

- ART. VI.—1. *Narrative of a Secret Mission to the Danish Islands in 1808.* By the Rev. JAMES ROBERTSON. Edited, from the Author's MS., by his nephew, ALEXANDER CLINTON FRASER. London: 1863.
2. *The Scots Monasteries in Germany.* MSS. of the late JAMES DENNISTOUN, of Dennistoun, in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.
3. *Necrologium Monasterii Scotorum Sti. Jacobi Ratisbonensis.* MS.
4. *Wattenbach, Die Kongregation der Schotten-Klöster in Deutschland.* (Quast und Otte, Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst.) Translated by Rev. W. REEVES, D.D., in the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology.'
5. *Réclamations auprès du Gouvernement de sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière contre un arrêté du Ministère des Cultes en date du 6 Novembre 1848, touchant le Monastère et le Séminaire de St. Jacques des Ecosais à Ratisbonne.* Adressées par Mgr. GILLIS, Evêque-Coadjuteur de Mgr. le Vicaire Apostolique d'Edimbourg. Liège: 1849.
6. *Georgii Conæi de Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos.* Romæ: typis Vaticanis: 1628.
7. *A breiffe Narration of the Services done to three noble Ladies.* By GILBERT BLAKHAL, Preist of the Scots Mission in France, in the Low Countries, and in Scotland. Aberdeen (Spalding Club): 1844.

'THE end of an auld sang'—so the Earl of Seafield described the termination of the separate nationality of Scotland, as he touched the Act of Union with the royal sceptre—has in all cases an interest of its own, in a measure independent of the value of the institution, of which the last hour has come. The lictors of the Roman Consulate were not in themselves very different from other attendants on civic authority, yet not without some feeling do we learn that they not only survived the transfer of the Empire to Constantinople, but that, continuing to minister to the pomp of its Mahomedan conquerors, they were only abolished in our own times by the reforms of Sultan Mahmoud. And so it is not without a similar emotion that we contemplate the recent extinction of the Scottish monastery of St. James at Ratisbon, the last-surviving institution of those numerous centres of Celtic, or rather Scotie, civilisation which exercised so potential an influence on the state of Europe in the darkest period of the middle ages.

The British traveller who visits the ancient and beautiful city of Regensburg, the *Regina Castra* of the Romans, the *Ratis bona*, or convenient landing-place, of the middle age, where in early times the Latin merchant bartered the commodities of civilised life for the furs of the eternal forest; where, in the days of Arnulph the Bastard, a mighty commerce had established itself; and where for many a year the Diet of the Holy Reich used to assemble—will not have exhausted the objects of interest in that most picturesque cathedral-city unless he see what is termed the *Kirche des Schotten-Klosters zu S. Jacob*. He will there find a most remarkable Romanesque church, which owes to the later poverty of the monastery a comparative immunity from *sei-cento* restoration. He will note the two eastern towers, of great beauty and grace; the well-developed narthex, in the upper part of which is the Benedictine choir; the solemn cloister paved with the sepulchral stones of many generations; and, above all, the rich and elaborate Norman doorway, unique so far as Germany is concerned, and recalling the peculiar sculptured stones which are found most plentifully in the Eastern counties of Scotland, as well as the serpentine and interlacing decorations which are noted as the distinctive ornamentation of the ancient Celtic manuscripts. In this almost deserted spot he will recognise the dwelling-place for nearly 800 years of a small and interesting colony of his countrymen, who, after having done their work, have yielded to time and to circumstance, and, not without some remonstrance, have lately surrendered their property, for the use of the Episcopal Seminary, to the authorities of the Bavarian Government.

To account for the existence of this institution we have to go back to a period many hundred years before its actual foundation. It was the remote consequence of that marvellous Irish civilisation in the sixth and seventh centuries which is now beginning to attract the attention of the historian. Besides affording, from its insular position, a refuge for the remnants of the old civilisation, and receiving multitudes from other lands who came to sit at the feet of its teachers, Ireland sent forth her sons into every part of the then known world. From Iceland to Tarentum (where Cathal of Lismore is to this day venerated as the patron-saint, San Cataldo), we find them occupying the episcopal sees or forming themselves into religious communities. St. Kilian at Wurzburg, St. Gall at the town which takes its name from him—above all, St. Columban, first at Luxeuil, and then at Bobbio—may be cited as instances.\*

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\* A man of letters, still living, to whom Scott dedicated one of

When we arrive at the ninth century, we place our foot on solid ground. In the year A.D. 845, only two years after the dismemberment of the Carlovingian Empire by its partition between three sons of Louis the Pious — Lothaire, Charles the Bald, and Louis the German — we find that an ecclesiastical synod was held at Meaux, and in its enactments there is testimony of the past and present condition of the Irish religious occupation. At Canon xl. (*Baronii Annales ad ann. p. 33. a.*) ‘The king’s greatness is warned about the Hospitals, which in the lives of his predecessors were set in order and cherished, but now are reduced to nothing. So also the hospitals of the Scots, which holy men of that nation have built in this kingdom, and according to their piety have endowed, are now entirely alienated from the duty of hospitality; so that not only those who claim it are not received, but even those who from childhood have warred the Christian warfare in these places have been ejected from them, and compelled to beg their bread from door to door.’ A small fragmentary chronicle, belonging to the monastery of St. Martin, is still preserved in the Wallraffian Library at Cologne, but this is of the eleventh century; and this, with a few notices of the celebrated Marianus Scotus, brings us down to the epoch of the actual foundation of the Scottish convents in Ratisbon, about the date of the Norman Conquest.

A life of the founder, under the title of ‘*Vita Beati Mariani Scoti*,’ printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*\*, is in fact an account of the Church itself and its affiliated houses. We learn from it, as well as from other sources, that another Marianus, a great scribe, left his native country, in accordance with the wandering instinct which at that time marked his compatriots. He was accompanied by certain others, whose names have been

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the cantos of Marmion, noted the following anecdote in his journal when travelling in Switzerland in the year 1802:—‘Werdenberg, 1802. I am told a singular enough circumstance that from time immemorial the people of Werdenberg have been in the custom of praying for the Scotch and Irish, for what reason they would not tell me—but they have a set prayer for that purpose, which forms part of their weekly worship, and which they have used all their lives without knowing any reason for it. . . . It is a singular fact, for which I felt much puzzled to account during the remainder of my walk, that in the distant valley of the Alps, where the very name and existence of my country is hardly known to the simple shepherds, I should find it the subject of their prayers.’

\* *Februarii*, tom. ii. pp. 365–72.

handed down to us, in one account as John, Clemens, and Candidus, in another as Machantius, Clemens, Milrehertacus, Gervasius, Isaac, and Donaldus. They were first received by Otto, Bishop of Regensburg and Canon of Bamberg, with whom they remained a twelvemonth. They then became Benedictines, in the Michelsberg at Bamberg; but, wishing to make the pilgrimage to Rome, they stopped at Ratisbon, where a Scotie 'inclusus,' by name Muriherdach, according to a favourite form of the devotion of the day, lived immured in a cell. They were received hospitably by Hemma, Abbess of the Oberminster. The legend of their adoption of Ratisbon as a home is picturesque enough. On Marianus communicating his intention of going to Rome, the Inclusus advised him to pray to God to direct him, whether it were better to continue his journey or to remain where he was. On the following night, Marianus was desired in a dream to spend the remainder of his days in the place where the rising sun should first shine upon him. Next day, starting with his companions for Rome, he stopped to pray in St. Peter's Church for a prosperous journey. Having finished his devotions, just as he was coming out of the church, the rays of the rising sun struck his eyes, upon which, recollecting his dream, he determined to go no further, threw himself upon his knees, and thanked God and St. Peter for pointing out to him the place where he should live and die. 'Here shall be my rest for ever: here will I await the dreadful day of doom.' The Abbess made over the church to the Scots, and the nuns retained the right of postulating any of the monks to be Prior. This foundation is termed 'Monasterium Sti. Petri Consecrati,' or Weih S. Peter. The citizens of Regensburg, and especially one Bezelin, built the monastery, which lasted till 1552, when, by order of Count Philip of Coerstein, the governor of the city, the church with all its buildings was demolished for military purposes, the revenues were transferred to St. James's, and the site of the church was turned into a Protestant cemetery: as the author of the 'Indiculus' expresses it, 'Et locus ubi stetit ecclesia, Lutheranorum cadaveribus profanatur!'

The monks of St. Peter increasing in number, and extending their connexions — partly religious, partly mercantile — as far as Bohemia, Poland, and Russia, in 1090 the Abbot, assisted by wealthy citizens, erected another monastery, in honour of St. James and St. Gertrude. It was consecrated in 1111, privileged by the Emperor in 1112, and sanctioned by Pope Calixtus in 1120. The next abbot, Christianus, after procuring bulls in its favour from Pope Innocent II. and Eugenius,

made a journey into Ireland in quest of money. Here were public schools, in which the long-neglected right to teach was resumed by Ninian Winzet. A prebend was bestowed upon them, *in frumento et cerevisia*, by the Abbess of the Niederrhein, by reason of the fact of St. Erhard being buried there. Under the church were subterranean cells, for persons desirous of leading a solitary life, one of which, it is said, may still be seen beneath the sacristy. The first twenty abbots had no privileges of the mitre and pontificalia, which were first conceded to Abbot Paulinus by Pope Honorius in 1287.

The building, having been erected in a slight and hasty manner, very soon showed symptoms of decay; and, accordingly, the next abbot, Gregory, rebuilt the whole church, with the exception of the towers, and added a cloister. The historical evidence, that would place the erection of the grand old church between 1150 and 1184, agrees with the testimony of the architecture. Three times during the history of the abbey — in 1278, in 1453, and in 1546 — was it injured by fire; during the Thirty Years' war the monastery lay in ruins; but the work of Abbot Gregory still survives, an interesting link in architecture, between the pure Romanesque of the Rhine and the later pointed style which succeeded it.

The popularity of these foreign monks at this epoch suggests some curious reflections. The reasons that accounted for the earlier Irish civilisation had passed away. The Celtic monasteries in Scotland and Ireland had ceased to be the only asylums of piety and letters. The religious houses in both countries had fallen from their primitive strictness. The see of Armagh was handed down, by what St. Bernard calls an 'execranda successio,' from father to son, and the greatest corruption prevailed. Yet we find a number of wandering Scots commending themselves to the Germans by the extraordinary austerity of their lives, some leading the heremitic life as 'inclusi,' others as Cœnobites following the strictest rule of St. Benedict. In spite of the difficulties arising from the use of a language so different from the German as is the Gaelic, they became the favourites, not only of the pious nuns of the Oberminster, but of the burghers of the flourishing municipality. Wattenbach believes that they anticipated the work that was done two centuries later by the friars among the town populations. Certain it is that we find them extending themselves through Germany, and even reacting on the spiritual condition of their own countrymen, as in the instance hereafter to be mentioned of the Priory of St. Mary at Ross-Carbery, in the county of Cork.

It was naturally during the time of their religious fervour that the Scotie societies propagated themselves through the cities of the Empire. A bull, issued after the Lateran Council in 1215, declares that the houses affiliated to St. James Ratisbon, besides the Weih St. Peter, were in number eleven; and in a document, dated June 10, 1423, the Abbot Macrobius appeals to the charity of the faithful on its behalf, pleading that fourteen Scotch monasteries had sprung from its foundation. Of these we know only the following:—

1. At Herbigopolis or Wurzburg in Franconia, where there is evidence that an Irish establishment had previously existed, St. Embricho, the bishop of that see in 1136, began to found a monastery in honour of St. James the Greater, apostle and patron of pilgrims, out of veneration to, and in memory of, St. Kilian the Scot, apostle and patron of Franconia. It was placed under the presidency of the saintly Macarius, the legend of whose turning the wine into water, when urged against his vow of abstinence by the bishop, to pledge the memory of St. Kilian, reminds one of some of the stories of 'Glamour' which are found in the early Irish accounts of the miracles of St. Bridget or St. Finbar. He was succeeded by Gregory and by Carus, previously prior of Ratisbon. Wurzburg was one of the three houses restored to the Scotch after the Reformation, and was occupied by Benedictines from Scotland till within the last twenty years. It is now turned into a military hospital, the old apsidal choir of the church being used as the chapel.

2. In Nürnberg, Carus having become chaplain to the Emperor Conrade of the house of Hohenstaufen and Gertrude his wife, received from them in 1111 the church of St. Giles in that town. It is believed that here also was an older Irish foundation on the site. It is now called the New Church, being rebuilt in 1718 in a heavy Italian style. In the arrangements it is curious to see how Charles V.'s 'Interim,' which hung up the Reformation for a time, and affected Nürnberg more profoundly than any city of Germany, preserved its power even at the time of the reconstruction of the church in the eighteenth century; the ornaments and decorations being nearly the same as in a Catholic church. As we shall see later, the Scots were thrust out for their ignorance and their crimes; and when in 1580 John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, tried to recover it for his countrymen, he was put off by the Nürnbergers with promises and civil words.

3. At Vienna, the new capital of the Duke of Austria, Henry the Lion in 1164 founded the Monastery of St. Mary and St. Gregory, 'pro Scotis monachis exulibus tum et frequenter

'ad terram Sanctam peregrinantibus.' Its first abbot was Sanctinus, who with twenty-four monks came from Ratisbon. Wattenbach connects this foundation with the presence of Ratisbon merchants in Vienna.

4. In Memmingen, seven German miles to the south of Ulm, the Monastery of St. Nicholas was founded in 1180 by Guelph, Duke of Bavaria. On account of its poverty, the Scots convent at Wurzburg presented as abbot one of their own number to the Bishop of Augsburg for institution.

5. At Eichstadt, before 1194, Volbrun founded an abbey for Scots monks under the dedication of the Holy Cross, endowing it with seventeen acres of land. The superior was first styled Abbas, then Præpositus; and the institution itself was called a Præpositura.

6. At Kellheim, at the confluence of the Altmuhl and the Danube, in 1260, Otto, Count Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, on the occasion of the murder of his father, Ludwig, in the presence of his family, founded a house dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, subjecting it to the Abbot of Ratisbon and to his successors for ever.

7. So early as 1036, at Erfurt, a monastery was said to be founded by Gualterus of Glisberg, Marshal of the Empire; it was also believed to be an offshoot of the old Irish foundations of St. Martin and St. Pantaleon at Cologne. It is certain that it was under the visitation of Ratisbon in the thirteenth century, and being restored to the Scotch was occupied by them till a little before the breaking out of the first French Revolution.

8. Bishop Henry, in 1142, founded at Constance a monastery dedicated to St. James, in connexion with Wurzburg. In 1500 Florentius was abbot. After that its revenues were lost, and all except the church went to ruin.

9. At Oels in Silesia was a Scotie house, also in utter ruin in 1505.

10. The last affiliated house which we have to mention occurs, strangely enough, in Ireland. The monastery of St. Mary the Virgin at Ross-a-ilithir, or Ross-Carbery, was founded by Nehemias Scotus, first a monk of St. James Wurzburg and then Bishop of Ross. After building this priory, he resigned his see and subjected the house to the visitation of St. James's. In the middle of the thirteenth century it had sunk into degeneracy. When the mother convent fell into the hands of the Germans, it lost its jurisdiction over Ross. Wattenbach implies that there were other 'pories' in Ireland on this footing, but no trace of them appears in the Ratisbon MSS.

The Scottish monasteries were in their perfection during the

twelfth century. But evil times succeeded. Following the law of all things human, they began to relax their discipline and 'to imitate the morals and laxer ways of living of the Germans.' Numbers began to fall off; but in the beginning of the thirteenth century they came more under those great European influences, which, emanating from the genius of St. Bernard, so profoundly affected the monastic life at this time. It was from the excellent effect of the Cistercian Reform, which consisted, among other things, in subordinating the separate houses of that order into regular congregations, that the whole family of St. Benedict came to be remodelled on this more efficient plan. The twelfth canon of the Lateran Council, in 1215, which commands all monasteries to form themselves into congregations, was enforced, and a special bull for the Scots constitutes their twelve houses into one congregation, ordains the summoning of a general chapter every three years, and appoints the abbot of St. James's as superior and visitor. The Emperor now permits him to bear on his arms half the eagle of the Empire, and so he becomes a prelate of Germany.

Seventy years pass. The discipline continues relaxed, the numbers are with difficulty recruited. According to Irish accounts, 'the new importations neglect to acquaint themselves with German, and therefore are useless alike in pulpit and confessional. The property of the establishments is squandered, and the buildings fall to ruin.' According to the Scotch, all this was caused by the Abbot of Ratisbon assuming Irishmen to fill up the vacancies, the result of which was most unfortunate.

And here we come to a much-vexed question which ought, perhaps, to have been touched upon sooner—viz. who were the Scoti to whom the German convents belonged? The controversy was discussed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the very practical end of determining who was to possess the estates and buildings. The Irish Roman Catholics, led by D. Peter Lombard\*, titular Archbishop of Armagh and Professor at Louvain, maintained on archæological grounds that they were originally founded for Irishmen only. On the other hand, Conæus, Dempster, and Camerarius spoke up so vigorously for their own countrymen, that since the Reformation they have been exclusively possessed by Scotchmen, except where they have been secularised or occupied by Germans. The controversy still remains unsettled. Wattenbach, supported

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\* See his very scarce 'De regno Hiberniæ, Sanctorum insulæ, commentarius. Lovanii: 1632.' At p. 277. there is a curious account of the Sanctuary at Lough Dearg.



with singular learning and ingenuity by his editor Dr. Reeves\*, defends the Irish claim. It is admitted by some Scottish antiquaries; but Professor Cosmo Innes, Mr. W. F. Skene, and the late Rev. G. A. Griffin, of New Abbey, all most competent judges, refuse to acknowledge it, while the Bavarian literati are said to have come to the conclusion that some of the houses were for the Irish and some for the Scotch.

It is not for us to attempt to settle so vexed a question, but a few considerations may be suggested with a view to its solution.

1. It is a confusion of terms to apply the modern nomenclature of nations to the times of the fall of the Empire. We have to deal with the fact of certain great septs migrating, occupying, and conquering, not only the different provinces, but also countries which never owned the Roman domination. We find the Franks possessing themselves of Gaul, the Longobardi of Italy, the Visigoths of Spain, the Saxons and Frisians of England. Race not place was the bond of nationality. A Celtic race of the great Indo-European family termed *Scoti* had wandered or been driven into Ireland, and while there, they were the subjects of that very remarkable religious civilisation to which we have before alluded. Their zealous missionaries spread themselves through many parts of Western Europe, and they founded the earlier religious houses both in France and Germany. There can be no doubt that to these are to be referred the '*Hospitia Scotorum*,' mentioned by the synod of Meaux.

2. But the *Scoti* were not confined to Ireland. The narrow channel between the two countries formed no bar to their extension into Argyre and the Highlands. Iona was the civilising bond of both countries. The saints of Albain laboured in Erin, and *vice versâ* from Ireland came almost all the early names commemorated in the Scottish Calendar. There was a constant passing and repassing; and the title *Fer da leithe*, 'the man of two portions,' applied to St. Berchan the son of Muiredhach from his labours in both countries, might be with justice applied to many beside him.

3. The authentic materials for the history of these ancient

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\* We cannot help expressing astonishment that in these times the dispensers of the patronage of the Irish Establishment should have hitherto overlooked the merits of one of the most distinguished antiquaries and scholars in the United Kingdom. Dr. Reeves' edition of '*Adamnan's Life of Columba*' is a masterpiece of critical erudition. A poor country vicarage, a minor canonry and librarian-ship, is no adequate reward for such a man.

epochs have not yet been sufficiently explored, although the labours of Dr. Todd, Dr. Reeves, and of other members of the Irish Academy deserve high commendation. We can, however, state with certainty that in process of time other races overcame the Scoti in Ireland, leaving only a depressed remnant; while in Scotland their fortune was better. Eventually united to the Picts under Kenneth Macalpin, they became a great nation, and gave their name to the country they peopled; so that, notwithstanding the influence of colonisation and conquest by other races, the blood of the original Scoti forms an integral part of the ethnical condition of the modern Scotsman.

4. The first author who applies the term *Scotia* to *Alba* in distinction from *Erin* is *Marianus Scotus*, whose real name was probably *Malbryde*, or *Maelbrychte*\*, that is the tonsured servant of *Brigitta*. He was born in 1028, in the north of Ireland; and after living as an 'inclusus' at *Fulda* and *Mainz*, died in 1082. His chronicle, which is the most elaborate historical production of the middle ages, has always enjoyed the highest encomiums of the learned.† This author, speaking of *Malcolm Ceanmohr*, describes him as king of Scotland, and he uses the expression '*Scotos ex Hiberniâ*,' showing that it was necessary to particularise in this respect. We may therefore conclude that by this time the distinction had taken place. That distinction is absolute in *St. Bernard's 'Life of 'Malachi O'Morghair, Archbishop of Armagh.'*

Yet it is right to say that this consideration does not remove all difficulties. On the part of the Irish there seems no reason to doubt the historical truth of the questing expedition of *Abbot Christian* to Ireland to seek the aid of *Donnchaeth O'Brien*, about the year 1148. Again the '*Vita Mariani*,' an important document, whatever its date may be, assumes this side, as when it speaks of *Macarius*, the first abbot of *Wurzburg*, being celebrated for his knowledge of the divine law and of the liberal arts 'per totam Hiberniam;' and, lastly, the establishment of the priory in the south of Ireland is in favour of the Irish hypothesis.

But still there remains the primary difficulty that, if the Scoti of the German foundations were Irishmen pure and simple, they continued to be called by their original name

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\* The word '*Mael*,' in connexion with a saint's name, is a frequent form of nomenclature in ancient Irish. It was rendered in Latin translations '*Calvus*,' and, as mentioned in the text, is understood to be the tonsured servant of the saint. Thus we have *Malcolm*, *Malmuire*, names derived respectively from *Columba* and *Mary*.

† *Wattenbach*, ed. *Reeves*, note, p. 13.

more than a century after that name had ceased to describe them at home; and though 'Hibernia,' as in the extract from the 'Vita Mariani,' must mean Ireland proper, yet 'Hibernici' is frequently used as the Latin for the Highlanders of Scotland. The Scotch kings constantly called their Celtic subjects by this name even as late as the reign of James VI., when in a charter of the burgh of Nairn that expression is used for the neighbouring Highlanders who had made some depredations in the town. To this day the common expression for the Gaelic language among the lowland peasantry is *Erse*, e.g. Irish.

Neither can one entirely ignore the fact that in the quarrels between the old occupants and the new arrivals, when the matter was referred either to the Abbess of the Oberminster, or to the civil authorities of Ratisbon, these always decided against the Irish. The author of one of the Dennistoun MSS. lays stress upon the fact that the perpetual tradition and popular opinion were strongly in favour of the anti-Irish side.

But however the question may be settled, this at least is evident, that in the beginning of the fourteenth century the supply of Scoti, whoever they were, began to dry up, and the Abbot of Ratisbon began to assume Irishmen into the abbeys to fill up the vacancies. At first gentle and obedient, they soon began to assert authority—'assumpserunt cristas'—a curious piece of monkish vanity—'ac pauperes et miseri, ex alienis bonis facti sunt divites, superbi et insolentes.' Quarrels ensued between the two factions: the victors punished and imprisoned their adversaries, many of whom actually left Germany and retired, some to their native land, some to Italy.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in spite of the convocation of the two reforming councils of Basle and Constance, were ages of religious decline, and the decay was specially felt in the Scoto-German Houses, now filled by Irishmen. Some became extinct; in others the property was squandered, and the numbers so reduced that they sank into the condition of mere benefices. At Nürnberg they sold wine as in a tavern. The monks drank in company with women, so that the proverb went that if a man missed his wife, he must look for her 'at the Scots!' They caroused after the Scotie fashion; that is, they got so drunk that they could not say mass in the morning. When the Council of Constance ordered an inquisition into their conduct in 1418, matters were found to be in a deplorable state—the mitre and abbot's staff pawned; only two volumes in the library, and no vestments. They were subjected to the Germans. So at Vienna, everything was squandered; the bells and chalices pledged; the buildings in ruins, and the

monks a perfect nuisance to the town. The Papal authority, with the consent of the Council, was at length invoked; and after a strong resistance of the owners, in spite of all their privileges to the contrary, they were driven out in 1418; the house was reformed, made independent of Ratisbon, and handed over to the Germans.

The evil day was postponed at Wurzburg till 1497, when Abbot Philip, dying and leaving the monastery without any monks in it, heavily burdened with debt, it was bestowed upon the monks of St. Stephens, after which it was presided over, first by Kilian Kraus, and then by the good and learned Trichemius.

Ratisbon fared better. The end of the Irish occupation was brought about thus. A certain Walter Knaut, 'versipellis' 'quidem,' who sometimes called himself an Englishman, sometimes an Irishman, got elected abbot, and so conducted himself that Leo X. interfered in 1515, made over the house to the Scotch, appointing a secular priest, John Thomson, 'commen-sali suo,' who had been residing some time in Rome. Knaut resisted, and after both the bishop and the inhabitants had been called into the fray, the Pope wrote to the Duke of Bavaria, to the Chamberlain and Consuls of Ratisbon, commanding them to institute John Thomson, who at once introduced monks from Scotland chiefly from the Abbey of Dunfermline, from which he invited Thomas Massuell (or Maxwell) and his own nephew, Servanus Thomson, whom he made prior of the recovered establishment. John Gordon was introduced from Inchcolm, and William Fleming, a Cistercian, from Paisley.\*

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\* The catalogue of the abbots of St. James, from the foundation to Thomson's nomination, so far as the names can be ascertained, is as follows. The dates are the dates of charters in which the names occur.

1. Dominicus; 2. Dermitius; 3. Dominus, and others of whom nothing is known till 1100. After this, from documentary evidence we get the following:—4. Christianus. 5. Georgius, who is said to have obtained the privilege of exemption for the monastery at the Lateran Council. 6. Jacobus, 1225. 7. Paulinus, who in 1286 obtained the privilege of the Mitre. 8. Macrobius, 1287–1288–9. Mauritius I., 1294. 10. Marinus, 1296. 11. Joannes I., 1311. 12. Nicolaus I., 1328–1332. 13. Joannes II., 1343. 14. Mathæus I., 1343. 15. Gilbertus, 1347. 16. Nicolaus II., 1371. 19. Gelasius, 1383. 20. Mathæus III., 1386–1396. 21. Philippus I., 1397–1399. 22. Philippus II., 1400–1416. 23. Donatus, 1420–1429. 24. Cor-macus, 1432–1436. 25. Alanus, 1438–1440. 26. Benedictus I.,

He was followed as abbot in 1523 by Andrew Ruthven, who had made his profession at Arbroath. To him succeeded David Cumin; but the institution did not thrive; for, during the life of his successor Alexander Bog (1548-1586) there were no monks beside himself; and when Abbot Thomas Anderson died in 1576 there were only two Fathers.

But better times were in store for St. James. The battle of the Reformation was lost in Scotland; step by step the new learning had made good its position, while proscription and banishment were the rewards of its zealous opponents. Among the ablest of these was the distinguished Ninian Winget, schoolmaster of Linlithgow, who occupies an important place in the history of the times. This able and excellent man was in 1577 appointed by Gregory XIII. Lord Abbot of Ratisbon. Assisted by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, he recovered Erfurt for the Scotch, and filled both monasteries with monks driven forth from Scotland. He restored the schools of the old foundation, and during a tenure of office of sixteen years administered the affairs of the abbey with consummate discretion.

In 1595 Abbot John James White, Winget's successor, who eventually resigned and died at Frauenzell in 1629, succeeded in obtaining from the celebrated Bishop Julius of Wurzburg (whose statue in front of his hospital, recently erected by King Ludwig, is a fair specimen of modern German art) the Schotten Kirke, which, as we have before mentioned, had first been seized by the Germans and then secularised. To occupy it Gabriel Wallace and six Fathers were sent from Ratisbon. In 1610 White applied for a coadjutor or for leave to resign. F. Benedict Algeo was associated with him to his very great discomfort, for the coadjutor proved contumacious, and, in spite of many orders for his removal, persisted in retaining his usurped authority till 1633, when Ratisbon being taken by Duke Bernard of Weimar and the Swedes, a subsidy of 75,000 florins was exacted from the clergy, of which about 1,100 at 1s. 8d. per florin was the quota of the Scottish convent. The plague also broke out, and carried off F. Hugh Wallace, the administrator and other monks. Never was the institution in such a calamitous position as during the Thirty Years' War,

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1442-1444. 27. Carolus, 1444-1445. 28. Mauritius II., 1447-1452. 29. Thadæus, 1455-1457. 30. Otto, 1457-1462. 31. Joannes III., 1479-1497. 32. Mathæus IV., 1479-1497. 33. David I., 1488-1494. 35. Walterus Knaut, 1500-1516. 36. Joannes Thomson, 1517-1522.

when it seems to have lain desolate for a time: so reduced was the income that it could only support two Fathers; its revenue at this time only amounting to 1,272 florins. At length, Cardinal Barberini in 1634 sent from Italy Alexander Baillie who, eventually chosen abbot, ruled the three monasteries of Ratisbon, Wurzburg, and Erfurt, to the great benefit of them all. In 1641 an attempt was made to hand over the Scottish Abbey to the Discalceate Friars, which was prevented by Urban VIII.; and in 1653 an Irish Benedictine, by name Colomanus Maccolloch, did what he could to recover it for his countrymen, but Innocent X. decided against him. Abbot Baillie, who died in 1656, was succeeded by Macarius Chambers, who, proving a bad economist and plunging the abbey in debt, resigned in 1672, and retired to Subiaco, the mother convent of the Benedictine Order, where he died.

A new career of prosperity was in store for St. James during the government of Placidus Fleming, a descendant of the Earls of Wigton, whose long career, from 1672 to 1720, was distinguished not only by able administration and strict discipline generally, but by the organisation of a seminary, connected with, but not identical with, the abbey, for the education of young Scotsmen of good family.\* He exerted himself with equal success to restore the convent at Erfurt, which had fallen into great dilapidation, both as regarded the buildings and the funds: and he there effected the establishment of a professorship of philosophy in the University of that city, always to be held by a Scotch Benedictine.

At this time too we find traces of aged Scottish gentlemen, who had been engaged in foreign military service, weary of the wars, coming to pass a tranquil old age without the vows in this quiet cloister; such as George Gordon, a brother of the Earl of Aboyne. Sir George Etherege, the gay companion of Charles II., had kindly relations with St. James, for he left them a library of valuable books. Now also a new life, but not

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\* From its commencement in 1713 till 1848, 126 young Scotsmen and one Dutchman were educated in it. Thirty of these appear to have become monks, either at Ratisbon as Benedictines, at Waldsassen as Cistercians, or at Munich as Theatines. About ten were ordained as secular priests for the Scottish Mission. The greater part remained laymen, some returning to Scotland, some taking foreign military service. Among the names we find Gordon of Beldorney, Gordon of Dorleathers, Gordon of Lecheson, Gordon of Letterfourie, Anderson of Teinet, Arbuthnot of Rora, Duguid, Auchlenleck, Drummond (of the Dukes of Perth), Leslie of Balquain, and Menzies of Pitfoddels.

such a life as St. Benedict would have enjoined, animated the old walls of Abbot Gregory. From the time of the abdication of James II., Ratisbon became the focus of the Jacobite intrigues in Germany for the restoration of the exiled family, and it is with regret we have to mention that a valuable collection of documents, comprising a secret correspondence with the Stuarts for nearly a century, was accidentally burnt a very few years ago at Strahlfeldt, the country house of the Scottish Benedictines.

In other respects the life and occupations of the Fathers were very much in accordance with what we know of Benedictine life from the journals of Mabillon and D'Achery. Regular and decent in the performance of their religious duties, careful about the music of their services, but without the severity of the Trappist or Carthusian, the Benedictine monk of the eighteenth century mainly laid himself out for that peculiar kind of erudition which has given an immortal name to the congregation of St. Maur. Though there may have been many houses where relaxation had taken place, there is no reason to suspect this of the Scotch in Germany. The professorship at Erfurt was not the only vent for their scholastic powers. We find them employed at Waldsassen and Munich in the cause of education, and in the special department of ecclesiastical antiquarianism we may mention, not only the '*Germania Christiana*,' a valuable MS. by F. Bonifacius Strachan, but the more important work, also still unpublished, the '*Monasticon Scoticum*' of F. Marianus Brookie, two copies of which are in the custody of the accomplished Dr. Gillis, Vicar Apostolic of Edinburgh.

On the death of Abbot Placidus, full of years and honours, Maurus Stuart succeeded, having been for sixteen years public professor at Erfurt, and part of that time administrator there with much prudence and success. He interested himself in the new seminary at Ratisbon, and made two journeys into Scotland to bring out students; but having suffered in health from these labours, he died five months after his election, and never was consecrated.

He was followed by Bernard Baillie, who, after teaching philosophy at Erfurt with much distinction till 1715, was recalled by Placidus to superintend the improvements at Ratisbon, and to be the architect of the buildings then in progress. He augmented the revenues and added to the library. In 1743 he died, leaving a character for piety, integrity, and learning. Bernard Stuart, also an able man, was his successor. He purchased for the establishment the Marquisate of Strahlfeldt in the Upper Palatinate, with the perpetual advowson of the chapel.

In 1745 F. Macdonell of the Scothouse family presented a memorial to King James at Rome, proposing to raise a regiment of Bavarians in support of the Stuart cause, provided he could get money for the necessary expenses. His zeal was commended, but the project deemed visionary.

The next abbot was Father Leith, who accompanied Charles Edward in the affair of the '45 into England, being associated with three other priests as chaplains to the expedition. Their names were Tyrie, McGillis, and Macdonald. The two last wore the Highland dress, with sword and pistol, and went under the title of captain.

On the death of F. Leith in 1775, Benedict Arbuthnot, the sixty-third and last Lord Abbot, was elected. His presidency was a very long one.\*

At the peace of Amiens Napoleon exempted the institution from secularisation on the plea that it was an educational establishment. Of the habits of the monks during this period we get a little sketch in the commencement of Romana Robertson's journal. He says: 'The Abbot Arbuthnot and several members of the community were to be seen in the first circles of that imperial city, where their extensive acquirements, and of some of the number it may be said, their brilliant talents, gave them a conspicuous position.' The British envoy generally availed himself of their services as interpreters at the Diet, and 'not unfrequently commissioned them to act in his stead.'

Allusion was made in a late number of this Review to the secret mission of F. James Robertson in 1807. How he offered his services to Mr. Canning and Sir A. Wellesley; how he was employed to communicate with the Spanish army, erroneously

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\* In the year 1800 the abbey was visited by a Scot, who drew the inspirations of the noblest lyric in the English language from the sight which he witnessed there. Thomas Campbell, the poet, betook himself to Ratisbon, where 'he was most kindly received by his compatriots, the monks of St. James, from whose walls he beheld sights of horror which nothing could obliterate from his recollection. His first introduction to the miseries of war was in company with his new acquaintances; from their hospice he beheld a charge of Klenan's cavalry upon the French, under Grenier. He saw the fire given and returned, and heard distinctly the sound of the French *pas de charge* collecting the lines to attack in close column; then a park of artillery opened just beneath the walls of the monastery, and several drivers there stationed to convey the wounded in spring waggons were killed in his sight.' (*Biographical Sketch of Thomas Campbell, prefixed to his Poetical Works*: ed. 1851, p. xxxvi.)



believed by the English ministry to be at Gluckstadt; how in disguise, proceeding by Heligoland, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, he penetrated to Nyborg in the Isle of Funen, where the Spaniards actually were; how, under pretence of selling chocolate and cigars, he had two conferences with the Marquis Romana, which led to the successful evasion of the army under his command; how finding a direct return to England impracticable, he took a circuitous route by Erfurt, Lintz, Munich, and Vienna, and after imminent perils in Dresden, escaped, tracked by hussars, through Berlin and Hamburg, to Cuxhaven, is graphically and simply told in his narrative published last year by Messrs. Longman.

Little now remains to be said. After the death of Arbuthnot in 1820, no abbot was appointed, and the house was governed successively by two aged men, F. Marian Graham and F. Benedict Deasson, as Priors. In 1836 there were five young Scotsmen receiving their education, but the society having been recruited by the profession of only one young person in 1848, the Bavarian government began seriously to take steps for possessing themselves of this ancient institution. The preceding pages will have shown how often attempts were made in the course of its existence to alienate from its original owners a feeble institution existing in a foreign country, poor and friendless; and these have at length been successful. In 1848 the government of Bavaria, founding on the difficulty of perpetuating a succession of Scottish Benedictines, determined to transfer the establishment to Bavarian members of that order. The Scottish Vicars Apostolic resisted on the plea that the government had no right to alienate an institution intimately associated with such a school for the secular education of Scotsmen as was the foundation of Abbot Fleming, and they succeeded for a time in staving off the evil day; but within the last three years a new enemy, in the form of the Bishop of Ratisbon, has succeeded in making good his point. Finding the remains of the ancient nunnery of the Oberminster a very insufficient episcopal seminary, he determined upon possessing himself of the Schotten Kloster, and in spite of a spirited protest by F. Anselm Robertson, the only remaining professed Father, and the last of the Scottish Benedictines, this prelate has induced the Bavarian government to possess themselves of the buildings, and to bestow upon the Scotch, in lieu of all their possessions, the inadequate compensation of 10,000*l*. And thus the venerable foundation of Marianus, the last record of a Scotie civilisation of nearly a thousand years' duration, has passed, it is to be feared, for ever into German hands.

We proceed to give some account of the Scottish colleges on the Continent founded after the Reformation.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland since the accession of Mary to the throne remains yet unwritten; but when set in order, it will be the record of patient endurance, and of social proscription gallantly borne in support of religious principle. The historian Ranke remarked with reference to the issue of the great struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, '*Il a bien fallu que l'église Romaine fût conservée, car elle contient de grandes vérités, nécessaires au cœur de l'homme, et surtout au cœur de la femme.*' This is hardly true as predicated of Scotland. Perhaps, as Sydney Smith said of a strong-minded lady, the hearts of the Scotch women were made of brains. In any case the position was entirely different in England and in Scotland. In the former country the various risings in favour of the old religion, such as the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Devonshire and Lincolnshire insurrections, showed that the religious instincts of a great part of the population did not go in with the new order of things. In the English Reformation, indeed, the strong Tudor will, aided by the rapacity of the newly created noblesse, used very skilfully the old anti-Italian feeling of the country to give direction to the great intellectual upheaving, of which Luther's movement was as much an indication as a cause; but the great mass of the people had little individual will upon the subject. As Mr. Froude says, Catholicism without the Pope was what England wanted in the latter days of Henry VIII., and but for the terrible effect on the English mind caused by the burnings in Queen Mary's time, her successor Elizabeth might have had to treat with the Pope for the conservation of her Anglican system, instead of having all her days to humour and to manage the Puritans.

It was entirely different in Scotland. The old Church, as in proportion to the revenues of the country it was one of the richest in Europe, so was it the most corrupt. Conæus, out-and-out defender as he is of the old régime, admits this in its fulness:—

*'Omnium malorum avaritia nobilium animos sensim invadens ita omnia infecit atque corripit. . . . Abbates et episcopos liberos vix natos et adhuc a matre rubentes designare . . . vulgus naturâ pigrum ac iners . . . nil minus quam sacrosancti muneris Episcopi cogitabant, sed ventrem implere, symmata dilatare, et sublimiora occupare subsellia . . . his omnibus accedebat libido impotens sacratoribus vitæ morumque lues teterrima. In multis sacerdotum ædibus scortum publicum; pernoctabant in tabernis viri Deo dicati:*

nec a sacrilego luxu tutus erat matronarum honos, aut virginalis pudor . . . pro mendicantibus manducantes dicti fratres.'

Other causes conspired to make the Church hateful. It had become the symbol of a French alliance, which aspired to be a French domination. It was sapped by many influences from England, religious and political agents being constantly employed to undermine it in every way. The individual genius of one man, Knox, impressed itself as much on his nation's mind in the way of progress, as that of the great emperor Charles V. in his own dominions told in the way of reaction. The most rapacious and savage nobility upon earth glutted itself without scruple on the episcopal and abbatial lands. Wits, like George Buchanan, in Ciceronian Latin caught up the refrain of the satire which had been set to ruder measures by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Popular ballads brought home to every heart a deep and abiding sense of the covetousness and licentiousness of the clergy, in the same volumes in which the coarse popular songs were set to godly words, and 'John, come kiss me now' was endowed with a spiritual meaning, and the holy associations of the sanctuary were sought to be substituted for those of the tavern or of the village green. On the other hand, the old Church tunes were set to secular words, to strip them of their sacred influence, a circumstance to which, it has been thought, Scottish music owes much of its beauty and charm.

Moreover, the already powerful engine of the press was too much neglected by the Catholics. The excellent sermons of Adam Elder, or Senior, are veiled in the obscurity of the Latin language, and with the exception of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, the broadsheet known as the 'twapenny faith,' and some half-dozen works of no great merit, no evidence remains to show that the old hierarchy made any attempt to use the invention of printing in the direction of appealing to the consciences and religious feelings of the people. Even the pulpit, then perhaps the most powerful of all agents for swaying the popular mind, was not enlisted on the side of the old religion, although old Bishop Crichton of Dunkeld did make an exception in favour of an occasional sermon on 'a good epistle or good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy Church.' If we add the fact that there were a few religious disputations, of which the chief were those of Quentin Kennedy, abbot of Crossaguel, and Ninian Winzet against Knox, and of Friar John Black, the Dominican, against Willock, we have stated all that was done in the way of appeal to the intellect, in opposing the Protestant aggression.

No sooner was the mass abolished, and the old creed put down, than the fiercest intolerance maintained the ground which had been gained. Queen Mary herself could hardly obtain permission for the celebration in her own chapel of the rites of her own religion. The old service books were so diligently destroyed, that one missal only of the fifteenth century, the '*Liber de Arbuthnott*,' remains to certify the nature of the worship of that time. Priests were prosecuted for baptising and marrying 'in the auld and abominable papist manner.'\* The vilest of the people were employed 'as seekers and apprehenders 'of Roman Catholics.'† 'Apostates' from the Kirk (a remarkable circumstance in 1580, showing that already a religious reaction was commencing) were to be punished 'as adulterers';‡ heavy fines were inflicted on those guilty 'of using of pilgrimages to some wells, crosses, and chapels, as also the observing 'of the festival days of the saints, sometimes nameit their 'patrons; in setting forth of bane fires and singing of carols, 'the dregs of idolatry.'§ Excommunication involving the most serious temporal consequences was most freely used, nor did the introduction of the milder spirit of episcopacy mend matters, for the fame of the otherwise perfectly respectable Archbishop Spottiswoode is tarnished by his complicity in the judicial murder of the Jesuit Ogilvie.

But notwithstanding the antecedent causes of the Reformation and the intolerant measures taken to maintain it, the old religion was not stamped out. The faith of so many centuries still exercised a power over many in the kingdom of Scotland. For about fifteen years after the legal proscription of the Roman Catholic religion in 1560, the cause seemed paralysed. Most of the clergy who did not conform to the new order of things fled, some to England||, 'where a great number of monks and 'friars were officiating as curates in the north in 1563 and '1565,' some to the Continent, where many of them were promoted to benefices, or took their places among the scholars of Europe as professors in the different universities. But after a time, when the severe laws were not put in execution, or enforced only in an intermittent way, it was found that a considerable portion of the Scotch adhered to the Catholic religion. In 1592, according to a paper of Burghley's, thirteen of the nobility of Scotland, and in the northern counties a large proportion of the people, 'were attached to the same faith.' 'All

\* Chambers's Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 19.

† *Ibid.*, p. 98.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

|| Blackall's Breiffe Narration, preface, p. xl.

‘ the northern part of the kingdom, including the counties of  
 ‘ Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland and Aberdeen, with Moray,  
 ‘ and the sheriffdom of Buchan, of Angus, of Wigton, and of  
 ‘ Nithsdale, were either wholly, or for the greater part, in the  
 ‘ interest of that party.’

Under the severe enactments of the law a system of exterior conformity to the reformed religion combined with real adherence to the ancient creed very extensively obtained, and the records of the Kirk for nearly one hundred years are full of perplexing cases of relapse and occasional conformity. Even the great Catholic nobles, Huntly, Errol, Angus, Home and Herries were not left unmolested. In 1601 the Assembly arranged that certain ministers should plant themselves in their families for the purpose of converting them from their errors—a pleasant position both for nobleman and minister; while four years previously to this the Earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus, ‘ after conference with the brethren appointed to deal  
 ‘ with them, and hearing the Word at the places appointed  
 ‘ them, acknowledged that all their doubts were solved, that  
 ‘ “ the reformat Kirk of Scotland was the trew Kirk,” and they  
 ‘ were ready to join themselves thereto, hear the Word, participate in the Sacraments, and obey the hail discipline of the  
 ‘ Kirk.’ In the assembly at Linlithgow, in 1608, Huntly, mighty and almost regal as his position was in the North, was excommunicated because he had not satisfied the Kirk by taking the communion. In the assembly at Aberdeen, in 1616, Huntly was again reconciled to the Established Church, having been also previously absolved from excommunication by the Archbishop of Canterbury ! \*

Yet with all this there was a gradual reintroduction of the Roman Catholic religion. The assembly establishes a fast on account of the flocking home of Jesuits and Papists, and the ‘ defection of the multitude from the truth.’ It witnesses to ‘ the  
 ‘ increase of papistry daily within this realme.’ ‘ Traffiqueing  
 ‘ Papists, Jesuits, and Seminary Priests,’ go about ‘ under collour  
 ‘ and pretexte of doctors of physicke and apothecaries, deceiving  
 ‘ and perverting the people from the new religion profest  
 ‘ within this country.’ Anne of Denmark, unable to obtain the confession to which as a Lutheran she had been accustomed (as is asserted) secretly conforms, and James, partly under this influence, partly in disgust of the tyranny of the Kirk, begins that inconsistent course of intermittent favour and persecution which so unfavourably distinguishes in this respect the policy of the house of Stuart.

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\* *Miscellany, Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. lx.*

Meanwhile, the Highlands remained untouched by the new opinions. On the principle of the Northumbrian squire, who accounted for his religion on the theory that the roads were very bad, and that the Reformation had not come beyond Newcastle, the fastnesses of the North and West were unvisited by the preacher. Indeed, the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining ministers even for the more civilised shires, and the Gael under his chief continued to adhere to that form of belief which has so many attractions for the Celtic nature, whether it dominate in Paris, or starve in Connemara. Lord Macaulay's picturesque account is well known, but it may be doubted whether the imputation of the remains of old paganism which he makes is not overstated, and whether there was any peculiarity in their religion which may not now be found in the simple Breton peasant who makes his prayer to St. Anne at Auray, or in the poor Irishman who toils his weary way to the island sanctuary at Lough Dearg.

In the Highlands feudal attachment to the chief strongly influenced religion. The clans generally followed their leaders. The traveller who at the present day passes from Ballachulish to Loch Lomond has a striking illustration of this. In a few hours he passes from the Stuart country, where a large proportion of the people are Episcopalians, into Glencoe, where they are mainly Macdonalds and Roman Catholics, and finally he emerges into the Campbell country, where they are Presbyterians to a man.\*

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\* A story, whether true or not, at any rate 'ben trovato,' illustrates this. In the island of Barra, Presbyterianism is said to go by the name of the Religion of the yellow stick. The reason is stated to have been on this wise. Some time after the Reformation the laird of the day conformed, and, representing himself as elder to the General Assembly, used to combine the duty of that office with an indulgence in the amusements and gaieties of the Scottish metropolis. Meanwhile the islanders remained unconverted, and having been turned out of the old parish church by law, had built themselves a sufficient chapel. On one occasion in the General Assembly an 'overture' was made to the effect that the laird of Barra, who was enjoying the light of the gospel in Edinburgh, still left his island in heathen darkness, and it was remitted to him to take what steps he thought right to remedy the evil. The story goes on to say, that on his return he stationed himself of a Sunday morning at the bifurcation of the two roads which led respectively to church and chapel, and proceeded with his yellow rattle to knock down any of the people who presumed to go to the latter; and so the island was converted, and its faith termed *Creidimh a bhata bhui*, the Creed of the yellow stick!

To meet a condition of things like this, we have seen that Scotland was filled with disguised clergy. The hierarchy seem never to have exercised any episcopal supervision after 1560, though Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, lived till 1603 as King James's Ambassador at Paris, and Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, survived till 1630. 'Between 1580 and 1600 Scotland was 'taken possession of as a missionary country by members of the 'Jesuit, Benedictine, Franciscan, Lazarite, and Augustinian 'orders, into which many of the refugee clergy had retired.\*

The life of these 'traffiqueing priests' must not have been without its enjoyment. There is a great truth in Walter de Mailes'

*Furto dulciora poma :*

and it is said that the zest of smuggling and poaching very much exceeds the inducement from actual profit. To be conscious, while arrayed in the buff coat of the trooper of the day, that they were engaged in a higher warfare, the warfare of ideas—to feel as they dealt out the coarse medicines and simples of the medical skill of the times, that it was souls they really came to cure—to seek to elude the vigilance of the government by a clever disguise, and in spite of penal laws and cruel enactments to pull the strings of a great movement, was not without its charm; and then they had high hopes and unflinching zeal. That their hopes of reconquering the lost ground were at least plausible, may be assumed from what we know took place in Austria and other continental countries. There are no chapters in Ranke more remarkable than the history of the great Catholic reaction after the Council of Trent. It remains to be written in its fulness, but that painstaking historian, as well as Cesare Cantù, has given us enough to show that the disguised missionary of the seventeenth century, wearily toiling over the moorlands of Banffshire, was indulging in no impossible dream if he imagined that the day was not far distant when the new learning would break down under its internal dissensions, and the old faith, purified by what it had gone through, be restored to its ancient supremacy. We must also add the fact that the Reformation had done its work on the men themselves. From every evidence that remains to us, it is clear that they were men of personal piety. The old scandals were never heard of again. Nothing can be more healthful than the tone of Blackal's narrative, always making allowance for the habitual life of stratagem and the atmosphere of disguise in which he was

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\* Blackal's Narrative, pref. xxv.

forced to live; and the books of devotion printed at Douai and elsewhere, such as Adam King's translation of Canisius, making allowances for their distinctive doctrines, breathe a spirit of earnest piety.\*

Of the work undertaken by the different orders we have little certain knowledge. Foremost among the rest, the Company of Jesus put forth its power for the reconquest of Scotland. The Acts of Parliament and records of assembly constantly mention 'the Jesuites.' Beside the ill-fated John Ogilvy, to whose tragic end we have already alluded, we hear of several members of the order. In February 1587-8 King James has a five hours' disputation with James Gordon, a Jesuit, uncle to the Earl of Huntly. Robert Abercromby, a Jesuit, becomes confessor to Queen Anne, so long as she remains in Scotland.† In 1601 'sundry Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and 'traffiqueing Papists, enemies to God's truth and all Christian 'government,' are stated in the Privy Council records to be daily creeping into the country. W. Barclay is declared infamous, and banished from the country, for the crime 'of 'being present at two masses which were said by Mr. Alexander 'M'Whirrie, ane Jesuit priest.' On the 14th August, 1615, three citizens of Edinburgh were tried for the crime of entertaining in their houses three Jesuits, of whom Ogilvie was one. They were condemned to death, but sentence was commuted to banishment during the king's pleasure. In 1622, George Mortimer is detected, and after lying in prison at Glasgow 'so 'heavily diseased, as it is feared he will hardly if ever escape,' is manumitted by the king, to the great disgust of the zealous Presbyterians.

The Jesuit stations in the north were Braemar, Glengairn, Glentanar, Strathglass, and Buchan. The Benedictine missionaries came mainly from Ratisbon. David Gray is stated in the 'Necrologium' to be the first who went to Scotland, in the year 1596, and from that time till the present day a succession of members of the order have continued the work.

What Lazarists, Augustinians, and Franciscans laboured in Scotland is not now known. Conæus mentions a Dominican, John Gray, a Franciscan, Buonaventura Hepburn, and three Capuchins, Roger Lindsay and the two sons of Lord Forbes, both of whom entered religion in Flanders, and one of whom dying from his exertions during the plague, has been enrolled

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\* Chambers' Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 183.

† Conæus de Dup. Statu.



among the number of the 'Beati,' as a preliminary step to canonisation. It is of him that Thomas Dempster, in very Scottish fashion, says that he both asks and expects his prayers, because he was his cousin through the Leslies of Balquhain! There is, however, no evidence that any of these came to Scotland. Rinuccini describes, in exaggerated language, the mission of F. Archangel Leslie to the county of Aberdeen, magnifying the hamlet of Monymusk into a great city.

The influence of the Order of the Jesuits, however, on Scotland is not to be measured by the few Fathers who found their way into this country. It was felt by all who were interested in the matter, that beyond the facilities afforded by the actual organisation of the existing religious communities, something special must be done to keep alive the ancient faith in Scotland. The condition of the Catholics in that country and in England excited the deepest commiseration through Europe, and their wrongs were used as political capital by many of the enemies of Elizabeth and James. The newly-revealed disclosures from Simancas show that the name of Huntly was quite familiar to the wily Philip, and it is not to be wondered at that the piety and politics of foreign Powers should combine to make some distinct effort on behalf of their oppressed co-religionists. One obvious plan was the foundation of seminaries for the education of a native priesthood, and also of such of the laity as could escape the fangs of the Presbyterian establishment; accordingly we find that in Italy, Spain, and France a generation had scarcely passed from the date of the Reformation before they were in active operation.

It was during the pontificate of that able administrator, Ypolito Aldobrandino, afterwards called to the Tiara under the title of Clement VIII., just after the successful reconciliation of Henry IV. and his acquisition of Ferrara, that the Collegio Scozzese was founded in Rome 'with the view of providing 'the Catholic youth of Scotland with a Christian and religious 'education, which the circumstances of their own unhappy 'country did not then permit them to receive at home, and also 'to form a nursery for native missionary priests destined to the 'labours of the Scottish Mission.' It was put under the patronage of Cardinal Camillo Borghese, afterwards Paul V., and was opened in 1602, with eleven students. In 1604 it was transferred to the Via Felice, where it now stands; and in the next year Paul V. annexed to it the property of the Hospital of the Scottish Nation. Cardinal Barberini, afterwards Urban VIII., was its second protector. In 1615 it was placed under the government of Scottish priests of the Society of

Jesus, who, with the exception of a short period in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when two Italians were appointed, continued to direct the seminary till 1724. The first rector was F. Patrick Anderson, a maternal nephew of the well-known Bishop, John Lesley, of Ross. He was author of 'The Ground of the Catholicke and Roman Religion in 'the Word of God, 1623, 4to.' In 1644 the church was erected at the charge of the Marchioness of Huntly, and in 1664 the college acquired a farm at Marino, as a country residence for the students during vacation. In 1674 the college was presided over by F. William Aloysius Leslie, of the ancient house of Balquhain. He is author of a 'Life of St. 'Margaret of Scotland,' in Italian, written with reference to her canonisation about this time. In 1681 Barberini, the Pope's nephew, dying, Cardinal Thomas Howard of Norfolk became protector in his room. He was succeeded by Cardinals Sacripanti and Falconieri. In 1712 F. William Clerk, afterwards rector of the Scots College at Madrid, and confessor of Philip V., became rector. The college, as was natural, was the object of the interest of the exiled Royal Family. Queen Mary Beatrice endowed it with a sum of money to defray the journeys of the students to Scotland. In 1717 'James III., our 'king,' assisted at a solemn service, at which Clement XI. officiated, and in 1718 the obsequies of 'our queen and the 'pious mother of our king' were celebrated in the church to which she had been so munificent a benefactress. After the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, the college was placed under the care of Italian secular priests; and the students, instead of attending the lectures at the Collegio Romano, studied at the Propaganda, while some of them were put under the care of the Irish Franciscans at St. Isidoro. This arrangement being found unsatisfactory, in 1781 Bishop Hay from Scotland had recourse to the Pope to redress what was felt to be an evil, and in 1793 the Abbé Macpherson, well known for more than half a century to the English visitors at Rome, was appointed ecclesiastical agent for the Scottish Mission.

From 1798 till 1814 the college, so far as the education of the students was concerned, was virtually suspended by the French occupation; but the formality of the Protectorate was still maintained, that office being held first by Cardinal Altieri, and then by Cardinal Erskine, of the Erskines of Cambo, in Fife-shire. The Abbé Macpherson, at the Peace, being appointed rector, students were entered in 1820, and continued there till the death of the next superior, Angus Macdonald, when, no Scotchman being appointed, the students were transferred

to the Propaganda. In 1838 Macpherson was appointed a second time, and the funds being improved by the falling in of some legacies left by Cardinal York, the number of students was increased. The rector died at the age of ninety, and was succeeded by the present superior, Dr. Grant. It is said that the 10,000*l.* received for St. James's, Ratisbon, is to be laid out on the College Scozzese.\*

But the ever-active Society did not confine its efforts in behalf of the Scotch to the superintendence of a college in Rome. The Company, which still bore the strongest marks of its Spanish paternity, though the astute Clement had begun to develope and foster the French element within it, did not neglect to promote the establishment of a similar institution in Madrid itself. Spain was beginning to decay under the indolence of Philip III. and the mismanagement of his minister, Lerma; but it was in entire consonance with the will of all orders of the State that something should be done for the Mission in Scotland. According to Dr. Oliver ('Collection towards illustrating the Biography of Scotch, English and Irish Jesuits,' p. 15.):—

'Much misconception prevails about the Scotch College which formerly existed at Madrid. The truth appears to be that a royal palace in that city, not being found sufficiently commodious for the residence of the sovereign, was appropriated in the first place to the use of the Scottish Embassy, and was so used for very many years; that on the accession of James I. to the Crown of England in 1603, the palace was abandoned by the Scotch ambassador; that King Philip III. proceeded to allot one side of the building to the purposes of a Scotch college, under the direction of Scotch Jesuits, and ordered that the other three sides should be let out to their tenants, and that the rents thus arising should go to the support of the said college.

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\* Rectors of the Scottish College in Rome :—

1615. F. Patrick Anderson	1688. F. Andrew Mackay
1622. F. Geo. Elphinstone	1692. F. W. A. Lesley, <i>bis</i>
1644. F. William Christie	1698. F. James Forbes
1646. F. Francis Dempster	1701. F. Didacus Calcanens
1649. F. Andrew Lesley	1704. F. John Bapt. Nasellus
1652. F. Adam Gordon	1708. F. Thomas Fyffe
1655. F. Gilbert Talbot, or George Bisset	1712. F. W. Clerk
1658. F. F. Dempster, <i>bis</i>	1721. F. Alex. Ferguson
1663. F. Gilbert Talbot, <i>bis</i>	1818. Paul Macpherson
1670. F. John Strachan	1826. Angus Macdonald
1671. F. Hector C. de Marinis	1834. Paul Macpherson, <i>bis</i>
1674. F. W. Aloys. Lesley	1846. Alex. Grant, D.D.

The king of Spain was, therefore, the founder.\* Yet some other individuals, especially Col. Sempill, were very great benefactors.† Until 1733 the house was invariably governed by Jesuits, when it was thought advisable that the community should be transferred to Douai, with the liberty of receiving the rents as before. The fathers at Douai so continued to receive the rents until their expulsion from Douai by the French Government about thirty-two years later.‡

This refers to the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in the reign of Louis XV. Upon this event, an asylum was found for the institution at Dinant, on the Meuse, in the Prince-bishopric of Liège, where, after a presidency held first by F. J. Pepper, and then by F. George Maxwell, they were involved in the general suppression of the Order by Ganganelli, in 1773.

Dr. Oliver's statement, which, it will be observed, is put forth with the marks of uncertainty, needs a certain degree of correction. We are enabled from the very best authority to correct it. The Scots College at Madrid was actually founded by Colonel William Sempill, a cadet of the noble family of that name, being son, brother, and uncle of the successive barons. He began life as a page of Queen Mary Stuart, and continued in her Court till her evil days began, when he passed over to Flanders as a soldier of fortune in the service of the Prince of Orange. Some years after, by the direction of his queen from her English prison, he, with many English, Irish, and Scotch officers and soldiers, abandoned the Orange for the Spanish service. Sempill signalled the change by an act of skill and courage, celebrated by almost all the historians of the times, in procuring the surrender to the Spanish Crown of a fortified

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\* 'One Brugh, a Scottsman and a kynd of convertite, gave me the following account of the rents of the Scots Colledge in Spain:—

'They have 500 crowns from the Bishop of Cales. A marquis gives 1,100 ducats, every one 8 ryalls. From a countrie villadge they have 17,000 or 18,000 ryalls, every ryall being about 3*d*, or a groate.' (*Dennistoun MSS.* 1684.)

† *Comæus* gives a curious account of this Sempill. According to his account he was sent to negotiate a marriage between James VI. and the Infanta Isabel; on the occasion of the destruction of the Spanish Armada, he was thrown into prison, and escaped with much difficulty; and he lived and died in Spain under the protection of El Conde-duque Don Caspar Guzman Olivarez.

‡ It is difficult to supply the list of the rectors of the Madrid College, but we meet with the names of F. Hugh Semple, sen., F. Hugh Semple, jr., F. Fred. Marshall, F. John Seton, sen., F. John Seton, jr., F. James Anderson, F. Wm. Grant, F. Alexander Clerk, also Rector at Rome, who became confessor to the hypochondriacal Philip V. in 1726.

town not far from Brussels. This obtained for him the commission of Colonel from the Prince of Parma. Ever after, during a long life, he remained in the service of the King of Spain, doing duty in various parts of his dominions. He married a Spanish lady, Maria de Ledesma, with whom, in the evening of life, he settled himself at Madrid. Having no family, he and his wife resolved to dedicate their means to found and endow a college for the education of Scotch youths, who, after receiving the priesthood, might return to their native land, and there maintain and propagate the Catholic faith. As the Spanish Government owed him heavy arrears of pensions and pay for his lengthened services, he accepted, as partial payment of these, the property of a large house in the heart of Madrid, which had formerly been the personal property of Philip II., and had passed as part of his succession to his executors, from whom Sempill received it. He repaired, and in a manner rebuilt it, and then established his projected college. The college was founded in 1627 by a joint deed of Colonel Sempill and his lady. The college was opened about the time of the Colonel's death, in 1633, and continued to be governed by Scotch or Spanish Jesuits till 1734. Few students, however, were educated in it, and scarcely any clergy came from it during that time. An arrangement was then made between the Madrid establishment, by which the former, sending to Douai the students that were at Madrid, obliged itself to remit yearly to Douai a certain portion of its revenue, in return for the education by the Douai House of a certain number of students to fulfil Colonel Sempill's intentions. The Madrid establishment still continued to maintain two fathers and two servants, who administered the funds and fulfilled the local obligations. The nominal rector for the most part was a Spanish Jesuit till 1776. The branch institution which remained in Madrid, the Irish, who had a college at Alcala, tried to seize in the same way that they tried to grasp Ratisbon.

When the goods of the Jesuits were confiscated in Spain, in the year 1767, an exception was made by Charles III. in favour of properties of which they had been administrators only; and consequently the funds of both these seminaries were spared, and the colleges themselves put under the administration of Scottish secular priests, who, first under Mr. Robert Grant, and then under Mr. John Farquharson, continued the work of education. But, so little communication had there been between Madrid and Scotland, that the Scottish Roman Catholic clergy did not know that they possessed the Madrid House, and of course no one appeared to claim it for

some years; but, as the Spanish Government was desirous to comply with the intentions of the founder, and the suppression of the great Order having placed the various buildings which it had possessed at the disposition of the Crown, the magnificent house at Valladolid, which was celebrated as the place where Suarez, the greatest of the theologians, and Puente, the most devout of the mystical writers of the Institute of Ignatius, had resided, was made over to the Scotch, together with a farm in the vicinity of the town, which formed one of the strategical positions in the Peninsular war. This was brought about by the good offices of Dr. Philip Perry, head of the English College there, who, having given notice to the Scotch bishops of the existence of the benefaction, Mr. John Geddes, afterwards bishop, was sent out in 1772 with twelve students.\* There the Scotch College has continued ever since; and the visitor to the capital of Old Castile, should he be present at any of the services in the solemn cinque-cento cathedral, will observe among the swarthy worshippers fair, open, and ingenuous countenances, which recall to him his native land; and should his curiosity lead him to visit the college itself, he will be received with the courteous welcome of his countrymen, who, expatriated by a long absence from their homes, have not forgotten those virtues of hospitality which are said to distinguish the untravelled Scot.

Proximity to Britain, as well as the circumstances of the politics of the day, made France the most natural country for the foundation of seminaries. Rheims, Douai, and St. Omer are household words in the history of England, from the final rupture between Elizabeth and the See of Rome, down to the days of the infamous Titus Oates and the Popish Plot. As regards Scotland, the bitter recollections of the Guises, and the new-born zeal of Henry IV., alike induced them to interfere in the religious settlement of a country at this period, so far as its civilisation was concerned, almost entirely French.

The conveniences of the situation suggested to William Allen,

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\* The rectorate of Mr. Geddes terminated in 1780 on his appointment to the Episcopate, and he was succeeded by Dr. Alexander Cameron, who in 1798 was raised to the same office as Coadjutor. Bishop Cameron was followed by the Rev. John Gordon, who in 1809 was forced to abandon Spain in consequence of his having taken an active part in favour of the Spanish insurgents against the French. During the time of the Peninsular war the house was without students. The next rector was the Rev. Alexander Cameron, who dying in 1833 was succeeded by the present excellent rector, the Rev. John Cameron.

first Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and afterwards Cardinal of the Roman Church, in 1568, that Douai, at this time a Spanish possession, was the fittest place for establishing a school for the purpose of educating for the priesthood the Roman Catholic youth of England, who were bound by oath to go upon the mission 'animarum sacrandarum causâ.' Philip II. gave his consent, and into it Scottish refugees were also received. In 1575, Don Luis de Zuniga y Requesens, Governor of the Low Countries, yielding to the representations of Queen Elizabeth, ordered its dissolution, whereupon Allen immediately obtained authority for its transfer to Rheims, under the patronage of the princes of Guise, the Grand Cardinal at that time being archbishop of that see. But three years later, in 1578, England having thrown herself into the cause of the revolted provinces, no opposition was made by Spain in the next year to the establishment of a Scotch college at Douai. It was nominally founded by Mary Queen of Scots, but she, being then in captivity, gave it nothing but her name. When, at the peace of Vervins, in 1598, France and Spain mutually restored their conquests, the existence of the college was secured, and the Pope placed it under the management of the Jesuits.

Previously to this a small community was founded at Louvain for his Scottish countrymen by Dr. Cheyney, a Canon of Tournay, in 1576. It was removed first to Pont-à-Mousson by permission of Clement VIII., then to Douai, and, after a short stay, it was removed again to Louvain, where it remained till 1608, when it finally was re-established in Douai. On the return of the community to Douai, the members applied to Philip III. of Spain for permission to purchase a site for the erection of a college, which was graciously accorded to them, with a considerable benefaction; and funds were eventually supplied to them by Hippolytus Curll, son of the Secretary of Queen Mary, who devoted the bulk of his property, 60,000 florins, to the use of the establishment. He was appointed Rector in 1633, and died in 1638. The college was governed by a series of Jesuit Fathers, one of whom, James Forbes, became chaplain to King James during the period of his residence at Holyrood in 1686. On the suppression of the Order, it came to be governed by secular priests.\*

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\* The names of such rectors as we have been able to discover are as follows:—John Robe, Robert Gale, Thomas Robe, Gilbert Innes, James Forbes, Stephen Maxwell, Francis Xavier Strachan, William Christie, David Fairful, and Robert Fordyce. Bishop John Chis-

Beside the purposes for which the college at Douai was established, in the latter days of its existence it exercised an influence over Scotland which was never contemplated by its founders. It became a common practice to send the sons of the episcopalian lairds who adhered to the Stuarts, especially after the affairs of 1715 and 1745, to receive their education there. There were ugly oaths to be taken at home on entering the Universities; not to mention that Scottish education at that time was at a very low ebb. The lawyers sought a legal education at Leyden, and the Jacobites sent their sons to Douai. What was begun from political necessity was continued from mutual convenience; and as no undue attempts at proselytism were made, the system suited well the interests of either party. The Fathers found it to their profit to receive the well-born pensioners from Scotland, who might in after life facilitate the labours, or at least mitigate the difficulties of the missionaries, in remembrance of their early days; the young Scotsmen obtained an education which, so far as manner and bearing were concerned, very much exceeded anything which could be obtained at home; and old people now delight to call to mind the fine carriage and graceful address of some of those who had obtained the foreign training. These were at best but sad days for the Jacobite gentry. Heavy disabilities lay upon them; they could take no part in the government of the country; agriculture was not then the science it has since become; and men strove to forget the ruin of their cause in wine and in healths pledging their absent king. But with all this moral degradation, it was something that refinement and high breeding remained. The elegance of the *ancien régime* shed its lustre over what was otherwise unlovely; and the men who were far from awake to the duties of their position at least remembered that they were gentlemen.

Of course there were many much better specimens among them—men of piety, worth, and intellect. As we recall the names of the Betons of Blebo, the Murrays of Ochertyre, the Guthries of Craigie, and many more, the memory of many still living rests on the amiable Colonel Spens of Craigsanquhar, the last survivor of those Douai students, who died at the age of ninety, about the year 1848. When Spens was at Douai, the Superior was the Abbé Farquharson, a man of elegant manners and much respected by every one. He was an accomplished scholar, and so popular among the people, that at the

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holm, a name still recollected in the Highlands, was one of the last men educated by the Jesuits at Douai.



breaking out of the French Revolution in 1785, when the clergy were in great danger, his escape, and that of the Scotch collegians, was facilitated by the inhabitants of the town. He escaped with them in disguise, and after many perils succeeded in reaching England. Colonel Spens used to relate that once, standing at his own door, he saw in the distance a tall, handsome man of fine presence coming up the avenue. Viewing him through a glass, he said to his wife, 'If I thought he were alive, I should say that that was my good old tutor the Abbé; but I fear that he has perished.' However, his surmise was a true one, and he immediately had to welcome his ancient instructor. This was in 1792. Farquharson died at Elgin, at a very advanced period of life.

At the Peace in 1815, the claim of the Abbé Farquharson amounted to 1,484,363 francs. The tradition in Douai is that this indemnity was paid by France; but that so fearful was the English Government of promoting the interests of Popery, that they gave it to George IV. to build the Pavilion at Brighton with. This is not correct. The fate of the Scotch, English, and Irish establishments in France was a hard one. They were deprived of their property by a decree of the National Convention, as belonging to subjects of Great Britain; but on the Peace it was held that they were not entitled to any share of the indemnity, because they held their property under the letters patent of the King of France, and not as Englishmen or Scotsmen.

The Scotch College at Douai is still used for a religious purpose. It forms a Convent de l'Union, an aggregation of seminaries for the education of young ladies, which has been organised throughout the north of France by the energy of a simple priest. Some of the Scottish Roman Catholic clergy are said to be now educated by the English Benedictines, who have still a large and flourishing establishment there. The Bishop of Arras, and some of the prelates of the northern sees in France, train a few students free of expense, and the remainder of the Scotch property, to which we shall presently allude, goes to support some more at Issy and St. Sulpice.

The Scots College at Paris originated in an endowment given by David, Bishop of Moray, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was increased by his successor, Robert Pilmore. Its foundation was confirmed by Philip le Bel in 1326, and under the name of Grisy formed part of the University of Paris. Till the Reformation, the bishops of Moray for the time being, *jure patronatûs*, appointed the directors and superiors.\*

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\* See Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, p. 141.

It was placed under the visitation of the Chartreuse, and the libraries of both institutions became the receptacles of the records of the Roman Catholics and Jacobites of Britain. 'They became the place of deposit of the private royal memoirs and diplomacy of the exiled house of Stuart, and the collections altogether were regarded with something almost of a superstitious reverence by the Catholic, the nonjuror, and the Jacobite, and with much intelligent interest by those who valued them as the material for future history.\*' These were much appreciated by the most distinguished of all the alumni of the College, the Rev. Thomas Innes of Drumgask (1662-1744), whose 'Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of North Britain,' and 'The Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,' are the soundest and most accurate books of the period on the subject of Scottish antiquities†, and still are of the highest authority. Many of his relations were connected with the college, either as superiors or students; the most distinguished of whom was Lewis Innes, the confidential secretary of the son of James II. ‡ Of the principals, we find the following names:—Robert Barclay of 1662; Lewis Innes, resig. and ob. 1738; Whitford, son of Walter Whitford, Bishop of Brechin, 1738; George Innes, 1752; John Gordon, ob. 1777.

Alexander Gordon, in 1792, refused to take the republican oath, and with the rest of the college escaped to Scotland. Alexander Innes alone remained, and being imprisoned narrowly escaped by the opportune death of Robespierre the day before his intended execution. He became principal of the college, and died in 1803.

The measures taken with regard to the Scotch colleges in France were as follows:—On June 5, 1790, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, addressed a note to the Comte de Montmorin to demand that the Irish and Scots colleges in Paris should be exempt from the decree of the National Assembly, observing that they were not French, but English, in their origin. The Comité Ecclésiastique in October of the same year, presented its report on the English, Scotch, and Irish religious establishments in France. Their number amounted to twenty-eight, comprising monasteries, nunneries, and colleges. The sum-total of their revenues was 329,000 livres, which supported about 150 individuals.

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\* *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, preface.

† Preface, T. Innes's *Civil and Ecclesiastical History*.

‡ Four letters of some interest from Lewis Innes to Lord Middleton from January to May 1713, are preserved among the Nairne Papers in the Bodleian Library, vol. iv. No. 49.

The Scotch colleges at Douai and Paris were united by the law 24 Vendemiaire an XI., and a joint establishment with the Irish sought to be formed. During the first consulate of Napoleon the presidency was bestowed upon Robert Watson of Elgin, whose connexion with the Stuart papers, political career, and strange suicide at eighty-eight, when seventeen wounds were found upon his body, form incidents in a life of almost unsurpassed adventure.

'The college was never restored to the condition it was in before the French Revolution. A considerable portion of the property was lost for ever; the Roman Catholic bishops of Scotland succeeded in saving the rest. The institution itself no longer exists, but the manor near Paris still belongs to the Scottish Mission—a link connecting the present day with the age of Bruce.'

And now, in conclusion, it may be asked what has been the result of all the efforts of which we have been speaking? What have Ratisbon, Rome, Valladolid, Douai, and Paris done by their nearly three hundred years' strenuous labour for the cause of the old religion? In the midst of the strife of tongues, in the babel of theological discussion which has afflicted Scotland, what position does the Roman Catholic Church hold to-day? We answer in the language of a witness, impartial, but not unsympathising:—

'Lord Clarendon,' remarks the eminent Dr. Döllinger, 'said in his time (1660) of the Scotch, "that their whole religion consisted in a "hatred of Popery." That "the Pope is Antichrist, the Man of Sin, "and the Child of Perdition," and that, consequently, all who attach themselves to it are lost, has always been, where Calvinism prevailed, received as an article of faith, and it stands as such in the Westminster Confession. All classes and authorities, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, have, since the victory of the Reformation, always zealously co-operated to destroy the Catholic religion. But in this they have not succeeded. In the year 1700 every priest who returned from banishment was condemned to death; and old men of seventy years of age, who had ventured to give their religious services to poor Catholic Highlanders, languished away their lives in pestiferous dungeons. The old Church stands, nevertheless; and it has in recent times—mainly through Irish immigration—considerably increased, and its churches and chapels have arisen from 87, in the year 1848, up to 183, in the year 1859.'\*

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\* Döllinger's *The Church and the Churches*, ed. MacCabe, p. 197.