard to the firm treatment of heretics as his predecessor had followed, yet the number condemned to capital punishment during his primacy was less. His strength of character made him feared, and rendered him all the more obnoxious to the supporters of false doctrine. It was the Cardinal's zeal for the defence of the Faith that brought about his assassination by the reforming faction. In this they were aided and encouraged—if not instigated to the crime—by Henry VIII. of England. But of this we shall speak later.

2.—Too great Mildness in Punishment.

A non-Catholic historian, Andrew Lang, does not hesitate to attribute the successful growth of heresy to the half-heartedness with which the laws against it were enforced—the King, and even some of the clergy, being often reluctant to impose the extreme penalty. "A cruel punishment like burning," he says, "can only be effective if practised on a very large scale and with mechanical ruthlessness. Effective persecution, like that instituted by the Reformers as soon as the yoke was off their own necks, must work evenly, universally, and, as it were, mechanically. Imprisonment, confiscation, exile, death denounced and inflicted in successive grades on all practising Catholics almost stamped out Catholicism in Scotland after 1560. Sporadic burnings and confiscations under James V. could not put down the nascent Protestantism." [1]

[1] *History of Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 431.

Excessive mildness in repressing heresy on the part of the civil authorities of the realm at such a period cannot be excused, for to them it belonged to chastise the offenders whom the Church denounced. In the early days of Lollard teaching, as we have seen, some few professors of the heresy were severely dealt with. But the severity was but short-lived. When the Lollards of Kyle were tried in the presence of James IV., although, if we are to believe Knox's account, their spokesman addressed the monarch with daring insolence, no punishment was inflicted. The Protestant historian Grub, however, discredits that account: "The scoffing remarks of the accused as given by Knox," he says, "could hardly have been tolerated by King James, and, it is to be hoped, are exaggerated in the narrative."[1] It seems an inexcusable procedure that the accused were merely charged to avoid new doctrines and be content with what the Church taught.

James V. and Cardinal Beaton more effectually dealt with the heretics of their day, but when both King and Cardinal were dead, and a woman held the supreme power, Mary of Guise, the Regent, was too weak to check their boldness. All writers, Protestant as well as Catholic, are agreed that Cardinal Beaton in his day was the only formidable opponent of the enemies of the Church. "Undoubtedly, if he had lived," says one, "the Reformers would have had a still harder fight for the victory." "Beaton must be held to have been the last support of the Catholic Church," declares another. Deprived of his help and counsel, the

[1] *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 389 (note).

Queen committed herself to an unwise tolerance of the growing errors, for the sake of a temporary peace; this resulted in the weakening of Catholic defences, and the strengthening of the forces of her enemies. It was her policy to tolerate their party as long as they conducted themselves as peaceful subjects. When at last they grew too insolent to be borne with, she endeavoured by gentle exhortation rather than by prompt punishment to withstand the evils they were inflicting upon religion. It is proof that her attitude was dictated by policy rather than sympathy with their views—as Knox had the audacity to insinuate—that she resolutely refused to allow Parliament to be petitioned for the suspension of the laws against heresy, and for the protection of Protestants in the matter of freedom of teaching. Her policy was to maintain peace at whatever cost, until the marriage of her young daughter with the Dauphin, and the recognition of the latter as King-Consort of Scotland, had been ratified by Parliament.

We must not, however, condemn the Queen Regent for apathy regarding religion; her leniency arose in part from unusual kindness of disposition. At her death, hastened by grief and anxiety for the troubles which threatened Scotland, she set so magnificent an example of forgiveness of her enemies, and prayer for their pardon, that a Protestant writer, Miss Strickland, calls it "an incident which for Christian meekness has no parallel in history."[1] Moreover, while we lament her policy, we cannot but admire her courage and endurance in circumstances of such immense difficulty. Her

[1] *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 266.

mistaken leniency did but bring about a result which had been prepared for by the too great toleration of an earlier age.

Yet had she been favoured with an adviser who urged the persecution of Protestants, in order to save the perilous situation, "Mary of Guise was not the woman to abet him in drastic violence."[1]

Moreover, she had an opponent in Knox, not easily to be put down.

John Knox.

The man who took the lead in the Scottish revolt against religion was the arch-heretic, John Knox. Born at Haddington between the years 1505 and 1515, he is said to have studied in the University of St. Andrews. By his own testimony we know that he eventually received priest's orders, but of his ecclesiastical career no particulars have come down to us. From the scurrilous way in which he treats in his writings everything Catholic, especially the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, his theological education would seem to have had little effect upon his mind. "We ask ourselves," says a non-Catholic writer—the late Andrew Lang: "'Had Knox, as a "priest of the altar," never known the deep emotions, which tongue may not utter, that the ceremonies and services of his Church so naturally awaken in the soul of the believer?' These emotions, if they were in his experience, he never remembered tenderly, he flung them from him without regret. . . . He loathes what he has left behind him, and it is natural to guess that, in the

[1] Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 169.

first years of his priesthood, his religious nature slept. . . . He awoke to a passionate horror and hatred of his old routine of 'mumbled Masses,' of 'rites of human invention,' whereof he had never known the poetry and the mystic charm. Had he known them, he could not have so denied and detested them."[1] Be that as it may, Knox spared no pains to revile everything which as a priest he had been taught to look upon as most holy, when from 1545 and onwards he gave himself heart and soul to the spread of Protestantism, which now began to assert itself openly. Many of the nobility attached themselves to the cause, among them being the Lord James Stuart, titular Prior of St. Andrews, and illegitimate son of the late King, Lord Erskine, Lord Lorne and others. Knox went from place to place, preaching and "ministering the Lord's table." The Earl of Glencairn became one of his notable patrons. "Divers from Edinburgh and from the country about assembled, as well for the doctrine as for the right use of the Lord's table, which before they had never practised."[2] The report of these proceedings reached the ecclesiastical authorities, and Knox was summoned to give an account of himself before the bishops in the Black Friars' Church, Edinburgh. For some unexplained reason this summons was recalled, and on the very day when he should have appeared before his judges, the reformer publicly preached in the capital to "a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town."

After the dastardly murder of Cardinal Beaton,

[1] *John Knox and the Reformation*, pp. 9, 10.
[2] Knox, *Historie.*

over which Knox exulted with disgraceful levity, the Reformer shared the fate of the assassins and was condemned to the galleys at Rouen. Two years later he was free to return to Scotland, but preferred to remain for a time on the English side of the border. Later, he took refuge in Geneva. In 1555 he once more ventured to appear in his native country, and to stir up the slumbering zeal of Protestants by violent sermons on the "impiety of the mass" and the like blasphemous assertions. The danger of apprehension for his boldness led him to retire again to Geneva, whither he had been invited to serve as pastor. The increasing power of the reforming party in Scotland brought him home again in 1559, and from that period until his death he was the recognised spiritual leader of the movement of which the traitor nobles, in the pay of Protestant England, were the powerful patrons.

So rapidly did events move that in August 1560 a Parliament, packed for the purpose with the lesser barons—whose right to sit was, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful, but whose friendship with the reforming party gave them entry—abolished Catholicism, and set up Protestantism as the religion of Scotland. But even before that stupendous event, a reforming mob, roused by Knox's inflammatory denunciations of the Catholic Church and its teachings, had already strewed the land with ruined sanctuaries. Perth, Cupar, Crail, Anstruther and St. Andrews beheld the wreck and desecration of holy places; the abbeys of Lindores, Balmerino and Scone were cast down, to be followed by the religious houses of Stirling, Linlithgow and Cambuskenneth. Heresy had at last gained the

upper hand, and was thenceforth to wage triumphant war with Truth.

3.—English Intrigues.

Henry VIII.

For centuries before the Reformation period, English monarchs had cast covetous eyes on Scotland. At first they claimed dominion as feudal lords, to whom the Scottish kings were bound to pay homage. Edward I. and his successors pressed their claim still further, and maintained that the Scottish crown was held on condition of such homage; resting on this view, they pushed armies into Scotland to ravage and destroy in punishment of Scottish resistance to their pretensions. The assertion of paramount sovereignty had for its real object the union of both kingdoms under one monarch, and this design was never relinquished until Elizabeth's death brought it about naturally. Henry VIII.'s ambition, after James IV. had fallen at Flodden, was to secure the person of the infant king, James V., whose mother was Henry's sister. To this end he instituted a widespread system of bribery among the Scottish nobles, many of whom were his paid spies, as the State Papers of the period show. His attempts proving unsuccessful, he endeavoured to gain over the young king to repudiate the authority of the Pope, as he had done, and to break his alliance with Catholic France. When James refused to entertain such proposals, Henry declared war on Scotland, urging the exploded claim of his paramount sovereignty. Pope Paul III., however, recognised the real cause of hostilities when he styled Henry, in a letter to

James V., "that son of perdition, who is labouring for no other end than to make himself master of Scotland, and destroy the Catholic Faith in Scotland, as he has already done in England."[1]

After James' early death, Henry, in a letter conveyed to him from the Scottish reforming nobles by a "Scottish man called Wysshert," was informed of the desire of some to remove Cardinal Beaton out of the way of the "earnest professors" of Protestantism in Scotland. Though unwilling to be known as agent in so iniquitous an affair, Henry certainly connived at the murder. His answer through his Privy Council to the question put to him by the conspirators as to his readiness to reward the deed, if accomplished, was expressed thus: "His Highness, reputing the fact not mete to be set forward expressly by his Majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Saddleyr . . . should write" as though he were suggesting it of his own accord. He is advised to say, that if he (Sadler) "were as able to do his Majesty good service there . . . he would surely do what he could for th' execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the realme of Scotland, and would trust verily the King's Majesty would consider his service in the same."[2]

After the murder, Henry sent by Balnaves, for distribution among the conspirators, the substantial sum of £1180, and continued to afford them supplies during the fourteen months they spent

[1] Tytler, *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 356.
[2] State Papers, *Henry VIII.*, Vol. V., p. 449.

afterwards in the Castle of St. Andrews, where they had fortified themselves. Had the whole of his secret correspondence on this subject been preserved to us, it is possible that it would reveal Henry VIII. as a more active instigator of Beaton's murder than appears on the surface; but sufficient has been adduced here to prove his appreciation of the crime.

Elizabeth.

Like her father, Henry VIII., Elizabeth took a very keen interest in Scottish affairs from the moment of her accession to the English throne. She had no sympathy with the religion introduced by the Reformers there, for she hated Calvinism, and particularly disliked Knox on account of his political opinions, yet there were reasons why she was bound to support the reforming party in her own interest. France was inclined to favour the claim to the English crown of Mary Stuart, who had been married to their young king—Elizabeth, in the eyes of Catholics, being base born, since her mother's marriage was invalid. It was to take vengeance upon the French—the faithful allies of Scotland—that the English queen did all in her power to help the Reformers against the French supporters of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise. Knox, as his letters show (for they are still to be seen among the State Papers of Elizabeth's reign), was an active agent in procuring supplies of money and men from England to resist the Catholic French, who were so great an obstacle to the progress of the Reformation in Scotland. Even Protestant writers reprehend the conduct of Knox and his party in this respect. They were ready to set aside all mention

of religion in the matter and treat Elizabeth's interference as purely political. She, on her part, was not ashamed to stoop to a base scheme for deposing the Queen Regent and setting a Protestant in power. Her policy, as the Scottish historian Grub, himself a Protestant, points out, "was in itself wicked and unjust, . . . fraught with evils which produced results fatal to the happiness and well-being of both kingdoms." [1]

It is clear from history that but for English help the Scottish Reformation would never have been successfully achieved; it was the powerful aid of Elizabeth which enabled the revolution to conquer in the end, for her help came just when it was most needed to rally the sinking spirits of the disquieted Reformers and enable them to hold their ground. That help she never relaxed until she had ruined and murdered her rival, Mary Stuart. That hapless queen, a girl-widow of nineteen, entirely inexperienced in governing, stood in need of reliable councillors. Her half-brother, Moray, who pretended to watch all her interests with affectionate solicitude, was secretly in Elizabeth's pay, and was scheming to obtain the Scottish crown for himself. As early as 1560, Cecil, the English agent, wrote of him to Elizabeth that he was "not unlike to be a king soon." [2] Later on, when Mary Stuart was starting for Scotland from France, Moray actually advised the English queen in her own interests to intercept her rival on the voyage, and it was neither his fault nor Elizabeth's that the attempt was unsuccessful.

[1] *Eccl. Hist. of Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 74.
[2] State Papers, *Elizabeth, Scotland*, Vol. IV., No. 17.

From all this it is plain that English monarchs had no little to do with the overthrow of the Catholic Faith in unhappy Scotland. Henry VIII., with his hatred of the Pope, and Elizabeth, with her hatred of France and consequent opposition to French interests in Scotland, worked incessantly by means of unscrupulous agents to further the rebellion of the Scottish nobles against both Church and State.

4.—Apathy of the Clergy.

Neglect of Instruction.

In studying the factors which combined to bring about the Protestant Reformation in Scotland, we must not lose sight of the part borne by ecclesiastics. Protestant historians are never weary of pouring out their torrents of abuse against the Church as it existed in Scotland in the sixteenth century. Some of them would have us believe that the clergy were almost invariably worthless—the bishops false hirelings, the whole system "rotten to the core." Such sweeping statements are certainly gross exaggerations. We cannot accept as reliable evidence the testimony of the avowed adversaries of Catholicism, yet we find among contemporary Catholics of undoubted integrity witnesses to the lamentable apathy of many ecclesiastics of the time in regard to the spread of error among the people. The estimable John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the faithful companion of his exiled queen, and the author of a history of those times, discusses the cause of the overthrow of religion in so comparatively short a time; the reason he gives is noteworthy. "It was not that the rulers of the Church had betrayed their

trust," he says, "but that they did not promptly extinguish the sparks of heresy by instruction, explanation and reproof as they ought to have done. . . . The source and origin of the evil was that the people, neglected by the clergy and uninstructed in the catechism in their tender years, had no sure and certain belief."[1]

Bishop Lesley's evidence is borne out by the repeated enactments of councils and synods during the early part of the sixteenth century. Thus the Provincial Council which assembled in Edinburgh under the presidency of Archbishop Hamilton in 1549, decreed that every Ordinary should preach publicly at least four times a year; if unaccustomed to this duty, they were to fit themselves for it by study, and by receiving into their households men skilled in sacred learning. Rectors of parishes, who in the judgment of their Ordinary were competent for the office, were in like manner bound to preach at least four times a year. Those unable to preach were to qualify themselves for the duty by studying in some public seminary, taking care to provide approved substitutes in their parishes during their absence. These and other regulations of a like nature bear witness to a direful lack of learning among some of the clergy, at least.

Measures taken too late.

Three years later more stringent measures were adopted. A brief, clear and Catholic explanation of the doctrines of the Church was compiled in catechetical form, and the clergy were commanded

[1] *De rebus gestis Scotorum*, p. 538.

to read from it to the people for the space of half an hour on every Sunday and holy day, unless a public sermon should be delivered by a Religious or some other preacher. With regard to this work, known as "Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism"—since it was published at his instigation and at his expense—its value is acknowledged even by writers of pronounced Protestant tendencies. Thus Bishop Keith says of it: "No divine at this day"—he writes nearly two centuries later—"need be ashamed of such a work."[1] He declares that this book alone "shows that all the clergy in those days have not been such dunces as some people would make us apprehend." Dr. Hill Burton, the renowned historian, is another Protestant authority who speaks in high appreciation of it as "a fine piece of composition, full of a spirit of charity and gentleness. It carefully avoids," he says, "whatever might irritate those who have a remnant of the old Faith, by which they might still be drawn back."[2]

Unedifying Lives of Some.

It cannot be denied, in the light of history, that not only did the neglect of the duty of teaching their flocks on the part of the clergy render the Scottish people of the sixteenth century an easy prey to preachers of heresy, but the private lives of too many were deficient in that good example which preaches more efficaciously than words. If we are to believe the scurrilous charges made by professed advocates of Protestantism, we must be ready to admit that the lives of the Scottish clergy generally

[1] *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 63 (note).
[2] *History*, Vol. IV., p. 44.

were grossly immoral. That, however, in the light of contemporary evidence, cannot possibly be granted. The fact that ecclesiastical councils, for the reformation of abuses and upholding of discipline, were summoned so frequently during the years preceding the Church's downfall is one proof that a considerable number of the clergy were faithful to their obligations. For the decrees passed at these assemblies were in full accord with those of the Council of Trent, and the frequency with which they were held—in 1546, 1549, 1552, 1559—witnesses to the desire for the reform of discipline on the part of ecclesiastical superiors, and the readiness of at least some of the clergy to assist in the work.

One fact, however, is apparent in the legislations of these councils; many of the clergy were evidently deficient in the education and training necessary to fit them for their important duties; but this deficiency was not peculiar to Scotland, and had been seriously taken in hand by the Council of Trent. Bishop Lesley blames the lives of the clergy for the success so easily obtained by the heretical preachers, but it must be noted that he pronounces no sweeping condemnation of the whole body. "The lives of many ecclesiastical persons," he says, "were apparently stained by avarice and voluptuousness, and this gave to the sectarian ministers matter enough to cry down the Church with the common people, maintaining that the light of the Gospel could not dwell in the darkness of vice."[1] Father de Gouda, a Jesuit, sent as emissary to Queen Mary by Pius IV. in 1562, speaks to the same effect: "The lives of priests and clerics are not unfrequently such as to

[1] *De rebus*, p. 538.

cause grave scandal; an evil increased by the supine indifference and negligence of the Bishops themselves." [1]

The origin of the evil is not far to seek. The same Father de Gouda quotes the opinion of sensible Catholics in Scotland that it was owing, for the most part, "to the suspension of the ordinary mode of election to the abbacies and other high dignities. The preferments are conferred upon children or other incapable persons, without any care for God's honour and the service of the Church, and very often one such person holds several offices." [2] A noted Protestant writer, Mr. J. Gairdner, speaks thus of the Scottish Church: "Numerous instances of Bishops of one family succeeding each other in the same Sees show the extraordinary prevalence of nepotism. . . . In one See there had been a succession of Stewarts, in another of Gordons, in another of Hepburns; and the Church, which in all other countries had broken the neck of feudalism . . . fell, like everything else in Scotland, completely under the sway of the king and nobles." [3] Easy, worldly lives in the prelates were not calculated to further the virtues befitting their state in the lower clergy, and thus arose the lamentable neglect of duty which later ages strove in vain to remedy.

Another Charge against the Clergy.

The clergy of the ancient Church of Scotland were undoubtedly responsible for the bringing about of the so-called Reformation by their apathy to the growth of heresy, and in too many instances by the

[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scot. Catholics*, p. 76. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Letters, &c., reign of Rich. III.*, Vol. II., p. 59 *seq.*

lack of necessary learning and of the requisite moral virtues which ought to adorn the souls of God's anointed ministers. But there is another serious charge which some writers have brought against them which cannot be so readily admitted. The prelates of the Church have been accused of keeping silence when the Catholic religion was attacked in Parliament in 1560, and the unworthy motive attributed to them of having been influenced by the fear of losing their temporal possessions had they raised any objection to the unwarrantable proceedings of the reforming party. This charge calls for a few words of refutation.

In the first place, the true Catholics among the Bishops, Abbots and nobles formed an insignificant minority in that assembly. Most of them had declined to take any part in what they rightly regarded as an illegal Parliament, since the authority of the Sovereign had not been obtained for its assembling; they had urged delay until matters could be placed upon a proper basis, but the strong party of the opposition, rendered numerically superior by the large body of lesser barons of Puritan opinions, who had demanded and obtained seats contrary to long-established precedent, made all such objections futile, so that the sittings continued.

Strange indeed for a Catholic country was the legislation which proceeded from that assembly! A petition from "the Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses and other true subjects of this realm, professing the Lord Jesus within the same," was among the first matters considered. "A godly reformation of abuses" was demanded; this included the abolition of "idolatry," the renunciation of the "usurped

authority" of "that man of sin (who) falsely claimeth to himself the titles of the Vicar of Christ, the Successor of Peter, the Head of the Church, that he cannot err, that all power is granted unto him,"[1] with much more to the same effect. The language in which this petition was couched was so violent and intemperate that a Protestant historian has not hesitated to declare it as "difficult to read without emotions of sorrow and pity."[2]

In answer to their request, the petitioners were told to lay before Parliament a summary of the precise doctrines they desired to establish as forming the national creed. Four days later—so well were they prepared—the notorious "Confession of Faith" was brought forward. It was examined, approved and accepted by the votes of a vast majority of the members, sixteen days after Parliament had assembled. The few true Catholics present took no part in the discussion, though many voted against the measure, and this has led a Protestant historian to condemn them for grave dereliction of duty. "They were bound," says Grub, "to defend to the utmost the Faith which they professed and the institution which it was their solemn duty to maintain. It might not be easy for them to determine what precise line of conduct they should adopt, but under no circumstances could their silence be justified. It encouraged their enemies and entirely disheartened their friends among the laity."[3]

Baselessness of the Charge.

It will be well to investigate this charge, as

[1] Knox, *Historie*, p. 219 (Ed. 1644).
[2] Tytler, *History*, Vol. III., p. 128.
[3] *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 85.

briefly as possible, in order to remove from the characters of those in question a stigma undeservedly inflicted. To us who look upon the proceedings in the light of subsequent history, the adoption of the "Confession of Faith" is seen to be the destruction of Catholicism and the setting up in its place of a false religion, by the highest authorities in power at the moment. But it had less significance in the eyes of contemporaries, for Bishop Lesley, the Catholic historian, seems to have regarded the matter as undeserving of notice. The truth is that the Bishops had from the first relied upon a settlement of religious questions by a properly constituted Parliament assembled by royal authority. This is proved by documents preserved among the archives of the Scots College in Paris.

It appears that when this hope was frustrated by the illegal assembly of 1560, and by the consideration of the "Confession of Faith" by that body, the prelates in question thought it the more prudent and dignified course to hold their peace. They evidently did not realise the serious nature of the crisis, expecting without doubt the exercise of the sovereign power later on in the annulment of all that had been so irregularly carried out. The Primate, Archbishop Hamilton, in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, then in Paris—a letter forming one of the documents mentioned above—thus expresses himself on the subject: "I neither can nor will think that our Sovereign will let all this country be oppressed wrongously by subjects, but I will not judge till I see the uttermost." This missive is dated on the very day on which the "Confession"

had been accepted by the majority in Parliament, yet it is worthy of note that the Primate gives his reason for writing at that time as follows: "I must make this little billet to your lordship more that remembrance be not lost between us *than for any matters of importance.*"[1] The concluding words of the sentence show unmistakably that the writer regarded the whole affair as but another bold stroke on the part of the enemies of Catholicism which would be easily averted.

Subsequent events proved that the Bishops had underrated the importance of the Parliamentary proceedings. After sweeping away by law every vestige of the Catholic Faith, the assembly went on to abolish all ancient ritual and practice—putting an end to the observance of any feast day, even of Easter, retaining Sunday alone as a day of religious worship, and repudiating five out of the seven Sacraments. With a hatred that was diabolical the Reformers went on to doom all celebrants of Mass as well as all participators therein to rigorous penalties—confiscation of goods and corporal punishment for the first offence; exile, for the second; death, for the third; "The Act," says Andrew Lang, a non-Catholic, "sounds insane, but the Convention was wise in its generation. Had it merely abolished the persecuting laws of the Church, Scotland might never have been Protestant. The old Faith is infinitely more attractive to mankind. . . . The missionaries of the counter-Reformation, but for the persecuting Act, would have arrived in a Scotland which did not persecute . . . the work of 1560 might all have been undone, had not the

[1] Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, pp. 485-488.

stringent Act been passed."[1] The Bishops, however, could not foresee all this, and therefore we can hardly attribute to them the carelessness or apathy with which they have been charged.

5.—Ignorance of the Laity.

When we read the fiery denunciations of Knox and his colleagues against the Catholic Church, it strikes us at once that those who could listen patiently to such obvious errors must have been but feebly instructed in the Church's elementary teachings. Bishop Lesley's evidence as to the defective education of the common people has already been given. To this may be added the vigorous denunciation of negligent pastors by the Catholic apologist Ninian Winzet. He addresses the Bishops thus: "What part of the true religion, by your slothful dominion and princely estate, is not corrupted or obscured? Have not many through lack of teaching, in mad ignorance misknown their duty, which we all owe to our Lord God, and so in their perfect belief have sorely stumbled?"[2] The first violent and public outbreak against the old religion of the land took place at Perth. Early in the year 1559 Knox returned from the Continent, whither he had fled from the almost certain punishments due for the insolent manner in which he had attacked the authorities of the Church three years previously. Protestantism had grown in strength during his absence, and he made no scruple of publishing its heretical tenets in the boldest possible manner. Assembling his followers in the splendid Church of St. John the Baptist at Perth—a magnificent

[1] *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 176.
[2] *Certain Tractates*, pp. 5, 6.

cathedral-like structure which had earned for the town the title of "St. John's Town"—he made, says a contemporary writer, "such an excellent sermon to them that he set their minds, already moved, all in a flame."[1] Knox, in his history, though he does not name himself as the preacher, mentions the subject of the discourse. "The sermon," he says, "was very vehement against idolatry." Afterwards, when a priest began to prepare the high altar for Mass, and unfolded a triptych adorned with paintings, a boy cried out: "This is intolerable, that when God by His Word hath plainly condemned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite."[2] And when the priest, in just indignation, gave the boy a blow in chastisement, the latter cast a stone at the altar carvings and broke to pieces one of the sculptured statues. The others present, already inflamed by the sermon they had heard, threw themselves upon pictures, carvings, statues of saints, painted windows, and all other adornments of that splendid church, and reduced the building to a wreck. This was but the beginning; during the two days that followed, the other churches and sacred buildings of the city witnessed similar sacrileges, until all were ruined—some of the religious houses being reduced to mere heaps of stones; and the like "reforming" was carried out in many other towns not long after.

Such an utterly baseless and foolish charge as that of promoting idolatry could never have taken such effect had the people possessed the most elementary teaching of Christianity. The mob, it

[1] Buchanan, *Historie* (ed. 1752), Vol. II., p. 248.
[2] *Historie*, p. 142 (1644 ed.).

is true, were less criminal than those who urged them on to such excesses; but it seems incredible, did we not know that it was all too true, that so large and dangerous a body of fanatics could have been roused to such an extent—and that not in a land which had cast off Catholicism, but in one which the Church had ruled for a thousand years. How appallingly ignorant of their Faith must the people have become, when the catch-word, "idolatry," was sufficient to rouse such animosity against the religion of their baptism! We have already pointed out, when discussing the part taken by the clergy in permitting the advance of erroneous doctrines, that there was great and deplorable need of systematic instruction of the people. This was, no doubt, at the root of much of the evil effected by the Reformers; but there seems to have been another motive power at work. Even the lamentable neglect of catechetical instruction which had prevailed so widely would seem inadequate to bring about an ignorance so dense. We are forced to the conclusion that it was helped on by the desire for emancipation from what they would regard as the irksome discipline of the Church. Such a desire, fostered by deplorable ignorance, must have had more power than the illogical utterances of Knox and his adherents to incline the common people towards the new religion.

6.—Greed of the Nobles.

We come now to the strongest element in the bringing about of the Scottish Reformation—the share taken by the nobility of the kingdom. The

position of the nobles with regard to the monarch was not the same in Scotland as in England. In the latter country the Tudors had successfully completed the work of centuries by bringing the nobility into thorough subjection to the Crown. But in Scotland the ancient feudal system had never been entirely done away with, and the power of the nobles, in spite of the constant efforts of successive kings to crush it during the century that preceded the overthrow of religion, was a continual source of trouble to the monarch.

This power, great as it was under any circumstances, was increased by the successive minorities of youthful sovereigns during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. James I., who succeeded his father, Robert III., in 1406, had been taken prisoner by the English and was detained at the English court for twenty years. During the regency of his uncle, the Duke of Albany, the audacity of the nobles exceeded all bounds, and James, on his return to his kingdom, made it his chief aim to restore the prestige of the Crown. Though he did much towards that end, it was at the cost of his life, for he was assassinated at the instigation of discontented nobles when he had governed in person for twelve years only. His son, James II., was a child of six, and died when he was thirty, leaving the throne to another child-king, James III., a boy of eight. The latter came to an early and untimely end in a rebellion of the nobles. His successor, James IV., was a youth of sixteen; he reigned for twenty-six years, but perished at Flodden when his heir was an infant less than two years old. This latter, known as James V., died young, when his only child, the

ill-fated Mary Stuart, had been born but a few days.

The history of those two centuries shows an unceasing struggle between the Crown and the nobility, in which two kings lost their lives. During every minority it was the aim of some particular faction to gain possession of the person of the infant monarch as a means towards increase of strength. This is especially remarkable with regard to the youthful James V. and his infant daughter Mary. During the minority of the former, when his widowed mother had espoused in almost indecent haste the Earl of Angus, head of the powerful house of Douglas, the factions among the nobles kept the kingdom in a ferment; armed bands scoured the country, waging war upon each other for supremacy. Dislike of English interference in the councils of State—for the Queen-Mother was sister to Henry VIII. and in constant touch with him—split the wranglers into two principal parties. In opposition to the Douglases, who favoured the English monarch, a faction came into being known as the French party, whose desire was to raise the Duke of Albany to the regency; the Duke, born of a French mother, married to a French wife, and living for a long time in France, had close sympathies with that country and was a staunch Catholic. The struggle had begun, in fact, between English domination, bringing with it Protestant tendencies, and the preservation of Catholic supremacy by the help of French influence. Even when Albany had been appointed Regent, the continual intrigues of the nobles made it impossible for him to retain office, and he eventually retired to France. The disaffection of the Scottish

nobles, who were responsible for the victory of the English on Solway Moss—where ten thousand Scots were routed by three hundred English—broke the heart of their young king, James V. He died at the age of thirty, leaving a distracted kingdom to a baby daughter, whose career was to be more troubled and her death more tragic than his own.

Their attitude towards the Reformation.

The power which the nobles had acquired in the realm made them serious opponents when they began to support the party of the Reformers. The latter, left to themselves, would have been but sorry adversaries of the Catholic Church with its prestige of centuries. The countenance of some of the nobility gave quite a different aspect to affairs. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that this favour shown to incipient Protestantism was little proof of a desire for "pure Gospel truth." A prominent Scottish historian credits some of them with a sincere conviction of the superiority of the new religion over the old. "Many of them," says Tytler, "favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, some from a conscientious conviction of their truth; others," he continues, and these are words we must not pass over, "from an envious eye to those possessions of the Church which, under the dissolution of the English religious houses, they had seen become the prey of their brethren in England." [1] Hill Burton is still more trenchant in his denunciation of the conduct of the nobles. "The lay gentry of Scotland," he says, "had their eyes pretty steadily fixed on the estates of the Church and clergy.

[1] *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 373.

When a set of teachers arose whose doctrine pointed to the conclusion that these clergy were false prophets who had no title to their position, and consequently no just right to the wealth it brought them, there was a disposition to listen." [1]

It can hardly be denied, even by those who favour the Reformation, that the example of Henry VIII., in his unprincipled seizure of ecclesiastical revenues and possessions, had much influence in inducing unscrupulous Scottish nobles to enrich themselves in a similar way, and that with very little trouble or danger. The riches of the Scottish Church had accumulated during more than thirteen centuries from the generous gifts to God and His poor made by kings and nobles at various times. The general practice of the Church at that period was to divide revenues into three equal portions: one for the support of the clergy, another for buildings and repairs, the third for the poor. Although the total income of the Church in Scotland amounted to a considerable sum, yet, taking into consideration the division in question, and the large number of ecclesiastics and religious—computed at three thousand—who had to share the portion allotted to them, individuals were by no means wealthy. But since the reforming nobles numbered not more than a hundred, the share of each in the general division would amount to thirty times as much, without taking into consideration the vast and well-cultivated Church lands, which formed part of the bait.

Struggle for the Spoils.

The true principles of the reforming nobles are

[1] *History*, Vol. IV. p. 373.

shown by the events which followed the overthrow of the Catholic Church in Scotland. There was at once a general scramble—as it may truly be styled—for ecclesiastical spoils. Not only abbeys, priories and collegiate churches, with their respective buildings and revenues, but even almshouses and hospitals—founded exclusively for the support and welfare of the poor and sick—became, in too many instances, the private property of individuals. This is evident from the very titles of so many noble families, taken as they are from monastic houses; for the possessions of the latter were in almost every instance erected into a "temporal lordship"—as it was styled—in place of the former spiritual dignity, which often carried with it a seat in Parliament among the nobles of the kingdom.

It will be of interest to recount some of these metamorphosed titles. Among the Earls we find those of Dunfermline, Kelso, Glenluce and Melrose—the two former were endowed with the temporalities of Benedictine abbeys, the two latter of Cistercian. Lords Balmerino, Lindores, Cupar, Dundrennan, Newbottle, New Abbey, Paisley, Jedburgh, Scone and Blantyre took their titles from various monasteries whose revenues they obtained. Lord Colville of Culross, Lord Bruce of Kinloss and Lord St. Colme gained possession of the abbeys of Culross, Kinloss and Inchcolm respectively. The abbeys of Cambuskenneth, Deir, Holywood, Arbroath, Kilwinning and Ferne became baronies under other titles; that of Inchaffray gave to its possessor the title of Lord Maderty—taken from one of its dependent churches. The property and revenues of the collegiate establishment at Maybole

fell to the family of Cassilis, those of Hamilton to the Hamilton family, those of Lochwinnoch to the Semples; the last provost of Crichton became a Protestant and retained possession, and Dumbarton was bestowed upon a mere boy, Cuthbert Cunningham, to help to provide for his education.

With regard to hospitals and such like institutions, they ceased to exist after the Reformation; those belonging to monasteries shared the fate of their owners; others became the property of nobles—as Linlithgow Hospital, which passed to Sir James Hamilton; of most there is no further record. It will be sufficient to quote in this connection the scathing condemnation of the Presbyterian Church uttered by a Protestant in regard to such foundations: "The ancient Church was honourably distinguished by its charity towards the poor, and more especially towards the diseased poor; and it was a dreary interval of nearly two centuries which intervened between the extinction of its lazar-houses and leper-houses, and the time when merely a civilised humanity dictated the establishment of a regulated means of succour for the sickness-stricken of the humbler classes."[1]

The complaint deserves comparison with a document of earlier date, whose pretensions it ably refutes. The "Beggars' Warning," as it was called, was found affixed to the gates of religious houses about a year before the accomplishment of the Church's overthrow. It ran thus: "The blind, crooked, bedridden, widows, orphans and all the poor so visited by the hand of God as cannot work: to the flocks of all friars within this realm, we wish restitution of wrongs past and reformation in times

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, Vol. III., p. 557.

coming for salvation."[1] After accusing the friars of usurping the property of the poor, the document declared that unless the ill-gotten gains were given up voluntarily, the rightful owners would enter "in whole number (with the help of God and assistance of His saints on earth) and eject" the present possessors utterly. When the day of destruction came, it was not the poor and helpless who were benefited, but the strong, rapacious, unscrupulous rich.

7.—Relentless Persecution.

In all that has been set forth it has been shown that the powerful factors in the movement—the English monarchs with gold in their hands, the greedy nobility of the kingdom, coveting the riches of the Church, and a few unworthy prelates, who prized temporal possessions more highly than the friendship of their God—pushed forward the otherwise weak and insignificant rebellion against established authority, and in the end succeeded in overthrowing the order of things which had existed for centuries.

A packed Parliament audaciously legislated for the change of the religion of the country from Catholic to Protestant of the most rancorous type. The change had been prepared for by neglect on the part of pastors to instruct their flocks in the doctrines of the Faith, so that the people became an easy prey to those who ceaselessly spread abroad everywhere the false tenets of their sect. Yet this does not satisfactorily account for the ultimate success of the movement, unless we could be per-

[1] Knox, *Historie*, p. 130.

suaded that there were scarcely any staunch Catholics in the country. And of this it is impossible to be persuaded. The truth is that the Reformation was rendered successful by persistent and virulent persecution. One historian, it is true, has not hesitated to affirm that when Queen Mary arrived in the country from France, a year after the Catholic Church had been proscribed, she came "among a people of whom the greater portion, including all the ruling men, had become Protestants."[1] There can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the statement concerning the ruling men, but their "conversion"—if it can be dignified by the term—can scarcely be attributed to conviction; it was merely a substitution of the worship of Mammon for that of God. The assertion as to the bulk of the nation, however, at that period, cannot be granted; there are too many proofs to the contrary.

The People's attitude towards Catholicism.

Before examining these proofs, it will be well to take a cursory glance at the period which preceded the Reformation. For if we can discover signs of vigorous Catholic life among the people of the land, the falling away of the "greater portion" to Protestantism within the space of a very few years at most is incredible. We have seen that many of the common people were intensely ignorant of Catholic doctrine, but we must by no means conclude, as the Protestant historian in question seems to have done, that the greater part of the nation was in this condition. Indeed, there are proofs to

[1] Hill Burton, *History*, Vol. IV., p. 178.

the contrary. Had the people, almost unanimously, thrown off their allegiance to the Church, it would indicate a previous gradual disaffection towards their Faith; for such changes never occur on a sudden impulse, but are the results of a slow, almost imperceptible, weakening of attachment to former conditions—experience attests this.

If then we are able to discover evidence of a strong attachment to the Catholic religion on the part of a great number of the people of Scotland, during the years that preceded the overthrow of that religion as the accepted Faith of the nation, we shall find it difficult to allow that the proscription of Catholicism by the State was sufficient to turn "the greater portion" of the people against it, and lead them to adopt, without a struggle, the newly manufactured religion provided for them by Knox and his party.

Proofs of their love of the Faith.

There is abundant evidence of a real appreciation of their Faith by the people of Scotland, as a whole, in the years that preceded the downfall of the Catholic Church—as the recognised religion of the country—in 1560. Had there been anything like a widespread disaffection towards the Church during that period we should not be able to point to such numerous instances as exist of the interest taken in the welfare of religion and the carrying out of Catholic worship. This is evidenced in the many and generous benefactions bestowed upon the Church by persons belonging to almost every class in the community. A free gift of one's worldly goods is certainly a proof of appreciation of the

object of such benefactions; if this principle be applied in the present case, it affords some idea of the appreciation of Scottish men and women of the early sixteenth century for the Catholic Church, its ministers and its ordinances.

Benefactions.

To begin with, it is a striking fact that most of the collegiate churches of Scotland—and they numbered at least forty—were founded in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; some, indeed, commenced their existence only a few years before the Reformation. This one fact speaks eloquently of the hold which religion still had upon the wealthier portion of the community. For a collegiate church, partaking as it did of the nature of a conventual establishment, without being monastic, needed a considerable endowment. It was served by a fixed number of secular Canons under a Provost, who were bound to the regular and solemn celebration of the Divine Office; sometimes a hospital, almshouse, school or similar establishment was attached to the church, sometimes parochial charge was given to the clergy. The foundation of such institutions during the period under consideration is an evidence that love for the Church and her solemn worship was still strong among the people of Scotland. Examples shall be given of the establishment of such churches up to the very eve of the downfall of the Church in Scotland.

The list may be fitly headed by the mention of James V.'s munificent foundation of the chapel royal at Stirling, dedicated to St. Mary and St.

Michael, in 1501. It was richly endowed for the support of twenty-four resident ecclesiastics, together with six singing-boys and a master to train them. In 1505 a similar, though smaller, establishment was erected at Lochwinnoch in Renfrewshire by Lord Sempill; it was endowed for nine clergy. In 1517 the collegiate church of Crail, in Fifeshire, was founded for twelve Canons, the church being of considerable size. An important establishment of the kind was erected in Glasgow in 1528, to be served by nine clergy, with some choristers. The number of clergy was raised later to twelve. It was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Anne, and received considerable endowments in the course of time. Other collegiate foundations were made at King's College, Aberdeen, in 1505, Peebles in 1542, Cullen in 1543, and Biggar in 1545; the latter, be it noted, was established fifteen years only before the Reformation, and its church remained incomplete. A charter of privileges granted to this institution a short time after its commencement thus alludes to it: "The singular zeal and pious affection towards God and the Catholic Church which were shown, in these unhappy days of Lutheranism, by a sometime noble and mighty lord, Malcolm, Lord Fleming, who at his own charge built a stately church in the village of Biggar, dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption," etc. [2]

In spite of the loss of so many records of the centuries preceding the Reformation, enough remain to show how numerous were the benefactions of both clergy and laity to the Church during those ages. If we limit our enquiries to the six-

[1] New Statistical Account of Scotland (Lanarkshire).

teenth century alone, we find much to prove the existence of a wonderful generosity in that respect.

Newburgh.

The Benedictine Abbey of Lindores, in Fifeshire, erected in the town of Newburgh, which had sprung up in the vicinity, a chapel of St. Katharine for the benefit of the townsfolk in 1508. To this building the burgesses loved to give of their means for the celebration of Mass and the services of the Church. Some of them did not hesitate to burden their properties with annual payments for the support of special chaplains. We may quote some of these by way of example.

James Chawmere endowed one of the chaplaincies in 1508 with two roods of land. Michael Anderson and John Kawe bestowed a further endowment in 1511. Archibald Carno, in 1513, gave funds "for perpetual prayers" for himself, his father and mother, and the late abbot of Lindores. Isabella Hadingtone, in 1522, left land to the chapel, and an endowment for St. John's Altar in the Abbey Church. Alison Tod, in the following year, gave land "for the weal of her own soul and the souls of her forbears." James Tod made a similar benefaction, "for the welfare of his own soul and the souls of his father and mother." Michael Tod, in 1542, only eighteen years before the Catholic religion was to be proscribed, gave a rood of land to the chapel for the benefit of the souls of the founders of the monastery, of the then Abbot and his successors, of the donor's parents, ancestors, and descendants, and "for the souls of all the faithful dead for all time." Here, surely, are proofs that in

Fifeshire, at least, the Catholic Faith was held in reverence by the people, and formed an integral part of the daily life of the community.[1]

Perth.

The city of Perth affords another example of the vigour with which Catholicism flourished during that same half-century before the so-called Reformation. Perth was a city of some eminence in those times—the frequent residence of sovereigns, the scene of many a Parliamentary assembly and important gathering. Its grand parish church of St. John had something like forty altars, and was almost cathedral-like in its size and structure. Its dedication had gained for the city the familiar title of "St. Johnstown." There were also churches of the Carthusians, Carmelites, Franciscans, and Dominicans, as well as many smaller chapels, and in almost all of them the charity of Catholics had been shown in many a pious foundation for prayers and Masses.

It was a city destined to become the scene of the commencements of rebellion, yet its records show that, however sympathetic some of its citizens may have been towards the new doctrines, there were certainly many who in the early years of the century, at least, were still sound in faith. Benefactions by the clergy are not so striking as those coming from lay-folk; yet we must not pass over the former altogether, as they help to refute the wholesale charges of worldliness and avarice against clerics of the period. We find Sir John Tyrie, Dean of the Confraternity of the Name of Jesus, for example,

[1] Laing, *Abbey of Lindores*, p. 192, etc.

founding in 1518 an altar to the Holy Name, and endowing it out of the revenues of the confraternity. Here we have clergy and lay-folk in conjunction. The same zealous priest—for "Sir" in mediæval documents was the ordinary title given to a secular priest—founded in 1525 the altar of St. Michael. Another priest, Sir Simon Young, founded the altar of St. Barbara in the same year, and later on, in 1529, endowed a chaplaincy in honour of St. Gregory and St. Augustine—the dedication suggests that the donor may have been English.

As to lay benefactions, we find Robert Clark, burgess of the city, founding and endowing the altar of St. Severus in 1504; Alexander Tyrie, Provost of the burgh, that of the chaplaincy of St. Christopher, in 1511; Patrick Wallis, burgess, bestowing an additional endowment in 1513 on the altar of the Annunciation previously founded by him; Finlay Anderson, another burgess, founding and endowing an altar of St. Fithie (perhaps St. Faith), Virgin, in 1523—the same year that saw the foundation by the Precentor of Dunkeld, Master James Fenton, of the endowed altars of St. Mungo and St. Bridget. These are a few of the benefactions to St. John's; almost innumerable were the lesser offerings made by the generous citizens of Perth to their glorious church.[1]

Edinburgh.

Although something has been said in a previous Chapter of the munificence of Edinburgh citizens towards their parish church of St. Giles, a few more instances may be given, in illustration of the point

[1] Lawson, *Book of Perth*, pp. 66-70.

at issue. In 1502, Richard Hopper, burgess, bestows an annual endowment upon the altar of Our Lady and St. Roch; Robert Vaus gives a like donation to the high altar, three years later; Jonete Elphynston, in 1508, endows the altars of St. Thomas, St. Apollonia, and All Saints with a portion of her lands for an annual income; Alexander Rynde bestows a like benefaction on the altar of Our Saviour in 1512; the Provost of the burgh adds, in 1513, to the endowment of the altar of St. Mary and St. Gabriel, which he had previously founded; Walter Chepman, in the same year, gives an annual income to St. John's altar; in 1523, John Patersoun, burgess, and his daughter, Jonete, became benefactors of St. Sebastian's altar. Thus the record goes on year by year, clergy and people bestowing ample revenues upon their church and its services, out of their worldly goods. The churches cited are merely examples of a prevailing custom of the age.

The foregoing examples are taken from the monied class, as a rule; some few may be added to show the spirit of those belonging to a lower social status. The donations of the Trade Guilds of Edinburgh, already alluded to, will serve as specimens. Each guild was connected with some particular altar in the spacious church of St. Giles; the decent maintenance of the altar, and the support of the chaplain who said Mass there at stated times, were provided for out of the funds. Thus, the Guild of Surgeons and Barbers was responsible for the upkeep of the altar of St. Mungo. In 1505 it was enacted that each burgess who should become a member must pay an entrance fee of £5, and every

master must subscribe one penny, and every workman a halfpenny weekly, so that the funds of the guild might be adequate to provide for all such expenses. The Cordwainers had the altar of SS. Crispin and Crispinian, and each member had to pay his weekly penny, if a master, or halfpenny, if a workman, to "sustain the priest's meat," and to provide the requisite ornaments and furnishing of their altar. A new chapel or aisle dedicated to the Precious Blood was erected in 1518, and the Guild of Merchants was put in charge of it, with Corpus Christi for their special feast-day. In 1520, the altar of St. Mark was allotted to the Bonnetmakers, Shearers, and Walkers; the first-named, it should be noted, were makers of men's headgear—not that of females, as present-day usage might lead the uninitiated to imagine—the Walkers were what we should style now Fullers of cloth. The altar of Our Lady of Pity was given in charge to the Candlemakers in 1522, and, in 1531, the Guild of Tailors obtained that of St. Anne.

In addition to these examples, there are others which might be cited as illustrative of the hold which Catholicism still had upon the bulk of the nation, even after Henry VIII. had assumed the supreme ecclesiastical power in the southern kingdom. For, in 1543, Andrew Mansoun had just completed his work on the new stalls of the choir of St. Giles', and other additions and repairs were in progress in that church. The most striking instance is the restoration of the Lady Altar; various benefactors provided for the necessary adornment of it, and were permitted to have their armorial bearings engraved upon their respective gifts. The work was completed only

three years before the Reformation took place in in Scotland, and several costly pillars of brass, mentioned in the description of the altar in question, were carried off when the time of trouble came, and converted by their spoilers into cannon.[1]

Their generosity towards the Church clearly shows that the Catholic religion was regarded by the generality of Scotsmen at that period as in no real danger of extinction.

In all that has been said much evidence has been adduced to show that, previous to the overthrow of the Catholic Church, the bulk of the nation was Catholic. It will be profitable to look at the subject now from another point of view. It must be admitted, on examination, that the people generally did not take kindly to the new religion; its ultimate domination was brought about by constant and unwearying persecution of all who refused it their allegiance.

There were to be found it is true not a few persons who were ready to embrace the new doctrines from conviction. Some of these were captivated by the vehement denunciations of the Church uttered by reforming preachers, others were merely led by the example of the conforming nobles. Each of these classes must have been but poorly instructed in the teachings of Catholicism to be thus easily led astray. Still greater numbers, we may well believe, joined the Kirk in order to avoid the inconveniences of Presbyterian persecution; these, too, must have been weak in faith, or, at least, wanting in fortitude. Yet, when all is said, the fact remains that the reforming party were greatly

[1] Cameron-Lees, *St. Giles'*, *Edinburgh*. *Passim*.

dissatisfied with the results of their efforts to spread the new faith during the early years of their preaching.

Laments of the Reformers.

In 1581, more than twenty years after the Catholic religion had been declared unlawful by Parliament, Presbyterian authorities complained that "the dregs of idolatry" had not been cleared away, since there were still to be found those who persisted in "using of pilgrimage to some chapels, wells, crosses, etc.," as also in "observing of the festival days of the sancts."[1] It was, therefore, considered advisable to pass an Act of Parliament condemning all such practices, and punishing those who were convicted of them by fines and imprisonment. But this measure was not effectual in preventing the adherence of many to the Catholic religion. For, two years later, the Assembly of the Kirk complained bitterly of actual conversions to the old Faith. "Many who from their youth were nourished in the Kirk of God (*i.e.*, Presbyterianism) had become maintainers of Popery and the Man of Sin."[2] Such were the terms of their lament addressed to James VI. to move him to stronger measures against Catholics. In 1586 the same body again complained to the effect that "Papistry abounds in the north for the want of qualified ministers."[3] The fact was that zealous missionaries were secretly creeping into the country to help downtrodden Catholics by their ministrations. The result was the conversion and reconciliation to the Church of many hundreds.

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I., p. 417.
[2] *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, Part III., p. 631.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 659.

The attention of the General Assembly of the Kirk was drawn in 1588 to the alarming hold which Catholicism still exercised over so many of the people of Scotland, nearly thirty years after the Reformation had been—as its favourers imagined—firmly established. Circulars sent to various synods for the acquiring of accurate information afforded statistics for a statement which was presented to the Assembly in question. This report is to be found in the official collection of the acts of the General Assembly, entitled "The booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland."[1] From it we are able to gain an accurate idea of the state of religion in Scotland at that period.

Report of Investigators.

Of Dumfries and its neighbourhood it was said that "Mr. Johne Durie, Jesuite," was "corrupting, seduceing, and practiseing to and fro under the name of Mr. William Leing," and saying Mass in the town. Lord and Lady Herries, with several other notable Catholics, were denounced by name as open followers of this Jesuit. Protestant kirks were not properly established there, and the people refused "to hear the Word of God." In the districts of Buchan, the Garioch, Mar and Aberdeen, six Jesuits were incessantly at work, "corrupting the people." The Laird of Leslie had public Mass in his chapel, where there were "two idoles above the altar"—a crucifix and picture or statue, evidently. The Jesuits assembled the Papists in Aberdeen and gave away books and "Agnus Dei" as they chose.

[1] Published by Maitland Club (1839-45).

In Ross there had been "great coldness amongst all" since the Earl of Huntly had permitted Jesuits to pass freely through the country. The kirks had been demolished and left in ruins. In Caithness the Earl of Sutherland and his lady were staunch Papists, together with their friends. Ministers were few and destitute. A long list of "Papists had been drawn up by investigators in the west of Angus; they constantly received and harboured Jesuits and seminary priests. Some of the ministers had been driven away by armed men. "Superstitious keeping of Yoole, Pasche," etc. — i.e., Christmas and Easter, with other Church festivals —is reported of Fifeshire. The Earl of Huntly had brought thither "flocks of Papists, Jesuits, etc." The kirks were abandoned, and in many places destitute of pastors. In Lothian, "sundrie Papists and seminary priests" have confessed to having said or heard Mass, and preached; when imprisoned for it, they have been released without punishment. This is set forth as a proof of the feeling of the majority. The Papists are said to have actually appropriated the abandoned kirks to serve for their own places of worship. In the Merse and Teviotdale, the "haill peiple are readie to revolt from the Evangell" (Gospel teaching, of which Protestants claimed the monopoly), "because they see the Prince careles therof, as they say." This was a covert rebuke to James VI. for his leaning towards episcopacy, and intended to rouse him to assert his true Protestantism by persecuting Catholics. Lanark has no minister at all in the town, for none would rent him a house.

In Stirling district scarcely three kirks have

ministers. "Walter Buchanan, son of the Goodman of Auchinpryour, and a Flemis woman, his wyfe, are indurat Papists." The people love "superstitious ceremonies, pilgrimages to Chryst's well, fasting, festives, etc." In the presbytery of Dunblane the Catholic Bishop, "who latelie came home," has brought with him a French or Italian priest, who "draweth all with him to the old dance." The ministers are despised, and the kirks left ruined and desolate. "The whole ministers are disappointed of their livings" in Glasgow; many of the people receive and entertain Jesuits. In Dumbarton, ministers are despised and publicly insulted, and the people led away by Popish ceremonies. In the district of Lennox there are twenty-four kirks, and not four ministers to serve them. In Ayr there are many Papists; a long list of them was presented to the Assembly.[1]

Continued Complaints by the Presbytery.

The lamentations of the General Assembly in 1588 were echoed in later reports; the general state of religion throughout the kingdom of Scotland was by no means satisfactory in Protestant eyes for many years after. In 1593 complaints were again rife that "Popery" was still on the increase. In the following year the kirk was said to be in manifest danger by reason of "the erection of the Mass in divers quarters of the land, and among others in the Earl of Huntly's houses at Straithbogie and Aberdeen, and the Earl of Errol's houses at Logyamount and Slaines." In 1596 further complaints were caused by the fact of the return

[1] *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, part 2, pp. 720, etc.

from exile of certain Catholics: the "wives of Papists," it was declared, were "coming home again to Scotland." Again, in 1601, the Privy Council Record relates that "sundry Jesuits, seminary priests, and trafficking Papists, enemies to God's truth and all Christian government," were "daily creeping within the country (seeking) by their godless practices, not only to disturb the estate of the true religion, but also his hieness' own estate, and the common quietness of the realm." [1]

But we are not left to draw statistics from Presbyterian sources only; a witness of an entirely different class has left important evidence to the same effect. In the State Paper Office is still preserved a document in the handwriting of Lord Burghley for the guidance of James VI. which affords another proof of the strength of the Catholic party nearly thirty years after their religion had been publicly proscribed by Act of Parliament. The report states that in 1589, when it was drawn up, all the northern part of Scotland, comprising the counties of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland, Aberdeen and Moray, with the sheriffdoms of Buchan, Angus, Wigton and Nithsdale, were either entirely or for the most part in the Catholic interest. The counties of Perth, Stirling, Fife, Lanark, Dumbarton and Renfrew—except the city of Paisley, which was still intensely Catholic—were chiefly Protestant; Ayrshire and Linlithgowshire were doubtful. [2]

From this statement it would appear that the followers of Catholicism and Protestantism were

[1] *Universall Kirk*, part 3, pp. 798, 830, 873.
[2] Tytler, *History of Scotland*, Vol. IV., p. 175.

nearly equal in numbers at that period; and the question forces itself upon the reader: how did it happen that the Reformation triumphed in the end? For it seems evident that a considerable portion of of the nation had never given up the ancient Faith, and their numbers were being continually increased by conversions—to such an extent, indeed, as to cause considerable anxiety and alarm to the reforming party.

Persecution won the day.

There can be no mistaking the fact that the method by which the Protestant majority contrived to bring about the end they had in view from the first was unrelaxing persecution. All who dared to brave the prohibitions of Protestant bigotry were punished ruthlessly and systematically. Of this we find abundant examples, a few of which shall be here quoted.

Clergy.

In 1562 Sir James Arthure, a priest, was apprehended for "breaking of the Queen's Grace's Act and Ordinance, made in her last Parliament . . . and for baptising of the fashion of Papistry John Miller's bairn . . . a bairn called William Boyd." as well as three others, and for marrying John Thomson and Margaret Whitlaw, "in the old and abominable Papist manner."[1] In 1563 no fewer than forty-eight persons were tried at once on the charge of "attempting to restore Popery." Among them were more than thirty priests, together with Archbishop Hamilton, the Prior of Whithern, the Succentor of Glasgow, and other prominent

[1] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I., p. 420*.

ecclesiastics. The sole offence charged against them was the "contravention of our Sovereign Lady's Act and Proclamation" against "any alteration or innovation of the state of religion"; they had been guilty of this by saying or hearing Mass and administering the Sacraments in the old Catholic manner. Of the priests, it was said: "in the month of April last bypast, in the town of Paisley, Kirk, Kirkyard, and Abbey Place thereof, (they) openly, publicly and plainly took auricular confession."[1] That such proceedings could be instituted in the name of the Catholic Queen shows the height of insolent power to which the Reformers had attained.

Knox has related in his "History," with much satisfaction, the treatment dealt to a priest in 1565: his only regret was that the extreme penalty was not inflicted. His account runs thus: "As some of the brethren were diligent to search such things, they having with them one of the bailiffs, took out Sir James Carvet riding hard, as he had now ended the saying of the Mass, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the Tolbooth, and immediately revested him with all his garments upon him, and so carried him to the Market Cross (of Edinburgh), where they set him on high, binding the chalice in his hand, and himself fast tied to the said Cross, where he tarried the space of one hour; during which time, the boys served him with his Easter eggs."[2] Tried next day, and found guilty, "albeit," says Knox spitefully, "for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment, he was set

[1] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I., p. 429*.
[2] *Historie*, Book 5.

upon the Market Cross for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by and keeping him; the boys and others were busy with eggs casting."[1]

It is an illustration of the power of prejudice that a Protestant writer can coolly remark upon this incident: "Knox tells us with what an absurd degree of leniency the offender was treated."[2] He apparently considers it quite lawful for a Government to dictate to its subjects what form of religion they are to follow, and to punish all "offenders" against such legislation with the utmost rigor.

The above incident may have suggested to the Regent Moray in 1569 the following commutation of the sentence of death passed upon four priests of Dunblane for the sole offence of saying Mass. Instead of being hanged at Stirling, they were "bound to the Market Cross, with their vestments and chalices in derision, where the people cast eggs and other villainy at their faces by the space of an hour, and thereafter their vestments and chalices were burned to ashes."[3] They were then banished the realm.

All the priests seized by the State for a like offence against the law, did not escape so easy a punishment. Archbishop Hamilton was hanged at Stirling in his priestly vestments. The Archbishop had been one of the leading supporters of Queen Mary, and it was he who, in 1566, baptized the infant Prince James with Catholic rites.

At his mock trial he had been accused of complicity in the assassination of the Regent Moray;

[1] *Historie*, Book 5.
[2] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I., p. 32.
[3] *Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 66.

but the only crime proved against him, as he himself asserted, was his fidelity to God and the Queen. He met his fate on 5th April 1571.

In 1573 Thomas Robison, a priest, formerly master of Paisley School, suffered death for saying Mass, having been twice previously accused of the same breach of law.[1] In the following year another, whose name is not recorded, suffered a like fate: "Upoun the fourt day of May (1574) there was ane priest hangit in Glasgow callit —— for saying of Mes."[2] Other priests at about the same period escaped punishment by flight to the continent.

In 1605 Gilbert Brown, the last of the real Abbots of Sweetheart, who had for many years eluded the clutches of the Protestant party, was seized, "not without peril from the country people, who rose to rescue him."[3] He was confined for a time in Edinburgh Castle, and eventually banished. Calderwood says that he was "interteaned upon the King's expences till his departure," and relates that this mild treatment was resented by Protestants.[4] The same writer states that the Chancellor (Seton, a secret Catholic) seemed to favour the abbot, since all his "idolatrous relics, crosses, *Agnus Dei*," etc., were restored to him, and it was reported that he had actually been allowed to say Mass before his departure from the country.[5] The rest of the abbot's effects—"copes, chalices, pictures, images, and such other popish trash" were publicly burned at Dumfries, later on, by the Protestant Archbishop,

[1] Buchanan, *Hist. Rerum Scotic.*, f. 242.
[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 341.
[3] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I., p. 390.
[4] *Hist. Kirk of Scotland*, Vol. VI., p. 295.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

Spottiswoode.[1] Other instances of the sufferings borne by priests will be recounted when speaking of missionaries in the following chapter.

Laity.

We pass on to review the sufferings for conscience sake of the faithful laity during the century which followed the Scottish Reformation. Some examples, chosen out of many, will throw light upon the difficulties of their situation.

In 1588 John Lowrie, a tavern keeper, was accused in a court of justice of having treasonably maintained, intercommunicated with, and supplied with meat and drink, Mr. Robert Bruce, "confessit and avowed Papist and seminarie Priest, commoun enemie to Goddis truth and Cristiane government."[2] The accused declared in defence that the person in question had merely taken food in his house and had paid for the same, he himself not knowing the man to be a priest. It does not appear that Lowrie himself was a Catholic, and this shows all the more clearly the risks run by Catholics in any intercourse with priests, since even a tavern keeper was liable to suffer as a traitor for dealing with one in a mere matter of business.

To turn to Catholics, we find Mr. William Murdo accused in Aberdeen in 1592 of being "an open railer against the ministry and truth preached"; he had, doubtless, spoken against Protestant errors. His punishment was that of banishment from the burgh; should he dare to return, he was to have his cheeks branded and his ears cropped![3] David

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I., p. 422.
[2] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I., p. 167.
[3] Chambers, *Dom. Annals*, Vol. I., p. 343.

Calderwood of Glasgow came under suspicion of being a Papist, and was summoned to answer for his Faith before the Kirk authorities simply because he had in his possession a copy of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism — a short exposition of Catholic principles. Another Glasgow citizen was severely reprimanded for having painted representations of the Crucifixion, in the exercise of his trade.

Mere association with Catholics was punished. Thus, Gabriel Mercer was accused in 1595 of having entertained for three days one Elphinstone, "an excommunicated Papist"; he was ordered to make public acknowledgment of his offence from his seat in Kirk.[1] It is by no means certain that he was not himself a Catholic; it was one of the greatest difficulties which the missionary priests had to contend with that Catholics persisted in frequenting Protestant services, in order by their mere bodily presence in Kirk to avoid exciting the suspicions of the Presbyterian ministers. Alexander Crighton of Perth received a similar sentence in 1610, being convicted "by his own confession of haunting and frequenting the company of Robert Crighton, excommunicate Papist, eating and drinking with him in taverns and walking on the streets." The same Alexander was imprisoned a month later for neglecting to obey the injunction of the Court.[2]

With alternate periods of relaxed vigor, persecution continued to be enforced throughout the two centuries that followed the Reformation.

Under Charles I., the Commonwealth, and

[1] Chambers, *Dom. Annals*, Vol. I., p. 337.
[2] *Perth Kirk Sess. Records*, 1610.

Charles II., the old bigotry reigned supreme. Under a Catholic King, James VII., Catholics breathed more freely; but only for a spell. At the accession of Anne, Protestant bigotry awoke to fresh vigour. A royal proclamation called for more strenuous efforts against the enemies of the established religion, and a census of Catholics was taken, with the intention of enforcing the laws against them.

In spite of the severest measures however, the Faith continued to flourish and its supporters to grow in number, for by that time there were many devoted priests to share the privations of Catholics, in order to minister to their souls.

Thus, from age to age, systematic persecution of the Catholic Church was persisted in, until it came to an end by the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1793.

Conclusion.

From all that has been adduced it is evident that the "Reformation of Religion" in Scotland, as its promoters were pleased to style it, was not in its beginnings a religious movement at all. It began with lust of power, and greed of gain, was fostered by political intrigues, and obtained its end by human methods—unjust laws, unremitting persecution of all opponents, and the rousing of popular fury against those who refused to have a newly invented creed thrust upon them in place of the Church set up by divine authority.

Such human elements might for a time command success, but God is stronger than man, and in the end He always conquers.

In addition to others mentioned in passing, Hunter-Blair, *Hist. of Cath. Church of Scot.*, Vols. II., III., is the chief authority relied upon for the above chapter.

V.

MISSIONARIES TO SCOTLAND.

FEW Catholics, it is probable, know much about the labours of those heroic men who ventured at the peril of their lives to preach the Catholic faith in Scotland in the dismal centuries which followed the so-called "Reformation of Religion." Yet theirs is a story full of edification and of interest, and one which ought to rouse us in these days to greater energy in the preservation and extension of what they so nobly began. It is therefore well worth while to set forth its chief points here; it will be much gained if by the reading of these simple records Catholics are stirred to a greater enthusiasm for the continuation of Scotland's conversion.

It was the Parliament of 1560, as already shown, which formally proscribed the practice in Scotland of the Catholic faith—hitherto the only recognised religion of the kingdom; that legislative body took upon itself to command that all should accept the Presbyterian doctrines or quit the country. Henceforth, to say or hear Mass or to receive Catholic Sacraments was an offence punishable by confiscation of the goods of the delinquent for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third. The accumulation of repeated legislations against those who stood firm to the ancient faith produced, in course of time, a state of things under which Catholics became what a

Protestant writer a century or two later called "down-trodden Romanists . . . a proscribed and outcast race, denied not only the right of fellow citizens, but the charity which is generally extended to the most worthless of our fellow creatures."[1]

But Kings and Parliaments are powerless against the undying Church of Christ. Men might make laws, and put them in force, hoping thereby to overthrow the House "built upon a rock"; but God, the Builder of that House, is Almighty and Eternal. It may have been in punishment of men that He permitted for a time "the rains . . . . and the floods" to "beat upon that house"; yet "it fell not, for it was founded on a rock."

The legal proscription of the Catholic faith rendered its practice well-nigh impossible; only in a secret, hidden way were Catholics able, for the most part, to receive the Sacraments or even assemble for worship. In certain districts, for a time at least, under the shelter of some powerful noble, they were better provided for. But the hunting out of priests told in the long run; many Catholics, for the sake of peace, pretended to conform, many more, unhappily, gave up the faith. Only in remote districts was it possible to maintain anything like a steady practice of Catholicism.

Such a woeful state of things awakened deep compassion in the breasts of the Catholics of the Continent. The apostolic spirit was roused in the hearts of many fervent priests, and before the Reformation was twenty years old some such heroic men had secretly landed on the Scottish Coast.

[1] Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 543.

Jesuit Missionaries.

The foremost in the field were the members of the recently founded Society of Jesus, then in its primitive fervour. Pope Gregory XIII. had been solicitous for poor Scotland, and wished some of the Jesuits to undertake the dangerous work; in spite of many apparent difficulties, steps were being taken in 1581 to carry out the Pontiff's desires. But all unknown to those who were setting on foot a matter so difficult, a Jesuit had already taken the initiative. As early as January 1579 Father John Hay landed in Dundee, and, in a letter written to the General of the Jesuits in Rome, in that year, he described the excitement caused in the country when the news leaked out. Rumours spread about as to the fact of no less than twelve eminent members of the Society of Jesus having set foot in Scotland, and being then zealously engaged in propagating their doctrines among the people. They were stigmatised as "a new race of persons, far worse than the Papists."[1]

Although Father Hay was the first Jesuit missionary to set foot on Scottish soil after the Reformation, he was not able to accomplish much on behalf of Catholics. He belonged to a prominent family, and under the protection of his brothers—Hays of Dalgaty—had hoped to be able to escape the vigilance of the Presbytery; he was summoned, however, to give an account of himself before the Royal Council at Stirling, at the instigation of the ministers of the Kirk, who feared his influence with the people. He was eventually

[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scott. Catholics*, p. 145.

commanded to quit the country by the first of October, and in the meantime to do nothing offensive to "the trew and Christiane religoun established." His two brothers were bound under the penalty of £1000 to ensure his compliance with the edict. On returning to France Father Hay wrote a long report to the General of the Jesuits, in which he strongly urged him to send missionaries to the northern parts of the country, where detection was less likely, and offering himself as one of the party.[1]

Efforts were being made at the same time in other quarters to send help to Scotland. By the assistance of friends Father Persons, S.J., managed to send a secular priest named Watts, accompanied by a Jesuit, Father Holt, to ascertain the state of affairs, and especially the disposition of James VI., then a youth of sixteen. Many notable English Catholics became greatly interested in the welfare of the Church in Scotland, for as both kingdoms would be eventually ruled by the same sovereign, the future of Catholicism in England would depend greatly upon the attitude taken by James.

The two missionaries arrived in Scotland in 1581. After due investigation the secular priest returned to England to report the state of things, and the Jesuit remained in Scotland until the arrival of others of his religious brethren. His position was one of danger; as long as James was under the influence of Catholic nobles, the missionary's position was secure, but it was different when Presbyterians got the upper hand. Father Holt was eventually seized and imprisoned, and

[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, pp. 141-165.

barely escaped falling into the hands of Elizabeth of England, who kept jealous watch over Scottish ecclesiastical affairs.

The General of the Jesuits was at length induced to take a more decisive part in Scottish missions, and in 1582 he sent another agent in the person of Father William Creighton. The urgent request of the latter for more missionaries was responded to, and resulted in other Jesuits being despatched to Scotland later.

Catholics in Scotland at that period seem to have placed their hopes on the support of James VI.; this is evident from the reports made by the missionaries from time to time, in which James is represented as well-disposed towards the Church, in spite of his education by Protestants, and consequent ignorance of Catholic doctrine. It cannot be doubted that he showed much favour towards the earlier missionaries; but, whether from policy or from natural fickleness of character, he changed entirely in later years in his treatment of Catholic affairs. Efforts were made in his youth to bring about a marriage between the king and some Catholic princess, but this was effectually prevented by Elizabeth. Seven years later a Lutheran bride was obtained for him in the person of the Princess Anne, daughter of the King of Denmark, who, although she embraced the doctrines of the Catholic Church a few years after their marriage, was never able to influence her husband to follow her example.[1] Yet so fully persuaded was Father Creighton of the possibility of rescuing the young king from Protestant influence and bringing him up a Catholic,

[1] *Vide* chapter on "Great Britain's Convert Queen."

that he did his utmost to interest the Pope and the Catholic sovereigns of Europe in a movement to that end. The scheme was abortive owing to the duplicity of some of the Scottish nobles and the vigilance of Elizabeth; James remained a Protestant in name till the end of his life, though possessing little genuine religious sentiment of any kind. His own personal security and well-being were his chief concern, and he would risk nothing that could endanger the loss of his crown or even the good-will of his powerful kinswoman, the unscrupulous Elizabeth.

Exiled Scottish Priests—Their Keen Interest.

The great interest awakened in Catholic Europe with regard to the urgent spiritual needs of Scotland, was especially felt by exiled priests of Scottish nationality. The secret archives of the Vatican contain a paper of the date 1584, entitled: "The humble petition to his Holiness (Gregory XIII.) of priests of the Kingdom of Scotland now in exile and desirous to return to their country even at the risk of their lives."[1] It is signed by twenty priests, and gives the names of all who are able to return at once, should means for the journey be provided. Archbishop Beaton, then in Paris, wrote to the same Pontiff, urging him to use his influence to obtain missionaries, and the result was the sending of Fathers Creighton and Gordon, both members of the Society of Jesus, to the relief of the distressed Catholics of Scotland.

[1] Forbes-Leith, p. 196 (note).

The Jesuit Pioneers.

The first duly accredited missionaries sent to Scotland by the General of the Society of Jesus were not permitted to begin their labours without interruption. Fathers William Creighton and James Gordon set sail in 1584, but the vessel which carried them was seized by Dutch heretics, and both priests were detained in Holland as prisoners. Father Gordon was fortunate enough to be able to claim relationship with the Earl of Huntly, who was his nephew, and this led to his liberation; Father Creighton, however, had a narrow escape from public execution as a Jesuit, and therefore, presumably, an accomplice in the murder of the Prince of Orange—since it seemed obvious to his captors that none but the Jesuits could have done the deed! The priest owed his life and liberty to Elizabeth of England—of all persons! She had just concluded a treaty with the Dutch, and hearing of the imprisonment of the Jesuit at Ostend, insisted upon his delivery to the English agents. After being given over to the English Queen, Father Creighton was kept prisoner in the Tower of London for two years. He was set free, it was said, on account of his denial, when consulted on the matter, of the lawfulness of compassing the queen's death. He returned to the Scottish mission when liberated, but stayed in the country for a short time only.

Meanwhile Father Gordon was already labouring in Scotland with great zeal and success. His nephew, the young Earl of Huntly, through his influence, remained faithful to the religion of his

baptism; the Earl even obtained leave from James VI. for the Jesuit to hold a public disputation with leading Presbyterians in presence of the king. Father Gordon's triumphant defeat of his opponents, however, had no good results as regards Catholicism; his victory enraged the Kirk authorities so violently that James was compelled, in accordance with the importunity of the ministers, to banish the missionary from the country. But in no wise discouraged, Father Gordon managed to return and continue his work.

Two more Jesuits, Edmund Hay and John Durie arrived in Scotland during the year 1585; but when Elizabeth entered into an alliance with James in the following year, she demanded as one of the conditions of the treaty that all Jesuits should be banished from the realm. The Fathers were therefore compelled to seek safe hiding-places to avoid arrest and banishment. Yet even under circumstances so unfavourable they were able to do satisfactory work; Father Durie succeeded in converting Lord Maxwell, Governor of Dumfries, and Father Gordon was able to reconcile to the Church, about this time, the Earl of Errol.

James seemed disposed to show great leniency towards Catholics after the barbarous execution of his mother, Queen Mary, by the unscrupulous Elizabeth; many missionaries accordingly hastened into the country. Among them were Fathers Robert Abercromby, William Ogilvie, William Murdoch, and John Myrton; the latter, however, was at once seized and banished to Belgium, though the other three escaped apprehension and found secure hiding-places.

Favorable Disposition of Scottish People.

The disposition of the people of the southern parts of the country towards the Church is shown by the fact that Father Durie, at Lord Maxwell's instigation, ventured to celebrate at midnight, in the year 1585, the whole Christmas office with three solemn Masses, in the ruined church of the old monastery of Lincluden, situated about two miles from Dumfries. Guards were posted on the bridge to prevent access to the church except by written orders, and so eager were the Catholics to take part that many of them forded the river, though the water was waist high, and afterwards spent the whole night in the church, regardless of their condition. That not one of them sustained any harm in consequence was looked upon as a miraculous intervention of God's providence, due to the merits of the holy missionary. Father Durie, indeed, did wonders for the spread of Catholicism, but he overestimated his physical strength, and after three years of almost superhuman exertions, during which he reconciled many to the Church, he died on October 20th, 1588.

Anxiety of Queen Elizabeth.

The remarkable success of the early missionaries is evidenced by the fact (mentioned in a letter of September 1585) that a bishop came over secretly from Ireland in that year and confirmed no less than ten thousand persons.[1] For it must be remembered that no bishop had been allowed to remain in the country, and consequently no Confirmations or Ordinations could take place. Another

[1] Forbes-Leith, p. 206.

letter of a little later date, written by Rogers to Walsingham, and still preserved among the State Papers of Elizabeth's reign, corroborates this extraordinary success. "The Jesuits have certified lately," he declares, "that they proceed according to their wishes in Scotland, and have reconciled ten thousand of late, and daily expect numbers, and also to gain the King, which is the mark they shoot at."[1]

But Queen Elizabeth knew well the danger to Protestantism in England should James VI. be won over by the Catholic party in Scotland, and she contrived the return of the banished Protestant lords, who had been implicated in the Ruthven conspiracy against James; with these men to strengthen the Protestant faction, Catholics were less powerful. The leniency he had shown towards their cause in the first horror of his mother's shameful execution soon changed. James feared to offend Elizabeth, and lose his chance of the English crown, and ranged himself on the Protestant side, giving up any attempt to avenge the death of Queen Mary. This policy led at once to fresh persecutions. In 1593 it was ordained that "all Jesuits, seminary priests, and excommunicated persons"—excommunicated by the Kirk that is—should at once, on pain of death, quit the capital. This was not enough for the Presbyterian party; they used every effort to arouse a more extended persecution by the prohibition of any practice whatever of the Catholic religion. An armed force which was despatched against the "rebels," in the north met with defeat at Glenlivet. The victorious Catholics took part in a solemn public Mass in the ruined Cathedral

[1] Forbes-Leith, p. 207 (note).

of Elgin, in thanksgiving for that success, and it seemed as though the Catholic cause would triumph. But Father Gordon, who had said the Mass in question, could not prevail upon the Catholic leaders to follow up their advantage. His nephew, the Earl of Huntly, together with the Earl of Errol, seeing little hope of the granting of liberty of conscience to Catholics under existing circumstances, set sail for the Continent. To drive Father Gordon from the country was now the aim of the Presbyterian party. The brave Jesuit made a last effort against banishment by offering to dispute with his adversaries on points of religion in presence of the king and his council; he laid down as conditions liberty of conscience to Catholics in case he should be victorious, and the forfeit of his life should his opponents gain the better of him in argument. But his enemies dare not accept such conditions, and he was forced to quit the country for a while.

Trials of the Missionaries.

Father Murdoch took Father Gordon's place as chief missionary, though it was imperative that secrecy should be maintained as to the whereabouts of any priest. Father Abercromby, one of his helpers, thus describes the difficulties of their position in a letter to the General of the Society in 1596:—"We live in caves, in secret and unfrequented places, perpetually moving from place to to place like the gipsies, and we never lodge two nights in the same locality, for fear of falling into the hands of the enemy."[1] He tells how spies were

[1] Forbes-Leith, p. 226.

posted everywhere, how the missionaries had to travel by night, by unfrequented paths over wild and desolate hills, and continues: "This is rather hard upon me, since I completed my sixtieth year on the Feast of Our Lady in the past Lent" (i.e., the Annunciation). Father Abercromby was regarded as the most dangerous of all the missionaries, and frequent attempts were made to seize him; many of the nobles even were bribed to secure him if possible, but he evaded for a long time all their efforts.

Father Abercromby is noteworthy on account of the share he took in bringing into the Catholic Church James VI.'s own Queen, Anne of Denmark, the only convert Queen Great Britain can boast of. But the part he took in that matter is by no means his chief title to fame; he was one of the most zealous of the early missionaries to Scotland at that period. For no less than nineteen years did he labour incessantly, and that amid constant peril of apprehension and banishment. Some of the dangers and hardships of those years have already been recounted in his own words; others awaited him. When cited to appear before the tribunals, he was sentenced to death for failing to do so. Later on he was diligently searched for at the instigation of the King himself; but he managed to escape to the Continent. He had long been regarded as unfit for his dangerous mission on account of his advanced age and failing health, and his superiors were anxious to prevent further suffering. He died at the age of 81 at Braunsberg, in Prussia, in 1613.

Father James Gordon, who had been compelled

to cross over to the Continent in 1596, refused to remain long in banishment, but courageously returned to take up once more the burden of missionary work. He was again seized and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for defiance of the laws which forbade him to return to Scotland after being outlawed. Quite undaunted, he carried on disputations in his prison with Presbyterian divines, until James VI. again ordered him to depart the realm. The King actually gave Father Gordon letters of recommendation, both from himself and Queen Anne, to the King of Denmark. There is no evidence of his return to Scotland after 1600. He died at Paris, greatly esteemed, in 1620.

Other Jesuit missionaries who laboured in Scotland in the early part of the seventeenth century were Fathers Andrew Crichton, William Crichton, James Seton and Alexander MacQuhirrie. The three latter have left behind them many interesting particulars of a Catholic nobleman who for many years took a prominent place in the direction of affairs of State in Scotland; this was Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, whose career of extraordinary dissimulation is given later.[1]

Relaxation of Persecution.

The Earl of Dunbar, who filled the position of High Commissioner of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, died in 1611. He had enjoyed unbounded influence in Scotland, being specially favoured by the King, who employed him to further the establishment of Episcopacy, and he had ex-

[1] Chapter entitled "A Catholic in Disguise."

hibited a violent animosity against Catholics. His death brought a manifest relaxation in persecution, and it was deemed advisable to seize the opportunity of increasing the number of missionaries in Scotland by procuring much-needed priests from the Continent.

The missionaries considered most suitable were the Jesuit Fathers Ogilvie and Moffat and a Capuchin Friar, Father John Campbell. They travelled under assumed names and in disguise; for unless their arrival could be kept a profound secret, there was danger of their apprehension. Spies were posted in all the chief Continental ports to prevent any priest from setting sail for Great Britain; vessels were searched also on arrival at British ports. Successfully avoiding all such perils, however, the travellers at length reached Scotland.

As soon as they had safely landed, the three missionaries took care to separate; Father Ogilvie went to the North, Father Moffat to St Andrews, and Father Campbell to Edinburgh. Father Moffat laboured for six months with the greatest energy and zeal; he managed to say Mass frequently, and was successful in reconciling to the Church a great number of persons. At length he was arrested in the house of his brother through the contrivance of the Protestant Archbishop of St Andrews. That prelate's eldest son, Alexander Gladstanes, did not consider it beneath his dignity as Archdeacon to head the guards who had apprehended the Jesuit and were conveying him to Edinburgh for strict confinement in the Castle. After frequent and searching examination by the Privy Council, during

which, as he afterwards declared, supernatural help was given him by which he was able to confound his adversaries, Father Moffat was banished the realm. In addition to the threat of death should he dare to return, his brother was bound over as surety for his obedience under a considerable sum of money. Offers of ecclesiastical dignities should he renounce his faith were indignantly refused by the Jesuit. That Father Moffat's life was in extreme danger is shown by the fact that some of those who had been accused and found guilty of harbouring him were condemned to death, although at the very foot of the scaffold their sentence was commuted to perpetual banishment.

Father Ogilvie's fate was more cruel. A special chapter in this volume is devoted to the story of his intrepid service of religion.[1] He was the last martyr who suffered for the Catholic faith in Scotland. James VI. bitterly regretted the Jesuit's death, and laid the blame upon the Protestant Archbishop, who had unduly hurried on the matter, as he said. "It was not my fault," the cowardly King declared later to the Marquis of Huntly; "I have no wish to see bloody heads around my death-bed."[2] He was alluding to the miserable end of his predecessor, Elizabeth.

Father Patrick Anderson.

The intrepid Jesuit, Father Patrick Anderson, was one of the most zealous of the missionaries to Scotland at the period we are considering. He

[1] "John Ogilvie, Martyr."
[2] Forbes-Leith, p. 315 (note).

was a nephew of the illustrious Bishop Lesley, the loyal and devoted friend of the hapless Mary Stuart, and was sent to Scotland to labour on the mission in 1609. For two years, during which priests were exceedingly scarce, Father Anderson gave himself to his arduous task with extraordinary devotion, and his efforts met with much success. He travelled through Highlands and Lowlands, and worked hard among both rich and poor, encouraging those who had remained faithful to the Church, and reconciling numbers who had fallen away through weakness of faith or lack of courage. In 1611 his superiors recalled him to the Continent, and he was appointed the first Rector of the newly-founded Scots College in Rome, where he remained for some years. Before 1620 he was once more in Scotland, for in that year, on St. Patrick's Day, he was seized through the treachery of a pretended Catholic named Boyd, and thrown into prison. For the following nine months he was kept in strict confinement, suffering greatly from ill-health, but exhibiting a splendid courage in sustaining the rigorous examinations to which he was subjected. Threatened though he was with the extremity of torture, he could never be persuaded to indicate any Catholics whom he knew to be practising their religion. It is uncertain whether his ultimate release was due to the intervention of James VI. or to the intercession of the French Ambassador, but he was at length banished the realm, with the prospect of certain death should he again be apprehended in Scotland. His health was broken by labours and sufferings, and he died in London in 1624 at the comparatively early age of forty-nine.

In a long letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, written on August 24, 1620—"By stealth and in haste. From the prison of Edinburgh"—Father Anderson related in detail the proceedings taken against him. In another document, styled a "Memorial" of his missionary career, he has left a graphic picture of the troubles of faithful Scottish Catholics in the seventeenth century, and the dangers and trials awaiting the missionaries who should endeavour to render spiritual help to them in their sore need. In the course of this narrative he makes the following striking statement: "Though the severity of the persecution, to which I have briefly alluded, is so great, yet the steadfastness of the Catholics is so strong, their numbers so large, and the eagerness of their souls to approach the Divine Mysteries so keen, that they seem to have inherited the fervour of the primitive Christians. God confirms their zeal and constancy by many miracles." He thus concludes: "Under a daily increasing persecution, God still preserves an immense number of Catholics, who remain steadfast in spite of ridicule, loss of goods, imprisonment, infamy and the like; and are ready to shed their blood for the Catholic Faith."[1] The originals of both documents are still preserved in the archives of the famous Jesuit College of Stonyhurst in Lancashire. The "Memoirs of Scottish Saints," referred to by Alban Butler as existing in manuscript at the Scots College, Paris, in the eighteenth century, were compiled by the same Father Anderson.[2]

The zealous missionary was not content with

[1] Forbes-Leith, p. 295. [2] *Ibid.* p. 318.

ministering in person to the downtrodden Catholics of Scotland; he did his best to provide a supply of labourers in the mission field. Before he left Scotland for the first time he had gathered the names of as many as a hundred promising youths who desired to enter upon their studies for the priesthood, and only the dearth of seminaries at that time prevented the carrying out of this design in its fulness.

Other Notable Jesuits.

Foremost among the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century were the two Fathers Mambrecht, who were of Scottish family and of noble birth; they were relatives, but how closely connected is not apparent. Father John Mambrecht was first in the mission field. He passed under the name of Du Pre. After serving the mission for some years, he was called to London to occupy the post of confessor to the French Embassy. While there he was received at court by James I., who treated him with great kindness, and seems to have esteemed him highly. In 1626 he returned to Scotland, and in the same year was apprehended at Dundee, by the Protestant Bishop of Brechin, and sent to Edinburgh Gaol. There he languished for six months in a filthy dungeon, deprived of the consolation of any intercourse with friends, and forbidden pen and paper; his only comforts were the cross which hung from his neck, and his Breviary, which he used when there happened to be sufficient light to read by in his gloomy prison. Twice only in twenty-four hours he received a scanty supply of food—barely enough to keep him alive. His death-

warrant had been already signed by Charles I.; that king, however, revoked it at the earnest supplication of Queen Henrietta Maria and the mother of the Duke of Buckingham. Father Mambrecht was released in June 1627, but his health had been so shattered that he was unable to walk until nine months later. When he was well enough to leave the kingdom, he departed amid the admiration of his very enemies. He retired to Poland, where he was occupied in hearing the confessions of Catholics of various nationalities, for which work his knowledge of many languages rendered him invaluable. To the end of his life he regretted that he had not been privileged to suffer martyrdom for the Faith, for which privilege he had daily prayed when in his loathsome prison. He died in 1670.

Father James Mambrecht arrived in Scotland at the very time his relative was leaving the country in 1627. He was appointed chaplain to the third Earl of Winton, and remained in that position for twelve years. At the outbreak of a more virulent persecution, he was induced to withdraw for a time into England; but he was soon back again in Scotland. In a letter dated December 17th, 1640, he gives instances of the rigour exercised against Catholics at that period. Orders had been issued prohibiting anyone to buy anything from Catholics, or to sell anything to them. Many had been derived of their possessions and imprisoned. The Puritan party had sworn that no single Catholic should remain alive in Scotland at the end of that year. Father Mambrecht's greatest concern for himself was that he was alone in the southern part of the country, devoid of all spiritual help for his

own soul, though liable to be seized at any moment. The following year saw a still further increase of persecuting zeal. The enemies of the Church sought to extinguish the very name of Catholic. Fanatical violence was shown against any remaining images of Our Lord and the Saints, and their destruction was more than once accompanied by preternatural chastisements inflicted upon the agents of such sacrileges. During the years that followed, the state of the few missionaries left in the country was most deplorable. Amid poverty and hardships almost incredible, they continued to minister as best they could to the miserable and destitute Catholics. So active was the constant search for missionaries by the authorities, that a priest was seldom able to remain more than three days in the same place. Imprisonment, and even death, awaited them as a reward, and bravely they prepared to meet both; indeed, but for the deprivation of the means of grace which their flocks would suffer by their loss, they longed to shed their blood for Christ. After ten years of such hardships, Father Mambrecht was taken and thrown into prison in Edinburgh. There he was visited by Father Gall, another of his brethren in religion, and received from him the Sacraments. After eleven months in prison he was discharged and banished. He had already been sentenced to death, and offered a reprieve on condition of paying £100 penalty, finding bail for £500 more, and undertaking to depart from Scotland for ever within a month. All this he absolutely refused, preferring to die in prison rather than bind himself by conditions so unworthy of a Christian missionary. He was eventually exiled to Flanders.

Other Regular Orders on the Scottish Mission.

Hitherto we have confined our attention to missionaries of the Society of Jesus; it will be well now to take a glance at the work done by other Religious Orders in the century we have been considering. From an early period, Benedictines were working on the Mission, sent from Scottish monasteries on the Continent. Several are recorded as being in the country in 1688. Ten years later there were four Benedictines and the same number in 1707.[1] Franciscans also were indefatigable in labouring in the missionary field of Scotland. Of these the Capuchins seem to have led the way; Paul V., in 1608, extended to the members of that Order then acting as missionaries in Scotland the privileges already enjoyed by other religious who were working there. Among the most illustrious of these missionaries was Father Epiphanius Lindsay. He was born of a noted Scottish family, and after being educated at Louvain and there receiving Holy Orders he returned to his native country to labour as a secular priest. He was the means of reconciling to the Church a large number of Protestants; but being at length arrested and imprisoned, he was condemned to death as a Catholic priest. His sentence was afterwards commuted to banishment, and he crossed over to the Netherlands, where he entered the Capuchin Order. He returned to Scotland in 1620, and for ten years laboured again with zeal and success. Disguised as a peasant, he passed through the Highlands

[1] Kinloch, *Studies in Scot. Eccles. Hist.*, pp. 19, 258, 312, 323.

exercising his sacred functions for the benefit of the down-trodden Catholics. In the year 1630 a furious persecution sprang up. An armed force invaded the houses of Catholics in the district where he was then staying, seized their property, and cast many into prison. Under the leadership of a Presbyterian minister, they burst into the house where the priest was concealed and, as Father Lindsay related in a letter to a fellow-religious, tore up books and vestments, and burnt everything which they did not plunder. The Capuchin, although frequently denounced, hunted from place to place, and very nearly apprehended, managed by the help of God to survive all these perils. He lived to the age of eighty-four, and received the last rites from a Jesuit Father before the end of his unquiet life.

Another Capuchin missionary at about the same period was Father Archangel Leslie. He was born of an honourable family in Aberdeenshire, and was converted to the Faith in Paris, whither he had been sent for his education. He first entered the Scots College in Rome, but afterwards became a Capuchin, and in 1623 entered Scotland as a missionary. After reconciling his mother and other members of his own family, he was successful in gaining many souls, especially among the higher classes. After labouring in the country for six years, Father Archangel went to Rome, in 1630, to clear himself of certain false charges which had been made against him, and to obtain some requisite privileges for Scottish missionaries. Being exculpated by the Congregation of Propaganda, on the evidence of many Scottish Catholics, he was per-

mitted to resume his labours, and returned to Scotland enriched by Urban VIII. with extensive faculties. He died in 1637, having received from a Jesuit all the consolations of religion in his last hours. His life was distinguished by fervent zeal for souls which brought upon him trials of no ordinary kind, but which effected many conversions. Father Archangel's worth has been somewhat discredited by a romantic account of his life and labours, filled with foolish and fictitious stories, which was published in Italy shortly after his death. It is thought to have been originally intended for pure fiction ; but its contents tended to lessen in Scotland, where they were easily recognised as fabulous, the reputation of a really zealous and self-denying missionary. Little is known of other members of his Order in Scotland at this same period ; there were at least seven others, four whose names have not been preserved, as well as Fathers Richard, Anselm, and another Archangel.

Irish Friars as Missionaries.

In 1619 Irish Franciscans were labouring zealously on the Scottish mission. Fathers Edmund Cone and Patrick Brady, with a lay-brother named John Stewart, were sent from the Louvain house of that branch of the Order. For two years they were most successful in reconciling converts and strengthening the faith of the persecuted Catholics. Father Cone, however, was seized and thrown into prison, and subsequently banished. But other enthusiastic missionaries were soon taking up the work. Archbishop Fleming, of Dublin, procured

the services of three more Irish Franciscans—Fathers Cornelius Ward, Patrick Hegerty, and O'Neill—for the needs of Scotland. Their success was phenomenal. In 1626 it was reported to Propaganda that Father Ward himself had reconciled to the Church 382 Protestants in the Hebrides, as well as one of the leading opponents of the Faith in Caithness; this latter, who was at the point of death, recovered his health after receiving Viaticum, and became in his turn a zealous propagator of the true religion among his neighbours. Father Ward, like so many other zealous missionaries, eventually fell into the hands of the heretics; he was carried to London, where he lay in strict confinement for fifteen months, and was less rigorously imprisoned for nine more before he was released through the influence of the Polish Ambassador and banished. A Report to Rome in 1628 gave the number of converts made by the Franciscans up to that time in the Highlands of Scotland at over ten thousand. This number, though received with some incredulity by Propaganda, was found on enquiry to be thoroughly accurate. In 1633 Father Hegerty reported that he had reconciled 2229 converts in the Hebrides, baptised 1222, and married 117. At his petition a grant of money was made by the Sacred Congregation in support of Fathers Ward and Brady, both now advanced in years. In 1637 and the following year Father Ward is stated to have received 1074 persons, among them a Presbyterian preacher. It is possible that this may have been Robert Menteath, minister of Duddingston, who became a Catholic about that time and was banished the realm; he entered the ecclesiastical

state in Paris, and became a Canon of Notre Dame. Some years previously a young Highland minister had been converted by the Franciscans and had entered the new Irish College at Louvain.

The remarkable success of these missionaries stirred up the hatred of the Presbyterians to an extraordinary degree. A report to Propaganda in 1627 from Father Brady states that he had been attacked while travelling by fourteen ministers, thrown from his horse, and so badly wounded as to remain in an almost lifeless condition for an hour at least. His vestments and Holy Oil vessels were taken from him and burnt publicly in Edinburgh. The report declares that these vessels and their contents remained uninjured by the fire.

Good work continued to be done by Franciscans in the following years of the same century. Father Hegerty reported to Rome in 1639 the conversion of some seventy persons, most of them members of prominent families, in the Hebrides and Western Highlands; in the following year he gave the number of converts from the same districts as a hundred and ten. He paid for his success by nearly five years of suffering in the prison into which his opponents had cast him, but from which he was eventually liberated. It was to secure a constant provision of missionaries for Scotland that the Franciscans, by the help of the Infanta Isabella and other benefactors, founded in 1626 a convent of their Order at Douai.

Secular Priests as Missionaries.

Very few secular priests were living in Scotland

at that period—one report mentions but one such priest, and he old and infirm; this, however, is not strictly accurate. Others were in hiding in different districts; two of them, Fathers Robert Creighton, Roger Lindsay and George Ashton, were seized about 1609, and after long and wearisome imprisonment were sent into banishment. Father Creighton, indeed, barely escaped being hanged at the Market Cross of Edinburgh and afterwards dismembered; his sentence had already been passed, but was commuted to exile. In 1615 Father George Strachan was banished from Edinburgh by the Town Council.

Father Robert Philip of Sanquhar arrived in Scotland from the Scots College, Rome, in May 1613. During three months' wanderings he was enabled to reconcile many converts; but he could manage to say Mass about six or seven times only. In company with a young layman to serve his Mass, Father Philip ventured to visit Kirkconnel, in the neighbourhood of his ancestral home; he was promptly seized by his own heretical father and, being carried to Edinburgh, was brought to trial. He confessed having returned to Scotland "with the purpose and intention of converting souls to the Roman religion." He was accused of having said Mass, "in great solemnity, with his Mass-clothes, consecrated altar, Mass-book, and with his other superstitious rites and ceremonies belonging thereto." Sentence of death was passed upon him, but it was afterwards commuted to banishment. He retired to France, where he became an Oratorian. When Queen Henrietta Maria came to England as bride of Charles I., Father Philip accompanied her as one

of her chaplains. He was again imprisoned in England in 1641, but was released, and continued to serve the Queen until his death at Paris in 1647.

A contemporary, though younger in years, was Father Gilbert Blakal, who came to Scotland from Rome in 1630. Finding many obstacles in the way of his successful labours on the mission, he retired for a time to Paris. Here he became assistant to an aged French priest, and was chosen as confessor by the Lady Isabel Hay, daughter of the Earl of Errol. He was successful in his suit to the Infanta Isabella of Spain, then residing in Brussels, on behalf of the young Scottish lady, who was living in exile for the free practice of her Faith. The Infanta, moved by Father Blakal's account of the great need his penitent was suffering, arranged for her an annual income which rendered her in future independent of her Protestant relatives. In 1637 Father Blakal returned to Scotland, and as chaplain to Lady Aboyne, sister of Lady Isabel, was enabled to take an important part in upholding and spreading religion in the country. At the death of that lady he took charge of her only surviving daughter, Lady Henrietta Gordon, prevented her perversion by Protestant relatives, and, amid almost incredible difficulties, carried her for safety into France, where he procured for her in 1643 the favour and patronage of the King and Queen. He died in France about 1667.

A graphic account of his adventures was left by Father Blakal in MS. entitled: "A Brieffe Narration." It has been printed by the Spalding Club (1839). It gives most interesting particulars of the state of Scottish Catholics at that period.

Father Thomas Chalmers was another noteworthy missionary. After many years of labour from about 1637, he passed over to France. It is supposed that his exile was compulsory, for although he was able to assist the Scottish missionaries very greatly with money and in other ways, he did not return himself. He became almoner to Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin successively, and made the best use of his important office for the good of his missionary brethren.

Father Alexander Robertson arrived in Scotland from Germany in 1635, when persecution was raging with much violence. He was forced to fly for his life, without being able to do much in the mission field. Another priest of the same surname, Andrew Robertson, was more successful. From 1621 until he was captured and imprisoned in 1643, he was a zealous labourer. After confinement at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, he was ultimately banished.

The Prefect of the Mission.

When missionaries became more numerous in Scotland the need of a properly constituted head of the entire body began to be felt. The want was supplied by the nomination, in 1653, of William Ballantyne by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda as Prefect of the Scottish mission, to assume the direction of all the secular clergy who were at that time labouring in the country. Father Ballantyne was the son of a Lanarkshire Presbyterian minister, and nephew of Lord Newhall, a Scottish judge. He was educated in Edinburgh, but when travelling in France received the grace of conversion

to the Faith, and became a Catholic in Paris. In 1641 he entered the Scots College, Rome, to prepare for the priesthood, and there he displayed more than ordinary ability and application. After his ordination he spent two years in the Scots College, Paris. In 1649 he arrived in Scotland. Convinced of the necessity of more definite organisation, he returned to the Continent to try and interest some of the ecclesiastical authorities in the project. Cardinal Barberini, the Papal Legate, took the matter up, and the result was the appointment of Ballantyne himself as the first Prefect Apostolic of the Scottish mission.

Father Ballantyne's labours were crowned with success in the conversion of many lapsed Catholics, among them the Marquis of Huntly. On his way to France in 1656, the vessel in which Father Ballantyne was sailing was captured by the English and the passengers carried prisoners to Ostend. The Prefect, however, was soon set at liberty; but he was denounced to the Government by one of his fellow passengers, and again seized and imprisoned in London. Four years later he was once more on the Scottish mission, but his health was impaired by hardships and fatigue, and he died at Elgin in September 1661, in the house of the Marchioness of Huntly. He was buried in the Huntly family vault in the ruined Cathedral, and so great was the respect felt for him that many Protestants, among them some magistrates of the city, followed his remains to the grave. Father Ballantyne was a man of such singular prudence, modesty and humility that even the adversaries of his religion were won to respect and love him, while his

remarkable learning and eloquence rendered his labours most fruitful.

On the death of Father Ballantyne, three candidates were proposed to fill his place, but the choice of the Sacred Congregation fell upon Father Alexander Winster, a native of Morayshire, who had been educated in the Scots Colleges of Rome and Paris and returned to Scotland as a missionary in 1658.

A report upon the condition of affairs in Scotland, sent to Rome by the Prefect in 1668, gives many interesting details of the state of religion at that period. There were no places of worship for Catholics; Mass was said in private houses, where also sermons were preached and the Sacraments administered. The fact that priests had to exercise their ministry in defiance of the unjust laws made against them, gave rise to numerous difficulties. They could have no fixed place of residence, but travelled about the country in the dress of laymen, helping their scattered flocks as best they might. They were exceedingly poor; for Catholics were compelled to pay towards the support of Presbyterian ministers, and it was judged expedient not to lay upon them a double burden by requiring them to maintain their own clergy. The objectionable practice of attending the Protestant worship, in order to evade the penalties imposed for non-attendance, had been very prevalent among the Catholics of Scotland at one time, but the Prefect reports that the efforts of the missionaries had succeeded in entirely abolishing it. Another difficulty was the want of Catholic schools; there were none at all in the Lowlands, but the Highlands possessed two—

one being in the island of Barra. A crying need was an increase in the number of priests, the defective condition of the Scottish colleges on the Continent rendering the supply quite insufficient.

Father Winster was a special favourite with the Catholic King James II. (and VII.), and was always welcome at Court. When the Revolution broke out he took refuge in Edinburgh Castle, which was held by the Catholic Duke of Gordon in the King's name. By his prudence and care Father Winster succeeded in evading all attempts to apprehend him. He died in his eighty-third year in 1708, having rendered important service to the Scottish mission for half a century.

Missionaries after the Restoration.

The lot of the missionaries under the rule of the Commonwealth was, as we have seen, even harder than before. Although Charles II. was disposed to relax the rigour of persecution, little was done in that respect for Scotland, where the Episcopalians, during their limited domination, tyrannised over Presbyterians as well as Catholics. When James II. (and VII.) came to the throne in 1685, there seemed to be some hope of relief under the rule of a Catholic monarch. In 1686 the Chapel Royal in Holyrood Palace was fitted up for Catholic worship, and High Mass sung therein on St. Andrew's Day and Midnight Mass at Christmas, with all possible solemnity. Grants were made by the King from his private revenue on behalf of the missionaries, both secular and regular, and the Scots Colleges in Rome, Paris and Douai. A school was opened by

Jesuits in Edinburgh and largely attended. In the Scottish Parliament measures were brought forward for the alleviation of the laws against Catholics, and when these efforts proved ineffectual, the King suspended by royal authority all penal statutes in opposition to their religion, and declared himself in favour of complete liberty of conscience for all denominations. But the indiscreet zeal of the King, which brought about his downfall, resulted in the end in a renewal of persecuting fury. Although William III. had promised his allies not to molest Catholics, he made no attempt to restrain the excesses committed by Protestant fanatics against them. No-Popery mobs paraded the streets of Edinburgh, the Chapel Royal was rifled and its furniture destroyed. The residence of the Countess of Traquhair was broken into and vestments, holy oils, relics, statues, books and many precious articles carried off and ignominiously burned. The laws against priests, and against the saying of Mass, were again put into execution, and many arrests were made of notable Catholics.

During these troublous times the lot of the Catholic missionaries was hard indeed. As an example we will give a brief account of the career of Father David Burnet, elected in 1680 by the secular clergy to the post of Vice-Prefect, during the absence of the Prefect on the Continent. He was a convert to the Faith, and in 1661 entered the Scots College at Rome. He afterwards spent some time in the College at Paris, and in 1670 went on the Scottish mission, where he laboured for some six years. He was recalled to become Prefect of Studies in the Scots College, Paris, but in 1680 was

again in Scotland. He was appointed head chaplain and preacher to the Chapel Royal at Holyrood by James VII. in 1687. When the storm of the Revolution broke in 1688 he had to escape for his life. The mob that attacked Holyrood seized his property, and he could carry with him but a chalice and some other of the more precious of the sacred vessels. He made his way to Leith, where he was obliged to spend a frosty December night in the open fields. Making his way north as secretly as possible, he endeavoured to warn his brethren there of the turn of events. He was more than once pursued by a hostile mob, but always escaped seizure. Reaching Banffshire, he lay concealed for a whole month, together with another priest, in recesses of the hills. For two months more these companions in misfortune lodged in cottages, never appearing abroad in daytime. From November to March they lived in a rude hut built of rough stones without any cement, where wind and snow penetrated, so that they were often covered with snow when morning dawned.

Finding it impossible to serve Catholics satisfactorily while the country was alive with soldiers to apprehend all priests, Father Burnet contrived to pass over to France, hoping to stir up Catholics there to assist with money the poor, half-starved missionaries who still skulked in hiding-places, bereft of the means of subsistence, except such as Catholics might be able to afford them out of their own poverty. Many were forced to crawl at night from one place of safety to another to beg for food. Many were languishing with sickness for want of nourishment. Of the twenty-five who remained in

Scotland, several were arrested and imprisoned before the end of the year 1689.

Father Burnet, meeting with little success in France, was asked by the exiled James VII. to return to Scotland. This he did, after sending to Rome a report of the state of affairs in that unhappy country. He continued to labour there until his death in 1696, after twenty-six years' faithful service to the Church.

A Martyr to Illusage.

One of the missionaries who suffered greatly for the Faith during the persecutions which followed the deposition of James VII. was Father Robert Munro. He was born in the county of Ross and was educated at the Scots College, Rome, whence he journeyed to Scotland in 1671. He was a man of unusual piety, and as a missionary was distinguished by remarkable zeal and courage. Though imprisoned in the Revolution troubles, he was soon liberated, and continued to labour with so much diligence that he roused the ill-will of the Presbyterian clergy, who sought to confine him to prison once more. In 1696 they succeeded in taking him. He was banished to Flanders, after a short period of imprisonment in Edinburgh, with the threat of certain death should he return. After further imprisonment there, through a misapprehension, he proceeded to Paris. Being furnished with a chalice, other sacred utensils and vestments —since he had lost everything of the kind during his imprisonment—Father Munro started for Scotland in 1697. But on his journey he was again

seized and thrown into prison in London, after being robbed of his money and all his belongings. In a year he was liberated and banished. But his spirit was still unbroken. He longed to return to his beloved flock, knowing that some hundreds of faithful Catholics were deprived in his absence of all the consolations of religion. At last he contrived to sail from Dunkirk for Scotland, and took up again his former labours. In 1704 he was surprised and seized in Glengarry, where he was then lodged, by a party of soldiers. He was old and infirm, and being unable to walk or even to ride, was brutally thrown across a horse, like a sack of corn, and conveyed to Glengarry Castle, where the soldiers were quartered. He was left lying on the bare floor, without any covering, or even a little straw beneath him; thus he remained for two days, racked with fever, without being able to procure even a glass of water. He died three days after his seizure, a martyr to duty. His body rests in the old cemetery of Kilmonivaig.

An Intrepid Priest.

Another missionary worthy of special mention was David Guthrie, also a student of the Scots College in Rome. He was a native of the east of Scotland, was ordained priest in Rome, and came to the Scottish mission a few years later than Father Munro, arriving in August 1677. He had the reputation of great holiness. He was for some time labouring in the neighbourhood of Arbroath, and an officer coming once to that town gave out in a threatening manner that he had come there to apprehend the Popish priest, who, as he had been in-

formed, was in hiding there. It is not improbable that he hoped by this blustering to warn the priest, and help him to escape. But Father Guthrie was not to be intimidated. Instead of flying to some safe retreat, he dressed in his best array and called upon the officer at his lodgings. "I am the Popish priest," he said, "whom, I am told, you wish to take prisoner. I did not wish to give you or your poor tired soldiers any further trouble in searching for me, so I have come to you of my own accord." The officer was greatly surprised. "Do you know," he asked, "that I can get you hanged?" the priest answered calmly, "If you do so, I shall be a martyr and go straight to Heaven." The man was touched with so much real piety and Christian simplicity. "If you never go to Heaven until I send you there," was his rejoinder, "you will never go." In the end he pressed the good priest to dine with him, and invited him again during his stay in the town. He is even said to have remonstrated with certain of the magistrates who had previously shown much animosity towards Father Guthrie.[1] There is no further record of the career of this missionary, but the anecdote related is a good illustration of the character of the self-denying men to whom the Catholics of Scotland were so greatly indebted at this perilous time.

Vincentians as Missionaries.

The destitute state of the Catholics of Scotland aroused the charitable zeal of St. Vincent de Paul;

[1] MS. of Bishop Geddes, quoted by Gordon, *Scotichronicon* Appendix, p. 562.

in 1651 he entered into negotiations with the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda on the subject. While placing at the disposal of the Sacred Congregation the members of his newly founded society of Lazarists, St. Vincent pointed out the difficulty of providing priests conversant with Gaelic as well as English. His offer was nevertheless accepted, and he sent two Irish priests to the Hebrides and a Scotsman to the mainland. One of the former, Father Duggan, sent reports of his labours to his Superior in 1652 and 1654. In spite of many difficulties, he had visited most of the islands, administered Baptism, and given instructions to the inhabitants, whom he found always ready to listen to him. He had the happiness of reconciling to the Church the aged chief of Glengarry, who was more than ninety years of age, and a born Protestant.[1] Another Vincentian, Father Lumsden, visited the Orkneys, as well as the counties of Moray, Ross and Caithness on the mainland, where, as he reported to St. Vincent in 1657, no priest had been for years, and Catholics were few. Father White, another Lazarist, was highly praised by the Prefect of the Mission for his arduous labours in the Highlands amid many perils. Of him is related the following interesting anecdote: Travelling in the wilds of Glengarry with a brother-missionary, he was asked by two brothers to visit their aged father, who seemed to be at the point of death, yet refused to make a will, declaring that his hour had not yet come. When the priests (whose real character was unknown to the men) questioned

[1] This zealous missionary succumbed to the hardships of his position and died in South Uist. His tomb in the ancient church at Kilvanan was held in reverence as that of a saint, and his memory is still cherished there as well as in the Island of Eigg.

the old man as to his reason for such refusal, he declared that he was a Catholic, and had prayed for many years that he might not die without the Sacraments; he felt certain, therefore, that his prayer would be granted. The missionaries thereupon made themselves known, and the old man received all the rites of the Church and died in peace.

An interesting report of the state of the Hebrides at this period is in the Archives of the Propaganda. It represents the people as neither Catholics nor heretics. They are said to detest heresy, but to listen to Protestant preachers by necessity. The want of priests had left them ignorant of the truths of Faith, but whenever a Catholic priest came to them they showed him far more reverence than they did the ministers. He was known among them as "the tonsured one," and listened to with veneration. They used the Sign of the Cross, invoked the Saints, treasured holy water, and recited litanies. When the ministers delayed to baptise infants, on the plea that it was not essential to salvation, they would administer the Sacrament themselves. In consequence of this report, the Sacred Congregation entrusted the Hebrides to the care of the Archbishop of Armagh, Blessed Oliver Plunket, afterwards a martyr for the Faith. He visited the islands personally, and in 1671 submitted to Rome a report of their state.

The description given by contemporary writers of the moral and religious condition of Scotland at this period is truly lamentable. The preachers are said to have been responsible for the fall of the people into the extremes of vice, impurity and degradation. In place of one religion, we are told

by a writer of about this time, Scotland had a multitude. "Besides Protestants and Papists," he says, "we have now Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Covenanters, Independents, Cross-Covenanters, Anti-Covenanters, Puritans, Barbarteries, Roundheads, Old-Horns, New-Horns, Cross-Petitioners, Brownists, Separatists, Malignants, Sectaries, Royalists, Quakers and Anabaptists."[1] Deplorable, indeed, had been the results of a century's separation from the unity of the Faith!

A Vicar-Apostolic Granted.

So many and so great were the difficulties experienced by Catholics in Scotland towards the end of the seventeenth century that the Holy See determined to accede to the oft-expressed wish of the missionary clergy who were labouring there and grant an episcopal superior for the whole country. In April 1694 the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda resolved to nominate a Vicar-Apostolic for Scotland, and to provide him with all necessary vestments, vessels and books. A few months later the name of Thomas Nicolson was proposed, and was approved of by Pope Innocent XII. shortly after.

The new prelate was of Scottish birth, being the son of Sir Thomas Nicolson of Kemnay. He had been brought up a Protestant, but after filling the post of professor at Glasgow University for some fourteen years he became a Catholic at the age of thirty-seven, and passed to the Continent to study for the priesthood in the Scots College at Douai.

[1] Nichol, quoted by Hunter-Blair, Vol. IV., p. 87.

Ordained priest, he returned to Scotland in 1687 to labour as a missionary. In the revolution against James VII. (or II.) he shared the fate of many others of his brethren, being cast into prison and banished. His brother became bail for him that he would not return to the country, and he was allowed to sail for Dunkirk, where he acted for three years as confessor to nuns there.

When nominated as Vicar-Apostolic, he was consecrated at Paris, in the Archbishop's private chapel, February 27th, 1695, as Bishop of Peristachium. Bishop Nicolson was anxious to return to Scotland without delay, but difficulties in obtaining passports kept him for more than a year in Germany and Holland. Through the Duke of Bavaria, with whom Propaganda had interceded on his behalf, William III. is said to have consented to the cancelling of the bond given by the Bishop's brother as security for his remaining abroad; however this may be, Bishop Nicolson had no sooner reached London than he was arrested and imprisoned. Released six months after, he lost no time in repairing to Scotland.

Bishop Nicolson remained for a time at Gordon Castle, the seat of the powerful Catholic family of Gordon, where he held conferences with many of the missionaries on the state of affairs. He did not at first reside in any fixed place, but travelled continually over the country in the exercise of his episcopal functions. There had been no Scottish Bishop for more than a century, and it had been impossible to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. The Bishop confirmed no less than three thousand persons in the course of a visitation to the

Western Isles in 1700, as he reported to the Sacred Congregation in the following year. For twenty years Bishop Nicolson laboured with the utmost zeal and self-sacrifice for the conversion of Scotland. In his reports to Rome he says that the clergy—who numbered at that time ten Jesuits, four Benedictines and twenty-three secular priests—had never been in a more flourishing state as regarded ecclesiastical learning, piety and unanimity. The greatest danger to religion was the lax state of the Protestants as to morals, and their neglect of the practice of religion, which in some cases had developed into practical atheism. Such bad example had had an effect upon some Catholics in weakening their attachment to their Faith and lowering their standard of morality.

The Bishop's labours were carried on in spite of dangers and difficulties from the persecuting party. In his report to Rome in 1702 he stated that the Government had at heart the total extinction of the Catholic religion in Scotland. Two years later, under Anne, the old laws against "Jesuits, priests, sayers of Mass, resetters or harbourers of priests, or hearers of Mass" were again enforced. Yet in a temporary lull in persecution many conversions were effected through the country. In consideration of Bishop Nicolson's advancing years, and the arduous labours attaching to his office, Bishop James Gordon was granted as Coadjutor in 1706. The rapid increase in the number of Catholics led the Bishops to turn their attention to the establishment of a seminary for the education of a native clergy; this was accomplished in a humble way in the foundation of the little college of Scalan before

the death of Bishop Nicolson in 1718. Scalan developed in course of years into Aquahorties, founded eighty years later; Aquahorties gave place to Blairs, the present preparatory college for ecclesiastical students in Scotland.

With the establishment of a Scottish seminary the purely missionary character of the Church in Scotland came to an end. A native clergy was henceforth to carry on the work so nobly maintained during the dark days which, had not the Church been of divine origin, seemed destined to witness her overthrow. All honour then to those self-denying priests who, in spite of bodily hardships, the danger of imprisonment, banishment and even death, kept alight the torch of Faith, which ever burns with greater brilliance as the years roll on!

Authorities followed:—Hunter-Blair, *History of Catholic Church of Scotland;* Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI.;* Memorabilia of Missioners in Scotland (Appendix to Gordon's *Scotichronicon*).

VI.

GREAT BRITAIN'S CONVERT QUEEN.

THERE would be more reason for surprise that the solitary instance of the conversion to Catholicism of a Queen of Great Britain should be so little known, were it not that the circumstances of the time demanded secrecy, and doomed to centuries of obscurity the documents regarding it. The royal personage in question is Anne of Denmark, consort of James I. The causes which led her to embrace the Catholic faith, and the difficulties which surrounded her persevering practice of it, afford matter for an interesting study.

Contemporary evidence of the Queen's conversion was for ages hidden away in the Latin pages of a learned Jesuit's collected works, and amid the dusty, half-forgotten manuscripts of foreign libraries. For, although the fact was known to the English court of the period, the credit of the National Church demanded that it should not become widespread; hence it was persistently hushed up, as far as might be, by those in authority. So satisfactory, from a Protestant point of view, has been the result, that historians have generally ignored the subject, except to hint that Anne had a leaning toward Catholicism. Even in these days, when public libraries are so continually being called upon to yield up their buried treasures, the Queen's attitude toward religion is summed up by one of her modern biographers in

the phrase, "coquetting with Rome."[1] This ignorance of the real facts of the case is the more remarkable since as far back as the year 1837 an English Protestant publication, the *Quarterly Review*, stated Queen Anne's Catholicism as certain, and gave ample proofs of the truth of the assertion, as will be seen later.

The first English Catholic writer to make public this phase in the life of Anne of Denmark was the late Father Stevenson, S.J. In the pages of the *Month* for February 1879 he published a translation of a long Latin letter in which a Scottish Jesuit of the seventeenth century, Father Abercromby, related in detail the share which he himself had had in bringing about the Queen's conversion. Later writers, among them Father Forbes-Leith, S.J., in his "Narratives of Scottish Catholics," and Dom Oswald Hunter-Blair, O.S.B., in his "History of the Catholic Church of Scotland," have furnished, from the archives of the Vatican and of the Society of Jesus, further evidence which sets the matter beyond doubt. From the materials thus provided we are able to glean much interesting information.

Anne was born in 1574, and was the younger daughter of Frederick II., King of Denmark,—a kingdom then including Norway. The Earl of Bothwell, during his mortal illness when a prisoner in Denmark, bore witness to the innocence of Mary Stuart of any complicity in the murder of Darnley; and Frederick won the lasting gratitude of James of Scotland by his zeal in spreading abroad this fact. When, therefore, a match was proposed between James and a Danish princess, it met with the

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

warmest approval of the young King, in spite of the opposition of Elizabeth of England, who resented the outspoken witness of Frederick on behalf of her hated rival. All difficulties were at length overcome, and in the year 1589 the Earl Marischal of Scotland stood proxy for James in a marriage with Anne at the royal castle of Cronenberg, in the presence of her mother, Queen Sophia,—Frederick having died before the completion of negotiations.

Stormy seas prevented the voyage of the royal bride to Scotland. The Danish vessels conveying her and her suite were driven upon the Norwegian coast. James, in view of their probable detention for a whole winter, gallantly set sail for Norway; and on November 24th of that year was married to the princess by a chaplain he had brought with him for the purpose. Upslo, the scene of the ceremony, was then only a miserable collection of huts; but in the reign of Anne's brother, Christian IV., the city of Christiania, named after that King, was built upon its site. The royal couple managed to travel, with great difficulty in wintry weather, to Cronenberg, where the Lutheran ecclesiastics of the court insisted upon celebrating another marriage according to their particular rite, in the month of January following. Upon this formal conclusion of the matrimonial contract, the Orkney and Shetland Isles, which had been for long a subject of dispute between the two kingdoms, were bestowed upon the Scottish crown in perpetuity as part of Anne's dowry.

The young Queen had already tasted the bitterness of religious intolerance in the disputes between Lutherans and Calvinists regarding the ceremonies connected with her marriage; she was now destined

to experience the like in her adopted country, and to a greater degree. The King and his bride reached Scotland on May Day, 1590. Arrangements were at once made for the coronation of the young Queen, and the ceremony was fixed for Sunday, May 17th. No royal function of the kind had as yet taken place with other than the ancient Catholic rite. This, under the circumstances, tended to create a difficulty. Although Presbyterian clergy alone were available, James determined that the customary anointing should not be omitted. The decision was displeasing to the clergy in general; but one of their number, a Mr. Robert Bruce, was prevailed upon to administer the oil of unction, James himself placing the crown upon the head of his consort. The Queen was then called upon to take the oath to "withstand and despise all papistical superstitions and ceremonies and rites contrary to the word of God." Her interpretation of these expressions was destined to undergo a change in the course of a few years.

In the marriage contract it had been stipulated that Anne should be free to practise the religion in which she had been brought up; and to this end a Danish Lutheran minister had accompanied her to Scotland in the capacity of chaplain. In the eyes of the Calvinistic ministers of Scotland, this arrangement was a standing insult to the national religion. Had the Queen been a Catholic, they could not have felt more bitterly toward her. They accused the King of having taken to wife "a Canaanitish woman"; he was bound to compel her to embrace the religion of the country. James, fearing difficulties, advised her to yield. Anne,

who is described by a contemporary ambassador as exhibiting a strong and courageous spirit, refused to do so. She resisted all the arguments of the preachers and of her household, although even Lering, her chaplain, ranged himself on the opposing side and became a Calvinist. Thus, from its very commencement, her married life was passed amid the unseemly wranglings of sectarian strife.

But at length, about ten years after her arrival in Scotland, she found a solution to her difficulties in a way little dreamed of by her adversaries. In early youth she had been sent for her education to Germany, and placed under the care of a devout Catholic princess of high rank. Who this lady was is not known, but it has been conjectured that she was a granddaughter of the Emperor Charles V. Amid the petty squabbles of her own court Anne recalled what she had heard and seen in her childhood of another and a nobler faith, hated by Lutherans and Calvinists alike. She remembered the solemnity of the daily Mass in the private chapel of the princess; she thought of the good priest who celebrated it with such piety and devotion; she lived over again the days spent in the peace and calm of that Catholic household, and her heart turned toward the One Church.

Among the Scottish nobility were yet to be found many who clung to the old faith. She consulted some such in confidence, particularly "a certain Earl," as to what she ought to believe. She was assured that, in the state of mind in which she then found herself, her hope of eternal happiness depended upon her reconciliation with the Catholic Church. Father Abercromby, then secretly serving

the Scottish mission, was named as the priest best fitted to instruct and help her. From his narrative, already referred to, we learn what followed.[1]

Being privately summoned to wait upon the Queen, the Jesuit was conducted to the royal palace, where, unknown to the King or the court in general, he was lodged in special apartments provided for him. A few of the Catholic ladies in attendance upon Anne were in the secret. For the three or four days Father Abercromby remained there the Queen came daily to visit him, carrying papers in her hand, as though engaged in instructing a secretary in correspondence. Her ladies remained in an outer chamber while Anne was receiving instructions in the faith for about an hour each day. After three days thus occupied, Mass was offered by the priest in his own apartments, and the Queen received Holy Communion. According to Father Abercromby, writing in 1608, this occurred "about the year 1600." Father MacQuhirrie, another Scotch Jesuit, in a statement made to the General of the Society in 1601, speaks of the event as taking place "three years ago, on the feast of St. Peter in Vinculis" (August 1). This would date the reception in 1598.

During the three years that followed, Father Abercromby relates that he communicated the Queen some nine or ten times, and that always early in the morning and quite privately, no one being present except certain Catholic ladies resident at court, who likewise received the Sacraments at such times. The Father had been appointed to the post of "keeper of his Majesty's hawks"—a not undignified post in those days,—and he was

[1] *The Month*, February 1879.

thus able to frequent the court without arousing suspicion.

In 1603 Anne had to set out for England, whither her husband had been called as heir to the throne on the death of Elizabeth. She would not depart, however, before receiving the Sacraments from Father Abercromby, from whom she at the same time extracted a promise to come to her in England whenever she should summon him.

How, it may be asked, was it possible for Queen Anne thus to practise her religion while the King was prosecuting his Scottish subjects for daring to do the like? For in the year 1601, when Anne was receiving the Sacraments at will, three citizens of Edinburgh—Barclay, Laing and Gibson—were tried for the offence of hearing Mass; and, being convicted, were all banished the realm.[1] The answer is that Anne was the King's own wife, and that, however harshly, in deference to Calvinistic bigotry, he might treat his Catholic subjects, no one could oblige him to punish his Queen. That he knew of her religious convictions is certain. Father Abercromby tells how James interrogated Anne on the subject, and was informed by her of the change that had taken place in her belief. The King showed by his rejoinder that the things of this world held the chief place in his estimation. "Well, wife," he said, "if you cannot live without this sort of thing, do your best to keep things as quiet as possible; for if you don't our crown is in danger."[2]

James had some difficulty in appeasing the Calvinistic ministers when the Queen's leaning

[1] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, Vol. II., p. 348.
[2] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 265.

towards Catholicism began to be suspected. He tried to excuse her by saying that she was crazy on the subject of religion ; but they remonstrated by blaming him for allowing so many Catholics to hold positions at court. As a matter of fact, Anne had a number of Catholic ladies in her household ; among them were the Countess of Huntly and a sister of the young Laird of Bonington. The Laird himself was a favourite with both King and Queen : though this did not prevent his execution in 1601 on the nominal charge of stealing title deeds from his ancestral home, but in reality for his persistent upholding of the Catholic religion. The young Princess Elizabeth was brought up from childhood in the household of another Catholic, Lady Livingstone, afterwards Countess of Linlithgow.

The removal of the court to London put an end to the comparative freedom in the practice of her religion hitherto enjoyed by Anne. Her first trial was in connection with her coronation as Queen Consort. The English rite, based upon the ancient Catholic ceremony, required the sovereigns to receive Communion at the hands of Protestant prelates. This the Queen stoutly refused to do, and no persuasions of her husband or his counsellors could move her. In the absence of proofs of her Catholicism which we now possess, historians account for her conduct by attributing it to a scruple against any further change in religion, supposing her to have already conformed to Calvinism in Scotland. But the real truth was that she merely acted up to her conscience as a Catholic. She valued her heavenly crown far above that of earth ;

for she professed her willingness to remain uncrowned rather than thus even outwardly offend against her faith. The result was that she was allowed to have her way; and the incident caused her, as one of her biographers relates, "to be grievously suspected of 'an affection to popery.'"[1] The suspicion was strengthened by a report prevalent about that time that the Queen had received a present of pictures and Rosary beads from the Pope. It is true that the Pontiff dispatched these marks of paternal affection; but James thought it politic to order them to be returned to the Nuncio at Paris, through whom they had been sent.[2]

It may be mentioned here that the Vatican Archives contain the copy of a letter sent to Queen Anne by Pope Clement VIII. The Pontiff addresses the Queen as his "dearest daughter in Christ"; and expresses his joy on account of her manifest devotion to the Holy See, and his hopes for the Catholic education of her son, and the consequent restoration of England to the Catholic faith. The date of the letter is January 28, 1605.[3] It was probably the answer to one written to his Holiness by the Queen during the first year after her conversion, but delayed by the seizure and execution of the young Laird of Bonington, already mentioned. To this Catholic gentleman its safe delivery had been entrusted; and upon his imprisonment it had been passed on to Father MacQuhirrie, who informed the General of the Society in 1601 that it had not yet been possible to forward either that

[1] Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol. II., p. 504.

[2] Hunter-Blair, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 397.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 473, where the Latin letter is given in full.

letter or one addressed to his Paternity himself by Queen Anne, though a favourable opportunity seemed to be near at hand.[1]

Very meagre is the information obtainable as to the opportunities afforded Anne for the practice of her religion after her removal to England. Father Abercromby testifies to the staunchness of her Catholicism in 1608, as reported to him by a Catholic lady of her court. "As to her religion," he says, "she is just as she was when I left her. There is this difference, however,—that she can no longer enjoy that free practice of her religion which she had while in Scotland." As an illustration of the Queen's courage in this respect, he mentions her firmness regarding the coronation ceremony, and adds another fact which throws considerable light upon the difficulties which beset her path. "Upon one occasion she visited the Spanish Ambassador; apparently it was a mere visit of compliment, but she heard Mass and received the Most Adorable Sacrament. When the King heard this he scolded her bitterly and told her that she would lose the crown and the kingdom."[2]

Ordinary historians can give us little help in this aspect of Anne's life. All that they have to say of her is chiefly concerned with her apparent worldliness—her love of splendour in dress and surroundings; the interest she took in the performance of masques and pageants, then so popular; the zest she showed for gaiety and display. It is possible that at one period of her life—when, as we shall have occasion to show, her faith had grown weak,—

[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 274.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 266.

she sought refuge in such things from the stings of conscience; but to a woman of no little beauty of person and adornments, it is natural that they should particularly appeal.

We are able, nevertheless, to supply motives for the Queen's actions, as related in history, of which those who tell them are unaware. Thus when the question of the marriage of her daughter, Princess Elizabeth, was under consideration, and the rival claims of Catholic and Protestant suitors were being weighed, Anne did her utmost to bring about a match with the Spanish prince, and thus, in accordance with the Pope's expressed desire, further the spiritual welfare of her child. She used all her influence—which was considerable—to induce James to consent; but Protestant opposition proved too strong, and Elizabeth was betrothed to the Count Palatine in 1612. The Queen took no part in the ceremony; being, according to one authority, "too ill and dejected to be present," owing to the recent death of her eldest son.[1] Lingard, however, quoting a contemporary letter, gives another reason: "The Queene, no way affecting the match, kept her chamber."[2] It must, indeed, have been a bitter disappointment to her that the child whom she had taken care to place under Catholic influences from her earliest years should be given in marriage to a German Lutheran.

The bitterest trial of Anne's life was undoubtedly the death, at the age of eighteen, of her son, Prince Henry, upon whom she had built such ardent hopes. In his letter of 1605, Pope Clement VIII. alluded

[1] Strickland, *Lives of Queens.*
[2] *History of England,* Vol. IX., p. 104 (note).

in enthusiastic terms to the promise of a better future for religion under the rule of a Prince whom his mother was endeavouring to bring up in Catholic principles, and whom he himself longed to be able to style his dearest son in Christ. Whether Henry, had he lived, would have fulfilled all the desires of which he was the centre, is extremely doubtful. His leaning appears to have been toward decided Protestantism rather than the faith professed by his mother. This is alluded to in a vulgar rhyme then current:

> Henry the Eighth pulled down the abbeys and cells,
> But Henry the Ninth shall pull down bishops and bells.[1]

It is in connection with Prince Henry, and Anne's anxiety for his future, that we have a striking testimony to the truth of the Queen's conversion to Catholicism. This is alluded to in an article published seventy years ago in the *Quarterly Review*, of which mention has already been made. "There is one circumstance," says the writer, "with regard to James' own family, unnoticed by Mr. Ranke as well as by our native historians (so far as our memory extends), which is of some importance, not so much on account of the weight and influence of the person, as indicating the successful system of proselytism pursued by the Vatican. Anne of Denmark, James' Queen, was a secret Roman Catholic in regular correspondence, receiving letters and indulgences from Rome. The authority for this fact may be found in Galluzzi's 'History of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany,'—almost the best historical work, we may observe, in the

[1] Lingard, *History*, Vol. IX., p. 102 (note).

Italian language. Galluzzi wrote from the archives of the Medici family, and at the period when the religion of James' Queen had become a question of perfect indifference."[1]

The writer goes on to explain the circumstances which revealed Anne's religion to the Florentine government. The Queen, anxious to bring about a Catholic marriage for her son, entered into a correspondence with Ottaviano Lotti, secretary to the embassy, in the hope of obtaining for the Prince the hand of the Grand Duke's sister, Catherine de Medici. But, although Anne had written to the Pope on the subject, professing herself his "most devoted daughter," the Pontiff (probably Paul V., who reigned from 1605 until after the Queen's death) was averse to the project; and the early decease of Henry put an end to the hopes which had been cherished as to his future.

Some further proofs of Queen Anne's conversion may fitly be given in this place. The Tuscan Ambassador, Count Alfonso Monticuculi, writing to his sovereign, the Grand Duchess, on the 29th of October 1603, related that when he presented to Anne the sacred pictures she had sent to him for the purpose, the Queen had professed herself a Catholic, and had declared that she desired nothing so ardently as the exaltation of Holy Mother Church.[2] On August 13 of the same year, Beaumont, the French Ambassador, had a conversation with Anne, in which she declared herself a Catholic at heart, and told how she had striven often to persuade the King to become reconciled to

[1] *Quarterly Review*, Vol. LVIII., p. 397.
[2] Hunter-Blair, *History*, Vol. III., p. 349.

the Church, though as yet without success. About the same time the Nuncio at Paris reported that he had been told by Baron de Tur, formerly French Ambassador at Edinburgh, that the Queen was undoubtedly a Catholic, but dared not confess her faith openly because of the hostility of Scottish heretical ministers. In another letter the Nuncio related that Anne had a Jesuit confessor, and carried constantly with her a cross and Rosary which he had given her.[1]

The Queen had already lost three children in their infancy, and the death of her eldest son was a climax to her griefs. Henceforth she seldom took part in public affairs. Little is known of her history, as Lingard tells us, after the loss of the best-beloved of her children. "Her passion for public amusements," he says, "had long ago ceased; and the latter part of her life was passed in privacy at Greenwich and Hampton Court."[2] At the latter residence she died March 3, 1619.

There can be no question, with the evidence we now possess, that Anne of Denmark was a Catholic in the full sense of the word. It remains to investigate the fact of her persistent practice of her faith. We have already seen that Father Abercromby was able to testify to her staunch fidelity in 1608. From a later account we gather that this fidelity did not continue to the end, but that at one period of her life the poor Queen ceased to battle with the adverse circumstances which surrounded her in England, and conformed outwardly to Protestantism. But the source from which this knowledge is obtained gives proof of the Queen's later

[1] Hunter-Blair, *History*, Vol. III., p. 350.
[2] *History*, Vol. IX., p. 175.

repentance. These facts are referred to in a Latin manuscript preserved in the Vatican Library, reporting upon the state of religion in Scotland and the prospects of its restoration in Great Britain.[1] The writer is unknown; the approximate date is the year 1617, as reference is made to the approaching visit of James I. to Scotland, which took place from May to September in that year.

In speaking of the Queen, the writer says that she had fallen away through womanly weakness; but that she was penitent then, and determined to atone for her faults by contrition and by deeds of charity. She was prepared, at the risk of the loss of everything, publicly to acknowledge herself a Catholic. She begged that the Pope would overlook the past, in consideration of the weakness of her sex and the difficult circumstances in which she had been placed. If this statement, as intrinsic evidence seems to prove, refers to the year 1617, we may well suppose that Queen Anne, in her retirement, did her best to carry out the good resolutions made at her reconciliation to the Church, and persevered to the end as a faithful Catholic. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence in support of the supposition; on the contrary, more than one writer has been found to maintain that the Queen died a Protestant. Some of the reasons for such an assertion shall here be given.

Miss Strickland, in her Life of Queen Anne, remarks: "Notwithstanding all the jealousies regarding her attachment to the Roman Catholic faith, she died in edifying communion with the Church of England, as distinctly specified by an

[1] Hunter-Blair, *History*, Vol. III., pp. 454, 497.

eye-witness."[1] The evidence referred to is contained in a letter addressed to some lady of rank, of French nationality, by one of the Queen's attendants. The original manuscript is still preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; but neither the writer nor the person addressed is known, as no names are mentioned. The letter states that for six weeks before her death Queen Anne had grown very weak and had almost entirely lost appetite for food; this latter fact, the writer goes on to say, "was known only to your countryman Pira [Pierre, a personal attendant upon the Queen] and the Dutch woman that serves her in her chamber." The latter person, Anna Kraas, often spoken of as "Danish Anna," was one of the maids of honour who had come with Queen Anne from Denmark, and was a favourite attendant. "They kept all close from the physicians and everybody else," continues the letter; "none saw her eat but these two."

When the Queen had become so ill as to be confined to her bed, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London paid her an unexpected visit. Hearing of their arrival, she gave orders that they should be admitted. They came in and knelt by her bedside, and, after some pious expressions of hope that as her body grew weaker her spirit gained strength, "they said a prayer, and word for word she followed them." The Archbishop then said: "Madam, we hope your Majesty doth not trust to your own merits nor to the merits of saints, but only to the blood and merits of our Saviour." The dying Queen replied: "I renounce the mediation of all saints and my own merits, and do rely only

[1] Strickland, *Lives of Queens.*

upon my Saviour Christ, who has redeemed my soul with his blood." This declaration, the letter says, gave great satisfaction to them. The chief object of the prelates seems to have been to persuade Anne to make a will, which she had always put off doing; encouraged in the delay, as Miss Strickland insinuates, by her two constant attendants, so that they might not be called to account for money and valuables which they had acquired from the Queen.

The Bishop of London was lodged in the palace that night, in order to be at hand in case the dying woman might show signs of a disposition to agree to the course they had urged. By the Queen's command, no one was allowed to remain near her, even in the ante-chamber, except "Danish Anna," who lay down by her side on the bed, after the physicians had made their usual visit about midnight and had retired for the night. In less than an hour the attendant saw in alarm that the end was near, and summoned the doctors and members of the court. The Bishop of London, who was present, said a prayer, in which all who stood around joined, then he said to the Queen, whose speech had gone, "Madam, make a sign that your majesty is one with your God, and long to be with him." She held up her hand toward Heaven, as long as her strength remained; when one hand grew weak she changed it for the other. She thus passed away, smiling peacefully. "She had the happiest going out of the world," says another witness, "that any one ever had."[1]

The opinion expressed by Miss Strickland as to the Queen's religion when dying seems to have

[1] Strickland, *Lives of Queens*, Vol. IV., p. 133.

been that entertained at the time—by Protestants at least. Four days after her death, Harwood wrote thus: "She gave a good account of her faith, free from all Popery."[1] Even a Catholic missionary, Father Simon Stock, pioneer of the Carmelites in England subsequent to the Reformation, took the same view. "I had several interviews with Queen Anne," he says in the narrative of his career, written at the wish of his superiors, "in which I explained to her the foundations of our faith; but she always put off her conversion, and finally died outside the true Church, although in heart a Catholic."[2]

With evidence such as this before us, it would seem almost rash to maintain that Queen Anne persevered to the last in the faith she had professed with so great ardour only a year or two before. Yet one does not feel disposed to accept it, however strong it may appear at first sight, as positive proof of the Queen's actual apostasy at the very end. To begin with, it is the evidence of Protestant witnesses —with the exception of that of the Carmelite Father, which can be satisfactorily explained,—and of witnesses, moreover, who saw but externals. Let us take the separate facts one by one.

(1) Two Anglican prelates visit the Queen uninvited. They say a prayer, which the sick lady follows, "word for word." If she repeated the prayer aloud, it must have been one which was familiar, perhaps the *Pater Noster*, a distinctly Catholic formula. To join in prayer with schismatic clergy is, doubtless, to act contrary to the Church's laws; but it cannot of itself constitute apostasy, and

[1] State Papers, Domestic, March 6, 1619.
[2] Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, p. 30.

in the case of one not very well instructed might be free from any grave fault. But should the Queen's lips have been moving merely, while the prayer was being offered, it is easy to imagine that she was repeating one of her own prayers. We must especially notice that there is no question of any Anglican sacrament having been administered.

(2) When asked whether she trusts to her own merits or to the merits of saints, the Queen answers, as any good Catholic would, that she relies for salvation entirely upon Our Lord, and not upon the mediation of saints. If she is quoted accurately, the expression "I renounce the mediation of all saints" was certainly strong; but it is to be remembered that she is refuting the popular Protestant belief of that time, that Catholics trusted more to saints than to Christ for salvation.

It may be well to recall here a similar scene at the deathbed, sixty years before, of another Catholic Queen, who was badgered in like manner by Protestants. Mary of Guise, mother of Mary Stuart, was forced to receive a Presbyterian minister and listen to his preaching shortly before her death. The incident is thus related by Knox:

> They . . . willed her to send for some godly, learned man, of whom she might receive instruction; for these ignorant Papists that were about her understood nothing of the Mysterie of our redemption. Upon their motion was John Willock sent for, with whom she talked a reasonable space, and who did plainely shew unto her as well the vertue and strength of the death of Jesus Christ as the vanity and abomination of that Idoll the Masse. *She did openly confesse that there was no salvation but in and by the death of Jesus Christ;* but of the Masse we heard

> not her Confession. Some say she was anointed with Extreame Unction, after the Papisticall manner, which was a signe of small knowledge of the Trueth; and of lesse Repentance of her former Superstition. Yet howsoever it was, Christ Jesus gate no small Victorie over such an enemie. For albeit before she had Vowed that in despight of all Scotland, the Preachers of Jesus Christ should either die or be banished the Realme: yet was she compelled not onely to heare that Christ Jesus was Preached and all Idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places suppressed: but also she was constrained to heare one of the principall Ministers within the Realme, and to approve the chiefe head of our Religion, wherein we dissent from all Papists and Papistrie.[1]

The Anglican prelates who ventured, unduly, to catechise Anne of Denmark upon the soundness of her Christian belief, did not, like the Presbyterian Willock, revile the chief act of worship of that Church toward which the Queen was known to have strong inclinations, at least; but in both deathbed scenes we notice the stress put upon the doctrine which Knox seemed to claim as exclusively Protestant—redemption by the Precious Blood of Christ.

(3) Queen Anne's public profession that she was one with God, and longed to be with Him, can not be taken as a proof of her union in faith with the Bishop who asked for the sign; nor can her smiling, happy death be interpreted (except by those who desire such interpretation) as a proof of her glad release from the trammels of Popish superstition.

And now to the more difficult question of the

[1] *Historie*, p. 244 (edition of 1644).

evidence of Father Simon Stock. The Carmelite came to England in 1615. This was precisely the time of Queen Anne's acknowledged relapse. His efforts, as he says, were of no avail to convert her; and he declares that she never became a member of the Church, though "in heart a Catholic." Here we know, from indisputable evidence, he was mistaken. She had been received into the Church some fifteen years before he became acquainted with her, and was reconciled again before her last illness. We can only suppose that the reticence which she had learned with good reason to consider necessary prevented her from informing the Father of the real state of things. His remark as to her death was but the echo of public opinion at the time.

It is well to note here that the words of Father Simon led the reviewer of the book in which they appeared to assert, in the pages of the *Guardian*, that the Queen had never been really a Catholic. The statement was at once contradicted by more than one able writer. Dom Oswald Hunter-Blair, by an exhaustive array of proofs, finally compelled the reviewer to admit that Anne's reception into the Church had been proved, though his conclusion ran: "It follows that Queen Anne was one of those persons who have joined the Roman communion and have then retraced their steps."

Summing up all this evidence in favour of the Queen's renunciation of Catholicism on her death-bed, one is bound to affirm that there is very little proof of the fact; those who have related the circumstances attending her last moments were evidently not in the secret of her actual connection

with the Catholic Church, and to such her death would seem sufficiently Protestant to justify Harwood's assertion. But it has to be borne in mind that Queen Anne was never asked to renounce the Roman Church or to declare herself a faithful member of the Anglican communion, probably because her clerical visitors were not aware that she had ever professed herself a Catholic. To an unbiassed mind, with the evidence of the Queen's conversion and subsequent lapse and reconciliation before it, her attitude must appear rather that of one who tries to humour the intruding prelates as far as possible, without compromising her faith. To a Catholic, it must seem incredible that a woman in her position could smilingly lift her hands to Heaven in her dying moments, with the recollection of her former weakness fresh in her memory, in token of her renunciation, at the very hour when no power on earth could rob her of it, of the faith for which she had so bravely struggled in the years that had gone. Rather would it seem that the radiant happiness of her end, and the renewed beauty of her face after death, which was remarked by eye-witnesses at the time,[1] were but tokens of the peace which possessed her soul at the last.

With the knowledge we now have of the Queen's interior life, the circumstances preceding her death afford grounds for supposing it possible that her end was thoroughly Catholic. From Father Simon Stock's evidence we learn that it was easy for a Catholic priest to gain access to the palace without arousing suspicion. With two devoted attendants

[1] Strickland, *Lives of Queens*, Vol. IV., p. 133.

at hand, able to secure privacy from all intrusion, as we have seen, it would not have been a difficult matter to introduce a priest to render to the sick Queen the last sacred rites as soon as she was aware of her danger.

There is another curious fact, too, with regard to those same two attendants. After the Queen's death, jewels and money to the amount of several thousands of pounds could not be accounted for. "Pierrot, the Queen's French attendant, and her favourite maid, Danish Anna," says Miss Strickland, "were suspected of the embezzlement of these jewels, and of a vast mass of ready money which their royal mistress was supposed to have hoarded. Both were examined, and afterward committed to the custody of Justice Doubleday."

Assuming that Anna and Pierrot had been instrumental in procuring for their royal mistress the consolations of religion, it may reasonably be conjectured that they were in her confidence regarding any provision she may have made for the benefit of her soul after death. That very little suspicion attached to them of dishonesty in the matter is witnessed by the mere nominal imprisonment to which they were subjected. The leniency with which they were treated by a miserly monarch in a merciless age argues that they may have been able to explain to the King the uses to which the "missing treasure" had been applied.

It will be said that this is all mere conjecture; but what, after all, is the conclusion arrived at by other writers that the Queen died a Protestant? Nothing more than guesswork. In any case, the view that she persevered to the end as a faithful

Catholic is certainly more in accordance with charity, and, without stronger proof to the contrary, appears to the present writer more worthy of credence.

The chief authorities followed in this chapter are:—Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI.*, pp. 262-274; Hunter-Blair, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 347, etc.

VII.

A CATHOLIC IN DISGUISE.

THE years that followed on the death of the ill-fated Mary Stuart were marked by a stronger determination than ever on the part of the Presbyterian Kirk to root out, if possible, every vestige of the Catholic religion from Scotland. James VI., moved by selfish policy, soon forgot his short-lived indignation and impetuous threats of vengeance against Elizabeth of England; for he could not brook the thought of losing the universal sovereignty of Britain at that queen's death. Consequently he threw in his lot with the powerful Protestant party in the northern realm, and fell in completely with the persecuting spirit of the Kirk. The lives of Catholics who had remained faithful to their ancient creed were thus rendered unbearable by a constant system of espionage and the revival of the punishments prescribed by unjust laws.

Yet it is a remarkable fact, and one not widely known, that at the period in question the man who was destined to become the most powerful statesman in Scotland, and who had already won the confidence of the king, was actually a Catholic. This was Alexander Seton, later known as Earl of Dunfermline and Chancellor of the kingdom. A man of strong personality, he gained and kept his place at the head of affairs and enjoyed the favour of his sovereign in spite of many opponents.

Seton was born about 1555, only five years before

the overthrow of the Catholic Church by Act of Parliament. He was the third surviving son of George, 5th Lord Seton, a nobleman conspicuous for his loyalty to the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, and later on to her hapless daughter, Mary Stuart, in the many troubles which beset both. His share in the escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven, and his unfailing devotion to her cause, necessitated his temporary retirement to Flanders, where he underwent many vicissitudes. One of these was the necessity of earning a livelihood for two years as a waggoner; the fact was recorded later, with pride, by a fresco in the long gallery of his house at Seton, after his return from exile, and restoration to the king's favour.[1]

Robert, 6th Lord Seton, Alexander's elder brother, was subsequently created Earl of Wintoun. Although, like his father, he was a staunch Catholic, he stood high in the estimation of James; he frequently entertained both king and queen at Seton Palace, where he dispensed a noble hospitality to all guests.

It was in a family thus loyal to both God and king that Alexander Seton was reared. Queen Mary Stuart was his god-mother, and endowed the infant, as a baptismal gift, with the revenues of Pluscarden Priory in Morayshire—a gift in accordance with the lamentable custom of that age, when monasteries were but too often regarded as sources of income to this or that noble family.

The boy was destined for the Church, and at an early age was sent to the German College, Rome, for his education. From his boyhood he bore the

[1] Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 644.

commendatory title of Prior of Pluscarden, for by that time the Catholic religion had been proscribed, and regular life had ceased in monasteries except in a hidden form in some few of them. Before the lad was sixteen he was called upon to deliver an oration—as the custom was—before Pope Gregory XIII. and the cardinals, in the Vatican, on Ascension Day. He did not, however, persevere in his course of life. The unhappy state of things in Scotland led him to change his intention and commence the study of law; this he did in Paris, whither he went from Rome.

On Alexander's return to his native country, while still a young man, he attracted the admiration and esteem of James VI.—always partial to the Seton family—and was speedily advanced to high position. His talents gained for him the distinction of extraordinary Lord of Session when he was but twenty-eight years of age. He took his seat as Prior of Pluscarden. In a few years he became an ordinary Lord, assuming the title of Lord Urquhart, from the small Morayshire Priory which had been united with Pluscarden shortly before the Reformation, and consequently formed part of his possessions.

Seton rose rapidly in his profession, being accounted one of the most eminent lawyers of his time. In 1593 he was elected President of the College of Justice; it was an office always filled in Catholic ages by an ecclesiastic, and his titular Priorship may have served to render him more eligible. In 1597 he acquired the possessions of another Benedictine house—that of the Priory of Fyvie, Aberdeenshire—and with them the title of Baron Fyvie, which gave the right to a seat in

Parliament. Shortly after this, he was chosen by the citizens of Edinburgh to fill the post of Provost of the Burgh, and this office he continued to hold for nine consecutive years. In 1604, after James VI. had acquired the English crown on the death of Elizabeth, Seton was made Vice-Chancellor of Scotland, and in less than a year he had risen to the supreme dignity of Chancellor of the realm, and was created Earl of Dunfermline.

In addition to such public marks of appreciation, the king showed his preference for Seton by many tokens of friendship. Thus, when the Lady Margaret, second daughter of James and Anne, was baptised at Holyrood, Lord Fyvie "bore the towel" at the ceremony, and was escorted back to the city, after the rejoicings of the evening, in solemn state—twelve torches being borne about him. At the birth of Prince Charles, the future king, Lord Fyvie was chosen to take charge of the child's upbringing. He took part again in a royal baptism at Holyrood in 1602, bearing the "crown ducal," on the occasion; for the baby Prince Robert, who died less than a month later, had been created Duke of Kintyre. The Treasurer's accounts record the charges for "Four torches to convoy the Provost fra the Abbey, the nicht of the baptism."[1]

It affords matter for consideration that a member of a leading Catholic family, distinguished for loyalty to religion as well as to the reigning Protestant monarch, should have been able to steer clear of the many difficulties which could not fail to beset the practice of his faith in those troublous times. The answer is not far to seek: Seton was

[1] Quoted by Seton, *Life of the Earl of Dunfermline*, p. 87.

a consummate dissembler. Whether James was ignorant of his favourite's religious opinions, or whether—as is more probable—that temporising monarch considered it more discreet to wink at the fact, does not greatly concern us here. The king's own wife, as we have shown, was a practical Catholic, and the only condition he had insisted upon was that she should keep the fact a secret; we may well believe, therefore, that a noble so useful to him might be allowed a like toleration.[1]

But from his fellow subjects Seton could expect no such consideration. An avowed loyalty to the ancient creed might easily have cost him the regard of his sovereign; for James dreaded to offend the Protestant party, and would not have hesitated to sacrifice his dearest friend had there been danger of losing the good-will of their leading men. It is proof, therefore, of Seton's astuteness that he so cleverly hoodwinked his opponents that none were able to prove conclusively that he was really a Catholic. In the light of later evidence the fact stands clearly revealed, yet even his modern biographer, relying apparently upon Protestant authorities alone, will not admit of its truth.

We will take a glance at the opinion of the age in which he lived as regarded Seton's religion. The Protestant Spottiswood, born ten years later, and surviving him by about seventeen years, thus describes him. "He exerced his place with great moderation, and to the contentment of all honest men; he was ever inclining to the Roman Faith, as

[1] Certain influential Catholic nobles were allowed "to have the privat exercise of ther religion be a particular warrand from his Majestie." *Vide* Blakhal's *Breiffe Narration* (Spalding Club), præf. xx., xxi., where examples are given.

being educated at Rome in his younger years, but very observant of good order, and one that hated lying and dissimulation."[1] How the historian would have modified the concluding words had he been aware of Seton's real opinions!

Calderwood, another writer who flourished a few years later than Spottiswood, speaks of the Earl of Dunfermline as "Noe good friend to the Bishops," and repeats the statement of the other historian, that he was "ever inclining to the Roman Faith."[2] Scotstarvet, born thirty years later than Seton, says of him: "(He) professed himself a Protestant in outward show, but died an avowed Papist."[3] This latter witness survived the other two by several years; his knowledge of the subject was therefore more accurate than theirs could be. His evidence, as will be shown, is in perfect agreement with that of Catholic contemporaries. When Spottiswood says that Seton had taken Holy Orders, and Scotstarvet gravely affirms that the chalice with which he had been accustomed to say Mass was sold in Edinburgh, they are both talking nonsense—probably merely retailing current gossip. A chalice provided for the youthful ecclesiastic when he should be in a position to use it may possibly have been sold, but it is absolutely certain that he never received Holy Orders.

An interesting reference to Seton's religious bias occurs in the letter of a Presbyterian enemy, written in 1597. It styles Seton the "Romish President, a shaveling and a priest, more meet to say Masse in

[1] *History of the Church and State in Scotland.*
[2] *History of the Kirk*, Vol. VII., p. 548.
[3] Quoted by Seton, *Life*.

Salamanca, nor to bear office in Christian and reformed commonwealth."[1] This sarcasm was a reflection of the popular fury lately raging against the Catholic party. The banished Catholic Earls of Huntly and Errol had petitioned to be allowed to return to Scotland, and Seton had supported their cause as tending towards the welfare of the State. Their return was a signal for anti-Papist demonstrations. Seton himself was stigmatised as an enemy of the reformed religion; he was even summoned to appear before the Synod of Lothian and give an account of his belief, and barely escaped excommunication by the kirk. But he weathered the storm by acute diplomacy, and had so far regained public confidence by the following year that the citizens of Edinburgh elected him Provost for the first time.

Protestant witnesses, as we have seen, speak of Seton's attitude towards Catholicism as friendly, indeed, but are not aware of his continued loyalty to his faith. Catholic contemporaries, however, leave no room for doubt on the subject; the archives of the Society of Jesus contain documents relating to Seton and his religion which are absolutely convincing. Some extracts will be of interest.

Father James Seton, a Jesuit, thus writes from Scotland to the General of the Society in Rome in 1605:

"The government is entirely in the hands of the Lord Alexander Seton, whom the King has made Earl of Dunfermline, and who is favourably known to your Paternity. He is, or should be, Abbot of that place, where there was once a famous monastery. . . . . He is a Catholic, as is also the Lord President and the Royal Advocate. In

[1] Quoted by Seton, *Life*.

political wisdom, in learning, in high birth, wealth and authority, he possesses far more influence than the rest, and his power is universally acknowledged. But he publically professes the state religion, rendering external obedience to the King and the ministers, and goes occasionally, though rarely, to the sermons, sometimes to their heretical communion. He has also subscribed their confession of faith, without which he would not be able to retain peaceable possession of the rank, office and estates with which he is so richly endowed. He has brought all the principal men of the kingdom round to the same view, and very few venture to differ from him, owing to his eloquence, learning and authority. Two or three times a year he comes to Catholic confession and communion with his mother, brother, sister and nephews, who are better Catholics than himself!"[1]

Another Jesuit, Father William Crichton, in the same year describes the Chancellor in similar terms, and adds words spoken by him which reveal the man's real mind. "Lord Seton often said to me in Scotland, when I urged him to support the Catholic cause, 'Be not eager to act before the time comes. I have to live in Scotland, and I must give way to circumstances. When the opportunity presents itself, and there is any hope of success, I shall not be sparing of my goods, my blood, or my life for the restoration of the Catholic religion.' He is now all powerful in Scotland, but he will attempt nothing until he sees a solid foundation for hope. Meanwhile he takes his portion in this life, though at the risk of that which is eternal."[2]

Although it is impossible to exonerate Seton from

[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 279. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

blame for thus accommodating himself to the religious difficulties of his time, it must be conceded that the position of Catholics in Scotland was such as to render his conduct less gravely sinful than would at first sight appear. A Catholic who openly professed his faith was certain to lose at once all rights of citizenship, as well as goods and liberty, unless he conformed to the religion established by law. Nor could he always, like his fellows in England, satisfy by a fine for non-attendance at Presbyterian worship. Seton realised this well enough, and judged it allowable to dissimulate, not merely—as his own words testify—for his own benefit, but for the good of the Church in general, which he was better able to further—as he thought—by retaining his unique position in the commonwealth.

It is gratifying to find that Seton's views in this respect underwent a change in the course of years. One of the most learned of the Scottish priests of the seventeenth century, George Cone, has left an interesting description of the state of religion in Scotland in his day; it was written in 1628, six years after Seton's death. Speaking of the later life of the Chancellor, he says:

"Four years before his death, in presence of a numerous assembly of Catholics, attended by the ringleaders of the Puritan faction and many other Protestants, after affirming that he had never ceased to hold the doctrine of the orthodox Church, he declared that nothing gave him greater pain than to recollect how he had shown himself lukewarm and remiss in his profession of faith, in order to ingratiate himself with his sovereign. When he had thus spoken with tears in his eyes, he called

the assembly to witness that he would die in the profession of the Roman Catholic Faith."[1]

The life of such a man was necessarily full of contradictions. Although in outward form a Presbyterian, he caused a crucifix to be depicted on his kneeling-desk in Dunfermline church, so that while conforming, as men thought, to the State religion, he might keep before his eyes, in that heretical place of worship, the most sacred symbol of Catholicism. Though the fact was discovered and reported to the king, James took no steps in the matter—an argument in favour of his cognizance of Seton's real sentiments.

Yet we find the same man at another period receiving heretical Communion from a Protestant bishop in Holyrood church—the king having ordered its celebration there according to the English rite. About the same time, too, he presented a Communion cup for use in the services to the parish church of Fyvie, which stood near one of his residences.

It is an eloquent commentary on the unprofitableness of such a career of dissimulation that Seton's only surviving son, and successor in the earldom, should join himself to the Protestant party and become a zealous upholder of their opinions. Thus, great man as Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, undoubtedly was, his policy, far from benefiting the Church in Scotland, led to the apostasy of his descendants; though, by a singular grace, as we may well hope, he was able to secure his own salvation at the last.

[1] Forbes-Leith, p. 363.

Authorities followed in this chapter:—Seton, *Life of the Earl of Dunfermline;* Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics;* Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland.*

VIII.

JOHN OGILVIE, MARTYR.

ON the 10th of March, in the year 1615, an heroic soldier of the Faith gave his life for Christ. He lies buried in the square patch of ground close by the wall of St. Mungo's Cathedral, Glasgow, and bounded on the north by the foot-path running down the centre of the churchyard—the part of the burial ground set aside for male-factors. There, unknown and unhonoured, rest the mortal remains of a brave champion of the Catholic cause—the Venerable John Ogilvie, of the Society of Jesus. The future martyr was the eldest son of Walter Ogilvie, and was born at Drum, near Keith, A.D. 1580. He came of a family illustrious for courage and fidelity in the service of their country, and noted for loyalty to the Stuart cause. His father had unfortunately become a Protestant, and John was therefore educated as a Calvinist. When only twelve years old he was sent by his parents to travel on the continent that he might visit the chief cities of Europe. This circumstance brought him into contact with the Catholic religion, and resulted in his conversion to the Faith. He was received into the Church at Louvain by the learned Jesuit commentator on Holy Scripture, Father Cornelius a Lapide, and feeling drawn to the religious state, entered the Society of Jesus. He began his novitiate at Brunn in 1597, and after taking his

vows and passing some years in study, was ordained priest in Paris in 1613.

Fired with the desire of helping towards the restoration of the Faith to his fellow-countrymen, Father Ogilvie obtained leave from his Superiors to go as a missionary to Scotland. It was no easy task. The Catholic religion had been formally abolished and Presbyterianism set up in its place. It had been declared by Act of Parliament a criminal offence to say Mass or to assist at it. Any one who should dare to offend against the prohibition was liable to have all his goods confiscated; should he repeat the offence, he would be banished, and a further breach of the law would make him guilty of death. Moreover, Jesuits and priests educated in foreign seminaries were by a later Act, passed in 1587, declared liable to be put to death if found in Scotland, and all persons harbouring them for three nights exposed themselves to the risk of confiscation of their goods.

The journey was beset with difficulties. It was possible for a priest to be seized and imprisoned on landing at his destination; for the Government had spies at all the great educational centres—such as Rome, Paris and Valladolid—and these men managed to procure information in the most dexterous way as to any departure for English or Scottish missions; this information being speedily despatched to the emissaries of the law at the various sea-ports.

Father Ogilvie set off in the disguise of a sailor, in company with two other missionaries—Father James Moffat, another Jesuit, and Father John Campbell, a Capuchin. Father Ogilvie for more

complete concealment assumed the name of Watson (Wat or Walter was his father's name) on the voyage. About Martinmas, 1613, the missionaries landed in Scotland without exciting suspicion.

Father Ogilvie's first residence was in the vicinity of Edinburgh, where he had the joy of reconciling to the Church many lapsed Catholics, and of comforting, by the means of Mass and the Sacraments, those who had remained faithful. After about nine months he ventured to visit Glasgow. Here he was able to do far more for religion than he had done in Edinburgh. Many Catholics of noble family were secretly visited by him and strengthened in the Faith by the consolations of religion which had long been denied them. The Father's own gay and cheerful disposition, and his absolute freedom from fear in the midst of the dangers which surrounded him, did much to restore the failing courage of the persecuted Catholics. During his stay in Glasgow Father Ogilvie was accustomed to say Mass very early, and to spend the day in visiting the sick and those who were in prison. For the sake of precaution, he still wore the garb of a sailor. For three months he thus passed to and fro between the two cities.

His position in Glasgow was one of very great danger. Spottiswood, the Protestant Archbishop, was an intolerant bigot, and was, moreover, ready to do anything to curry favour with James VI., who, after a period of comparative leniency towards Catholics, was then beginning to take more severe measures. Father Ogilvie, under such circumstances, could hardly fail to fall sooner or later into the enemies' hands. And yet, but for treachery, he

would probably have remained unmolested, so prudent were the precautions he observed.

In the narrative he wrote of his sufferings and imprisonment, Father Ogilvie, for charity's sake, suppresses the name of his betrayer, and nothing certain has ever been ascertained about his identity. The Father was walking one day in the streets of Glasgow with a Catholic friend, when the traitor, having given a sign, one of the Archbishop's officials requested him to come with him. He, thinking the man a messenger from some Catholic or other, readily did so; but was soon undeceived by being surrounded by a mob of the citizens, who hustled him off to the Provost's residence and placed him in custody.

Spottiswood was filled with joy on hearing of the arrest, and lost no time in coming to the Provost's house to express his satisfaction. Entering, with a crowd of lairds and barons, the room where Father Ogilvie was detained, he beckoned the Father to come to him, and in his pride struck him a smart blow, crying out, "You were an over insolent fellow to say your Masses in a reformed city." Father Ogilvie received the insult with the greatest mildness and quickly answered: "You do not act like a Bishop, but like an executioner, in striking me."

The Protestant prelate's overbearing manner encouraged those present to show their zeal for religion by illtreating the Papist, as they styled him. Blows were showered upon the defenceless priest from all sides; each one vied with his fellows in acts of violence. Father Ogilvie's hair was plucked from his head, his face torn with scratches, until he became nearly senseless from the cruel treatment.

At length they decided to search him for proofs of his priesthood or evidence which might be used against other Catholics.

As they were dragging off his shirt he revived, and cried out against the "wanton insolence." After overhauling his clothes they found his Breviary and some relics and a little money. Everything was confiscated, and the prisoner carried off for greater security to the Archbishop's palace.

The capture of the Jesuit made quite a sensation. The Archbishop lost no time in writing a full and circumstantial account of the affair to the King. Recounting the search through the Father's effects he writes: "A tuft of hair of the founder of the Jesuits was, I think, his chiefest jewel"; this was in mockery of the relic of St. Ignatius which Father Ogilvie deservedly prized. His enemies, not content with having searched his person with such indignities, spared no effort to discover any other possessions he might have. Thanks to a cowardly Catholic their labour was successful. A quantity of church furniture and priestly vestments and many private papers were betrayed into their hands, and Father Ogilvie's horse and other belongings were seized.

On the day following his capture, the prisoner's first examination was held. He was weak and ill from the blows and illtreatment of the previous day; but no account was made of such trifles by the brutal crew who gloried in his discomfiture. Tedious and unsuccessful attempts to get him to incriminate others, or reveal himself as a traitor, were repeatedly made. He answered with such wisdom and prudence that his judges were completely baffled. Sometimes

—and that not seldom—the prisoner turned the laugh against his accusers. It was twenty-six hours since he had broken his fast, and he was so weak and feverish that he shook with cold, so that he could hardly stand. At last the judges showed him the only act of kindness he could record in their favour, and gave him leave to go near the fire. It was a winter so severe that its like had never been known in Scotland. The greater part of the animals in the north perished with cold, and most of the song-birds died. So the apparent kindness was not excessive indulgence! After trying their best to entrap Father Ogilvie, his adversaries were forced to suspend the inquiry, and he was led back to prison. With him were taken fourteen Catholics, some of them of high family, who had been apprehended on information gained through the private papers which had been seized.

All attempts to force incriminating evidence from the Father having failed, his enemies determined to put him to the torture. The method fixed upon was the barbarous punishment of "the boots." This consisted in placing one or both legs of the condemned person in a case made of four pieces of board nailed together. Wedges were then driven in with a hammer between the boots and the limbs, until excruciating agony was caused. Men had been known to suffer so violently from this process that the very marrow was forced from their bones. Yet only once, in the extremity of pain, did a cry escape his lips, and never a word would he breathe regarding his Catholic flock. So touched were the witnesses of his torture by his cheerful patience, that some of them, convinced of the truth of his

cause, asked to be reconciled to the Catholic Church.

Again was Father Ogilvie dragged before his judges and submitted to a tedious and searching examination; but the results were still the same; he always eluded the attempts of his enemies to draw from him any reply which could be construed into treason against the state. "Will you obey the King?" they asked. "In all things that are due to him," was the answer. "The King forbids Masses, and you say them," they rejoined. "Judge you," said Father Ogilvie, "whether Christ or the King is rather to be obeyed. The King forbids, but Christ commands Masses to be celebrated, as I will prove if you wish."

He was then kept without sleep for nine nights and eight days, by being pricked continually with needles; but all to no purpose. Once more he was subjected to examination, but with the same result as on previous occasions.

A few examples of the gay and often witty answers he returned to the persistent badgering of his judges and accusers will show clearly his invincible courage.

"If anyone should confess to me anything against the life of the King," said Spottiswood on one occasion, alluding to the secret of the confessional, "I would betray even a person who confessed." "No one had better confess to you," Father Ogilvie answered drily. To another Protestant prelate, Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, he gave a still more happy reply. "I can say Mass as well as the Jesuit," Knox declared. "Are you a priest, then?" asked the Father. The Protestant promptly denied.

"Then you are no Bishop, nor can you say Mass," said the unconquerable prisoner.

On one occasion, when he was to be removed to Edinburgh, a crowd having assembled round the Tolbooth of Glasgow to see him led forth, began to abuse him when he appeared, and to pelt him with mud and snow, for it was a bleak December day. He rode on gaily through the rabble, and laughingly shouted to them in the words of the Scottish proverb: "Its past joking when the head's off." He says in his own account of the circumstance that the rabble wondered at his conduct, and we can easily imagine it. On the same journey a woman cried: "Curses on your ugly face!" He answered courteously: "The blessing of Christ on your bonny countenance!" The power of the "mild answer" which "breaketh wrath" was shown in this instance, for the woman openly protested her sorrow for what she had done, and declared that she would never more say anything bad about him.

His enemies, finding threats of no avail, began to try the effects of bribery to induce him to give evidence against his fellow Catholics. They promised him a provostship at Moffat and the Archbishop's daughter in marriage, if he would but conform to the State religion.[1] "These ought to be offered to Father Moffat" (then in prison in Edinburgh), he jokingly said, "and not to me, an Ogilvie."

His innocent light-heartedness could give way to stern reproof when occasion served. All the torments that could be inflicted upon him, as we have

[1] Fr. Ogilvie's letter to Fr. Alberi, S.J. (Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, Append., p. 604), mentions the bribe of "a rich preferment."

seen, could avail nothing. "I can suffer more for this cause than you can inflict," he cried on one occasion, even in the midst of his agony; "put such things before weak women, they do not terrify me." Such courage and constancy moved his very enemies to admiration. Spottiswood himself was forced to confess: "Mr. Ogilvie, you are a spirited fellow; I wish that many more of your sort were following me and I would make good use of them!" There was no playfulness in the Father's reply: "I would rather follow the executioner to the gallows. I may not flatter you. I honour you for your civil dignity and venerate your grey hairs; as for your religion and episcopate, I count them as nothing. You are but a layman, with no spiritual jurisdiction."

On another occasion he was asked whether, if banished from Scotland, he would attempt to return. His reply was prompt: "Most assuredly, in so good a cause. My only wish is that for every hair of my head I could convert a thousand souls, and yourself, Archbishop, first and foremost."

Who can wonder that a man such as this should win over his very enemies to his side? Who can be surprised to read that, at his last appearance in the court, a crowd of people—those who had before reviled and insulted him—pressed round him in the street begging his pardon and blessing?

In March 1615 Father Ogilvie was informed of his final arraignment and trial. It was a mockery of justice, for orders had previously been given for the erection of the scaffold—a proof that his death had already been determined upon. On the 10th of the month he was again led out to the Town Hall within the Tolbooth, Glasgow. He took

leave with joy of some friends who had come to visit him, full of gladness that his "wedding-day" was at hand. At the trial he laid down with great boldness the Catholic doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope, and denounced the errors of Protestantism. The result was what he had foreseen. He was sentenced to the penalty for high treason, "to be hanged by the neck on the gallows, at the Cross, and when taken down, his head to be struck off, and his body quartered and exposed in different parts of the city." Crying out in a loud voice to ask the prayers of any Catholics who might be present, Father Ogilvie turned his face to the wall and knelt in prayer to prepare for his death.

On his way to the scaffold three hours later he was met by a Protestant minister, who bitterly lamented his fate now that he was "wilfully casting himself into the jaws of an infamous death." Father Ogilvie reminded him that he had been condemned for treason. "Have done with that crime of yours," said the minister. "Give up the Pope and Papistry and you shall be forgiven that crime, and I will reward you with gifts." "You mock me," answered the Father. "I speak seriously and with certain authority," continued the minister. "My Lord Archbishop gave commission to me to promise you his daughter in marriage and the richest prebend in the diocese as her dowry, provided I found you willing to step over from your religion to ours." The old playful spirit rose up again. Here was a chance to clear his memory from stain at the expense of a practical joke on the unconscious minister. Father Ogilvie begged him to make this known to the crowd. The minister repeated the Archbishop's

offer in the hearing of all. "Do you hear this?" asked the Father, "and will you be witnesses?" The crowd shouted assent. "I stand here, therefore, a criminal on the head of religion alone?" he asked. "Of that alone," was the answer. "Very well," he cried, "for that would I joyfully lay down a hundred lives."

As, weak from cold and want of food and rest, he climbed slowly and painfully up the steps, a preacher shouted, "Ogilvie dies for treason!" The Father had been forbidden to address the people, but he shook his head in denial. He said aloud the Litany of the Saints both in Latin and in broad Scots so that all might understand, and he declared his trust in the Precious Blood of Christ, then, as he ascended the ladder, he cried out in Latin and then in English: "Mary, Mother of Grace, pray for me; all ye holy angels, pray for me; all ye saints of God, pray for me." Father Abercrombie from among the crowd gave him the last absolution as the ladder was pulled away. It was four o'clock in the afternoon as his body swung from the gallows.

A great tumult arose among the crowd as the unjust sentence was executed. Cries were raised against the cruelty of the Archbishop and the preachers. Prayers arose to God to avert from the nation the punishment justly due for the shedding of innocent blood.

Since Father Ogilvie's death many miracles are said to have attested his sanctity. The first steps towards his canonisation were taken in the seventeenth century, and in later years his cause has again been brought forward. Let us hope and pray

that we may live to see the day in which he is declared a saint of God, that we may publicly invoke his help in the restoration to Scotland of the Faith for which he laid down his life so bravely and so joyfully.

Authorities followed in above chapter :—Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 296, etc. ; Karslake, *An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of Father John Ogilvie*, 1877 ; Cornelius a Lapide, *Comment. in Isaiam*, cap. l., v. 7. The renowned commentator styles Fr. Ogilvie "*alumnus noster*," and eulogises his heroic endurance in glowing terms.

IX.

THE PIONEER SCOTTISH SEMINARY.

THE early part of the eighteenth century was a period of severe trial for the Catholics of Scotland. The Church had been roused to new life by the appointment in 1696, after more than a century of destitution, of a Bishop for the whole country. Rev. Thomas Nicholson, a priest of Scottish birth, who had suffered prison and exile for the faith during the early years of his missionary life, was consecrated at Paris as Bishop of Peristachium and constituted Vicar Apostolic of Scotland. On his way thither he was again seized and imprisoned in London, and it was at least a year after his nomination that he was able to take up his charge.

Persecution, which had never wholly ceased, though it might languish for brief periods, awoke in renewed strength at the accession of Anne to the throne of Great Britain. Bishop Nicholson reported to Propaganda in 1702 the lamentable state of Catholics: priests in constant danger of apprehension; layfolk unable to obtain employment.[1] A letter written about the same time, and preserved in the archives of Propaganda, describes an impious procession through the streets of Edinburgh, in which the common hangman, arrayed in sacerdotal vestments and bearing in one hand a consecrated chalice

[1] Hunter-Blair, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, Vol. IV., p. 159.

and in the other a crucifix, was the principal figure. These objects, together with other sacred spoils taken from Catholic houses, were burned amid blasphemies and execrations, after having been thus exposed to the derision of the populace.[1]

In March 1704 the Queen issued a solemn proclamation commanding the enforcing of the laws regarding "Jesuits, priests, sayers of Mass, resetters or harbourers of priests, or hearers of Mass." Rewards were offered for the apprehension of such offenders, and the ministers of the Kirk were exhorted to diligence in spying out all persons "suspected of Popery, or who have apostatized from the Protestant religion."[2]

Yet the Bishop was able to report to Rome in 1708 the conversion of many persons in the country.[3] So flourishing became the state of Catholicism that it was a matter of impossibility for one Bishop to attend to the needs of a whole kingdom, and it became necessary to petition for the appointment of a coadjutor less than ten years after the nomination of Bishop Nicholson. This will be easily understood from the description given in a previous chapter of the arduous labours of the Vicar Apostolic consequent upon the difficulties of his position and the long-continued absence from the country of a resident Bishop.

The request for a coadjutor was answered by the consecration in Rome of Bishop James Gordon, who received the title of Nicopolis. He arrived in

[1] Hunter-Blair, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, Vol. IV., p. 160.

[2] *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, Vol. III., p. 392.

[3] Hunter-Blair, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, Vol. IV., p. 164.

Scotland in the autumn of 1706. The manifest growth of the Church led the Bishops to turn their attention to the need of providing a supply of missionary priests. The first step towards the establishment of a seminary was the opening of a small school on an island in Loch Morar, Inverness-shire. A secluded spot in the remote western district, whose sparse population consisted of Catholics, was purposely chosen; circumstances called for the utmost caution in such an undertaking. A few boys who showed an aptitude for the priestly state were received here in 1713. Rev. George Innes, who later on became rector of the Scots College in Paris, was placed in charge. Among the few students who entered there was the son of the Laird of Morar. This youth, Hugh Macdonald, was destined to become the first Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District. The school had been but a short time opened when a renewal of persecution, following upon the Jacobite rising of 1715, seemed to threaten the destruction of Catholicism in Scotland, and compelled the Bishops to close the establishment until more peaceful days should dawn. An instance of the virulence of the persecuting party is to be seen in the arrest of Bishop Nicholson, together with a priest who resided with him, at a period when the agitation had already begun to cool down. Luckily, both were able to effect an escape.

It remained for Bishop Gordon, who in the failing health of the Vicar Apostolic had to take charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, to make a fresh attempt towards the foundation of a seminary. He wisely determined to make choice of a different

locality, and fixed upon a farm known as Scalan, situated in Glenlivet, Banffshire, as a suitable spot.

Scalan was already the residence of a priest, for the Rev. John Gordon, missionary of Glenlivet, who had formerly dwelt at Castleton, had been compelled to fly from the Hanoverian troops under General Cadogan, after the rising of 1715, and had taken refuge at Scalan, where he lived in a disused barn. The hidden nature of the place, and the fact that it was situated on the estate of the Catholic Duke of Gordon, made it a safe retreat for the priest, who was able in course of time to build a rude habitation by the side of the little stream known as the Crombie, and thence minister to the many faithful Catholics scattered over that part of the country.

The spot upon which Father Gordon settled had been at one time a waste covered with juniper, and its name of Scalan is said to be derived from a Gaelic word signifying the screens of bushes erected by hunters of the game which frequented the lonely spot, rendered a complete solitude by the high hills which shut it off from civilised life.

About the year 1717 a few students were lodged in the poor little hut which Father Gordon had built for himself, and which for at least twenty years served as a seminary for candidates for the Scottish mission. The same Father Innes who had presided over the humble college in Loch Morar was appointed superior of Scalan.

Bishop Gordon took a keen interest in everything pertaining to the little seminary. It was his delight to visit it from time to time, and it became his custom to spend there some months in each summer.

In 1722 he drew up a code of rules for the students, based upon those of the Pontifical colleges. In this way the seminarists became accustomed to the way of life which awaited many of their number in one or other of the continental colleges later on; for from the beginning it had been recognised that the majority would have to repair thither for the completion of their studies. Some few, indeed, were promoted to Holy Orders without leaving Scotland. These in the history of Scalan and its successors, Aquahorties and Blairs, have borne the designation of "Heather Priests."

It was a glad day for the zealous Bishop when on Ember Saturday, 1725, he reaped the first fruits of his labours, for he then conferred the priesthood on two seminarists, Hugh Macdonald and George Gordon. The former, as already mentioned, became in after years the first Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District. He was consecrated Bishop in 1731, after a year or two spent in the Scots College, Paris. It is worthy of note that the then superior of Scalan was the person chosen by Bishop Gordon for the episcopate. This was Rev. Alexander Grant, who possessed a good knowledge of Gaelic and was in other respects suitable for the dignity. But, being averse to the proposal, not only through true humility, but also from the knowledge of his unpopularity with the Highland clergy, Father Grant, though persuaded to set out for Rome for consecration, managed to disappear so completely before the function could take place that for many years his whereabouts was utterly unknown to his friends in Scotland. For some years it was thought that he had met with some mortal accident, but a Scottish

priest who happened to be passing through the south of France at a later period recognised the missing priest among a band of Trappist monks returning from field work, though he failed to obtain from him any answering sign of salutation. This fact is recorded in a MS. note of a venerable Scottish priest well known to the present writer.

About the year 1738 Rev. Alexander Gordon, who held the post of rector, succeeded in raising a more substantial dwelling of stone at Scalan. He was compelled to provide in some way for the increased number of students; for the boys destined for the priesthood had been joined from time to time by many others whose Catholic parents were anxious to procure for them a Christian education under orthodox teachers. They were mostly sons of various Scottish noble families. The establishment of a Catholic school for such boys in Strathavon during the early years of the same century relieved the seminary of many such students, and provided accommodation for a larger number of boys with a vocation to the priesthood. The Strathavon school was presided over by a Mr. Gregory Farquharson, a former tutor to Cosmo, third Duke of Gordon. The Duke's mother, after the death of his Catholic father, caused her children to be educated in the Protestant religion, and thus it came about that a younger brother of Cosmo was the notorious Lord George Gordon, the fomenter of the no-Popery riots.

The good Bishop Gordon went to his reward in the year 1746. It would seem as though he had been called away from this life in order to spare him the sight of the bitter calamities that followed in

the wake of the defeat of the Stuart cause at Culloden. He died at Thornhill, near Drummond Castle, and before his body had been carried to the grave the castle, which was a residence of the Jacobite Dukes of Perth, was raided by Hanoverian soldiers. Worse still, Scalan, the Bishop's darling charge, was to suffer grievously in the miseries which were to fall upon the unhappy Catholics of Scotland.

The Duke of Cumberland, to make sure that his late adversaries should be unable to rally after their crushing defeat, sent out bands of soldiers in all directions to extinguish, as the phrase ran, the remnants of rebellion. One such party entered Glenlivet and made straight for Scalan, a place particularly obnoxious to the Presbyterian clergy, who at the time had great influence with the government. Two or three times previously, in 1726 and 1728, Scalan had been closed for brief intervals through the persecuting zeal of the Kirk, but only to reopen its doors.

The visit was not altogether unexpected. Father Duthie, the superior, had already taken the precaution of dismissing the boys to their respective homes, and had hidden away all priestly vestments, chalices, sacred objects, books and such other movables as he could hastily gather together. So prudently was this accomplished that scarcely anything thus concealed was lost.

It was on a morning in early May that the soldiers surrounded the little house, now deserted by its inmates. Father Duthie from the security of a neighbouring hill saw everything given to the flames and watched the progress of the fire until the roof

had fallen in and the utter ruin of the seminary was completed. He did not lose courage, however, in spite of the wreck of his home, and of the threats of the Protestant authorities to put an end once for all to the practice of Popery in Scotland. All through that summer and during the winter that followed he ventured to remain in seclusion near at hand, keeping watch over the small crop on the land belonging to the seminary. By the next summer he had managed to repair to some extent the damage done, and later on found means to build a new house. This, however, was far inferior to that which had been destroyed, since it occupied the site of the former kitchen only.

In 1749 there were some students in residence again. Yet extreme caution and prudence had to be observed in the management of affairs, for persecution had not altogether ceased. In 1756 there were soldiers continually stationed in Glenlivet, with orders to seize any priests, should opportunity offer. Their zeal was stimulated by the promise of liberal rewards.

In 1752 a strict search was made for Father Duthie, but a hint was dropped by a sergeant or his wife, which enabled the priest to escape in time. Not only on that, but on other occasions also, the soldiers were not averse to a bribe to induce them to give timely warning of an impending search. Father Duthie became, in 1758, professor in the Scots College, Paris.

Mr. William Gray was the next superior of Scalan. He was a convert to the faith, and had gained much experience in teaching by acting as tutor in Protestant families of note. After becoming

a Catholic he spent a year or two in the Scots College, Paris. Later on he became instructor to the children of Mr. Lundin, of Lundin, who afterwards received from the exiled Stuart sovereign the title of Earl of Perth.

The General Assembly of the Kirk in 1760 deputed two of their number to report upon the state of religion in Glenlivet. The ministers in question accordingly made their appearance on a certain day at the door of the seminary. Mr. Gray, who was expecting a visit from them, went out and courteously invited them to enter. But they would not take the trouble to alight from their horses, and rode off with expressions of surprise that a place of so mean an appearance should have aroused such undeserved interest. Nevertheless, they did not fail to describe Scalan, in the pages of the *Scots Magazine*, as the residence of three priests—a notable inaccuracy, since Mr. Gray was merely a deacon, and there was no other ecclesiastic living in the house at the time. They were probably misled by the exaggerated accounts of neighbouring ministers with whom they came in contact. One such authority was bold enough to maintain publicly that there were as many as thirty students in residence, when as a matter of fact their number did not exceed five.

From 1762 to 1767 the seminary was under the direction of a superior destined at a later date to hold high office in the Scottish Church. This was Rev. John Geddes, who became eventually coadjutor to the illustrious Bishop Hay, with the title of Bishop of Morocco. With the advent of a period of comparative peace for Scottish Catholics, it

seemed desirable that a superior should be given to Scalan who might be trusted to lift up the little seminary from the state of atrophy resulting from the troublous times of persecution. No more suitable priest could be wished for than Father Geddes. Under his care the house began to flourish exceedingly; studies and discipline acquired new life and temporal affairs improved considerably. Promising students were fitted by careful training for the continental colleges, and the number at Scalan increased to an extent which required extra accommodation. Accordingly a new house was erected in 1767. In that year a new lease was obtained of the little farm. It was granted by a tenant of the Duke of Gordon for another seventeen years. The father of the tenant in question, a farmer named Grant, who had agreed to let the land in the first instance, had constantly turned a deaf ear to the persuasions of the Presbyterian clergy, who would have him drive out the Catholic priest from Scalan. It seemed a manifest reward for his generosity that when he came to die he asked to be received into the Catholic Church, having become convinced of its truth. His son, no less friendly to the Scalan community, often signified his intention of following his father's example; unfortunately, however, death came upon him so suddenly that he could not accomplish his desire.

It was under Father Geddes' rule that the seminary obtained an annual endowment of £12. As this was intended to defray the cost of the education of two boys, it may be easily seen that life at Scalan was the opposite of luxurious. The money was provided partly from a benefaction of

Pope Clement XII. towards the education of Scottish students, and partly from certain funds provided by the Stuart Prince styled by Scotsmen James VIII.

In December 1767 Father Geddes was removed from Scalan to fill an important post on the Scottish mission, the improved state of the seminary justifying the Bishops in entrusting it to a superior of less note. A year or two later he was sent to Spain to settle the delicate question of the removal of the Scots College from Madrid to Valladolid. He was appointed rector of the college when the business was completed, and continued to hold that post until his consecration as Bishop and subsequent return to Scotland.

Trinity Sunday, 1769, which fell upon May 19, was a memorable day, not only for Scalan, but for the whole Church in Scotland. For on that day took place in the little chapel the consecration of George Hay as Bishop of Daulis and coadjutor of the venerable Bishop Grant, who presided at the ceremony. Henceforth the seminary became one of Bishop Hay's prominent interests.

In the years that followed Scalan, under the rule of Rev. John Paterson, succeeded in sending many students to the colleges abroad. In 1774 there were twelve boys in the seminary.

The superior who had succeeded at the death of Father Paterson, Rev. John Farquharson, was transferred in 1784 to the Scots College, Douay, which he presided over until the Revolution of 1793, when he and his students were compelled to fly for their lives. Returning secretly to Douay, he hoped to save some part of the college property, but

without success. His own private effects, even his clothes, had been sold, and the library entirely burned. For a long time his friends in Scotland despaired of his safety, but he at length contrived to reach home towards the end of the year, after encountering numberless hardships and privations. Father Farquharson became a generous benefactor to the Church in Scotland. He founded the Farquharson fund for the aid of necessitous priests, and made considerable donations to Elgin and Strathavon, the latter being near his birthplace. He returned to Paris after the fall of Napoleon to look after the property of the Scottish Church there, and died in that city in 1817.

The buildings at Scalan had long been quite inadequate for the housing of the ever-increasing number of available students. An attempt was made more than once to improve the accommodation, but want of means had always prevented. It is an illustration of the simple manners of those days that in spite of the lack of room the three Bishops of Scotland used it as the place of their annual meeting for several successive years. Bishop Hay had shown a particular affection for the seminary from the first. He loved to retire there from time to time, to spend a period of comparative rest in "Patmos," as he styled its hidden solitude. In 1782 he generously made over to Scalan the sum of £400, part of the compensation money paid for the destruction of his house and chapel in the "No-Popery" riots in Edinburgh, three years previously. Yet still it was found impossible to carry out the necessary enlargement of the buildings. When in 1786 an attempt was made to rebuild the house in

part and to roof it with slates, mismanagement of funds on the part of the superior for the time being prevented its completion. It required the constant aid and persistent efforts of the Bishop to keep the work advancing. At length, in the mortal illness of the recently appointed and excellent rector, Rev. Andrew Dawson, Bishop Hay found it necessary to take charge of the seminary in his own person. He curtailed all expenses as far as possible and enforced a rigid economy. To help the slender funds he generously paid a considerable sum for his own board. Meanwhile he pushed on the repairs that had been so long needed.

It was during his residence at Scalan, from 1788 to 1791, and also in the course of his various shorter visits, that the Bishop undertook several missionary journeys in the neighbourhood, in order to give Catholics who lived at a distance from any chapel the opportunity of hearing Mass. The picture given by an eye-witness of such expeditions illustrates the poverty and simplicity of the Bishop's way of living. Mounted on his old gray horse, the saddle laden with a large valise containing Mass vestments and all necessaries for the journey, and accompanied by his man, also mounted, the good prelate would arrive on Saturday evening at some farm previously designated, and word having been given beforehand to all Catholics living within easy distance, Mass would be celebrated on Sunday in one of the barns, a blanket serving as a reredos to the hastily constructed altar, and another blanket doing duty as a baldachin. Sometimes he would spend two or three days in one place, hearing confessions, giving advice and even administering

medical treatment to those who needed it, his training as a physician in early youth, and the varied supply of medicines which always formed part of his outfit, rendering such services appreciable in districts where doctors were few and chemists' shops unknown.

Bishop Hay was compelled to resign the charge of the seminary in 1791 to fill Bishop Geddes' place in Edinburgh while the latter was away in Paris on business connected with the Scottish missions. Although he returned to Scalan for six months in the following year, he found it necessary to relinquish the post of superior to one of his priests.

In 1796 negotiations began with regard to the removal of the seminary to a more favourable site at Aquahorties, in Aberdeenshire. The project was carried out in 1799, and after serving as a seminary for eighty-two years and doing valuable service to the Church in Scotland, Scalan became once more a simple mission, under the charge of a single priest.

The former seminary is now used as a farmhouse. It is a modest building of two stories, about 50 feet long and 16 wide. A square room which takes up the whole of the north end of the house is still called "Bishop Hay's Room." Immediately over it, approached by a steep and narrow wooden staircase, is the small room formerly used as the chapel, where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. It measures about 16 feet by 10 and is not more that 7 feet high. At one time access was gained to it by Catholics of the neighbourhood by a flight of stone steps on the outer wall leading to a door since converted into a window. For it was necessary, in view of a

gradually increasing congregation, to adapt the old kitchen which stands on the north side of the dwelling house, at right angles, to serve the purpose of a public chapel. The mark of the altar may still be seen on the wall of the memorable private chapel, the scene of those many hours of day and night devoted by the holy prelate to prayer.

At the opposite end of the house is the room set apart for the students. It was their oratory in the morning, schoolroom during the day and refectory at meal times. Above it was their dormitory. Life at Scalan was anything but luxurious, and would be calculated to affright some of the hardiest spirits of our own days. The boys rose at six. There was no lavatory, but, summer and winter alike, they descended to the bank of the Crombie for their morning ablutions in the river. Breakfast and supper consisted of oatmeal porridge. Meat was given at dinner twice or thrice only during the week. On other days vegetables and oatcake and a kind of oatmeal soup, popularly called "sowens," comprised the fare.

A rigorous life, indeed! Yet it raised up a stock of hardy, self-forgetting, energetic clergy, who carried on to a later generation the tradition of a sturdy contempt for softness and delicacy in ecclesiastical training which has made Scottish priests such sturdy labourers in the vineyard of the Lord.

The words of the holy and learned Bishop Geddes, appended to his manuscript history of Scalan Seminary, which has formed the basis of this paper, may fitly serve as an apology for bringing the subject forward in these pages. "The time, by the goodness of God, will come when the Catholic religion

will again flourish in Scotland, and then, when posterity will inquire with a laudable curiosity by what means any sparks of the true faith were preserved in these dismal times of darkness and error, Scalan and these other colleges will be mentioned with veneration, and all that can be known concerning them will be received with interest, and even this very account which I give you, however insignificant it may now appear, may one day serve as some monument for our Church history, transmitting down to future ages the names of some of those champions who stood up for the cause of God."

The chief authorities relied upon in the foregoing account are :— *MS. of Bishop John Geddes*, 1777 ; *MS. of Rev. James Glennie of Chapeltown, Glenlivat*, 1841-1873 ; Rev. J. A. Stothert's *Appendix to Gordon's "Scotichronicon"* (Life of Bishop Hay), 1860.

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