

Appendix I.

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August 1-1871

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JOURNAL AND APPENDIX

TO

SCOTICHRONICON AND MONASTICON.

TO

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BY

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Portrait of the late Rev.
John Merrell R. C. Bishop



THE RIGHT REV^d GEORGE HAY, D.D.

BISHOP OF ABERDEEN

Author of "The History of the Church of Scotland"

1800





Andrew Scott

BISHOP OF ERETRIA
CONSECRATED SEPT 21 1827
DIED DEC 4 1840

SCOTICHRONICON.



ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION IN SCOTLAND AFTER THE REFORMATION.

GIVEN FROM AUTHORITATIVE RECORDS.

As a connecting link here, it may instruct some to look back to the period when the Roman Catholic Church ceased to be the Established Church in Scotland. A very curious volume, viz.: "A Brief Narration of the Services done to Three Noble Ladies by Gilbert Blakhal, Priest of the Scots Mission in France, in the Low Countries, and in Scotland, from 1631 till 1649," was published by the Spalding Club, which throws considerable light upon the History of those most stirring times, and shews many little pictures of the manners and state of society in Scotland and in France. Bp. Kyle had the original MS., a small 4to of 136 folios, in excellent preservation, to whom the Club was indebted for his permission to print it. It was edited by John Stuart, Esq., Advocate, Aberdeen, who wrote the Preface, assisted by the Rev. George A. Griffin, who gave much information about the History of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, and from which is culled what follows thereanent:—

By the Acts of Parliament concerning the "Jurisdiction and Authority of the Bishop of Rome, called the '*Paip*,' Anent the Abolition of Idolatry and all acts contrar to the Confession of Faith published in this Parliament," and also by the Act anent the abolition of the Mass, dated 24th August, 1560, the Roman Catholic Establishment was overthrown, and the *profession* of that faith became a severe offence against the laws of the country,—involving confiscation of goods and imprisonment for the first offence of saying Mass, or being present thereat, banishment for the second, death for the third. These horrible Enactions were not happily enforced to the utmost rigour. The nation had not been unanimous at the "Reformation." Even in 1690, says Tytler, "the great struggle between the Principles of the Reformation and the Ancient Faith was lulled only, not concluded." A Paper, drawn up by Lord Burghley about this year, "brings forward in clear contrast, the comparative strength of the Catholic and Protestant Parties in Scotland. From it we learn that all the Northern part of the Kingdom, including the shires of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland, and Aberdeen, with Moray, and the Sherifdoms of Buchan, of Angus, of Wigton, and of Nithsdale, were either wholly, or for the greater part, commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that faith, and directed in their movements by Jesuits and Priests, who were concealed in various parts of the country, especially in Angus." Again, in 1592, we learn that "Thirteen of the Nobility of Scotland were Roman Catholics; and in the Northern Counties, a large proportion of the people were attached to the same faith." It would

have been difficult to carry into execution. Laws which inferred the highest pains against such large and influential numbers of individuals. The greater part of the Nation, however, did appear to concur in the new opinions, but the severe Enactments to which we have referred, and the designs pursued towards Roman Catholics during the succeeding Reign, led to a system of very extensive hypocrisy and deception, by inducing many, who firmly clung to the old opinions, to conform outwardly to the new.

The exterior conformity to the "Reformed Faith," combined with real adherence to the Romish System, may be traced from the "Reformation," downwards to the 17th century. The Roman Catholic Clergy who remained in the Kingdom after their Church was overthrown, assumed the disguise of soldiers, sailors, physicians, etc. Others of the Clergy, who conformed externally and with the view of maintaining their assumed characters, retained in their houses, under the appearance of matrimony, females, with whom they lived in reality celibates. [Father Robert Scott's MSS., *penes* Ep. Kyle.] From 1580 downwards, the permeations of the Jesuits were incessant and general throughout Scotland; yet it was in the North more especially that their works produced the most powerful effect, especially under the Earls of Huntly, the petty monarchs of the North. Even in the reign of Charles I., the old Creed was held by the Marquis of Huntly and the chief men of the Gordons, such as the Lord Aboyne, the Lairds of Craig, Gight, Abergeldie, Lesmore, and Letterfourie; by the Earl of Errol and his kinsmen of Delgatty and Fetterletter, and by many other ancient and powerful Houses, such as the Leslies, the Bissets and the Blackhalls, in the Garioch; the Irvings and Couttses, in Mar; the Cheynes, the Cons, and the Inrings, in Buchan.

On the accession of James VI. to the English Throne, a larger measure of indulgence seems to have been meted out to the Roman Catholics, or, rather, to the more influential of their number. The Marquis of Huntly and Gordon of Craig, were the first to receive the Royal sanction for the *private* exercise of their Religion. From this period the Roman Catholics maintained an Agent, or Resident, at London, to negotiate for them, and thereby screen themselves from the interference of the Established Church. About this time occur the trials of several Jesuits who had returned from their places of refuge. For the simple exercise of their Religion they were generally banished, but, in one case, where *treasonable* opinions were advanced and taught, the punishment was death. This was John Ogilvie, S.J., who was executed for *treason* at Glasgow in 1615, in the 34th year of his age. With this exception, no other Priest was put to death under the Statutes passed against Roman Catholicism. The fires in which Hamilton, Mill, and Wishart had been consumed, were never rekindled in Scotland after the era of "the Reformation."

Father William Lesly (who died at an advanced age, Canon of St Quintin's, in France) sometime a Missionary in Buchan, in a Letter, dated 1st May, 1629, relates the proceedings adopted against the Roman Catholics in Scotland. In the preceding year Charles I. had addressed a Proclamation to the Bishops and Ministers, to mark down and send to the Privy Council, twice in the year, the list of all Roman Catholics who declined to attend the service of the Established Church. These were to be searched for and placed under custody. On conviction, they were to be excommunicated, and their goods confiscated. In another Letter, dated 1st September, 1630, he states that the Roman Catholics who had appeared before the Council, in the previous month of July, had all been sentenced to banishment. Seven weeks were allowed for their departure, and one-third of their rents was granted for the maintenance of their families, which would, however, be forfeited, if they should return to this country, besides the penalty to be incurred of fine and imprisonment. Father Lesly, shortly after 1636, was appointed Superior of the Scots College at Douay. His brother, Father Andrew Lesly, was also

a Missionary in Buchan. In May 1647, he was seized, conveyed to Aberdeen, and committed to gaol. In March 1648, he was in Edinburgh gaol; but, through the influence of Count Mountreal, the French Ambassador, he was released from prison in July 1648, and ordered to quit the Realm, under the penalty of death, should he venture to return.

After the "Reformation," the small number of the Roman Catholic Clergy who remained at their posts, perambulated the country in the discharge of their Religious duties. Between 1580 and 1600, members of the Jesuit, Benedictine, Franciscan, Lazarite, and Augustinian Orders, planted themselves in different Districts, into which many of the refugee Clergy had retired. The Jesuit stations in the North were Braemar, Glencaim, Strathglass, and Buchan.

To overcome the difficulties of the Roman Catholics in Scotland, Clement VIII., in 1600, founded the Scots College at Rome, a nursery for native Missionaries.

Father Blackhal's Narrative, from the Preface to which, by Mr Stuart, all the above has been transferred, is amusing to peruse. He returned from Paris to Scotland in 1637, where he performed the duties of a Missionary in the Counties of Aberdeen and Banff, and at the same time acted as Chaplain to the Lady Aboyne, at Aboyne Castle. His course, as a Missionary, (he says, p. 68), "was not very great, but only from the House of Aboyne to Aberdeen, two and twenty miles, where I did confess and communicate all the Catholics that were there. And from Aberdeen to Buchan, a matter of 19 or 20 miles, where I had but five Catholic houses to go to, viz., Blair, 10 miles from Aberdeen, and Chives, 5 or 6 miles from Blair, and Gicht, as far from Chives, and Artrachy, 9 or 10 miles from Gicht, and Cruden, 6 miles from Artrachy, and the distance between these houses obliged me to stay a night in each of them to say Messe, Confess, Communicate, and Exhort the Catholics by way of a short Preaching. And from Buchan to Strathbogie, where I used to stay but 3 or 4 nights. The first in the Village, they call it the *Raws*, in Robert Rine, his house, an hostlery, where the poor Catholics convened; the second in Cairnbarrow, where Newsely and his daughter did come to me, and sometimes I did go to Newsely, his house; the third nigh to Craigge, 6 miles from Cairnbarrow and Cairnbarrow is 4 miles from Strathbogie."

The eve of Father Blackhal's Life is equally obscure as its morning. He was at Paris when he wrote his *Narrative on Serving the Three Noble Ladies*. How long he survived its composition is unknown.

On the extinction of the line of Roman Catholic Prelates in England by the death of Bp. Watson of Lincoln, 1584, it was deemed inexpedient to create any new Bishop at that time; and accordingly a Clergyman, with the title of Archpriest, enjoying Episcopal Jurisdiction, was set over the Roman Catholics in England. The first who enjoyed this office was the REV. G. BLACKWELL, who was constituted Archpriest in 1598; and his authority also extended over the Mission in Scotland. It was not submitted to without the reluctance of the R. C. Scotch Clergy. In 1623 the REV. WM. BISHOP was Consecrated BISHOP OF CHALCEDON, and VICAR APOSTOLIC IN ENGLAND, and the Scottish Clergy were again subjected to English Jurisdiction; but they struggled to throw off the yoke, and in consequence of repeated Memorials to the Roman Court, Pope Gregory XV. ordered the Rt. Rev. Dr Bishop to abstain from exercising Jurisdiction in Scotland.

In 1629 a Proposal was for the first time made of erecting a Missionary Body in Scotland, under the superintendence of a native Superior; and Pope Urban VIII. granted faculties to FATHER WM. OGILVY as PREFECT of the MISSION. But it was not till 1653 that, by a Decree of Propaganda, the Scottish Secular Clergy, freed from the Jurisdiction of the English Prelates and Jesuit Superiorship, were incorporated into a Body Missionary, under the Superintendence of the REV. WM. BALLANTYNE, the *first* PREFECT OF THE MISSION. This appointment must

have strengthened the hands of the Missionaries considerably, but the Regulars were not inclined to yield willing obedience to one who, although vested with extraordinary faculties, was by Ordination a simple Priest. And accordingly, it was found that the nomination of a Dignitary who should not merely deserve, but command the respect and obedience of the whole Clergy, both Regular and Secular, was yet wanting to make the System work harmoniously or usefully. The Missionaries were eager in supplicating the Court of Rome for the appointment of a *Bishop for all Scotland*. But their desire was not acceded to, until they had passed under the successive *Prefectures* of the Rev. Messrs Ballantyne and Winchester, *alias* Dumar.

Another Scheme started about this time was the revival of the See of the Isles. The majority of the people who still adhered to the old Religion belonged to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and, from the remoteness and the comparatively inaccessible nature of the country, were both protected from the legal penalties which severely oppressed their brethren in the Lowlands. In 1634, Propaganda actually decreed the restoration of this See; but the impossibility of finding a Missionary in every way suited to it, proved fatal to the plan. An Irish Franciscan Friar, named Hegarty, was more than once suggested, but, probably, his not being a native of the Highlands, and therefore imperfectly acquainted with their language and habits, was considered to neutralise his qualifications in other respects. F. Hugh Semple, S.J., Rector of the Scotch College at Madrid, bears interesting testimony to the great advantages at one time hoped for this scheme.—“I have desired for many years to see a Bishop in the wild Islands of the Hebrides; to instruct and form the Priests, to settle disputes among the Catholics, and to administer the Sacraments of Orders and of Confirmation, distinguished in his preaching, in his life, in his manners, in his influence, and possessing the same authority as the Bishops in Ireland. I am aware that the scheme is opposed by many, from motives of private advantage, or from excess of timidity; but the glory of God, the public good, the custom and the advancement of the Church call for it. I know of no one better fitted for the office than the Prefect of the Franciscans in the Scotch Mission, in whom all the characteristics of a good Pastor are found. I have sent him and his companions some Ecclesiastical ornaments and some alms, and I will do my best every year to relieve his necessities.”

It was not till after many years of superintendence by a Priest-Prefect, that the Scotch Mission was able to secure the appointment of a Bishop. Mr Ballantyne, or Ballenden, the first Prefect, was the son of the Protestant minister at Douglas, in Lanarkshire. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh; and after travelling in France, embraced the Catholic Religion at Paris. In 1641 he entered the Scotch College at Rome, to prepare himself for the Priesthood. At the end of his course in Philosophy, he made a public defence of it, with much applause, and dedicated his Thesis to the Lord James Douglas, Colonel of the old Scotch Regiment in France. Mr Ballantyne's Theological studies were completed with equal success; and he left Rome, a Priest, in 1646, to serve his country in the Mission, with the highest character for piety and ability. With a view to perfecting himself in his new duties, he stayed in the Scotch College at Paris, for more than two years; arriving on the scene of his future labours in the Spring of 1649. His *first* welcome to Scotland was a rude one: the Covenanters having notice of his coming, seized him and confiscated all his books and papers. He soon regained his liberty, and, nothing deterred by the dangers of the times, at once entered on the duties of a Missionary. Nature had done much for him, by endowing him with very considerable powers of mind, which he had turned to the best account by careful and persevering study. The weight of his arguments, in reasoning with his Protestant friends and acquaintances, was much increased by meekness and sweetness of temper, unusual among Theological disputants. His reward was the Conversion of several persons of distinction. Among them was his own younger

brother, Archibald, who had began life as a Page to the Elector Palatine, and had risen to the rank of Major in the Army of the Covenanters. Soon after his conversion his life closed with a very pious death.

Mr Ballantyne was disappointed to find the promise of usefulness offered to an active Missionary much diminished by the disorganised state of the Mission. Ever since the fall of the Hierarchy in Scotland, order and subordination had been in abeyance among the few Secular Clergy who still clung to the wreck, or who had succeeded those, after the establishment of foreign Seminaries. Every Missionary acted as he pleased, without consulting his Brethren, staying where he chose, or wandering from place to place, as inclination or necessity disposed him. The Regular Clergy, on the other hand, consisting chiefly of Priests and Benedictines, had the superior advantages of organisation and method in their system of life. Hence, after a few years, many of the Secular Missionaries had abandoned the struggle as hopeless, and retired to Foreign countries, to obtain the livelihood denied them in their own. Rome had been frequently appealed to, and entreated to appoint a resident Bishop, as the best remedy for the state of things; but difficulties had invariably come in the way, and hitherto nothing had been done.

Mr Ballantyne, with characteristic vigour, had no sooner made himself master of the subject, than he entered with a brave spirit on the difficult task of procuring a remedy. With this view, in 1650 he went over to Paris, to take the advice of his friends there; and, to his satisfaction, he found several of his old fellow students at Rome, who entered heart and soul into his views, and placed their services at his disposal. On consulting together, they were convinced that, in order to give a permanent character to the advantages they wished to procure for the Mission, it would be necessary to solicit from Rome a recognised Superior, or Head, either of the Episcopal Order, or, at least, invested with Jurisdiction and Authority among his Brethren, resembling what is usually exercised by a Bishop. In addition to a recognised Head, it was also found necessary to solicit some kind of pecuniary provision, sufficient to place the Missionaries above the reach of actual want, and thus to secure their undivided attention to their Spiritual duties. A prudent and energetic Representative at Rome was, therefore, of the very first necessity to the nascent Mission; and such a man was found ready to their hand in Mr William Leslie, a Cadet of the Family of Ruddry. This excellent man, who served the Scottish Mission with distinguished ability for sixty years, had commenced his studies at Douay, in 1636, at the age of fifteen, and had prosecuted them at Rome (1641), at the same time as Mr Ballantyne; finishing them there, and receiving Ordination a year later than his friend. When Mr Ballantyne arrived in Paris to consult about the Mission, he found Mr Leslie first finishing his preparations there, in the College of St Nicolas du Chardonnet, and at once received the promise of his cordial assistance in maturing plans for the organisation of the Mission. Mr Leslie was accordingly selected for the critical office of representing the views of Mr Ballantyne and his friends in the most favourable light at Rome.

Other circumstances contributed to promote the plans of the Associates. Cardinal Charles Barberini, the Legate, was about to return to Italy, and had expressed a strong wish to take with him a Scotch Priest, to superintend the education of his young nephew. Mr Ballantyne proposed to the Cardinal that Mr Leslie should undertake this duty; and at the same time opened his mind to his Eminence on the subject of the Mission in Scotland, and of the destination he had reserved for Mr Leslie at Rome, in the promotion of Mission interests. The Cardinal entered warmly into the plan, which he promised to support at Rome with all his influence. The only obstacle in the way of this arrangement was the repugnance of Mr Leslie himself to undertake an office that threatened to divert his energies from the service of the

Mission. But he soon yielded to the gentle persuasion of his friend, who pointed out to him the advantages likely to result to their common cause, from his residence in Rome, as the Agent for the Mission, the respectable maintenance and position secured for him by his office in the Cardinal's household, and the immense gain to the object they had at heart in the countenance and support of his Eminence. Mr Leslie gave way; and in a short time reached Rome in the Cardinal's suite. At the same time Mr Ballantyne set out for Scotland, in company with some of his four fellow-students—Mr Walker, or Ross—for, in those times of danger, Missionaries often went by two or three different names—Mr Lumsden, Mr Crichton, and Mr Smith.

The long reign of terror under which the Roman Catholics in Scotland had lived, during the ascendancy of the Covenant (1637-1650), reached its final triumph in the defeat and the execution of Montrose, about the time when Mr Ballantyne made his second appearance in Scotland. Before many months had elapsed, the battle of Dunbar made Cromwell master of the country, and put an end to the tyranny of the Covenant. Mr Ballantyne reconciled to the Church many persons who had fallen away under the exterminating persecution of the preceding years; among them was the Marquis of Huntly, in whose house Mr Ballantyne now chiefly resided. Meanwhile, Mr Leslie was busily engaged at Rome in prosecuting the great object of his residence there. He found many difficulties placed in his way, by the caution of some persons and the self-interest of others. Some of the more exclusive among the Regular Orders viewed with jealousy the prospect of organisation being introduced into the Secular Mission, as likely to diminish their own paramount influence in Scotland. On the other hand, Mr Leslie found a powerful ally in the recently established Congregation of Propaganda Fide. He laid before it a minute account of the state of affairs in Scotland, together with the views of himself and of his friends, as to the causes which had hitherto operated against the efficiency of the Mission, and as to the most suitable means of removing them. He especially urged upon the Congregation the necessity of appointing a Bishop. The Cardinals composing it had already had sufficient experience in the management of Missionary Countries, to perceive the justice of the Scotch Agent's application. But the nature of the opposition made to it was such that a compromise was the utmost he could obtain at that time. At the end of three years' negotiations, it was arranged that the Mission should be regularly organised under a Prefect; but it was impossible then to have it further settled that the Prefect should be a Bishop. Mr Ballantyne was selected for the Office, with ample powers, though not so ample as those Mr Leslie had asked for. A provision of 500 crowns was also settled on ten Missionaries. Thus, from the year 1653, must be dated the commencement of the Scotch Mission. The news, even of their partial success, greatly encouraged Mr Ballantyne and his associates, and a new era seemed about to dawn on the Catholic body in Scotland.

Three years more passed in laborious usefulness. The Prefect was requested, in 1656, by the Marchioness of Huntly, to go over to France, to be present at the Profession of a sister of hers, in a Community of Nuns. The vessel in which he was crossing from Rye to Dieppe, was boarded by an Ostend cruiser, and the passengers were all made prisoners. When they were taken before the Governor at Ostend, Mr. Ballantyne, informing him in private that he was a Catholic Priest, was immediately discharged from custody. Lord Conway, another of the passengers, seeing his fellow-prisoner set at liberty, and knowing nothing of the reason, concluded that he was a spy, and threatened to denounce him as such, on his return to Rye, where Mr. Ballantyne had left his horse, unless his Lordship also was at once set at liberty. The Prefect was powerless in the matter; and the Peer, presently obtaining his liberty in some other way, gave such information on his return to Rye as led to the arrest of Mr. Ballantyne as

a spy in the pay of Spain, the moment he landed in England on his return. From Rye he was sent to London, and examined by Thurlow, Secretary to the Protector, Cromwell. Being hard pressed to explain his speedy liberation at Ostend, Mr. Ballantyne, at an equal risk as to legal penalties, admitted that he was a Priest on a journey. The Secretary believed him, and gave him in charge to a Messenger at Westminster, in whose house he lived for about a year. Thurlow frequently visited him, and confessed himself won by the piety and patient courtesy of the Missionary. When he was set at liberty, it was on condition of his going into exile; the Secretary paying a part of his fees and expenses.

Mr. Ballantyne once more returned to Paris, in great poverty. From Paris, he dispatched to Propaganda a report of his Mission. His friend and agent at Rome procured him £50 sterling, to defray expenses incurred during his imprisonment; and enough, in addition, to pay his way back to Scotland, and provide Vestments and "sacred utensils," of which the Mission stood much in need. During his stay in Paris at that time, the Scotch Prefect had the honour of preaching, by special invitation, before the Queen Dowager of England, Henrietta Maria, in the Church of the English Nuns. Her Majesty made him a present of a very fine Alb, at the conclusion of his Discourse. Recruited in means, the Prefect then made his way back to Scotland, without further adventure, and went to reside in the family of the Marchioness of Huntly, at Elgin.

In his absence, the little body of Missionaries had sustained a severe loss, in the defection of one of their number. Mr. Crichton, (who, as we have seen, had left Rome for the Mission in 1645, and had joined Mr. Ballantyne in Paris a few years later,) had yielded to temptations of worldly advantage, and conformed to the Protestant worship. Mr. Ballantyne might have saved his friend, if he had been in the country at the time, so great was the influence enjoyed by the excellent Prefect among his Brethren. As it was, he succeeded in reclaiming the erring Missionary, whom he visited, and with whom he used his sweet persuasiveness to such purpose as to induce Mr. Crichton to become sincerely penitent, and to give the Prefect two copies of his Recantation in writing; one of them for transmission to the Presbytery, the other for circulation among the Catholic body. Mr. Crichton was then ailing; and in six weeks after Mr. Ballantyne's return to Scotland, he died in a pious manner.

The Prefect himself survived his last return to his native country little more than a year. After visiting his Missionaries, he retired to Elgin, where the Lady Huntly lived with her young son, then only eleven years of age. From her house, he sent to Rome his report of the progress of the Mission. In July, 1661, he was taken ill, and after lingering for six weeks, he surrendered his pious soul to God, September 2. Nineteen years only had elapsed, since his entrance as a student into the Scotch College at Rome. Hence, on the most moderate computation, his years must have been considerably under fifty. He was interred in the Marquis of Huntly's aisle, in Elgin Cathedral; the Magistrates and the whole town attending, as a testimony of their high esteem for his virtues.

The opinion of his Brethren may be gathered from a Letter addressed to Propaganda, by two of them, Mr. Winster and Mr. Lunsden, in the name of all; it is dated "Prope Aberlioniæ," 10th September, 1661. "We hope your Lordship received the account our worthy Prefect, Mr. Ballenden, sent to Rome, in the month of June last year, of what concerned Religion in this Kingdom. We now have to inform your Lordship that it has pleased God to call that excellent man to Himself, on the 2nd of current month, after a sickness of forty days. Few could be the events that could have occasioned this Mission greater sorrow or loss; and we can truly say, that, for many years past, there has not happened a death of a private person that has been so much regretted by every class of people, Protestants as well as Catholics. The former,

though they bear the most inveterate hatred to our Holy Religion, loved and esteemed our Prefect. For Almighty God had endowed him with such a singular degree of prudence, with a modesty and humility so engaging, as to render him amiable to every one with whom he conversed. Twelve years he laboured with unremitting assiduity, for the propagation of the Faith in this Country. From the time of his late long imprisonment, he never enjoyed good health. In July last, it pleased God to visit him with his last sickness, which carried him off, as we have related. All the helps of physicians and medicines this country could afford, were liberally provided for him by the pious Marchioness, in whose house he expired. As to spiritual assistance he was constantly attended by one of us, to the very last. He received all the Sacraments, three days before his demise, with a resignation and devotion that gave edification to every one; and as his whole life was pious and exemplary, so his death resembled that of the just. The day after his Death, the Divine Service in the Marchioness's Private Chapel being ended, the corpse was carried to the Great Hall, where it remained, surrounded with a great number of torches, and other lights burning, till three hours of the night, (three hours after sunset.) Then it was carried with great solemnity and more than fifty torches, to the Sepulchre, accompanied by the Magistrates and Citizens of the Town, as likewise by many country gentlemen, who, though Protestants, were happy to give that last token of their esteem and respect for the deceased."

In Mr. Ballantyne, a cultivated intellect was united to devout piety. His favourite authors of a Devotional kind, were St. Francis of Sales, Louis of Granada, Rodriguez, and Suffren. Out of the Writings of the last, he composed a small Treatise, "On Preparation for Death," which was much esteemed in its day, and of which a second Edition was published at Douay, in 1716. Bishop Geddes tells us, on the authority of a contemporary of Mr. Ballantyne, that he was a tall, stately man, of dark complexion, handsome, and well-bred. After enumerating his claims to respectful remembrance, the same contemporary author adds, that his memory should certainly be venerable to all the Catholics in Scotland, on account of his successful exertions in the promotion of the Mission, and more particularly venerable to the members of that body of which, in some sense, he may be called the founder—the Secular Missionaries in Scotland.

During the period of Mr. Ballantyne's confinement in London, the little party of Scotch Missionaries received a valuable accession in Mr. Alexander Winster, of Dunbar; for he too, like many of his Brethren, went under more than one name. He had studied from 1651 to 1657 in the Scotch College at Rome. On his departure to the Mission, he was directed to stop at Paris, and take the advice of Mr. Barelay, Principal of the Scotch College there, as to his future plans, and to make arrangements for maintaining a regular correspondence with Paris. He was also directed to report fully to Propaganda on the possibility of establishing a Catholic School in the Highlands—a project the congregation had much at heart. He was besides instructed to be careful to Preach the Gospel, and not France or Spain, and on no account to meddle with Political affairs, or to encourage the people to rebellion. Propaganda had by this time fully learnt the danger to Religion arising from the frequent and the futile attempts of the Scotch Catholics in past times to conspire with Foreign powers, in the hope of securing their own deliverance from a galling persecution.

Mr. Winster's acuteness and activity very soon rendered him of the greatest service to his Brethren. It was very much owing to the skilful management of this young man that Mr. Ballantyne obtained his liberation. Correspondence on Catholic affairs was then attended with serious risk, both to the writer and the receiver of the letter; but Mr. Winster had made a study of the art of wrapping up his meaning in terms of so much ambiguity and obscurity, as

to defy the interpretation of any one but the persons for whom his information was intended. Hence, he alone of the Missionaries ventured freely to communicate with his friends on the Continent, on subjects of Politics as well as of Religion; and always with impunity. As a Missionary, he proved of great value; and though so much younger than his Brethren, he was soon admitted into their entire confidence. Mr. Ballantyne conceived so high an opinion of his young friend, as to Associate him with Mr. Lumsden in the temporary charge of the Mission, during his own absence from the country. At the death of the Prefect, Mr. Winster was named Vice-Prefect, by the unanimous voice of the Missionaries; a choice which Propaganda confirmed, June 12, 1662, by appointing him to succeed Mr. Ballantyne.

The Restoration had filled the hearts of the British Catholics with hopes that they had reached the end of their heaviest trials. The King's subsequent marriage with a Catholic Princess further enlivened their prospects. The Estates of which Cromwell had deprived them were restored, and there were even hopes that the Penal Laws might be relaxed. At the same time, and especially in Scotland, the Catholic body was never safe from the outbreaks of local enemies, in places too remote to be reached by public opinion.

The Mission over which Mr. Winster now presided was able to avail itself of this interval of comparative repose, for its own maturity and consolidation. The Secular Missionaries, under a system of improved method and order, could render more important and more permanent services to Religion, than had hitherto been possible under the reign of anarchy which preceded Mr. Ballantyne's appointment as Prefect. It is true that the Missionaries of the Regular Orders manifested a certain jealousy of their Secular Brethren, which considerably diminished the advantages otherwise accruing to the Mission; but, on the whole, the ten years succeeding Mr. Ballantyne's death were years of calm and of hope, doubly welcome to the afflicted Church in Scotland, after its experience of a far different time.

It was during this period (1675), that the first effort was made to establish two Schools in the Highlands. The masters were allowed 50 crowns a year—the same provision as was then thought sufficient for the support of a Missionary. One of the Schools was situated in Glen-garry, the other in the Island of Barra. Propaganda at first insisted on the Catholic children being sent to those schools from all parts of the country—a condition which the Prefect soon convinced them to be practically impossible. Without circumlocution, he assured the Congregation that Catholic parents in Scotland would as soon be persuaded to send their children for education to Jamaica, as to the Island of Barra. Propaganda was, of course, at this time very imperfectly informed as to the real condition of the Mission, the distribution of Catholics throughout the country, and other particulars of the highest importance to the sufficient control of the Mission. To this ignorance we must attribute another impracticable direction given to the Prefect, that a Missionary should be appointed to each of the ancient Sees in the country. Mr. Winster at once represented to the Cardinals the exceedingly unequal distribution of the Catholics among the old Dioceses; the great mass of the Catholic population belonging to the See of the Isles, who required the services of, at least, five Missionaries, while in other Lowland parts of the country there remained hardly so many as one Catholic.

A Visitation of the Mission was the only means of informing Propaganda thoroughly as to its condition; and the Prefect strongly urged that a Visitation should be made, and a report presented by some Priest selected for the purpose by the Congregation.

The Oates Conspiracy in 1678, disturbed for a short time the tranquillity which the Catholic body in Scotland had lately enjoyed; and seriously increased their temporary sufferings. Mobs and tumultuous assemblies assumed so threatening an attitude, that the Missionaries were obliged to conceal themselves for a few months. The following year the Visitation

so much desired by the Prefect took place. We owe it much of what we know as to the state of the Mission at that time. The Decree of Propaganda relating to it is dated in 1677; but its execution was suspended during the agitation incident to the Oates Plot. The person appointed to make it was Mr. Alexander Leslie, Brother of the Scotch Agent at Rome. He had studied at Paris, it is believed, and had entered on the Mission in 1672, having there been ten years a Priest. The original instructions of Propaganda for this Visitation amounted to a complete survey of the country. The Visitor was directed under upwards of 600 heads of inquiry, to procure, by personal inspection, minute particulars regarding the national features of the whole country, together with details of its population, and of their habits, and of the remains of Churches, Chapels, and Holy Wells which might yet exist. In the disordered state of the country, and while the Presbyterian population were actually in arms against the Crown, a survey such as this was too dangerous to be thought of. Mr. Leslie therefore confined himself to what he was able to execute. He visited all the Districts containing Catholics; conversing with the principal persons among them, and with the Missionaries; making his own observations all the while, on what he saw and heard. In this way he gathered materials for his subsequent Report. He estimated the number of Catholic *communicants* at 14,000; of whom 12,000 belonged to the Highlands and Islands: an immense preponderance, which he attributed to their distance from the Courts of Law, and the consequent difficulty felt by Government in sending its Agents into remote and rude districts, among a wild population, to put the Penal Laws in force. The small number of Catholics in the Lowlands were thus distributed:—Galloway contained 550; Glasgow and its neighbourhood, 50; Forfarshire and Kincardineshire, 72; Aberdeenshire, 405; Banffshire, 1000; and Morayshire, 8. Among the 12,000 Catholics in the Highlands and Islands, the Visitor found only three or four Priests; and all of them, except one, were from Ireland. Even with the best intentions, a handful of Missionaries, such as that, could not keep Religion alive; neither the stormiest weather, indeed, nor the roughest roads, could deter them from going to assist the dying; but, from the necessity of the case, they often arrived too late. The inconvenience arising from the scarcity of Missionaries was much increased by the fact that very few of them had any settled residence. The Prefect gave them faculties for Confession, and if they misconducted themselves, he could withdraw these faculties; but he had no power to restrain them within fixed limits, nor to remove them from one part of the country to another. Under Mr. Ballantyne's arrangements, indeed, a mutual understanding was for a time established among the Secular Missionaries, that they would confine themselves, each to a certain local sphere of labour; but the Prefect had no authority to enforce compliance. Hence they were often found to wander from place to place, without any preconceived plan, while, as a rule, Catholics rarely heard Mass oftener than three times a year, even with the best management on the part of the Clergy. The migratory habits of some of them often deprived whole Districts of Religious Ministrations for months together: when suddenly three or four Missionaries would arrive, perhaps on the same day, at the house of some poor Catholic, who might with difficulty have managed to entertain one for a day or two, but whom a party of Missionaries utterly overwhelmed. The sick and the dying were thus left in complete uncertainty as to where they might find Spiritual assistance. It was a chance if a Priest passed their way when their need of him was most urgent. The Missionaries themselves also were sufferers from the same cause; they acquired rambling and unsettled habits, unfavourable to study and the improvement of their acquaintance with Theology. An annual subsidy of 500 crowns from Propaganda formed nearly the sole means of livelihood for the whole Missionary body. For, strange as it may seem, nothing was asked from the people for the support of their Clergy; even the custom of procuring the

Celebration of Mass for deceased friends was unknown among the common people. It was part of Mr. Leslie's duty to represent, wherever he went, the impossibility of maintaining an efficient Ministry without a part, at least, of the burden being born by the people. This demand was at first opposed as an unwelcome innovation; but by degrees the Celtic part of the population yielded to its reasonableness, and contributed what they could out of their poverty. But the Lowland Catholics, with characteristic parsimony, persisted for another century in refusing to contribute anything for the support of their Clergy, with the exception of a few wealthy and noble Families who maintained a private Chaplain. Opinions were strongly divided as to the practicability of limiting the services of each Missionary to his own district. All the Regular Clergy, and, strange to say, even the Prefect himself, were opposed to the attempt. But the Secular Missionaries themselves, and the Laity were equally unanimous in their desire to see it made. The Visitor also expressed a very decided opinion in the same sense. The strongest argument in support of it was the actual experience of such of the Missionaries as had been able or willing to reside in one place for several months at a time. The amount of good effected by these were invariably found to be greater than could be known by others who were perpetually moving about from place to place. Another point strongly urged on the Visitor, and reiterated in his report, related to the duties of the Prefect. Mr. Winstler resided almost entirely at Gordon Castle, in the Enzie of Banff, in the Family of the Marquis of Huntly; and he could rarely be spared from his duties there to make the necessary and periodical visitations of the Missionaries which were so much called for. It was found also that his authority among them was insufficient for the maintenance of Discipline; a defect radically inherent in a Superior not of Episcopal rank. But when Mr. Leslie, according to his instructions, endeavoured to collect the opinions of the Missionaries and of the people as to the desirableness of having a Bishop appointed over them, he found those opinions widely different. Every one was agreed as to its being, in the abstract, desirable to have a Bishop; but many imagined the difficulties in the way of maintaining him to be insuperable. The obstacles formerly thrown by the Jesuits in the way of the appointment of the first Apostolic Vicar in England, were not anticipated now; for the feeling among the Scotch Catholic laity in favour of such an appointment was so strong and so general, that they would not retain a Chaplain who should presume to oppose it. Yet other reasons induced the Visitor to report unfavourably of the proposal. The people were thought too poor to maintain a Bishop, without an additional subsidy from Propaganda, which the Congregation would not probably be disposed to grant. The Presbyterian feeling in the country would render it unsafe for a Bishop to reside anywhere but in the Highlands or the Islands; his coming might be the occasion for a new persecution. The time, in short, had not arrived for this important change in the Scotch Mission; but when it did at last come, it was effected in circumstances much less favourable than those of the period when Mr. Leslie reported against it.

When his Visitation was concluded, he carried his Report in person to Rome, in 1680. Returning presently to the Mission, he was imprisoned during the days of trial which betel it, in consequence of the Revolution of '88. Mr. Leslie was nicknamed "Hardboots," or, more probably, adopted that *alias*, for security. He passed among his contemporaries for a holy man. Bishop Geddes, in his *Catalogue of Secular Missionaries*, relates, on the authority of a venerable Priest, Mr. Godsman, and of Dr. Gordon, of Keithmore, a venerable lay gentleman, and a Brother of Bishop Gordon, that Mr. Leslie was sometimes forewarned of approaching danger, during the heat of persecution, by a preternatural shaking of his bed as he lay asleep at night. Once, in particular, while he was residing in Glastirum House, in the Enzie of Banff, his bed began to shake. He rose in consequence, and struck a light. That night, there were several parties of

soldiers scouring the Enzie, in quest of Priests; but, seeing a light at that hour at Glastirum, a noted haunt of the Catholic Clergy, and a central object through the Enzie, they imagined that a party of their comrades was already there, and therefore thought it unnecessary to search in that direction. In this way Mr. Leslie escaped for that time. A similar movement of his bed, at Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire, is said to have enabled him, at another time, to get away from a party of soldiers who were in pursuit of him. When he was at last caught, he was subjected to an imprisonment of two years. He died at Banff, early in the last century.

Several material improvements were effected in the Mission, in consequence of Mr. Leslie's Visitation and the Report he made. The Missionaries were enjoined to confine themselves, each to his own particular and fixed station; a rule which, though at first difficult to observe, especially in the Highlands, where their numbers were so few in proportion to their scattered flock, contributed directly to the growth of stability and order among the Clergy. The Jesuits were the last to submit to this regulation, claiming, as a right, to go as they pleased among the Stations of the Secular Missionaries, particularly, about the season of Easter, to the serious injury of Discipline. But, in the course of a few years, even they were compelled to conform to the general practice. Another important rule introduced at this time, made it imperative on the Missionaries to meet once in the year, and prepare a Report of the state of the Mission for the information of Propaganda. The Prefect at first endeavoured to mitigate the Rules, on the ground of the extreme difficulty felt by the poor and scattered Clergy, in complying with it. His remonstrance was made in vain; and the Congregation even threatened to stop the annual subsidy, unless the Meeting and the Report were made every year. The first Meeting of this kind took place in 1686. The Prefect was then detained in London; and, in his absence, Mr. Burnet presided, as his Deputy. Many points of Discipline were discussed at the Meeting, and reported for discussion to Propaganda; principally relating to questions of marriages among the people, and to the celebration of Easter and other festivals, according to a uniform style, and not, as was the custom in some places, according to the new, or Grecian style, and in others, according to the old, which was still followed in Britain for many years to come. The Report prepared by the Meeting urged the Congregation to send more Missionaries, and to increase the annual Subsidy, and, above all, to give the Mission the benefit of their careful Superintendence. The times were practically favourable, they thought, for such a change. In the previous year, the accession of James II. to the English Throne had raised the hopes of the Catholic body throughout Britain, that the days of their affliction were over, and that peace, prosperity, and court favour were henceforth in store for them. To how cruel a disappointment those hopes were doomed, by the infatuated folly of the Sovereign and his Counsellors, it is unnecessary here to show. But, while they lasted, visions of the future, of the most brilliant characters, opened to the imagination of persons who only superficially observed the signs of the times. It is not wonderful that the poor Missionaries in Scotland caught the impetus of the general buoyancy, and turned to the Catholic King, as well as to Rome, in their petition for a Bishop. It seemed at one time as if their suit was more likely to gain a favourable hearing in London than at Rome; a strong effort was made by the Prefect, the Abbot of Ratisbon, and one of the Superiors of the Scotch College in Paris, conjointly, to engage James to support their Petition for a Scotch Bishop. But their negotiations were traversed, and ultimately rendered ineffectual, by similar influences to those which were always so actively at work in thwarting the counsels of the Secular Missionaries at Rome. The project, however, was not laid aside; it was moved from time to time, and with new confidence after the English Catholic body had obtained their new Bishops from Rome, in 1688. Other events of that year again threw the question into abeyance for a time. James was summarily ejected from a Throne which he had

fully proved his inability to fill with honour; and his fall entailed many grievous sufferings on the Catholic body in Britain. A serious Riot occurred in Edinburgh: the Chapel at Holyrood, which had been lately repaired, was attacked and defaced; the House of the Earl of Perth, the Chancellor of the King's Com and a recent Convert to Catholicity, was sacked; and a general search was made for Priests and Altar Furniture. The Prefect, who happened to be in Edinburgh at the Revolution, some months previous to the Riot, was so much esteemed, as to escape arrest. But when the mob became master of the City, he was glad to seek refuge in the Castle, which the Duke of Gordon still held for the King. He was afterwards permitted to retire to the North, on bail, and he resumed his former residence at Gordon Castle. Throughout the country it went hard with the Missionaries. Some of them were caught, and imprisoned; others were sent out of the Kingdom: they all of them lived in constant and daily peril of arrest. After the lapse of a year or two, the Law began to relax somewhat of its rigour against them. The King himself was personally disposed to leniency; and some of his Catholic allies besought his clemency in behalf of his Catholic subjects.

It seemed as though nothing but this renewed trial of the courage and patience of the Missionaries were wanting to secure for them their long-sought boon of an Episcopal Superior. The permission of Propaganda was at length obtained in 1694; it only remained to select a suitable person, and obtain a sufficient maintenance for him, either from the exiled King, or from Rome. The universal choice fell on Dr. Thomas Nicholson, at that time Confessor to a Community of men at Dunkirk.

To this period of our History belong some curious Anecdotes of the time when Catholic Missionaries was scarce, and before they had any fixed residence in the country. Those of them whom banishment had not carried off, nor premature old age disabled, were called upon to supply the Spiritual wants of vast Districts. At a time when it was impossible to keep the Holy Sacrament long by them, for the use of the sick, and when it was uncertain when, or where they might be permitted to say Mass next, the Clergy made it their practice, while preparing for Mass, to offer a short Prayer before the temporary Altar, begging for direction as to the number of Particles that might be required before they had another opportunity of Consecrating. It was generally observed that the whole number thus reserved, was needed before the next opportunity occurred. Bishop Hay used to mention this incident to the young Students in his College at Aquhorthies, as an example of Divine interposition, in days when the Scotch Catholics had much to suffer. One of these Students, (the late Mr. Carmichael, who died at Peterhead, 1856,) who afterwards became a Missionary, and lived to a good old age, related it to me in writing, together with several other particulars of his great master.

The following story I owe also to the same source. The Bishop used to tell it to his Students, in his Exhortations to them to prepare for death, and when urging them to pray for the inestimable Graces of the Sacraments in that trying hour. One or two names and dates are taken from Bishop Geddes' Catalogue of Secular Missionaries.

The middle of the 17th century found the Scotch Mission, and more particularly the scattered Flock in the Highland Glens, almost as sheep without a shepherd. The Chieftain of the Macdonells sent over to Ireland, to procure two Priests for the Superintendance of his people, and of his immediate neighbours. Two Irish Priests, Mr. Francis White, a Lazarist, and Mr. Dermit Grey, came from Spain, at his pressing call. They entered on their Charge in the Glengarry Estates, in 1654. Mr. Grey died in the Island of Uist, in 1656, but Mr. White laboured in the Mission for a much longer time. He withdrew in 1657; but reappeared in the Highlands after five years. After a second term of two years, he again disappeared for four; but, returning once more, in 1668, he remained in the Highlands till his death, in 1679. His

Ministry had much success, both in confirming Catholics, and in gaining Converts; and his name was long remembered with veneration in the district where he chiefly served. His Portrait was kept in a room at Glengarry Castle, called Mr. White's room, till the Castle was burnt in 1746.

It was no sinecure to undertake such a Mission as was offered these good Priests. The privations of poverty, and the imminent risk of detection, equally tried their fortitude and their charity. They travelled on foot about their wide District, attired as common peasants; and frequently through bye-paths, over mountains, and along sequestered glens, for the sake of privacy. At the time of the story (1654), it was summer, a season of the year when many Highland farmers used in those days to remove with their families and their cattle, to shielings or cottages, on the hills, where the cows consumed the grass, and the farmers made their cheese and butter. One warm day, the Missionaries, hungry and tired, were glad to see a small shieling not far off. As they cautiously approached it, they observed two young men standing at one corner, in serious consultation, which occupied them so deeply that they did not observe the approach of the strangers, till the Missionaries were close upon them. The Missionaries bade them *good day*, and they returned the salute, but with an air of so much anxiety and sorrow, that it was evident something very serious was weighing on their minds. After a little general conversation, the Missionaries expressed a hope that there was nothing of great moment to cause their dejection. The kind and frank manner in which this inquiry was made encouraged the young men to confide the cause of their great anxiety. "Our aged father," they said, "is lying in this shieling, to all appearance, at the point of death. He is possessed of considerable property, and has several children. We are all of us willing to acquiesce in any distribution of his property that he may choose to make, but, if he dies without a Will, we foresee disputes in a family which has hitherto been a united one. Yet, we cannot persuade him to make his Will. He will not believe that he is to die at this time."

One of the Missionaries replied:—"My companion here knows something of medicine, and will be able to judge of your father's state. If we can help you out of this difficulty we shall be happy to do so." The young men cheered up, and at once led their new friends to the bedside of their father, hoping that he would now get some advice about his Will; for, as to any prescription for his health, it seemed, in his state, to be utterly hopeless. When the Missionaries saw the worn-out skeleton to which the old man was reduced, they were surprised to find the spark of life not yet extinguished. The venerable patriarch was perfectly sensible; and they hastened to assure him that he could not count on a single hour of life; that, indeed, in his present state, it seemed a miracle that he was still alive; and they accordingly urged him to arrange his worldly affairs without loss of time. In a strong and peremptory tone, he declared that he should not die at that time. The Missionaries thought they perceived something unusual in the confidence with which he spoke; they, therefore begged leave to ask him why he felt so certain, in opposition to every human probability. After some little hesitation, he at length said—"Though I were to tell you my reason, you would not believe me, and you might, perhaps, even laugh at me." "By no means," replied the Priests; "we see you are a man of strong sense and judgment." "Well, then," he replied, "I will tell you. I am a Catholic, and for the last seven years I have prayed fervently to God, morning and evening, that he would not let me die, without the help of the Sacraments. I know he has in His mercy heard and granted my prayer; but there is no Priest to be got here at present, and I shall not die till I shall have seen one." "O, my friend!" exclaimed one of the Missionaries with emotion, "God has indeed heard your prayer, and has directed us this way, without our knowing why, in order to grant you the blessing you have so perseveringly prayed for. We

are Priests from Ireland, on our way to Glengarry, and we have here with us everything requisite to give you all that you need." "Out with you, my son, till I make my Confession," was the old man's reply; "thank God, my time has now come." After his Confession, he received the Sacred Viaticum. Then he declared how he wished his property to be divided among his family; and, lastly, received Extreme Unction, which was hardly finished, when he gently expired.

During the Reign of James II. England had four Bishops assigned to it. In Scotland the Regulars opposed the appointment even of one individual invested with Episcopal Jurisdiction. And, consequently, when the Revolution of 1688 arrived, and plunged the Roman Catholics into many confusions and difficulties, the want of some *Head*, who might have controlled and directed the movements of the scattered members of their Communion, was seriously felt. The Regulars had been favoured by James II., and the removal of the Royal support, and other causes, led to the gradual disappearance from the Missionary Annals of the Religious Orders who had so long kept alive the Roman Catholic Faith in Scotland.

The Queen of James II. gave to the Scottish Mission the Altar-Utensils of Holyrood Chapel. A Thurible and Incense-Boat are in the possession of the Ladies of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh; and a Chalice and Silver Hand-Bell, for use at Mass, are also at Preshome. [MS., *penes* Bishop Kyle.]

In 1694, the longings of the Secular Clergy were gratified by the appointment of the Rev. Thos. Nicholson as Bishop of Peristachium, &c.

[*This Introduction is written chiefly by the Rev. J. A. Stothert.*]

SUCCESSION OF VICARS APOSTOLIC IN SCOTLAND SINCE THE EXTINCTION
OF THE HIERARCHY, APRIL 25, 1603.

VICARS APOSTOLIC OF SCOTLAND, 1694.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Title.</i>	<i>Consecrated.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
1 Thomas Nicolson,	Peristachium,	Feb. 27, 1695.....	Oct. 23, 1718
2 James Gordon,	Nicopolis,	Apr. 11, 1706.....	Mar. 1, 1746
3 John Wallace, Coadj.,	Cyrrha,	Oct. 2, 1720.....	July 11, 1733

LOWLAND DISTRICT, 1731.

James Gordon, as above.			
4 Alexander Smith,	Misinopolis,	Nov. 13, 1735.....	Aug. 21, 1766
5 James Grant,	Sinita,	Nov. 13, 1735.....	Dec. 2, 1778
6 George Hay,	Daulis,	May 21, 1769.....	Oct. 15, 1811
7 John Geddes, Coadj.,	Morocco,	Nov. 30, 1780.....	Feb. 11, 1796
8 Alexander Cameron,	Maximianopolis,	Oct. 28, 1798.....	Feb. 7, 1828

HIGHLAND DISTRICT, 1731.

9 Hugh Macdonald,	Diana,	Oct. 2, 1731.....	Mar. 12, 1773
10 John Macdonald,	Tiberiopolis,	Sept. 27, 1761.....	May 9, 1779
11 Alexander Macdonald,	Polemo,	Mar. 12, 1780.....	Sept. 9, 1791
12 John Chisholm,	Oria,	Feb. 12, 1792.....	July 8, 1814
13 Eneas Chisholm,	Diocessarea,	Sept. 15, 1805.....	July 31, 1818
14 Ranald Macdonald,	Aeryndela,	Feb. —, 1820.....	Sept. 20, 1832

EASTERN DISTRICT, 1828.

15 Alexander Paterson,	Cybistra,	Aug. 15, 1816.....	Oct. 30, 1831
16 Andrew Carruthers,	Ceramis,	Jan. 13, 1833.....	May 24, 1852
17 James Gillis,	Limyra,	July 22, 1838.....	Feb. 24, 1864
18 John Strain,	Abia,	Sept. 25, 1864	

WESTERN DISTRICT, 1828.

Ranald Macdonald, as above.			
19 Andrew Scott,	Eretria,	Sept. 21, 1828.....	Dec. 4, 1846
20 John Murdoch,	Castabala,	Oct. 20, 1833.....	Dec. 15, 1865
21 Alexander Smith, Coadj.,	Parium,	Oct. 3, 1847.....	June 15, 1861
22 John Gray,	Hypsopolis,	Oct. 19, 1862	
23 James Lynch, Coadj.,	Arcadiopolis,	Nov. 11, 1866	

NORTHERN DISTRICT, 1828.

24 James Kyle,	Germanicia,	Sept. 28, 1828	
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VICARS APOSTOLIC OF SCOTLAND.

I.—THOMAS NICOLSON (1695—1718)

Was the son of Sir Thomas Nicolson of Kemnay, and of Elizabeth Abercromby of Birkenbog. His brother, Sir George, was appointed Lord of Session. He was Born about 1645, in the House of Birkenbog, Banffshire. His parents were Protestants, and he was brought up in that religion. Having betaken himself to literary pursuits, he was chosen one of the Regents or Professors of the University of Glasgow, which office he continued to fill for nearly 14 years. About the beginning of 1682, he embraced the Catholic Faith; and in July, that same year, he proceeded to Padua. At the same time, two fellow-countrymen of his own were engaged in teaching in the same House, viz., Mr. Strachan and Dr. Jamieson, who both afterwards became distinguished Missionaries in Scotland. Taking the Scottish College of Douay, in his way, he prosecuted his Theological studies there. After remaining three years in that Seminary, he was here promoted to Holy Orders in 1685; and, in Dec. 1687, he returned as Missionary Priest to Scotland along with Dr. Jamieson. He had a sufficient patrimony, but he requested to be Ordained "sub titulo Missionis." At the Revolution, along with a great many of the Catholic Clergy of Scotland, he was apprehended in Nov. 1688, cast into Prison, and banished to the Continent. During the Riot in Edinburgh he was obliged to leave his residence at midnight and escape through the very heart of the mob, who did not recognise him. He was apprehended afterwards in Stirling, where he was imprisoned for some months, and also at Edinburgh. On his brother becoming bail for him that he would leave the country and never return, he was set at liberty. With the most of his Brethren, he chose France for the place of his retirement, and was employed for three years as Confessor of a Convent of Nuns in Dun-

kirk. In May 1694, it was resolved by the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* that a Bishop should be appointed to govern the Scottish Mission; and in August, Mr. Nicolson was fixed on as the person to be raised to that dignity. Briefs were immediately after expedited, nominating him Bishop of Peristachium *in partibus infidelium*, and conferring on him Jurisdiction as Vicar Apostolic of all Scotland. As he was still in banishment, he was Consecrated at Paris, in the private Chapel of the Archbishop's Palace, on the 27th Feb. 1695. The Consecrating Bishop was the celebrated preacher Mascaron, Bishop of Agen, assisted by Barillon, Bishop of Luçon, and Ratabon, Bishop of Ypres. He set out from Paris on his return to Scotland on the 8th April, proceeding by Holland; but, for want of sufficient Passports, was obliged to remain in that Country and Germany, all the remainder of that year and the greater part of the next. At length he ventured over to England in Nov. 1696; but was apprehended in London as soon as he arrived, and kept in confinement till May 1697. He was then enlarged; and, taking his journey to the North, as soon as he was free, arrived in Edinburgh about the middle of July. He went on to Gordon Castle, where he passed some time in conference with some of the neighbouring Missionaries on the state and prospect of matters. Entering immediately on the exercise of his Episcopal functions, he continued to discharge them without much molestation for upwards of 20 years,—traversing repeatedly, during this time, the greater part of Scotland, even to the remote Island of Barra. The new Bishop did not, at first, reside in one place, but travelled about, exhorting and encouraging the Missionaries and their people, and Administering Confirmation, for the first time since the extinction of the old Hierarchy. When he had become

sufficiently familiar with every part of the Kingdom, and with its wants and capabilities, he proceeded to divide it into Districts, within which the Missionaries kept their fixed Stations. A similar Division, indeed, had been nominally made, under the Prefect, but it had been only imperfectly maintained. The next important step that he took, was the preparation of *Statuta*, or Rules for the direction of the Missionaries, as to Discipline. They were adopted with unanimity at a Meeting held in April, 1700, and continued to regulate the practice of the Missionaries, till Bishop Hay (as we shall presently see), incorporated them into his own extended *Statute Missions*. The same Meeting also adopted another measure under the Bishop's direction, of great practical benefit. Seven of the most experienced Missionaries were constituted *Administrators*, to superintend the interests of the general body, to act in its name, assist the Bishop with their advice, and manage the temporal affairs of the Mission, with his concurrence. A few years later (1719), under his Successor, the number of Administrators was increased to nine.

From a very full Report of the state of the Mission, presented to Propaganda in 1703, we learn that, at this time, there were fifteen Secular Priests in the country, and two Irish. In addition to these, there were seven Jesuits, four Benedictines, and five Irish Franciscans. With the exception of the Jesuits, all of them were subject to the Bishop. The principal Station at this period was in the Enzie. Preshome, which is in the centre of that District, was the ordinary residence of the Procurator of the Mission, and of the Bishop, when he was not actually engaged in his frequent Visitations. The Protestants called the Enzie "the Papistical Country." The Meetings of the Clergy were generally held there. The influence of the Duke of Gordon disposed the Privy Council to leniency as regarded that District; and generally the Estates of the Catholic Peers, of whom there yet remained about a dozen, were more or less exempt from the severity of the Penal Laws.

Bishop Nicolson, in 1706, for the first time, visited Braemar, taking advantage of Lord Mar's short absence; for that nobleman's antipathy to Catholicity made it hazardous for the Bishop to venture on his Estates if he were in the neigh-

bourhood. The Bishop found 500 Catholics in the District; they were served by Jesuit Missionaries. The people attributed their constancy in the old Religion, amidst the defection of all their immediate neighbours, to the fact, that the Church had possessed no lands among them; hence no one had been tempted, as in other places, to turn Apostacy into gain. But more than to that cause, they were indebted, they said, to the Parish Priest of the District, at the time of the Reformation. Mr. Owen, for that was his name, was a very pious man, and much beloved by his people. Instead of retiring, as other Priests had done, before the storm, he remained among his people, to encourage them by his presence and his example, and to keep them in mind of their Religion. On one occasion he was dragged from the Altar by a party of Protestants; but when the immediate danger was over, he resumed his Ministrations. During the last years of his life Bishop Nicholson resided generally at Preshome, in the Enzie, Banffshire, where he Died on the 23d of Oct., N. S., 1718. He was Buried in the Chapel of St. Ninians, near Preshome. The ruins of this Chapel have disappeared,—all except one corner-stone. The Graves of Bishop Nicolson and a number of Priests occupy the site of the Altar. The following Latin Epitaph is to the Memory of Dr. N. composed by his Coadjutor, Bishop Gordon, on the flat Slab which covers his Grave. It has on it Bells, Hour-glass, Death's-head, Cross-bones, Spade and Shovel, and *Memento Mori*.—

D. O. M.

REVENUS D. THOMAS NICOLSON,
 EPUS PERISTACH: VIC: AP:
 IN SCOTIA HIC JACET. VIR
 FUIT PRIMEVA PIETATE
 INSIGNIS, CANDORE ET SIM-
 Plicitate Christiana
 ADMIRANDUS, INTEGRITATE,
 ET MORUM INNOCENTIA EXI-
 MIUS, INGENIO ACUTUS, DOCTR-
 INA ET ERUDITIONE CLARUS,
 PRUDENTIA ET SAPIENTIA
 SINGULARIS, ZELO ET CHARIT-
 TATE, FIDELIBUS CHARISSI-
 MUS, BENEFICENTIA,
 COMITATE ET LIBERALITATE
 ETIAM HIS QUI FORIS SUNT
 WENERABILIS. BI VIATOR
 ET BENE PRECARE. WIXIT
 ANNO CIRCUITER 76 OBIT
 QUARTO IDUS OCTOBRIS
 ANNO REPAATE SALUTIS.
 1718.

II.—JAMES GORDON (1706-1746)

Son of Patrick Gordon, who possessed the Estate of Glastirum, and was a Cadet of the Letterfourie

Family, was Born in the Enzie, Banffshire, about 1664. He was sent to the Scottish College of Paris in 1680; and having there completed his studies and received Orders, returned to Scotland in summer, 1692. He officiated as Missionary Priest in his native District, till 1702, when he was sent to Rome to assist Mr. William Leslie, who had long been agent of the Scottish Mission, in its intercourse with the Holy See. He was, while there, chosen Coadjutor to Bishop Nicolson, and Consecrated by Cardinal Barbarigo Bishop of Neapolis, at Montefiascone, on Low Sunday, the 11th April, 1706. He came to Scotland in the autumn of that year; and in 1718 succeeded Bishop Nicolson as Vicar Apostolic of Scotland.

As he passed through Paris in May, he went to St. Germain's to pay his respects to the exiled King and the Royal Family. The Bishop left Paris in June, travelling by way of Holland, and reached Aberdeen by the end of July. Bishop Nicolson had just passed through a time of great depression of spirits, owing to the senility and failing of some Priests, and the falls of others, who had given scandal; so that he was overjoyed to welcome his Coadjutor.

At a General Meeting of the Clergy, held in 1707, it appears that a fresh Division of the Kingdom was made among 15 Secular Priests, 11 Jesuits, 4 Benedictines, 1 Augustinian, and 5 Franciscans, in the Islands; showing a slight gain in the numbers since Bishop Nicolson's arrival. The principal event of this year in the Mission, was Bishop Gordon's first Visitation of the Highlands. Bishop Nicolson had preceded him, in 1700, and had confirmed 3000 persons, but had not been able to repeat his visit, from the pressure of other engagements. It was Bishop Gordon's intention to set out on this expedition early in spring; but he had to supply a vacant Congregation during Lent and at Easter, and fell ill from over-fatigue. On the 5th of June, however, he started, attended by a young Deacon, who understood Gaelic. The particulars of this journey are most interesting. The travellers set

out from Pres-bone, and in five days, reach'd Glengarry, passing through Badenoch. At this point of their journey, they had their last meal of bread and meat for several weeks to come. Milk and "white meats" became their only food, whey, or water, their only drink. Occasionally they found a little barley-bread, all baked, at other times they used cheese as a substitute. Their beds were made of heather, grass, or straws; and when it rained, the huts where they lodged, were insufficient to keep out the wet. The Bishop bore all these inconveniences, rather than carry with him the means of living better, which might have had the appearance of luxury or fastidiousness, in a part of the country where some of the better sort of people were accustomed to this rude mode of life. In Glengarry, he was met by two of the Senior Missionaries in the Highlands, who were to accompany him on his Visitation. There was a Garrison of soldiers in the Glen, and the Bishop was advised to go on to the remoter parts of his District, before commencing his Episcopal duties. He accordingly sent back the horses which had brought his party thus far, and began his journey on foot. He did so, partly to avoid notice, and partly to set the example of his own endurance to his companions, who were more easily reconciled to bad roads, and bad food, and the fatigues of the way, when these were shared equally by the Bishop.

June 16th, the little party came to Glen-quoich, and their real difficulties began. They had to scramble, sometimes on all fours, along rude mountain-paths, beset with precipices, and with morasses. Their feet were never dry. But the Bishop's cheerfulness kept up the spirits of the party. At the head of a Loch, they were met by Glengarry's brother, who conveyed them some miles in a boat, to his house, there being no road practicable on shore. Here they remained a couple of days, to rest; and on the 20th, they arrived at the Laird of Knoydart's house, where the Bishop thought it at length safe to enter on the proper duties of his Visitation. The 22nd was a Sunday; the people were then called together, and Confirmation was Administered to as many as were found prepared. The following day, the party reached an Island in Loch Moran. On Tuesday, they sailed down to Arisaig, and embarked, the same day, in the Laird of Moydart's boat, which was to convey them to the



Island of Uist. But owing to a contrary wind, they were carried to Eigg, where they landed next day, and Catechised the people, the Priests hearing their Confessions, and preparing them for Confirmation. Two days were employed in this way. At Mass, one of the Priests Preached in Gaelic: and after Mass, the Bishop made a short homily, which was afterwards translated into Gaelic by a Priest. This was the usual order of proceeding, whenever Confirmation was given, except once or twice when the Instructions were omitted, in order to shorten the Ceremony, for fear of the Soldiers. While the Priests were engaged in hearing Confessions, the Bishop spoke with some of the principal people, on the state of Religion, and on any Abuses that prevailed.

June 26th, they set out for Rum, landing in Uist next day. Here they were well and hospitably entertained in the house of the Laird. Sunday, the 29th, Confirmation was administered as usual; and on the 30th, the party sailed for Barra. The first four days of July were spent there, and on the little neighbouring Island of Watersay, Instructing, Confessing, and Confirming the people. The Bishop gave the resident Priest a Copy of the *Statuta*, and made him Preach in his presence, at Mass, that the Priests in the Bishop's company might report upon their brother's qualifications for the Pulpit. Returning to Uist, the Bishop next took Benbecula in his way, spending two days there, in the usual duties. He went back to Uist once more, in order to appoint a Vicar, with a general charge of inspection over the Islands. July 12th, the Bishop landed in Canna; and, after Instructing and Confirming, sailed the same evening. During the night, his boat was nearly lost in a gale of wind. One of the Priests, however, happening to know something of sailing, took the helm, and brought the party in safety next morning to Eigg. On the 17th, Confirmation was given at Arisaig. The presence of a Garrison of Soldiers in the District of Moydart, induced the Bishop to send for the people, rather than to go among them. They went to him at Ardness, and when he had Instructed and Confirmed them, he went on to Borrodale. Then he travelled by a rough and fatiguing road to Knoydart; and at Scothouse, he Ordained the young Deacon, who had accompanied him from Preshome, as a Missionary for the Highlands. It was the first Ordination that had

been in Scotland since the Reformation. On his way back to Glenquoich, the Bishop began to feel the effects of his fatigues, and of insufficient food; he was detained two days on his journey by a slight attack of fever. On the 1st of August, he reached Strathglass, and spent the three following days in Instructing and Confirming. From the 5th to the 12th, he was engaged in the same duties in Glengarry; but with great secrecy, as the Garrison was close at hand. His illness increased upon him daily. But he dared not stay long enough in any house, to effect his cure, neither could he find any medicines in the country. So he kept in motion, in spite of his nightly fever. On his way to Lochaber, he was obliged to take a horse. On the F. of Assumption, he said Mass there, and Preached and gave Confirmation. On the confines of Badenoch, he took leave of the Priests who attended him. At Ruthven, in the same District, he was seized with dysentery, but still went on accomplishing his Mission; he continued his journey down Strathspey, and across to Strathavon; and there ended his travels for that time at his brother's house, at Balnacraig, August 21st. During this Visitation, he had Confirmed 2242 persons. It was conducted with so much prudence, that no notice was attracted by it. The Bishop afterwards repeated this Tour in the Highlands many times. He passed the winter of 1710-11, in that part of the country, and declared that he enjoyed better health than in the Lowlands. His object was to study the habits of the people, more at leisure, and to acquire enough of their language to be of service to him in his future Visitations.

Bishop Nicolson's health beginning to fail, great part of the labour of Superintendence now fell on his Coadjutor. The year after his first Highland journey, he travelled over the whole of the Lowlands, animating Missionaries and people with new courage and patience, under their heavy trials, Confirming, and Instructing, with Apostolic zeal. "Besides his labours on the Missions," says Mr. Thomson, "During a long course of 40 years, in a variety of trying circumstances, Bishop Gordon's Letters to Propaganda will be a lasting monument of his firm genius; though composed for the most part under the pressure of persecution, and in the spare moments left by his Pastoral labours, and continual occupations, they are written with singular elegance of language, and a

strength of justness, and an animation of sentiment that affect and influence the heart."

The presence and the counsel of both the Bishops were of extraordinary service in keeping the Catholic body together, and saving it from utter despondency during the frequent access of severe measures taken against them, as suspected partisans in the Jacobite schemes. It seems difficult to imagine how the entire Catholic body in Scotland could have survived all that was done to dispirit and to destroy it, if it had been left without a Bishop for half a century longer.

In 1712, an effort was made to Establish something of the nature of a Seminary for the Mission, at Scaln, in Glenlivet, on the Estate of the Duke of Gordon. It was at first a very poor and humble Establishment, and at its best days hardly ever grew to be more; yet it served a useful purpose as regarded the Mission for nearly a century.

In 1715, another crisis occurred in the fortunes of the Stuart exiles, to the temporary increase of suffering and terror among the Catholic body in Scotland. The Clergy again lived much in concealment. A slight accident at one time threatened to betray Bishop Gordon to the notice of the public prosecutor. A Letter was left for him by some unknown person at the door of the Duchess of Gordon's lodging in Edinburgh, addressed to him in full, *Illmo Domino Jacobo Gordon, Ep. Nicop. Vic. Ap. in Scotia*. It was from the Nuncio at Brussels, and its date showed it to have been dispatched a year before. The Address had been written in London, six months before, probably by some clerk connected with one of the Foreign Embassies. If it had fallen into the hands of Government at this critical time, it would certainly have caused the Bishop no little trouble. As it happened, nothing came out of it, though the Missionaries were under considerable alarm.

A few years sufficed to bring all the Missionaries over to Bishop Gordon's views as to the expediency of a Highland Vicariate. In 1726, he felt the project ripe enough to be seriously proposed to Propaganda; and, at the same time, he recommended Mr. Alexander Grant, the Superior of the little Seminary at Scaln, as the most suitable person to be made Bishop and Apostolic Vicar in the Highlands. The issue of this first attempt was a singular one. Everything went on at Rome as Bishop Gordon could wish. Mr.

Grant went in person to Rome, was approved, nominated, and promised his Bulls of Consecration by the time he could get back to Scotland. He began his journey homewards; fell ill at Genoa, partly of ague, partly of a deep despondency of mind. His money was exhausted. When he wrote to Paris for more, the answer containing it miscarried, and never reached him. His imagination became diseased. He fancied his former friends had deserted him; he felt himself unfit for the weight of responsibility in store for him. Meanwhile his Bulls had arrived in Scotland. Letter after letter was dispatched to Rome, and from Rome, about him. He never was heard of more. Whether he retired into a Monastery, or whether, as was thought more probable, he perished unknown in a public Hospital, could never be ascertained.

In 1728, the last Catholic Duke of Gordon was cut off prematurely, to the serious loss of the large Catholic population on his Estates. The Duchess, his widow, though a Protestant, was disposed to be friendly with the Missionaries who laboured among her tenants; and she brought up her young family with similar dispositions. Bishop Gordon was suspected of an intention to kidnap her son, and have him educated abroad in the Catholic Religion. At last this was made the pretext for arresting him, in the same year, and committing him to prison. The Duchess was the most active among all concerned, in procuring his liberation, for she knew better than any one else, that the suspicion was wholly imaginary. Such a scheme, besides its inherent wickedness, would have invited a storm of persecution on the Catholic body, or might have destroyed the fruits of half a century of toil.

A few days after his Consecration, Bishop Gordon issued a Pastoral "to all the Churchmen (Missionaries), and honourable Catholic gentlemen in the Highlands of Scotland," dated Edinburgh, October 29, 1731:—

"The universal Pastor of the Catholic Church, considering maturely that my advanced years cannot allow me to serve you henceforth, as I have done for many years, and that it will prove much for your advantage, and that of all the Highland counties in Scotland, to have a Bishop constantly to reside among you, has, in his great wisdom and tender love for you all, with the consent and at the desire of our Sovereign, [*i.e.*, The Pretender] ordered the most worthy bearer, the Most Rev. Hugh Macdonald, to be Consecrated Bishop, to

serve among you, as your chief Pastor and Bishop. And his Holiness sending him as Bishop among you, appoint him also Vicar Apostolical, with singular powers, to enable him to discharge this Office, with the greater honour and authority. Injoining you all to be ever obedient and submissive to this your Most Rev. Bishop, who also specially represents the Pope's person; and to execute all his orders and commands; assuring, that he will, with his supreme authority, support this your Most Rev. Bishop's authority and commands. Threatening, at the same time, the most severe censures against any such as were so wicked as to be disobedient or refractory. It belongs to me, of duty, to intimate to you the most pious intentions of his Holiness, which he has made known to me; that, by honouring and obeying faithfully this your Most Rev. Bishop, you may show the more dutifully your reverence and respect to the Supreme Pastor.

"Your exemplary obedience and submission to this your most honourable Pastor, will be a most assured means to draw down upon you all continually, the special and most plentiful blessings of heaven, and will ever prove a most singular comfort to me, who have served you so long, and still retain such a tender love to you all in Christ."

"JA. EP. NICOP. VIC. AP. IN
PLANIS SCOTIAE."*

In 1731, the See of Rome, at the solicitation of Bishop Gordon, altered the Ecclesiastical Government of Scotland, and divided it into two Districts or Vicariates, the Highland and Lowland, appointing a new Vicar Apostolic for the former District, and confining Bishop Gordon's Jurisdiction to the Lowland District. In this Charge he continued till his Death, which took place on the 1st March, 1746, N.S., 18th Feb., O.S., at Thornhill, near Drummond Castle, in the house of Mrs. Mary Drummond, a Roman Catholic lady. He was buried at Innerpefferly, the Burial-place of the Family of Perth. Before his corpse was removed from Thornhill, a party of King George's army had already come to Drummond Castle.

III.—JOHN WALLACE (1720—1733)

Was the son of Patrick Wallace, Provost of Arbroath. He was Born in that Town, probably about 1650. He was educated in the Protestant Religion, and was licensed as an Episcopalian Minister. It is not known at what time he became a Catholic, but this probably took place some time before the Revolution. He was employed by the Duke of Perth as tutor to his chil-

dren, and travelled with them through France and Italy. When Mr. Wallace's engagements with the Perth Family were closed, he took up his residence in the Scottish College of Paris, and spent there a considerable time in retirement. Bishop Gordon, on his return from Rome in 1706, prevailed on Mr. Wallace to accompany him to Scotland, and prepare himself for the Mission. He was Ordained Sub-deacon 1st Oct. 1707, Deacon, the 31st March, and Priest, on the 14th April, 1708. His first Station as Missionary, was Arbroath and its vicinity. He was summoned to appear before the Justiciary Court at Perth, in the Spring Circuit, 1709, for apostatizing to "the Popish Religion," and trafficking and perverting others. But he did not appear at his Trial, and was Outlawed. In the end of 1719, Bishop Gordon Postulated from the Holy See the appointment of Mr. Wallace as his Coadjutor. This Postulation was granted on the 8th April, 1720, and on the 30th, the Briefs were expedited by which he was nominated Bishop of Cyrrha. On the 2nd Oct. following, Mr. Wallace was Consecrated at Edinburgh, in virtue of a special Indult, by Bishop Gordon alone, assisted by his Priests. There was this peculiarity in his Election, that he was actually older than the Bishop, having attained the mature age of 65 or 66. But the Bishop desired to do honour to his distinguished merits, and to arrest the intrigues which had already begun for the appointment of another most suitable person. We have already traced this worthy man's history up to the time of his return home from France. Bishop Gordon Ordained him Priest, in 1708, at the already advanced age of 50 years. His learning, piety, and devoted zeal, made up for lost time, however. He was Consecrated Bishop of Cyrrha, by Bishop Gordon, alone, (by special Dispensation) at Edinburgh, in September, 1720. On a Sunday morning in Spring 1722, the new Bishop was arrested by the Magistrates' order, in the Duchess of Gordon's lodging at Edinburgh, as he was hearing Confessions, before saying Mass. The Duchess was still in bed; but the Constables of the Town Guard, who were charged with the execution of the Warrant, insisted on her rising, and conducting them over the house. Eleven other Catholics were taken into custody. Some of them were dismissed; others were sent to prison; but suspecting the Bishop by his gravity

* Scots Mag. : anno 1747, p. 614.

and his general appearance, to be a Priest, they sent him to Prison under a strong Guard. Fortunately they had no suspicion of his being anything more, or it would have fared worse with him. Being liberated on Bail, he again declined to take his trial, and was again Outlawed; but by confining himself to parts of the country where he was little known, he contrived still to be of service to the Mission. Bishop Gordon left him the principal charge of the Lowlands, while he himself devoted his attention more particularly to the Highland population, that to which he had grown much attached. He had been long meditating a change which would materially benefit the Catholics in the Highlands and the Islands. This was the erection of a second Vicariate, with a Bishop to superintend the Gaelic-speaking population of the Kingdom. So early as 1711, he had sounded the Agent in Rome on the subject, but some of the Missionaries hearing of it, had so strongly condemned the project at that time, that it had been postponed. The Bishop's attachment to his Highland people was strongly expressed in his Letter to the Roman Agent in that year. Some people, it seems, had been considering how he was able to stay in those mountainous Districts, with a degree of comfort, which others could not feel. "I never," he answered, "had more comfort every way than among these poor people; and am so far from wearying of them, that I long to shut myself up for ever with them. I do not question but I should do greater service there than anywhere else; and if it were the will of Exchange (Propaganda) I would confine myself so long as I live among our hills, and Consecrate my days to serve the poor people that live in them." Bishop Wallace continued the rest of his life Coadjutor to Bishop Gordon, and Died at Edinburgh on the 11th July, 1733.

IV.—HUGH MACDONALD (1731—1773)

Was a son of the Laird of Morar. At an early age he was sent to the Seminary of Scalau; and, after completing his studies there, was Ordained Priest by Bishop Gordon in 1725. Bishop Gordon, finding that the Episcopal charge of the whole of Scotland was too heavy for him, even when aided by a Coadjutor, proposed, in 1726, that a division should be made between the

Highland and Lowland portions of the country, and that a separate Vicar Apostolic should be appointed for the former. He pitched upon Mr. Alexander John Grant to fill this office, and sent him to Rome, in order to procure the sanction of the Holy See to this proposal, and to the appointment which he designed. Rome approved of the whole plan; but, when the matter was about to be concluded, Mr. Grant left Rome with a view of returning to Paris; but, after reaching Mar-seilles, disappeared, and was never more heard of. Some years after, Bishop Gordon renewed to Rome the proposal of dividing the country into two Vicariates, and recommended Mr. Macdonald as a proper person to govern the Highland District. The Holy See acceded to his wishes; and, by Briefs, dated 12th Feb. 1731, appointed Mr. Macdonald Bishop of Diana, and Vicar Apostolic of the new Highland Vicariate. Mr. Macdonald had been previously sent to Paris, with a view of preparing himself for the dignity to which he was destined. He returned thence in Sept. 1731; and, on the 2nd Oct. was Consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Gordon, assisted by Bishop Wallace and a Priest. While the three Bishops were assembled on this occasion, the line of demarcation between the two Districts was drawn by common consent; and, having been laid before the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, was sanctioned by a solemn Decree of that Congregation, dated 7th Jan. 1732.

In the month of July, 1745, there was a Meeting at Edinburgh of the Bishops and Administrators, at which Bishops Gordon, Smith, and Hugh Macdonald, were present. As Bp. Macdonald was returning home, he unexpectedly met, in Lorn, with Mr. Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart, from whom he learned that Prince Charles Stuart, with only seven gentlemen, 1500 stand of arms, and the value of £17,000 Stg., was arrived on the Western Coast. Mr. Macdonald looked upon the attempt as desperate; but said, that by honour he was engaged in it, and would lose his life in the cause; nay, by a strange presentiment, he specified the very manner of his death, and said that he would be hanged. He went forward to concert measures with the Duke of Perth, and to procure British money for 2000 louis d'ors that he had with him. The Bishop proceeded to Moidart, on the coast of which, near Borrodale, was the Prince, still on board the vessel in which

he had come from France, and was under the name and disguise of a French Abbé.

The Bishop was introduced to him, and the Prince asked him his opinion and advice. The Bishop candidly told him that the country was not prepared for his reception, and that his coming had not been expected till the year following—that any attempt at the present time would endanger his person and probably ruin his best friends—that, therefore, his advice was to return to France immediately in the same ship, and wait for a more favourable opportunity. This advice was little relished by the young Adventurer, and the Bishop was little more consulted. All this I have heard repeatedly from Bishop Hugh Macdonald's own mouth.—[J. A. S.]

About the same time, Mr. Macdonald of Boisdale, likewise advised the Prince, in the first place, to return to France; but, if he did not choose to do that, he insisted that he ought to go about and land on the Estate of Mr. Macdonald of Slate, or in that of M'Leod; for, if he trusted himself to them in the beginning, they would certainly join him, which otherwise they would not do. The Prince would not follow this counsel, being influenced by others. Mr. Macdonald wished him success, but excused himself from taking any active part in his cause. This Mr. Macdonald returned to Uist, and probably prevented the people there and in Barra, from arms; their distance was also a hindrance.

On the 19th of August, the Prince's Royal standard was blessed by Bishop Macdonald, and displayed in Glenfinnan, a part of Moidart belonging to Mr. Macdonald of Glenaladale.

In 1794, he obtained a Passport under the name of Mr. Brown, by the procurement of Miss Catherine Innes, sister to the Laird of Leuchars in Moray, who had become a Convert. With this Passport he visited the Missions of the North, and returned in safety to Edinburgh.

When the troops penetrated into the Western Highlands, Bp. Macdonald, with his brother, the Laird of Morar, Lord Lovat, and others, retired to the Island which is in Loch Morar, and drew all the boats to the Island, flattering themselves that the Troops would make but a short stay in those parts, and that they would be safe there until their departure. But, perceiving that the Soldiers had brought a boat overland from the sea to the Lake, they were obliged to disperse. During their

stay in the Island, Lord Lovat, who had been long a Catholic in his heart, wished to be received formally into the Church by Bishop Macdonald, and was preparing to make his Confession. But now he was obliged to take refuge in the neighbouring woods, where he was taken care of by a gentleman of his own name for a day or two, until, not being able to bear any longer the inconvenience of that situation, he sent for an officer to whom he surrendered himself. The party pillaged the house on the Island, where they found several Papers and Letters, some of which were afterwards printed in a Pamphlet, with observations to render the Catholics odious; and among these were some Letters written and signed by Mr. James Grant, who was afterwards Bishop. From the time of his leaving Loch Morar, Bishop Macdonald lurked the best way he could, until in Autumn he found an opportunity of getting over to France in one of the ships that came in search of the Prince, to save himself from danger. The Bishop went to Paris, and lodged in the College. He proposed going to Rome, but the Congregation de Propaganda Fide disapproved of this, and desired him to remain in France, that he might be nearer to give his Flock any assistance in his power, and that he might return home the sooner when it should become practicable. An Irish Friar advised him strongly to go to Spain, and offered to be his conductor into that country, where he was acquainted, assuring him they would there get plentiful alms for themselves and for the Missionaries. The Bishop thanked him, but declined accepting his offer. He obtained a pension of some hundreds of livres from the Crown of France, which he enjoyed until his death, under the name of Marolle. He returned to Scotland in the year 1749, in the month of August. Being betrayed by a namesake, he was apprehended at Edinburgh, in July 1755. After an imprisonment of fourteen days, he was liberated, on giving Bail that he would appear before the Court when called for, and that, in the mean time, he should remain at Dunse, in Merse,—a place selected for his residence on account of the presumed bigotry of its inhabitants to Presbyterianism. He returned to Edinburgh against the 15th Nov., to stand his trial; which, however, did not come on till Jan. 1756. It was not concluded before the month of March, when, being found guilty of being a Popish Priest, he was sentenced

to perpetual banishment. This sentence, however, by the express connivance of the authorities, was never enforced. Bishop Macdonald, notwithstanding, found it necessary to live for several years without the limits of his Vicariate, residing mostly at Shenval, in the Cabrach, with Mr. Brockie, the Missionary of that wild Glen. In Summer he made an excursion into the Highlands to discharge Episcopal duties,—returning before Winter to Shenval, or sometimes to the house of a friend at Auchintoul. He Died in Glengarry, on the 12th March, 1773.

V.—ALEXANDER SMITH (1735—1766)

Was Born at Fochabers, Morayshire. He was admitted into the Scottish College of Paris, in 1698. He returned thence, in Deacons' Orders, about the end of 1709, but was not Ordained Priest till Holy Saturday, 1712. He served in the Mission till May 1718, when he was sent to Paris, and appointed Procurator of the Scottish College. He held that Office till 1730, when he returned to the Mission. He went again to Paris in May 1733. After the Death of Bishop Wallace, Bishop Gordon supplicated the Holy See to appoint Mr. Smith his Coadjutor. Briefs, nominating him to that Office, under the title of Bishop of Misinopolis, were expedited on the 19th Sept. 1735. He was Consecrated at Edinburgh, on the 13th Nov. in the same year, by Bishops Gordon and Macdonald.

About 1746 or 1747, Mr. Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart, Mr. Macdonell of Tiendrich, and Mr. Charles Gordon, from Mill of Smithston, being taken prisoners and condemned to death at Carlisle, found means of applying to Bp. Smith for Spiritual aid. At his desire, the Rev. George Dauncan, who had been Missionary in Angus, and had been prisoner for some short time, went cheerfully upon this dangerous errand. He got admittance to the prisoners, as a friend of theirs, heard their Confessions, as well as those of some English gentlemen who were in the same situation, and having carried along with him the B. Sacrament, he Communicated them in Jail. He got safely out of Carlisle and back to Scotland, without any interruption, but information had been lodged against him by the Magistrates, and a search was made for him a few hours after his departure.

A slight misconception had taken possession of

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Bishop Smith's mind, regarding some books belonging to the Chapel-House at Edinburgh, which Mr. Hay had borrowed from it. After clearing up the matter fully, and, as it appears, to the Bishop's entire satisfaction, Mr. Hay adds—“ Believe me, honourable Sir, nothing would give me greater concern than that anything should happen, though in appearance only, which could in the least tend to lessen the share I have hitherto possessed of your paternal affection; much more, should that be attended without any circumstance which might seem to argue any shadow of ingratitude in me towards so kind a benefactor; and, as nothing can be of greater service in such cases, than to speak or write about them, I beg of you, honourable and dear Sir, per viscera misericordie Domini nostri Jesu Christi, not to let anything pass with me which you think blamable in my conduct, either of what you may already have heard of me, whilst at Edinburgh, or since my coming here, or may afterwards be informed of, concerning me. Believe me, I have nothing more at heart than to discharge my duty, to the best of my weak abilities; and, when I fall into any fault, or mistake (as what other can be expected from my weakness), I assure you I will receive, as the greatest piece of charity that can be done me, to be advertised of it, particularly by you, whom I am bound to regard as in the place of God himself, and whose reprehensions I shall always esteem as the surest sign of your affection for me.”

This year, Bp. Smith had the good fortune to see a successful termination put to a work which he had for a long time had much at heart. The want of a good Catechism had for many years been much felt by Scotch Catholics. At last Bishop Smith applied himself to the preparation of a smaller and more elementary one, and of a larger one for the more advanced. When completed, he took the precaution of sending them in manuscripts to Rome, to be examined, and, if necessary, corrected, and so receive the stamp of approbation. Abbot Grant, at the Bishop's earnest request, took an interest in the matter; the Irish Dominicans at the Minerva were deputed to examine both Works; and when their task was finished, they assured Cardinal Spinelli that the Catechisms were thoroughly orthodox, and, in their opinion, likely to be very useful in Scotland. So violent an opposition, however, to the little

Books had sprung up in another quarter, that the Cardinal deferred their publication. On learning this decision, Bishop Smith represented the extreme hardship and injury which the delay would inflict on the cause of Religion in Scotland; and, to such purpose, that the good Cardinal reconsidered his judgment, and had a literal translation of the Catechisms made into Latin, that he might examine them himself, being well qualified for such a task by his thorough acquaintance with theology. His opinion, after perusing them, confirmed the decision of the Dominicans; and, at his suggestion, the Holy Office published a formal approbation of the Catechisms, dated March 20, 1750—a measure of exceedingly rare occurrence in the procedure of that tribunal. Bishop Smith was rewarded for the delay of several years, and at once printed and circulated copies of his little Works; not, however, without incurring the most marked and indecent opposition from a few persons who held his orthodoxy in most unjust suspicion.

Many Letters passed between Preshome and Edinburgh at this time. In one of them, Mr. Hay mentions to Bishop Smith a rule which he laid down for his conduct, viz.—“That in everything wherein the authority of my Superiors can enter, their will shall be my law, whether they condescend to let me know their reasons or not, or in whatever light their reasons may appear to me.” He adds that he had not yet had the happiness of keeping the Blessed Sacrament at Preshome, for want of a Pixis, and begs the Bishop, if at all possible, to favour him with one.

Preshome had now for many years been selected as the place for the Annual Meeting of the Bishops. Its convenient situation, as regarded the Highland and Lowland districts, and as the centre of a Catholic population, pointed it out as the most eligible spot for such a purpose. This year, while attending the Meeting there, Bishop Smith published a Pastoral Letter, on the occasion of some Plenary Indulgences having been granted annually by the Holy See to the Catholics of Scotland, at the discretion of the Vicar Apostolic. Mr. Hay had asked Bishop Smith for some privilege of this kind, and his suggestion had produced fruit. The Pastoral, now published, fixed the seven periods of Plenary Indulgence in the course of the year at Christmas, the First Week

of Lent, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, All-Saints, and St. Andrew's Day; to last the entire Octaves of those Festivals. Due intimation of their occurrence was to be made beforehand by every Missionary, that no one inclined to avail himself of so great a benefit, should lose the opportunity of doing so for want of notice. For the condition, the Missionaries were referred to the Appendix in Dr. Challoner's Edition of the Roman Ritual, which they all possessed. Among the Prayers to be offered for the Church, as one of these conditions, the necessities of the Missionaries, of each Congregation in particular, was to be formally included. Labourers (Missionaries) were also enjoined to be vigilant in giving the Plenary Indulgence to the faithful *in articulo mortis*, according to the Form prescribed by Benedict XIV., and printed in the same Edition of the Ritual. The Pastoral Letter further directed their attention to the necessity of providing Baptism for infants, in cases where animation was doubtful, and labour difficult. Matrons and nurses were to be carefully instructed in their duty in such cases, that poor infants might not lose “the blessing of Baptism and eternal life.” Their instructions to accept of no proof of death, short of decomposition, curiously agrees with the latest Canons of Medical science. The concluding part of the Letter bears evident proof of Mr. Hay's Medical knowledge having been made serviceable in its preparation. “As it often happens in drowned persons, and other dying people, especially in instant and sudden deaths, that they appear to be dead before they are really so, it is also earnestly recommended that nothing be done too hastily with the bodies of such persons which might finish the small remains of life, far less to bury them hastily; and that Labourers be not over-scrupulous in proceeding with Extreme Unction, once begun upon persons in their last throaches; because it is frequently observed that after they have seemed to have breathed out their last, they fetch several gasps at large intervals, by which the last remains of life appear.” The Pastoral is signed—“Al. Ep. Misinop., V. A., in Scotia. Preshome, August 1, 1762.”

At Bishop Gordon's Death, in 1746, he became Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland District, and continued in that Charge till his Death, which happened at Edinburgh, on the 21st Aug. 1766, in his 84th year.—[See under Bishop Hay.]

VI.—JAMES GRANT (1755—1778)

Was Born at Wester Boggs, in the Enzie. He was admitted into the Scottish College of Rome, in 1726. He was there Ordained Priest in 1734; but, before returning to Scotland, he was persuaded by the Superiors of the Scotch College, Paris, to prolong his studies for another year in a Seminary known by the name of Notre Dame Vertus. This house, unknown to him, was strongly tainted with Jansenism. It showed itself very strongly, one day, during an excursion which Mr. Grant and his companions were making together. They dined in some house, where there happened to hang in the room in which they sat, a Portrait of the notorious Quesnel. He was represented with a crown on his head, composed of a series of small circles in which were inscribed the names of his Works. An Inscription underneath, still more dearly expressed the feeling of the artist. It ran as follows:—

*He ille est quem plena Deo tot scripta coronant
Magnanimus veri vindex, morumque magister,
In quem cœla suos dum vertit Roma furores
Labi visa fides et totus palluit orbis.*

The sentiment of both Painting and Inscription drew forth unqualified applause from Mr. Grant's companions. He coldly remarked, that he thought he could compose something much more suitable to the portrait of Quesnel. They challenged him to try; and he soon produced the following lines:—

*He est plena malo qui demone scripta recudit,
Agni in pelle lupus, Regi qui Deoque rebellis,
In quem sacra vigil dum pulvina Roma vibravit
Vincit prisca Fides, totusque amplectitur orbis.*

This feat created such a commotion in the house, that Mr. Grant soon resolved to leave it. He accordingly transferred himself to a more congenial residence at the Seminary of St. Nicolas de Charbonnet, where he passed some months very happily.

In June, 1735, he returned to Scotland, and after a short visit to his friends in the Enzie, he was appointed to the Mission at Brae-Lochaber, to assist Mr. John Macdonald. He was afterwards removed to the Isle of Barra. Early in the Spring of 1746, some ships of war came to this coast, and landed some men, who threatened they would lay desolate the whole Island if the Priest was not delivered up to them. Mr. Grant, being informed of these threats, in a safe retreat in which he was in a

little Island, surrendered himself, and was carried prisoner to Mingary Castle, on the Western Coast, where he was detained for some weeks. He was then conveyed to Inverness, and thrown into the common prison, where there were about forty prisoners in the same room with him. Here he was for several weeks chained by the leg to Mr. M'Mahon, an Irish officer in the service of Spain, who had come over to be of use to the Prince. In this situation they could not in the night-time turn from the one side to the other, without the one passing above the other. The people of the Town, out of humanity, furnished them with some little conveniences, and, among other things, gave to each a bottle, which they hung out at the window in the morning, and got filled by charitable people with fresh water. But, one morning the sentinels accused the prisoners to the visiting officer, of having entered into a conspiracy to knock them on the head with bottles, which they had procured for that purpose. Mr. Grant and others pleaded the improbability of this ridiculous accusation; but they were not heard, and the bottles were taken away. Mr. Grant was wont to own that he felt the being deprived of his bottle more sensibly than any other thing that was done to him. At last, his brother, John Grant, in Wester Boggs, got account where he was, visited him, gave him money, and made such interest with gentlemen of their Clan as to get him liberated in May 1747, upon condition that, under Bail, he should present himself when called, which he never was. The most ample testimonials were given by the Minister and other Protestants of Barra, of his peaceable and inoffensive demeanour during the time of the Insurrection. His health had suffered severely from the hardships of his imprisonment. On his liberation, he returned to the Enzie, to his brother's roof, to recruit his shattered health. In the Summer of 1748, he was recommended to drink goat-whey at Shenval, in the District of the Cabrach; and this simple prescription, together with perfect rest for a time from his Missionary duties, seems to have restored him sufficiently to undertake the Charge of the Catholics residing in the Parish of Rathven, to which he was appointed in the Autumn of that year, on the removal of Mr. John Gordon (Birkenbush,) to the Mission at Buchan. Bp. Smith having applied for a Coadjutor, Mr. Grant was pitched on by the Congregation *de*

Propaganda Fide to fill that Office; and Briefs, nominating him Bishop of Sinita, were issued on the 21st Feb. 1755. His friends had the greatest difficulty in overcoming his repugnance to promotion. The prospect of it brought on an illness which his weak constitution was barely able to surmount. His Consecration was delayed in consequence, till the 13th Nov., when he received it from the hands of Bp. Smith at Edinburgh, on the Sunday, within the Octave of All-Saints. In 1766, he became Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland District, by the Death of Bishop Smith; and Died at Aberdeen on the 3rd Dec. 1778.—[See under Bishop Hay.]

VII.—JOHN MACDONALD (1761—1779)

Was Born in Argyllshire, in the year 1727. He was nephew, by his mother, to Bishop Hugh Macdonald. He entered the Scottish College of Rome, in the year 1743, and was there Ordained Priest on the 1st April, 1752. He came to Scotland in July 1753, and officiated as Missionary, first in Lochaber, and then in the Island of South Uist. In January 1761, he was appointed Coadjutor to his uncle, Bishop Hugh, with the title of Bishop of Tiberiopolis, and was Consecrated at Preshome, on the 27th September of the same year. At Bishop Hugh's death, he became Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District, and Died on the 9th May, 1779, after an illness of a few days.—[See under Bishop Hay.]

VIII.—GEORGE HAY (1769—1811.)

PREFACE.

If, after the manner of a School of Biography, long since out of fashion, the Author of this Memoir was expected to offer the courteous Reader an apology for its appearance at the present time, there is one point, at least, on which apology would be altogether superfluous. There can be no doubt that Bishop Hay deserved a Memoir. His Contemporaries felt him to be a man of no common mark; and the feeling has lost nothing of its force among a later generation. The deference paid, in his own day, to his virtues and his great capacity, has grown to veneration, with the lapse of time—a reflection which may, perhaps, suggest another point, on which apology may not be wholly out of place; namely, the long interval of

half a Century which has intervened between the Date of his Death and the Publication of his Memoir. But it ought to be remembered that the Memoir of no public man can be adequately written till the lapse of many years after the close of his weary life. If it is attempted sooner, it either incurs the certain risk of exposing the failings, or of wounding the sensibilities of his surviving Contemporaries; or its Author must be content to leave it tame, and without incident. Thus, for example, a Life of Bishop Challoner was published by his Chaplain, Mr. Barnard, two or three years after his Death, in 1781; and, it is not too much to say, that the Life of Bishop Challoner has yet to be written.

But the interval of time, necessary to insure a Biography against the chance of injuring private interests, also deprives it of many adjuncts which would have much enhanced its value. The great Biographer of the English Poets has expressed this fact with his usual felicity. "History," he says, "may be formed from permanent monuments and records, but Lives can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and, in a short time, is lost for ever. What is known can seldom be immediately told; and, when it might be told, it is no longer known. The delicate features of the mind, the nice discriminations of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct are soon obliterated."—I am free, therefore, to confess that the following Memoir is not exempt from a disadvantage incident to every such work. It exhibits the great Bishop as the subject of a History, rather than of a Biography. It teaches us what he achieved, rather than how he looked, and felt, and acted, in the intimate intercourse of his daily life. Yet, I have spared no pains to make this inevitable disadvantage as small as possible. I have conversed with upwards of twenty persons who knew him, many of them intimately. I have questioned them, at length, as to his manners, his habits, and his appearance; and I have made copious notes of all they could tell me. Since I began in this way to gather materials for my Memoir, more than half of my witnesses have died; all of them, as might be supposed, in advanced age. The delay of a very few years more, would have made the valuable testimony of eye-witnesses and of personal acquaintances impossible.

Four slight Sketches of the Bishop's Life have been made by persons who knew him intimately. His friend, Bishop Geddes, inserted a few incidents of his Early Life in a MS. Catalogue of the Missionaries of the Secular Clergy in Scotland—a brief Sketch, which the late Abbé Macpherson afterwards expanded into a little more detail, in his Continuation of that Catalogue. All the particulars that we know of the Bishop's conversion from Nonjuring Episcopacy to Catholicity, are preserved in a short MS. account taken from his own Life, by the late Mr. Alexander Dick. Mr. Alexander Cameron, late Rector of the Scotch College at Valladolid, published there, in 1829, a Short Account of the R. R. George Hay, D.D.—a small Pamphlet of twenty-four pages, now very scarce, and containing all that the public has hitherto known of the Bishop. The Reverend Author of this Account tells us in his Preface that, having enjoyed the happiness of passing some years in the company of Bishop Hay, he had many opportunities of closely observing the Bishop's character and his virtues. Mr. Cameron made it his study, during that period, to draw from the Bishop, in conversation, the principal incidents of his Life, with a view to preserving them in writing. The utmost caution, however, was requisite, to avoid alarming the Bishop's humility, which Mr. Cameron had discovered to be very sensitive. Reiterated questioning seems, at last, to have excited the Bishop's suspicions. He one day asked Mr. Cameron why he was so anxious to know all the particulars of his past history; and, from that time became extremely reserved in his communications on the subject. Mr. Cameron, thus unfortunately deprived of information at first hand, had to apply to other persons, in whose accurate knowledge and in whose truthfulness he could confide; and, from what they could tell him, he added several particulars to his own store. Such, he concludes, were the Sources from which he drew his simple Narrative.

In the voluminous mass of Letters and Documents relating to the Scotch Mission, preserved at Presbume, there are several hundreds in Bishop Hay's handwriting, and many thousands written by his Contemporaries, either to himself, or about affairs in which they and the Bishop had a common interest. The whole of these ample materials were, with the utmost liberality, placed at my

disposal by Bishop Kyle, with liberty to extract whatever suited my purpose. Between the commencement of Bishop Hay's Missionary Life, and the Date of his Death—an interval of half a century—I should suppose, on a rough calculation, that I examined, and made Extracts from about 15,000 Letters and Papers. Bishop Hay was a great Letter-Writer; abundant, methodical and clear. Unfortunately, only a small portion of his Correspondence has been saved from the waste paper basket. If, during the forty years of his active labours, we estimate the amount of his Correspondence at the very moderate rate of three Letters in the week, we ought to possess nearly 7000 of them. We know that he sometimes wrote as many as three or four long Letters in a day; yet, I do not suppose that all his Letters that remain would make the number of 500.

It is a laborious task to construct a Life out of Correspondence; but, if the Correspondence is copious enough, there is, perhaps, no better, or more satisfactory way, when personal communication with the subject of a Memoir is impossible. Facts and Dates are fixed in this way, beyond dispute; motives of action are revealed, in the confidence of familiar intercourse, where the ingenuity of a Biographer, without such a clue, would certainly have been tasked in vain. With the exception, then, of what I have gathered from the personal friends of the Bishop, I may say that this Memoir has been constructed entirely from the Correspondence of the period; from the Letters that passed to and from himself, and among his friends, having reference to the course of contemporary events in the Scotch Mission.

Regarding Bishop Geddes, so little is particularly known, that the majority of my lay readers, even in Scotland, have probably never heard of him. It is a disadvantage to the fame, even of a man of genius, when he is associated, as a subordinate, with a mind of superior power. Bishop Geddes was the Coadjutor of Bishop Hay, and died before him. Had he been permitted to survive Bishop Hay, and to act for himself, there is no doubt that his name would have come down to us as a household word, as one of the most prominent in the History of the Scotch Mission. His Life was intimately interwoven with the Life of his great friend; their Memoirs are therefore appropriately interwoven also. It would be premature to pronounce his panegyric here; the

incidents of his Life must first be submitted to the judgment of the impartial reader. But, I must confess that it is to me a subject of no small congratulation to have the opportunity of recalling the memory of such a man to the grateful recollection of his countrymen.

The Materials for his Biography have been supplied from the same sources as those out of which I have constructed Bishop Hay's Memoir—the testimony of personal friends, and a voluminous Correspondence. Bishop Geddes Died before the close of last Century, and passed the last six years of his Life in the seclusion of a sick-room. At the period of my inquiries he was, therefore, personally known to fewer survivors than was his great friend; but one of these happened to be in himself equivalent to a score of eyewitnesses. The late Mr. Charles Gordon, of Aberdeen, the Bishop's Nephew, and his nurse during years of sickness, communicated to me many particulars relating to his Uncle, which I have used to enrich my Narrative. Bishop Geddes' own MSS. supply many incidents of his early Life with their dates; and his Letters are very numerous. In making selections from them, I have been compelled, by the necessity of economising room, to restrict myself to those only which bore direct reference to Bishop Hay himself, and his projects. The Letters of Bishop Geddes, being many of them written abroad, or to foreign Correspondents, are more copious in their details than Bishop Hay's; they are also smoother in their style, and, I daresay, in the judgment of many, would be thought more beautiful. In one particular, indeed, the Letters of the two friends present a striking contrast. The Letters of Bishop Hay afford evidence of a mind occupied with one engrossing subject, whatever it might be, for the time. He goes into it, turns it about in every light, exhausts it, and his writing space, together. His Letters very rarely contain an allusion to the common news of the day. They may be taken as an emphatic commentary on certain memorable words:—"I have a Baptism to be Baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" Bishop Geddes, on the contrary, is universal in his sympathies. His style is more discursive. No one can exhaust the matter in hand more completely than he; no one knows better how to disarm adverse criticism, by his insinuating mode of representing his own

views. But, this principal object of his Correspondence secured, he finds room and leisure for other little matters of passing interest, especially when he is communicating with his younger friends. To Bishop Hay he seems generally to have thought it unnecessary to mention anything lighter than Mission business. His Letters to Bishop Hay are, at the same time, distinguished above all the rest of his Correspondence, by their confidential and affectionate tone.

The early part of this Memoir would be only imperfectly understood, without some previous acquaintance with the rise and progress of the Scotch Mission, and with its condition early in the last century. I have, therefore, as a matter of necessity, introduced the Memoir of the Bishops by a brief outline of Mission History, given at the commencement of these Memoirs. My chief guides in this part of my task has been a MS. History of the Scotch Mission, commenced by Mr. Thomson, about the year 1784, and continued by Abbé Macpherson; together with the Catalogues of Secular Missionaries, already mentioned, and one or two other MSS. of Bishop Geddes. There is a wide and a rich field awaiting any competent hand that would undertake the subject of Scotch Mission-History, in a manner worthy of it. Many thousand letters at Preshome, would become serviceable; and there are foreign repositories of MSS. which would no doubt throw much new light on a subject on which almost nothing is popularly known. It is probable that the History of many of the intrigues with Spain in which the Scotch Catholics were engaged during the reign of James VI., lies concealed in the MS. Treasury at Simaneas. Could it be hoped that the Archives of Propaganda would soon be made accessible to the Historian, they would be found rich in original matter. Such a History would connect the Life of Bishop Hay with the events of the sixteenth century. The time has not yet come for the attempt to connect the Bishop's Life with the present period. "As the process of these narratives," says Samuel Johnson, "brings me among my contemporaries, I begin to feel myself walking upon ashes under which the fire is not extinguished, and coming to the time of which it will be proper rather to say nothing that is false, than all that is true." The Mission events of the last half century must be reserved for the judgment of a later age.

Before concluding, I may be permitted to allude to a literary project, undertaken by a Publishing Firm (Marsh & Beattie, 11 South Hanover Street,) in Edinburgh, a few years ago, and with which my name was associated;—I mean a Complete Edition of Bishop Hay's Works. Great expence was incurred, I believe, in advertising and circulating a Prospectus of this scheme. The names of a few Subscribers were received, both in Scotland and in England; but one fact decided the Publishers to abandon their project. Of all men in the world, the Scotch R. C. Clergy were naturally expected to take most interest in such a work. But the names of only Twelve of them were offered as Subscribers! It was, therefore, at once decided (as indeed some judicious friends had already assured the Publishers) that the time for such an undertaking was past; and it was accordingly abandoned.

J. A. S.

Aug. 29, 1860.

[James Augustine Stothert was Born at Cargen, near Dumfries, 1st Jan. 1817; passed at the Scottish Bar, 7th July, 1838; became a Convert from Presbyterianism, along with other Advocates at the same time, to the Episcopal Church; joined the R. Catholic Church, 2nd July, 1844; received the Tonsure and the Minor Orders, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Gillis, at St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh, on the 30th Sept. 1846; was Ordained Subdeacon by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Wiseman, on the 20th March, at St. Mary's College, Oscott; then went to Rome, where he was promoted to the Diaconate on the 9th March, and to the Priesthood on the 9th May, 1848, by Monsignor Canali, Vicegerent of Rome. He soon after came to England, and, having spent a year in the Collego of Prior Park, he was stationed for some years at S. Patrick's, Edinburgh, and at Carstairs House, Lanarkshire. He is now in Belgium. Besides these Compilations of Bps. Hay and Geddes, he is Author of the following Books:—"Is Physical Science the Handmaid or the Enemy of the Christian Revelation?" "The Christian Antiquities of Edinburgh;" "The Glory of Mary;" "A Panegyric on St. Patrick;" "The Life of St. Joseph;" "Sonnets," chiefly Astronomical, and other Poems.]

CHAPTER I.

1729—1751.

Birth and Early Life—Conversion—Rome.

BISHOP HAY

Was Born at Edinburgh, Aug. 24, 1729. He was the only son of James Hay, a "Writer in Dalrymple's Office," Edinburgh, a gallant Nonjuring Episcopalian, who was put in irons and sentenced to banishment in 1715 for his Stuart-principles. The pedigree of the Bishop's father was a good deal larger than his purse. Not to detail all the branches of the noble House of Hay, given in Douglas' Peerage and other kindred books, we read the Revolution of 1688, when George Hay, the grandfather of the Bishop, possessed the small Estate of Annohill, in the Parish of New Monkland, lying between Airdrie and Kirkintilloch, and close to Inchknock. The Bishop's great-grandfather, John Hay, was Parson of Monkland, at the Revolution. The male line of this branch of the House of the Marquises of Tweeddale, is said to have become extinct in the person of this Bishop. Mary Morrison, the mother of the Bishop, was just a simple pious woman, of no eventful pedigree, who taught her son to remember his Prayers night and morning. And to this good habit, he used, in later life, while relating this feature in his mother's character, to ascribe, in part, at least, his Conversion to the R. Catholic Church. At his Baptism, his Godmother was the Lady Clementina Fleming, then a child of ten years old, daughter, and subsequently heiress of the Jacobite Earl of Wigton. She lived into the present century, and used with great liberality to express her pleasure at the honourable distinction attained by her Godson.

The young George was educated in the Religious and Political Principles of his family, and was destined for the Medical profession. He attended school at Edinburgh, and bore upon his forehead till his dying day, a reminiscence of his school-life, in a deep scar over his right eye, inflicted by a stone in one of the serious skirmishes, called *Bickers*, very common at that time among the boys of Edinburgh. His education, though liberal, was not Academic; his name does not appear in the books of the University. In the sixteenth year of his age he began the study of Medicine, and was bound apprentice to Mr. George Lauder,

a Surgeon at Edinburgh. Several of his contemporaries afterwards rose to eminence in their profession; the most distinguished among them were, Mr. Alexander Wood, Dr. John Gregory, Livingstone of Aberdeen, Dongal Reith, and Strachan of Banff. With Mr. Wood, especially, he contracted a friendship which survived among subsequent changes, and was terminated only by the death of that eminent Surgeon in 1807. The Medical school at Edinburgh, now unsurpassed in the world, was at that time in course of formation, under the auspices of a small body of able Professors, Munro *Primus*, St. Clair, Plummer, Innes, and Alston, most of whom had studied under the eminent physician, Boerhaave. The Royal Infirmary had been only a few years before, (1741) opened to receive patients; and two years more (1747) Clinical Lectures were begun in it by Dr. John Rutherford. But, amidst these happy auguries for the study of Medicine, Mr. Hay has left us a melancholy picture of the moral condition of the students, in a letter written many years afterwards, on the subject of Medical Studies:—"I was born and educated in this city, (Edinburgh) and applied to the study of Medicine in my younger days, before I had any knowledge of the Catholic faith. I know what this place was at that time, with regard to morals, and I am persuaded by all accounts I can get, that it is beyond any comparison worse at present, especially in the medical line; in so much so, that it is my decided opinion that it is next to a miracle if a young man, left any degree to his own management in this vicious Sodom, and applying to the study of Medicine, can ever be able to escape the contagion."

Meanwhile, something more exciting than Medical studies occupied the attention of the whole country. The elder son of the Chevalier St. George had landed on the coast of Inverness-shire, and was on his march to the Capital. The news of his landing reached Edinburgh, early in August 1745; much bustling preparation succeeded, with a view to oppose his entrance into the City; the Castle was reinforced with Troops and provisions; the City Guard was increased, and other Civic fighting-men received notice to hold themselves in readiness for active service. The dilapidated City-walls were again repaired and fortified; sentries were placed at the gates, and Volunteers in great numbers, some of them Ecclesiastics, en-

rolled themselves for co-operation with the regular army. Even the repose of the Scottish Sabbath was broken by these notes of preparation. A Fast was Proclaimed, (Sept. 5) and an Address voted by the City to King George, filled with protestations of loyalty; it was signed by the Lord Provost, Archibald Stewart, and presented to the King by the Duke of Argyll. In it the Citizens declared that Edinburgh had "always distinguished herself by a pious and steady attachment to Revolution and Whig principles, and a hearty abhorrence of all Popish and arbitrary governments."

Still onwards, without a check, marched the dreaded Highland Army. Four days after the Fast it entered Perth; and in as many more had crossed the Forth, a few miles above Stirling. The Capital was now thoroughly alarmed—banks, public offices, and the valuable effects of some private persons were removed for security into the Castle; workmen redoubled their exertions on the ramparts, barricades were at every gate, guns were planted, and the train-band Volunteers mounted guard all over the City. It was shrewdly suspected, however, that under all this seeming activity, much secret satisfaction existed among a large body of the Citizens, at the near prospect of the Prince's approach. Even the Provost himself was not above suspicion of conniving at the plans of the insurgents. On the 15th September, they were reported to have reached Linlithgow: the City Guards forthwith marched out through the West-Port, to assist Colonel Gardiner's Dragoons at Corstorphine, in arresting their further progress. But fear of the Highlanders, or, more probably, sympathy with their cause, proved too much for the constancy of these gallant defenders of the Capital. The first appearance of the enemy was the signal for their precipitate flight, in which they were joined by the whole body of Gardiner's Dragoons. In two days more, the Highlanders were masters of the City, entering it by the Netherbow Port, while Charles took possession of Holyrood Palace. A Proclamation, dated Rome, December 23, 1743, was read at the Cross, in name of his father, and another, in his own, as Regent of the Kingdom, dated Paris, May 16, 1745; in both of which ample promises were made to secure all his Majesty's Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their Religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their Political rights and privileges.

After a few days' repose the Prince's Army moved eastwards, from its encampment at Dud-dingstone to meet Sir John Cope. Next day the two Armies were face to face, between Preston and Seton, about seven miles from Edinburgh. An engagement ensued, well known as the Battle of Gladsmuir, or Prestonpans, in which Cope was ingloriously routed, and Col. Gardiner was killed. Cope never drew bridle till he reached Berwick, with the first news of his own disgrace. As soon as victory had declared for Charles, he mounted his horse, and rode over the field, to put a stop to the carnage. Finding no Surgeons among the English prisoners, he dispatched an Officer to Edinburgh, to procure all the Surgical assistance he could find for the relief of the wounded. The invitation was not unwelcome to the Prince's adherents there. Mr. George Lauder, among the rest, was speedily on the field, with his Medicine Chest and his Pupils, and Mr. Hay among them. The wounded had been carried into Col. Gardiner's house, near Tranent, and there our young Student was roughly initiated into the duties of a Military Surgeon. At the sight of so many distressing cases, he was affected almost to fainting; but, soon recovering himself, he contributed his services with the rest, to the assistance of the wounded of either Army, without distinction. The whole day was consumed in these offices, without a moment's repose, even for the refreshment of exhausted nature. For the next four months Mr. Hay followed the fortunes of the Prince's Army.

It was on the march of the English army from Edinburgh, that the Palace of Linlithgow was accidentally burnt, Feb. 1. The same day, the Highland army crossed the Forth in three divisions; one of them, to which Mr. Hay was attached, marched from Dunblane towards Crieff, Feb. 2. The hardships of the last four months had severely tried the constitution of the young Medical Student; at Ardoch, the site of a Roman camp, between Crieff and Dunblane, he was suffering so severely from ague, as to be unable to proceed further with the Army. While the Prince and his forces were pushing northwards to Inverness, Mr. Hay was compelled to return to Edinburgh; where his friends advised him to present himself to the representatives of the established Government, in the hope that, as his services had been merely professional, and rendered without distinction to the sick and

wounded of both Armies, he would be put to no further trouble. But his friends were mistaken. He was detained as a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh for about three months, and then sent to London, with others in a similar situation, in custody of a Messenger-at-Arms.

Meanwhile, the disastrous Battle of Culloden had decided, once for all, the fate of Charles' expedition, and of his claims to the British Crown. His Force was irretrievably broken; and he was glad, after months of severe hard-ship and imminent danger, to escape to the Continent with his life. Among the numerous prisoners taken at Culloden, was Mr. Hay's master, Mr. George Lauder. Mr. Hay, himself, was detained in London for a whole year; his captivity, however, was not a rigorous one. He and his fellow-prisoners were allowed to receive the visits of their friends. Among these, was Meighan, a Catholic Publisher of some note in his day, residing in Drury Lane, and the father of the present Catholic bookselling trade in England. In a conversation which passed in Mr. Hay's presence, between this excellent man and one of his friends in confinement, Mr. Hay heard for the first time, and with much surprise, the voice of an advocate for the Catholic Faith. The impression left on his mind by this incident is vivid, and transient; but in later years he used to speak of it.

In the month of June, 1747, an Act of Indemnity was extended, with the exception of some of the ringleaders to all concerned in the late unfortunate enterprise of Prince Charles. Mr. Hay then returned to his native City. Hearing, soon after, that there was an intention of citing him as a witness against some of his late associates, he withdrew to Kirktown House, near Kilbride, in the West Country, the seat of Sir Walter Montgomery, a relation of his own. He succeeded for a while in beguiling with field sports the tedium of this life of inactivity, and when they failed to amuse him, he sought a change of occupation in the Library. As it happened, a copy of Gother's "Papist Misrepresented and Represented" fell in his way. He read it with avidity, and a new world was opened to his view. Except the few words spoken by Meighan, he had never even so much as heard an explanation of the Catholic Religion. Many of his late comrades, indeed, had professed it; but it may easily be supposed that the conversation of Soldiers in a marching

army was not likely to turn on such a subject. His mind, however, which was naturally of a serious cast, had sometimes been perplexed, when he considered the number of his countrymen around him, who, in various conflicting ways, all professed to be in the right. Though the Religious body to which he himself belonged was peculiarly strict and exclusive, he could not help suspecting that others might be in the right as well as it; and he felt a growing inclination to think favourably of all the Religious opinions held by his countrymen. Such was the state of his mind at that time, as he long afterwards described it, in nearly these very words, to a very intelligent gentleman, to whom we are indebted for the account, and who was himself a Convert to Catholicity. But, from the indulgence with which Mr. Hay was inclined to regard the conflicting Religious opinions of his countrymen, there was one class which he had always excepted, namely, those professed by the Papists; their opinions, he had been taught by his early education, to consider as, on the very face of them, totally irreconcilable with true Religion.

The casual discovery of Gother's little Book revived the impression made on his mind by what he had heard from Meighan. He was filled with doubts and perplexities: could it be possible that the Catholic Religion had, after all, truth on its side? He often retired to his closet, to revolve the subject in his mind; and, sometimes in an agony of distress, fell on his knees, and, with many tears, besought the Father of Lights to enlighten his mind in the knowledge of the Truth. One thing he resolved upon: Gother's Book had been sufficient to excite his doubts, but was not enough to satisfy them; he must, without loss of time, make the acquaintance of a living Catholic, if possible, of a Priest, and thus prosecute his search at the fountainhead.

As soon as prudence allowed him to leave his temporary retreat at Killbride, he returned to Edinburgh, to continue his enquiries, as opportunity should serve. He happened to be attending the Fencing School of Mr. John Gordon of Braes—the name of one who assisted in so good a design as Mr. Hay's, merits to be rescued from oblivion. This man won the confidence of Mr. Hay on better acquaintance; and the youth at length unburdened his mind to him, and expressed his great desire to become acquainted with a Catholic.

"Thank God!" replied the good man; and, with an energy and warmth which at once assured the young inquirer—"Thank God, I am one myself." The ice thus broken, an introduction to a Priest of the Society of Jesus soon followed. F. John Seton of Garleton, then residing at Edinburgh, admitted Mr. Hay to a regular course of instruction and preparation; and finally received him into the Catholic Church, on the Festival of St. Thomas the Apostle—December 21, 1748.

The young Convert, now nineteen years of age, had not yet thought of relinquishing his original profession of Medicine. After the great question of Religion was finally settled, and his mind at ease, he resumed his Medical studies, and continued to prosecute them with characteristic vigour. Dr. John Rutherford had by this time commenced his Clinical Lectures in the Royal Infirmary; and the foundation of a mutual regard between teacher and pupil was then laid, which lasted through life. Nearly a quarter of a Century afterwards, Dr. Rutherford, Junior, a son of this amiable man, was about to set out on his Travels; his father requested his old Pupil, who was by that time a Bishop, to recommend his son to the acquaintance and good offices of Abate Grant, the Scots Agent at Rome.

On the 14th of October, 1749, Mr. Hay was elected an Ordinary Member of the Royal Medical Society; and, on the 2nd of December following, an "Honorary Member by Succession"—a class of Members which has since fallen into abeyance. This Society was then, as it still continues to be, a Students' Society; so that, in the absence of much information regarding this period of Mr. Hay's Life, we learn from this, that in December 1749, his professional Studies were not yet completed. He retained in later years a lively recollection of the benefit derived from this Society; so that, when he at one time had the temporary charge of a young Portuguese Student of Medicine, as a reward for his good behaviour, he allowed him a sum of money to enable him to become a Member of the Royal Medical Society, remarking that it was of vast advantage to young Physicians, as they met weekly in a Hall belonging to themselves, and had public Dissertations in their turns on Medical subjects, with Disputations on them; often in presence of the Professors and other Physicians, who gave great encouragement to this Institution.

Mr. Hay's prospects of success in life were much affected, and, humanly speaking, damaged, by his recent change of Religion. He was debarred by the Penal Laws from Graduating at the University, and from obtaining his Diploma at the Royal College of Surgeons, which, as a Corporation, was restricted by the Laws from admitting Catholics among its Members. Nothing was left to Mr. Hay, when his Studies were finished, but to open a Chemist's Shop at Edinburgh, where he sold Medicines for a year. The restrictions placed by the Laws on the free practice of his Religion, weighed so heavily on his mind, that he began seriously to think of retiring from his native country, and entering some Foreign service, there to enjoy the liberty denied him at home. An opportunity of doing so soon presented itself. A Swedish vessel had been stranded on one of the Orkney Islands. It was purchased by a company of Leith merchants, and fitted out for the Mediterranean trade; and Mr. Hay entered into an engagement to accompany the ship as a Surgeon.

While he was in London, making the necessary arrangements for his departure, he was introduced to the illustrious Dr. Richard Challoner, then at the height of his reputation as a Prelate and a Catholic Apologist. This great and good man, whose name is in merited benediction among British Catholics, was born of Protestant parents in humble life, at Lewes, in Sussex, September 29, 1691. His conversion, at an early age, was due to John Gother, himself a Convert. In 1704, Mr. Challoner began his Ecclesiastical Studies in the English Seminary at Douay, where he in due time became successively Professor of Rhetoric, of Philosophy, and of Theology. Resigning the Vice-Presidency of his College, and returning to England, in 1730, he devoted himself with his whole soul to the duties of his sacred Ministry, and the composition of pious and instructive Books; and was regarded as the most distinguished Controversialist and spiritual Writer of his time in the English Language. His "Catholic Christian Instructed" (1737), his "Memoirs of Missionary Priests" (1741), and his "Meditations" (1753), besides many other excellent Works, are the principal monuments of his industry and his genius. After an amicable dispute as to his ultimate destination, between Bishop Petre, Vicar Apostolic in London, and the College of Douay, which much desired to have him for its

President, the matter ended in the Consecration of Dr. Challoner, as Bishop of Debra, and Coadjutor to Bishop Petre, January 29, 1741. His reputation for learning was inferior only to the esteem which he won from all who knew him, for the amiability of his character, and the primitive sanctity of his life.

Dr. Challoner was interested in the young Scotch Surgeon, who now made his acquaintance, and was at some pains to discover the real bent of his mind. After a careful examination of every circumstance, he was persuaded that Divine Providence designed his young friend for the higher duties of the Ecclesiastical State; and he employed all his influence to persuade Mr. Hay to embrace it. Finding him not averse to the proposal, Dr. Challoner wrote at once to Dr. Smith, at Edinburgh, to inform him of Mr. Hay's inclination, and secure a place for him in the Scotch College at Rome. Thus to Dr. Challoner's penetration, and kind interest in his young friend, is probably due, under God, the great benefit which the Mission in Scotland afterwards received from the services of Bishop Hay. The great disparity of years between them—and there were more than forty—did not prevent them from forming a very high opinion of each other, which subsequently ripened into an intimate friendship. At a later period, they entered into a pious compact, that whichever of them should be the first to leave the world, his survivor should offer Mass three times in the week, for the repose of his soul, as long as he was able to do so. This engagement Dr. Hay religiously fulfilled for nearly a quarter of a century after the decease of his friend, till his infirmities had rendered him unable any longer to stand at the Altar.

Mr. Hay now sailed with his ship, to fulfil his engagement before entering on the new course of life proposed to him by Dr. Challoner. His ship was bound for Marseilles; on its passage it touched at Cadiz, and while it lay in the harbour, Mr. Hay went on shore every morning to hear Mass. He became acquainted with a very pious Augustinian Friar, a native of Ireland, and many years afterwards he used to relate with much humour, that, one day while they were sitting together, the good Friar's dinner was brought in, consisting of a little thin soup; on which the Augustinian who was very stout, began to jest at the contrast between his own spare diet and his personal appear-

ance. The conversation of this pious Friar strongly disposed Mr. Hay to renounce the world altogether, and seek the salvation of his soul in Religious seclusion. But Providence had arranged events otherwise. A Letter from Bishop Smith had been sent after him, to inform him that a place should be provided for him in the Scotch College, in Rome, and setting before him strong reasons for dedicating himself to the spiritual assistance of his poor country. This letter seems to have been forwarded to him by way of Paris. Mr. George Innes, at that time Principal of the Scotch College there, writing to Mr. John Gordon, then residing in London, as Procurator for the Scotch Mission, mentions that he had received an enclosure from Mr. Gordon, to which he had added some words of encouragement from himself, on the subject of Mr. Hay's present resolution; and that he was to inform Mr. Hay, by the very next post, of Bishop Smith's intentions regarding him. Mr. Innes adds, "By the account you give of him, it appears he is truly a hopeful subject, and I am sorry he did not pass this way. What Bishop Smith writes to Mr. Grant about him has determined the matter for his going forward to the Old Town (Rome), and I shall do all I can, that he may meet there with everything to his mind; though I can't say but I had much rather have got him to this house."

Abate Grant, writing from Rome, in the name of Cardinal Riviera, Prefect of Propaganda, to inform Bishop Smith that there were two vacancies in the Scotch College in the City, July 2, 1751, one of which should be reserved for Mr. Hay. His engagement with the Leith merchants terminated on the arrival of their ship at Marseilles; and he immediately turned his face towards Rome. The same friendly Principal Innes, writing to Abate Grant, Sept. 5, 1757, says, "In all appearance, Mr. G. Hay will reach you before you get this line; I have with yours a Letter from him from Marseilles, as he was just ready to depart for Leghorn. I wish you had many subjects like him, for company's (Missions) service. Pray, my best wishes to him, and prosperity to the end in his pious undertaking. As he is a man of years and understanding, I'm persuaded he'll profit much by Dr. Stonor."

Principal Innes had taken a deep interest in the young student. He wrote again from Paris to his friend Dr. Stonor (Nov. 17, 1751), Agent for

the English Clergy at Rome, in these terms:—
 "I'd fain know your opinion of our last student, Mr. Hay, sent by Bishop Smith with great eulogy of him, to our College in Rome; and above all, I could heartily wish you could be helpful to him, without giving umbrage to the Reverend Fathers. By what I can understand, he is a lad very sincere, of good sense, and of more knowledge and experience than most we send thither. The only favour I beg of you is, that when you can prudently be of any use to Mr. Hay, or any other of our students with you, in that case you'll bestow on them your helping hand."

Mr. Hay entered the Scotch College, Rome, September 10, 1751.

The City of Rome never enjoyed greater prosperity, than about the time when Mr. Hay entered it as a student, under Benedict XIV., a Pontiff justly regarded as one of the wisest and most learned among the Popes. The state and circumstance which distinguished the manners of the old European Courts, before the first Revolution in France, had not passed away. Rome was at that time, as it had often been before, the asylum of the unfortunate, and of the exile. The Prince who, in other circumstances, might have sat on the throne of Britain, was living in the Palazzo Savorelli, with his pious wife, Maria Clementina, daughter of Prince Sobieski of Poland. Their younger son, Henry, had been lately (1747) created a Cardinal. The visitor from a distant country, as he walked in the streets of Rome, might have met Alphonsus Liguori, then a Priest, come up from the Kingdom of Naples, on the business of his new Congregation of the Holy Redeemer, or on the subject of his great Work on Moral Theology, then in progress. Assemani might have been found at the Vatican Library; Paul of the Cross was erecting Monasteries for the first Passionists in the Pontifical States. In the Roman Schools, Lagomarsini filled the Chair of Greek; the illustrious Boscovich was anticipating the discoveries of Modern Science, and building up his ingenious Theory of the Constitution of Matter, in the Chair of Philosophy. The Scotch College was at that time in a state of more than usual efficiency. The office of Rector was filled by F. Lorenzo Alticozzi, S. J., one of the best Superiors the College ever had. He was a man of strict honour and integrity; and to great activity, knowledge, and experience in

the business of life, he united an extraordinary zeal for the salvation of souls. His office naturally directed much of his zeal towards the afflicted Scotch Mission; in order to provide more labourers for that corner of the Vineyard, his enterprise and perseverance in improving the funds of the College never flagged; nor his efforts in promoting the spirit of learning and piety among the students, by whom he was greatly beloved. The Father-General of the Jesuits, in 1764, assured Abate Grant, that "the Scotch boys' esteem and affection for Alticozzi redounded to the honour of the Society." On his appointment to the Rectorship, in 1747, he had found the College miserably neglected; without wine, oil, or money; burdened with a heavy debt, and with six students, and their superiors and servants to maintain. Difficulties which would have thrown other men into despondency, only stimulating his activity; and such were his prudent exertions, that he provided for all this family, maintained the credit of the House, and soon increased the number of students, without diminishing their diet, or any part of their usual allowance.

At the time of Mr. Hay's arrival, there were nine Students in the College. Two of them had preceded him by a few months; a third returned home to the Mission a short time after his coming. It is not a little remarkable that there should have been at that time no fewer than three future Bishops in the College at once—Mr. John Macdonald, nephew to the Bishop of the Highland District, of the same name, and afterwards his Coadjutor and Successor; Mr. John Geddes, Coadjutor to Bishop Hay; and Mr. Hay himself. To these must be added Mr. Charles Erskine, related to the noble Family of Kelly, who rose to eminence at the Roman Court, and was at last created a Cardinal.

CHAPTER II.

1751—1759.

Early Friendships—John Geddes—William Guthrie—Scotch College—Studies—Ordination—Return to Scotland.

Mr. John Geddes, the fellow-student, friend, and lastly Coadjutor of Dr. Hay, was the son of John Geddes, a Catholic tenant-farmer at Curri-

down, on the Estate of Letterfourie, in the Parish of Banff, and of his wife, Murjory Burgess. He was Born at Curridown, August 29, 1735, and was Baptised, the day following, in the lower room at Preshome, by the Missionary, Mr. James Donaldson. When he was four years old, he began to learn his alphabet, and, a year later, to write. In 1742 he commenced the study of Latin, at the Parish School of Rathven, living all the week at the village of Fimoehy with his maternal grandfather, and returning home, every Saturday, to spend Sunday with his parents. This arrangement continued till Easter, 1743, when a scheme for his adoption and education as a Protestant was frustrated. The winter of that year he began to receive instruction at Cairnfield, together with the two sons of Mr. Gordon, the Proprietor, from their tutor, Mr. James Shearer. In 1744, their little class was increased by the addition of Alexander Geddes, afterwards a celebrated Wit, and Translator of the Pentateuch, whom we shall meet again by and by. During the confusion that prevailed throughout the country in the Winter of 1745-6, as there was no Parish School, young Geddes remained at home copying Poems, and hoping, before long, to be sent to the Seminary at Scalau to begin his studies for the Priesthood. For the next three years he continued to pick up a little education at various obscure Schools in the neighbourhood, still cherishing his aspirations to the Priesthood. On one occasion, which he used in later life to describe, his father had set him to watch a herd of cattle, a task which young Geddes contrived to make less irksome by taking with him a favourite book as a companion. But while the herd-boy read, the cattle were quietly feeding in the worthy farmer's growing corn. He ran out to turn them back, and scold the child; but, finding him intent on his book, he sent him home, and never again set him to so ungenial an employment.

In July, 1747, young Geddes caught the Small Pox, and the following month his father, a delicate man, died of Consumption. Bishop Smith saw the boy at that time, and promised to be a father to him. In the winter of 1748-9, Mr. Alexander Goddman came to be Missionary at Preshome, and John Geddes went regularly to his house to study Latin and French. John Reid, afterwards Priest there, and Alexander Geddes, were the companions of his studies. For a part

of the year, 1749, he lived in the Priest's house; and used afterwards to mention, with disapprobation, a habit that the good Missionary had of waking the boy out of his first sleep at night to repeat the Litany of the Blessed Virgin together. He made his first Communion on Candlemas-Day, 1749, and was Confirmed by Bishop Smith at Mortlach, in September following. It was then arranged that he should be entered at once at the Scotch College in Rome, in company with Mr. William Guthrie, a recent Convert.

This simple, excellent man was Born of Protestant parents at Peterhead, in Aberdeenshire, in 1727. At the age of fifteen he was bound apprentice to a joiner at Ellon, in the same County. While serving his time there, he was convinced of the truth of the R. Catholic Religion, and was received into the Church in 1746. His Conversion, and, above all, his successful endeavours to direct the minds of others who applied to him for advice in the same Faith, roused the anger of his master, and of the Ministers in his neighbourhood. On the Eve of Christmas, 1748, he was turned out of doors without an hour's warning, and left to shift for himself. Providence did not desert him. At the earnest recommendation of several of the Clergy to whom he was known, Bishop Smith agreed to send him to the Scotch College at Rome in room of Mr. Robert Grant, brother of the Scotch Agent, who, with a Mr. Duga'd Macdonald, was about to return home to the Mission. Mr. Guthrie met his travelling-companion, Mr. John Geddes, for the first time, in Preshome, September 10, 1749. He has described the incident in his own artless manner. It was Sunday; he had walked from Mortlach to hear Mass at Preshome. "Here I happily met with my comrade and fellow-traveller, upon sight of whom I was very well satisfied, but upon trial I was better, as I found him so much inclined to Devotion, which was the principal thing I was desirous he should be. And I must own I was surpris'd to see such a great sense of Religion in one who was so very young, which made me believe he had a call from God to the Office he was setting about."

Mr. Geddes and his new friend went that night to Auchenhalrig, a hamlet near Gordon Castle, where Mr. John Godsmann, the Missionary, received them with the affection of a father, and informed them that he had made a bargain for

their passage to Leghorn with a worthy Sea Captain of the name of Abernethy. A few days afterwards they went down to the shore with Mr. Godsmann to look at the ship, and be introduced to the Captain. After that, they visited a ruined Chapel and Well, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, at Orton, on the Spey, a few miles above Forchabers, where "undeniable miracles" were still performed; such as cripples being carried to it on barrows and walking home, cured; others limping on crutches, and leaving them at the Well, after recovering the proper use of their limbs. This Well was called the Chapel Well; and is still a place of great resort among the common people in the neighbourhood as a certain means of cure for sprains. The water is pure and limpid, and the bottom of the Well is strewed with pins, dropped into it by people as Votive Offerings. It was once a place of Pilgrimage, celebrated, far and near, as the Chapel of our Lady of Grace. The present Proprietor of Orton, who has bestowed much pains and expense on this interesting spot, has erected a Mausoleum for his family on the site of the ancient Chapel. An elegant Inscription over the entrance preserves the memory of the old Dedication of the place.

The last Sunday in September, after Mass, the two young friends visited another venerated spot in the neighbourhood;—the ruined Chapel and Churchyard of St. Ninians. A Chapel had been erected there in Catholic times, which is mentioned, as in ruins, by George Conn (*De Duplici Statu, etc.*), early in the 17th Century. It was rebuilt by Mr. Irvine, Missionary in the Enzie, in 1687. About the year 1728, the Presbyterians in the neighbourhood resolved to put a stop to the Celebration of Mass in it, and sent a Minister to take possession of it. The Catholics in the Enzie were then pretty numerous, and they assembled in a large body to resist this outrage; the father of the late Bishop Scott being one of them. They succeeded in repelling the attack on their Chapel, but serious consequences were threatened, on account of so violent a measure on the part of the Catholics. Alexander, Duke of Gordon, went all the way to London to propitiate the Government in their favour; most of them being his own tenants and dependents. He represented the affair in such a light, that it was pass'd over as of little moment; but the fatigues and anxieties of the journey are said to

have cost the Duke his life. The Presbyterians, therefore, gained possession of this Chapel; neither were the Catholics again permitted to make use of it for their worship. It fell again into ruin; and, long afterwards, the stones were employed in roofing the present humble Chapel at Tynct. Every trace of the old Chapel, except the outlines of the foundation, has now disappeared; but the small enclosure of the Burying-ground is well preserved, and is still used for interments, principally, though not exclusively, by Catholics. The situation of St. Ninians is one of the best in the Enzie, commanding an extensive view of the valley, bounded by the distant hills in Ross-Shire, Sutherland, and Caithness, on the Southern shore of the Moray Firth. But to a Scottish Catholic, it possesses an interest independent of all the attractions of natural scenery; for here are the remains of Bishop Nicolson, the first Vicar Apostolic in Scotland, whose Tomb is distinguished by an Inscription in Latin, attributed to the Classic pen of his successor, Bishop Gordon. Here, too, are the mortal remains of, perhaps, thirty Missionary Priests, who laboured, in their day, in that part of the country, and rest from their toils amidst the scenes once so familiar to them. The Bishop and Clergy are buried on the site of the Chancel, in the old Chapel. The laity have their graves in the turf around it. One of their Tombstones indicates the resting-place of a near relation of Bishop Gordon; his decease in the prime of life, and his singular piety are commemorated in a series of quaint rhymes, more curious than elegant. It was to this place, then, that Mr. Geddes and his friend came, to strengthen and renew their fervour, before quitting their native land for a time.

They were now in daily expectation of setting sail for Italy. After several delays and mischances, they sailed from Peterhead, October 14, 1749, and, with few incidents on their passage, cast anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar, on St. Andrew's day, O.S., November 30. The following Sunday, December 3, they went on Shore to Mass, and, for the first time, entered a large Church, where they spent the greater part of the day, feeding their devotion on the external beauty and order of all that they saw around them, and for which, their experience of their own humble Chapel at home had not prepared them. Mr.

Guthrie has left a description of his impressions at this interesting moment in his life. He writes with the simplicity of his honest heart.—“As it is the first Catholic Church that I ever was in, I cannot express so much as I was struck with amazement to see the Altars so finely adorned with most amiable Pictures, which I should think might move a heart of stone, and excite it to devotion; and, likewise, I was well pleased to see the Orders of the Church go about their functions with so much decency and respect to what they were about, and the people performing their part to the height of admiration. In a word, I found now, to my sweet experience, as I have the pleasure of being an eye-witness, that the way the Catholic Church was represented to me, before I was Catholic myself, was nothing but railery and aspersion. I was, thanks be to God, convinced of it, before I left my own country, as I had it from persons of undoubted authority, but I have now seen with my own eyes, and heard with my ears: Lord, grant that I may make a good use of it, and declare it unto others, that they may share the same sweetness with myself.”

In common with all British subjects at that day, the young travellers counted their time according to the Old Style, or eleven days earlier than the Catholic nations, who had adopted the Reformed Gregorian Calendar. Hence when they went on shore on Sunday, December 10, they found the Catholics of Gibraltar keeping the last Sunday in Advent. There was Exposition of the Holy Sacrament after High Mass, and a Procession within the Church. “This being a Ceremony,” continues Mr. Guthrie, “I never saw used before, although I had heard very much about it from the enemies of the Church, who know nothing about what is there, and therefore exclaim against it in a most absurd manner. All I shall say to them, or of them, is the words of the King of Saints, when suffering for these He came to save, ‘God forgive them, for they know not what they do.’ But I, instead of being scandalised at it, as they pretend to be, was wrapt up in a kind of ecstasy of joy, to think that so great a Divinity should vouchsafe to come and visit so worthless creatures as we are, and allow us to put our Petitions into His hands; and I would reasonably think that this condescension alone would fill the hearts of all Christians with thanksgivings and praise for such a great pledge of love

towards them. I wish that God would convert all that know nothing of it, and make me thankful for His infinite mercy in drawing me out of the gulf of error to the knowledge of His truth."

They sailed with a fair wind next day at noon, and on 16th December were off Cape St. Martin, and saw the Island of Ivica. Four days later, as they were entering the Gulf of Lyons about mid-day, a strong gale of wind set in from the East, which continued to blow hard all the next night; and the following day, as the wind was still strong against them, they were forced to bear away for Port-Mahon, in Minorca. Night overtaking them before they could reach it, they had nothing left but to put about the way they had come. After night-fall the wind changed, though still blowing hard, and they were carried fifteen leagues on their course from Minorca. Next morning, the gale again met them directly in the teeth, the sea running very high, so they bore away again for Port-Mahon. In the afternoon they reached the outside of the harbour, but the wind blowing right out of it, and the sea raging, they could not venture to enter it. They were, therefore, driven for shelter to the leeward of the Island, where they cruised about under shortened sail. "On this occasion," says Mr. Guthrie in his Journal, "my comrade and I, not being used to such weather at sea, were much afraid, but we always put our trust in the Preserver of man, and were wholly resigned to His Divine will and pleasure, but His infinite goodness was pleased to smile upon us and preserve us."

Sunday, December 24, in the afternoon they entered the harbour of Port-Mahon. Next day, Christmas-day, according to their reckoning by the O.S., the Captain took them to see the Town, and get *Pratique*. December 26, they went to Mass, at the Church of St. Philip, it being the Festival of the Epiphany at Port-Mahon; they heard High Mass sung in a very splendid manner, by three Priests, all Vested alike, in very rich ornaments. Leaving Port-Mahon, January 1, 1750, their Ship arrived at Leghorn in five days; after dinner on the 6th, they went on shore. Next day, Sunday, they called early on Dr. Gray, a Scotch gentleman, residing at Leghorn, to whom they had Letters of introduction. He had also received instructions from Rome about them, six weeks before their arrival. He gave them a re-

ception worthy of their common country; secured a suitable lodging for them, and had them to breakfast with him, every morning, during their stay. The day after their arrival, he took them to see an Irish Augustinian Friar, of the name of Hood, who was very civil to them. They repeated their visit to him next day when he told them of an Annual Procession in honour of St. Sebastian, to take place that day, in performance of a vow made long ago, by the Town of Leghorn, on the occasion of a remarkable deliverance obtained from the Plague, through the intercession of the Saint. A boy was sent with them to show them the way to the Church of St. Sebastian, where the Procession was to begin. They first heard Mass, and then joined the Procession, in the street. "At which sight," says honest Mr. Guthrie, "I was very much ravished."

On the 10th of January, in the afternoon, they went to the Church of La Grazia, and were present at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, "which was in a most splendid manner;" he continues, in his own peculiar strain, "and a great concourse of people was present, adoring on their knees, in a very humble way. Afterwards, it was carried in Procession from one end of the Church to the other, which sight rapt me up in an ecstacy of joy."

While Dr. Gray kept them for a few days at Leghorn, to refresh themselves after their voyage, he had been trying to find a carriage returning to Rome, in which they might travel; but, not finding one, he hired a Vetturino to take them. They spent their last day at Leghorn in visiting all the principal Churches of the Town, and, on Friday, January 12, they set out in their Vettura for Rome. Reaching Pisa in the afternoon, they stopped to see the Cathedral and the leaning Tower, the Baptistery and the Campo Santo. Thence, by Poggibonzi, Sienna, Bolsena, Acquapendente and Viterbo, they arrived in the Capital of the Christian world, January 30, 1750. Under F. Alticozzi, the Rector, and F. Matthew Pannizoni, the Prefect of Studies, they found six of their countrymen at the Scotch College. After Easter, Mr. Geddes went to the *Prima*, under F. Savorini; and, on July 31, he and his travelling companion took and subscribed the usual Mission-Oath, and received the Tonsure and Minor Orders from Cardinal Spinelli, in his private Chapel. In November, Mr. Geddes began to attend the

School of Humanities, under F. Valscechi, which he continued to frequent all next year. In February, 1751, the Prefect of Studies died. Two new Students came to the College in Spring, and Mr. Hay followed them in September.

From sources so various and so far removed from each other, Providence chooses its instruments; difference of age and of social position counts for little in its designs. The history of these two young men were parallel with Mr. Hay's, for nearly half a century both of them were very highly esteemed by him for their long and faithful services in the great work of the Missions in Scotland. His friendship for Mr. Geddes became a characteristic feature in his life. Beginning in their common studies, and matured for forty-eight years by their common interests, and hopes, and labours, it lasted, without a cloud, an un-failing solace to both of them, till Mr. Geddes, at his decease in 1799, carried it with him to a better world. Although so much devoted to each other, they were seldom or never long together, or near each other, after leaving College; and to this we are indebted for a series of beautiful Letters, of which ample use will be made in this Memoir, and which remain as a monument of their neutral friendship.

A long, straight, and narrow street, running nearly North and South, connects the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore with the summit of Monte Pineo. It is variously named at different parts of its course the Via Sistina, the Via Felice, and the Via Dello Quatto Fontane. In the short and steep portion of it lying between the Piazza Barbarini and the four Fountains at the intersection of the Via Della Porta Pia, mid-way on the right hand as he ascends the hill, the gate of the Scotch College attracts the traveller's notice. Over the door of the adjoining little Church he may read the Dedication—*Sancto Andrea Apostolo, Scotorum Patrono*. Externally, the College itself has no Architectural pretensions; it is a plain building, three stories in height; rather massive in its internal structure, with heavy stone staircases and several spacious and lofty chambers, a number of smaller apartments for the Students, and a commodious *Loggia*, or open gallery, at the top of the house, from which an extensive view of the City may be enjoyed. At

the back of the College there is a small garden, with its fountain and its orange trees, and a *Pergola*, a covered way, overhung with vines, under which the Students spend their shorter intervals of recreation. The Church is small, but lofty, and beautifully proportioned. The High Altar is dedicated in honour of St. Andrew; a Picture of some merit above it represents the Apostle Saluting his Cross. About the middle of the Church, on either side, are Altars of the Madonna and of St. Margaret. The latter is adorned with an ideal Portrait of the Saint, attributed to a Polish artist; in the background is depicted the Battle of Alnwick, which made her a widow. Four oblong Pictures, at some height on the sides of the Church, and sometimes erroneously attributed to the pencil of Jameson, a Scottish artist, represent the Four Estates of Scotland; groups of Holy Kings, Queens, Bishops, Priests and Regulars, and Religious Women. On the walls and on the floor of the Church there are several Monuments, chiefly of Scotch Ecclesiastics, and of Benefactors to the College. One of them possesses a peculiar interest as a record of the virtues of Thomas Forbes, son of the first Protestant Bishop of Edinburgh, a convert to the Catholic faith, who spent a great part of his life in Rome, and Died there in 1711, at the age of eighty-three.

Let us follow the course of a Student's day in the Scotch College. A Bell at half-past five calls him from his slumbers to the duties of another day. He rises, dresses, and puts his room in order, before the second Bell at six o'clock invites him to Morning Prayers and Meditation in the College Church. After another interval of half-an-hour, the Community Mass follows, then breakfast, and a short time of preparation for the Schools. While Dr. Hay lived here, the Students attended Lectures delivered by the Jesuit Fathers in the Roman College. A walk of ten minutes by the celebrated Fontana di Trevi, or, when the streets are muddy, by Monte Cavallo, across the Corso, takes them to the Schools. Before the Clock strikes eight, they disperse among their several classes; the younger, to the lower Schools of Humanities, Grammar, or Rhetoric; some of the elder to a Professor of Philosophy or Mathematics; others, in the Hall of Theology, to a Lecture on either branch of that science, Moral or Dogmatic; and, perhaps, passing, at the end

of an hour, to another School, where the Canon Law or the Interpretation of Holy Scripture is taught.

What memories of genius, how many holy influences, peculiarly dear to Students, linger in the precincts of this Gregorian University. The pavement of those Cloisters has been pressed by the feet of Clavius and of Kircher, of Bellarmine and of Petavius, and of De Lugo. Aloysius once sat and took notes, or disputed in this Hall of Theology. A simple Portrait of him now hangs behind the Professor's chair, and an Inscription beneath it reminds successive generations of Students that the same God whom their great model had once sought in that School, under the instruction of his Professors, he, more happily still, found in dying, at the age of twenty-four, before the completion of his Theological Studies. His body rests in the Church of St. Ignatius, adjoining the College, in a Shrine of precious marble. The venerable chamber whence his pure soul took its flight to the bosom of God is the familiar resort of pious youths, who are imitating his virtues.

Nor is the influence of another ornament of Christian Students unfelt in this old House of his, although the Holy See has not yet placed the Crown of its highest approbation on his singular merits. Few can visit the noble Church of St. Ignatius, in the Roman College, and read without emotion, on a simple Slab of stone, a short distance in front of the High Altar, his unpretending Epitaph—*VENERABILIS JOANNES BERCHMANS*.

But now the Bell of the College, at half-past ten, announces the termination of the Morning Studies; after which several hundred boys, attending the Lower, or Elementary Schools, repair to the Church, under the charge of their masters, to hear Mass. The Scotch Students, meanwhile, return home as they came, and continue their Studies in private till about noon. A quarter of an hour before dinner they are summoned to their domestic Chapel to recite together the Litany of the Saints, and make a short and particular Examination of Conscience. Dinner and recreation under their *Pergola*, in the garden, in fine weather, fill up the time till about two o'clock. During the months of Summer, a short siesta follows, and at an hour varying with the time of sunset, which regulates all such matters in Rome,

they once more take their way to the Roman College for the Afternoon Schools. In the cool of the evening they make a short circuit, varying every day, on their return home, by some interesting or some beautiful walk among the Classical Antiquities or the Christian Trophies of Rome.

Good Students must be in their College by the *Ave Maria*, half-an-hour after sunset. Then they apply themselves again to private Study till supper time, which is preceded by the recitation of the Rosary together in their Interior Chapel. After supper, as after dinner, they pass a few minutes in the Church, in presence of the Holy Sacrament. A short time of recreation follows the evening meal, spent in Summer in the open air, and in Winter round a stove, in a room appropriated to the College Library, when they are usually joined by their Professors, and half-an-hour slips rapidly away in cheerful conversation, or amusing anecdote. Night prayers and preparation of the Meditation for the following morning close the Student's day. In a few minutes after he retires to rest, his lamp is extinguished, and the light fatigues of the day are forgotten in healthy slumbers.

The Academical Year at Rome begins with the Festival of All-Saints. The six weeks *Villegiatura*, or country residence, which precedes it, is usually closed by a Retreat of eight days, conducted by a Jesuit Father. The business of the Schools then begins in earnest, and with an occasional holiday, on certain Festivals, is continued without interruption till Holy Week. It consists of daily lectures, and weekly and monthly public examinations in the course of Studies. After Easter it is resumed; as the hot weather advances afternoon lectures in the higher Schools are discontinued; and the month of August and the early days in September are devoted to examinations, or *concorsi*, on the subjects of Study, throughout the past year; on the issue of which depends the final distribution of Prizes at the close of the Course.

At the time when Mr. Hay entered the Scotch College, the Students were just setting off to their country-house, in the vicinity of Marino, for their annual vacation of six weeks. That Country-House was neither so large nor so commodious

then, as it became a few years afterwards. It stands in a Vineyard to the South of the Campagna, on a gentle slope, looking towards Marino, which is distant about half-a-mile. To the North it commands a panoramic view of nearly the whole of the Campagna, including the Sabine Hills, on the right, and the blue Mediterranean on the extreme left; between which the river Tiber may be traced as it winds along to the sea; and the majestic City, about twelve miles off, lies like a bird's nest in the centre of the plain. The white front of St. John's Laturan Basilica is distinctly visible, with its surmounting Statues and its deep recesses, as the morning sun shines full upon it; the Great Dome of St. Peter's reflects the golden and ruddy tints of the coming light. When the Students reach this moral Retreat, the rules of Study are somewhat relaxed. The Religious part of their training is conducted as usual, in the small interior Chapel of the House, adorned with a simple representation of St. Fiacre's vision of the Madonna and her Child. Through the open windows of this little Oratory, in the clear morning air of a day in Autumn, you may see the old Lombardi Campanili of the Abbey of Grotta Ferrata, a mile away, over the hill, and hear its cheerful bells ringing for early Mass, or the clear voices of the peasant women, at work in the vineyards, chanting a Hymn or a Litany. Grotta Ferrata is the Parish Church of the Scotch Country House; the Basilian Monks, who serve it, follow the Greek Rite. Frequently, during their Villeggiatura, the Students make an excursion into the neighbourhood to spend the day in some spot remarkable for its beauty or its history. Now it is the Monastery of Palazzuola, on the banks of the Lake of Alba, or the Passionist Convent on the summit of Monte Cavi, which bounds the line from the Country-House towards the South-west, and which they reach by the ancient Via Sacra, once leading to the Temple of Satislis Jupiter, now supplanted by the Monastery. Perhaps they begin the day among the chestnut woods of Rocca di Papa, and return home by the ruins of Finculum and the decayed town of Frascati; or, stretching further across, they reach the romantic Lake of Nemi, and complete their circuit with Aricia, Gallora, and Gensano, where they dine in the celebrated Capuchin Convent. Perhaps it is a country Fair which they visit, as that of Grotta Ferrata, on the Birthday of our

Lady; or of the Madonna del Tufo, on the declivity of Monte Cavi, soon after her Assumption; or the Tombola or Lottery at Frascati. It is thus that recollections of this beautiful land are for ever afterwards associated with his happy student days, in the mind of a Scotch Student; recollections which often come to the assistance of higher motives, in refreshing him amidst the privations and fatigues of his later Missionary life. Till he dies, he can never forget the sensations of repose and prayer, which he experienced, when studying with his companions in the Scotch Vineyard, on a Saturday evening; or the Vigil of some high Festival, and listening to the clear-toned Bells of the Basilica of Marino, as they ring the *Ave Maria*, and then their welcome to the morrow's festival; with the clustering vines and the silvery olive-trees at his feet, and the soft outline of the hill on which Marino stands, seen against the blue sky, broken only by the dark and rugged forms of the houses and ramparts of the Medieval town, or the towers of the Villa Colonna, under the hill.

At All-Saints, 1751, the place of the Prefect of Studies, lately deceased, was supplied by F. Michel. When the Schools of the Roman College opened for the new Academic Year, Messrs. Geddes, Hay, and Erskine began the Study of Rhetoric together, under FF. Mazzolani and Benedetti. They also attended for a short time the celebrated F. Lagomarsini's School of Greek. On the 10th March, 1752, Mr. Hay took and subscribed the usual Oath, binding himself to return, when Ordained to serve the Mission in Scotland. During this year, John Macdonald, afterwards Bishop, was appointed Decano (Dean) in the College, an office usually assigned to the Senior Student, implying a general supervision of the rest as to their observance of College rules. Mr. Geddes seems about this time to have turned his thoughts to embracing the Religious life, or, as he modestly expresses it, "to the other state," but besides his Oath, which almost precluded such a change, strong remonstrances from Bishop Smith at home decided him at last to follow his original vocation to the Missionary life.

The beginning of the next University year introduced the same three Students, together with Mr. Guthrie, to the study of Logic under F. Parri. F. Nicolai came to the College, as Confessor and Prefect of Studies. On the 18th of January, 1753,

Mr. Geddes' mother died. This year, Mr. John Macdonald left the College for the Mission, and was succeeded by Mr. Geddes, in the office of Decano. Mr. John Reid, afterwards a valuable Missionary, arrived from Scotland. In November the same four Students went to the School of Physics, taught by F. Lunardi, their old Professor of Logic having died. They attended also, for a short time, Boscoviel's School of Mathematics, in which Mr. Geddes particularly distinguished himself, and became a favourite Pupil of this eminent Philosopher. The four companions also studied Geometry and Algebra, and frequented F. Lazzari's School of Ecclesiastical History. Mr. Hay cultivated the higher branches of Mathematics for a short time, but though very fond of them, he was prevented from prosecuting them by severe headaches, from which he never afterwards perfectly recovered.

Bishop Smith, meanwhile, continued to watch the progress of these young men with a friendly interest. Writing to Abate Grant, he entrusts him with the following messages for them:—"Tell Mr. G. Hay, with kind compliments, that I answered his last, as also W. Guthrie's, and I pressed J. Geddes to mind his vocation. I beg you'll take care of him, and of the rest, which is one great part of your business." And again:—"I had J. Geddes', and am glad he follows advice, which he'll afterwards find was right. My compliments kindly to him, and Mr. G. Hay and W. Guthrie. I heartily wish both these would hasten home; but I beg you'll take all proper measures to despatch." In subsequent communications which he had with the Scotch Agent at Rome, he used to send "compliments to friends, old and young; and to G. Hay, Jo. Geddes, and W. Guthrie, &c."

Early in the course of this year, Cardinal Falconieri, the Scotch Protector, Died, after holding the Office for the long period of twenty-seven years. He had done little personally for the College, having left everything to the discretion of its Rectors, but he bequeathed to the College Church the domestic hangings of his apartment, and one thousand crowns to the Seminaries in Scotland. At the recommendation of the Chevalier St. George, his Holiness nominated Cardinal Joseph Spinelli to the vacant Office. This good Prelate was soon animated with all the zeal and attachment to the Scotch Missions which

had been so conspicuous in Cardinal Sacripanti, the predecessor of Falconieri; though, from his position, Spinelli had not so much in his power. With so excellent a Protector and so good a Rector as Altierzzi, the Scotch College continued to prosper. Through the Cardinal's influence with the exiled family of Stuart, and others, very considerable grants of money were made to the College, which enabled the Rector to double the size of the Country-House at Marino, and to furnish it completely with every necessary; for hitherto it had been the custom to send everything required from Rome when the Students went out to it for their vacation. The Protector also applied some of the funds at his disposal to increase the number of Students to twelve, to assist the Seminaries in Scotland in preparing subjects for the Scotch College at Rome. He devoted ten crowns in the year to the purchase of books for the Library, and ninety to the maintenance of a Jesuit Father, who was to reside in the College, and teach Controversy and other branches of Ecclesiastical Science. Altierzzi, also, procured for the College, from a pious lady at Peruzia, the gift of another Vineyard, three miles distant from the Country-House.

The Students had the highest opinion of their Cardinal Protector, as appears from a Letter written by Mr. John Macdonald to Messrs. Hay and Geddes, January 23, 1761, in which he remarks—"You were happy who lived under the direction of that worthy Cardinal. Would to God he had been Protector from the beginning of my time. I think I would [should] have been quite another man when I finished my Course." On the 27th March, 1754, Mr. Hay received the Tonsure from the Cardinal Protector, in his Eminence's Private Chapel; and, on Passion Sunday following, March 31, the four Minor Orders.

Abate Grant, writing to Bishop Smith, mentions the three Students, with commendation, "Mr. Guthrie never saw your sealed line; George Hay got what you wrote [to] him; these two, with John Geddes, desire their best wishes to attend you. They are doing very well, and, indeed, all in their House behave mighty well."

At All-Saints, in the same year, Messrs. Hay, Geddes, and Guthrie began the study of Metaphysics, under F. Lunardi, and of Moral Philosophy, in the School of F. Galleotti. Mr. Erskine had by this time left the College. Bishop Smith

continued to urge Abate Grant to get the period of their studies abridged, which he thought would do them no harm, and the Scotch Mission much good. In the course of the following year, F. Nicolai left the Scots College, to fill the office of Theologian to the Emperor, at Florence. F. Alexander Leslie, of Piteaple, spent a part of the vacation at the end of this year, with the Students at Marino. He was a great favourite with them all; a man of sincere piety, and of great prudence and learning.

With the new Academical year, the three friends began the study of Theology, in the Schools of F. F. Duranti and Medina; and of Rites, under F. Benvenuti. F. Duranti seems to have passed for a dry and prolix Lecturer; his predecessor, F. Favre, far surpassed him in popularity. The vacant place of Confessor and Prefect of Studies in the Scotch College was supplied by F. Melsi. He was the first appointed under Cardinal Spinelli's foundation, to teach controversy in the College. At Easter, F. Bruni became the Confessor and Prefect of Studies. He was a great friend to the Scots Mission; and we find him, in May 1761, corresponding with Mr. Hay on the best means of procuring good subjects for the Scotch College at Rome. At an examination in Controversy, held this year, in the College, by Cardinal Spinelli, Mr. Geddes defended Tradition. T. Melsi was removed from his charge at the vacation, and his place was supplied by F. Lunardi.

Bishop Smith never ceased to press from time to time, for the abbreviation of Messrs. Hay's and Guthrie's studies. F. P. Baker, writing to the good Bishop from London, June 22, 1756, says, "I will write this, or next week, to Mr. G. Hay, and with pleasure endeavour to execute what you recommend. I am entirely of your sentiments regarding Speculative Theology; the far greatest part may be laid aside, as being in truth but so much lost time; and doubt not but Mr. Hay's good disposition and docile temper will easily incline him to agree to the proposal, and hasten home to his father, that he may enter upon his trade, which he will be sufficiently qualified for, as to the most material and necessary branches of it." And, again, Bishop Smith in a letter to Abate Grant, exclaims, "When will G. Hay come to assist M. Siniten, [Bishop Grant recently Consecrated Coadjutor to himself.] Pray, hasten him, as also W. Guthrie. Where Jo,

Geddes, and Jo. Reid? I duly mind them all; pray, mind us. Adieu."

This year Mr. Hay's mother died; in her last Will, registered July 27, 1756, she appointing her only daughter Elizabeth Hay, her sole Executrix. The name of Mr. Hay's father, "James Hay, Writer in Dalrymple's Office," appears as her Cautioner or Surety.

The same studies continued throughout the year 1756-7. One or two new students arrived from Scotland, to fill up the places of others who had returned to the Mission. Cardinal Spinelli, with a clearer perception of what was for the true interest of both the young Missionaries themselves, and, through them, of the Scotch Mission, turned a deaf ear to Bishop Smith's entreaties, and refused to allow Mr. Hay and Mr. Guthrie to leave Rome, till their full time of preparation had expired. The Bishop complained somewhat bitterly of this delay, to Abate Grant, "We cannot but think that 'tis a sad hardship to keep G. Hay and W. Guthrie, when showed so great a necessity for them, that M. Siniten is still tied up, as formerly, without being able as yet to perform any proper function." And, again, Nov. 4, 1757, "The delay you tell of Mr. G. Hay's coming home, grieves me much, though we dare not at present complain." Abate Grant in reply, Dec. 14, 1757, informs Bishop Smith, that "all the apprentices in our Shop are mighty well; Messrs. Hay, Geddes, and Guthrie, will and must remain where they are, another year, reckoning till next Easter; for who has authority over them here, will not allow them to depart sooner, for all the representations that can be made to the contrary." And he adds—"All our young folks here are doing mighty well; Mr. Spinelli is greatly satisfied with them. The soonest any of them will be ready to part from hence will be April, 1759. They all beg to be remembered to you."

The period of Mr. Hay's Ordination now approached. On the Saturday in Ember Week, February 18, 1758, he and Mr. Guthrie were promoted to the Sub-Deaconship by Mgr. Matti i, in the Lateran Basilica. On the Saturday before Passion Sunday, March 11, they were Ordained Deacons by Mgr. De Rubéis, the Vicegerent, in his Private Chapel, and on Sunday, April 2, they received the Order of Priesthood from Cardinal Spinelli in his Domestic Chapel.

Theological Studies, meanwhile, went on as usual. F. Lunardi was succeeded by F. Oderigo, as Master of Controversy. Soon after Easter Mr. Geddes began to complain of weakness in his chest, and remained indisposed the rest of that year. The Rector took him and another sick Student to the Country-House at Marino, in June, for a fortnight's recreation. Mr. Guthrie also suffered much from headaches and continual ailments during the whole Course of his Studies.

On the 3d of May, 1758, the Holy See became vacant by the Death of Benedict XIV., in the eighty-third year of his age, and the eighteenth of his Pontificate. The Cardinals were in Conclave in the month of June; and, on the 6th of July, Cardinal Charles Rezzonics was elected Pope, and assumed the name of Clement XIII. From the Scotch College one might throw a stone into the Garden of the Quirinal Palace, where the Conclave is held. These events must, therefore, have been a subject of much interest to our Students in this last year of their Course.

As the time approached for the Scotch Missionaries to leave Rome, considerable anxiety was felt by Bishop Smith and their other friends at home on the subject of their safety. Britain was then at war with France, both in Europe and in Canada; and a voyage by sea exposed the young Scotchmen to the danger of being captured as British subjects. But they had more to fear from the chance of being detected by their own Government as Catholic Priests, which would have issued in their imprisonment, and, probably, in their banishment from the Kingdom.

In the near prospect of his return to his native country, Mr. Hay dedicated his former acquirements, as a Medical Practitioner, to the service of Religion, by a Vow, which he took, March 27, 1759, never to accept of any remuneration for Medical assistance rendered to any one in his future labours at home.

March 4, Mr. Geddes, though still much indisposed, was Ordained Sub-Deacon by Mons. De Rossi, March 10, at the Public Ordinations in Ember Week. At the Lateran Basilica he received the Order of Deaconship from Mgre. Mattei, and that of Priesthood from Cardinal Spinelli, on the 18th of March, having obtained necessary dispensation on account of his youth. He said his first Mass on the Festival of the Annunciation, March 25.

Thus ended the College life of these three

young Missionaries. It is to be regretted that the confusion which attended the Suppression of the Jesuits, in 1773, has rendered it impossible now to ascertain what rewards and distinctions were earned by any of them in the Schools of the Roman College. In the Library at Blairs College, and in other Collections, there are many Manuscripts compiled by Mr. Hay and Mr. Geddes during their residence at Rome, which evince the pains and trouble they took to acquire a thorough systematic knowledge of the practical part of their Profession. In their subsequent Correspondence, they make frequent allusion, as we shall see, to their united endeavours at that time to lay the lasting foundation of a virtuous and pious life. It was there that Mr. Geddes made choice of the Motto—which he ever afterwards adopted as the expression of his soul's aspirations—*Ambula Coram Deo et esto Perfectus.*

Casting a hasty glance backwards, to the period of Mr. Hay's Conversion, it is necessary to trace very briefly the History of the Scotch Mission, during the eleven years which had elapsed since Bishop Macdonald had been driven into exile, in 1746, by the vigorous search made for him in his own District. He continued to reside in Paris, and obtained a Pension from the French Government, through the influence of Prince Charles. Bishop Smith, though weak in health, and exhausted by harassing anxieties, continued to support, unassisted, the whole burden of his own and of the Highland District. He frequently, indeed, besought his Colleagues to return, and divide the fatigue and responsibility with him; but danger even to the Highland Bishop's Life, was still too imminent to permit him to return. His Capture was considered certain, if he attempted to cross over directly from France; the expense of a more circuitous route through Spain and Portugal far exceeded his narrow income.

While awaiting Bishop Macdonald's resumption of his Episcopal duties in the Highlands, Bishop Smith, from time to time, besought Propaganda to allow him a Coadjutor for his own widely extended District. Take a Map of Scotland, and draw an imaginary line from a point a little to the East of Inverness, to another point, say in the Island of Bute; the whole of the country to the East of that line was entrusted to

the sole superintendence of Bishop Smith. From the shores of the Moray Firth to the Solway, the care of his scattered Flock and its Pastors rested on his head alone. He had now passed his sixtieth year; the troubled times he had lived in had much impaired his natural strength, which was never robust. Yet, owing to a combination of various causes, Bishop Smith applied again and again for a Coadjutor in vain. Propaganda turned a deaf ear to his reiterated petition. Finding it hopeless to expect a favourable answer to his own application, he engaged the assistance of his Colleague, Bishop Macdonald, who was supposed to have more influence at Rome, in soliciting the acquiescence of Propaganda in so reasonable a request; but with no better success. The Congregation would neither allow him a Coadjutor, nor give him any pecuniary assistance for his poor and distressed Missions. The question of the Coadjutorship had moreover excited discussions among the Clergy at home; some being in favour of one Candidate, and some espousing the cause of another. The good Bishop's enemies at Rome secretly encouraged the party opposed to him at home, and occasioned him much trouble and much discontent in the Lowland District. But truth and justice triumphed at last, and the machinations of his enemies were thoroughly exposed. To Bishop Smith's no small consolation, Bishop Macdonald returned, in 1749, to Scotland. He did not venture, however, at once to appear in his own District, where he was so well known; but prudently remained at Edinburgh in great retirement, till late in Autumn. The Bishops again renewed their application for a Coadjutor, in the Lowlands, in their Annual Letter to Rome, written at Edinburgh.

The following year, finding it impossible to prepare boys for their Foreign Colleges, and thus keep up the succession of Missionaries in Scotland, without Seminaries of some kind, Bishop Smith erected a small Cottage on the site of the ruins at Sealan, for the Elementary Education of a few boys; Bishop Macdonald making a similar provision in the West. The greatest difficulty was felt in maintaining even these miserable substitutes for a Seminary. Propaganda would do nothing to help them as long as Riviera lived.

The clouds of adversity which, for some months past had seemed rising and dissipating, again descended darkly and in storms, on the struggling

Church in Scotland. A fresh Persecution was directed against it, chiefly in consequence of the rancorous spirit of the Presbyterian Ministers, who could never cease from stirring up the public mind against Papists and Priests. Government, with the recollections of Prestonpans and Falkirk, and the March to Derby, still fresh in its memory, was not backward in renewing its orders for the apprehension of Missionary Priests, and the suppression of the Meetings of Catholics for Religious purposes. Parties of soldiers were stationed in Glenlivet, Strathavon, and other Districts where Catholics were numerous; the search for Priests was resumed, so that none of them dared to appear in public. In March, 1751, Mr. Robert Maitland was tried before the High Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, for the crime of being "habit and repute a Jesuit Priest, or trafficking Papist." He was convicted, and received sentence of perpetual banishment from the Realm, never to return under pain of death, as long as he remained a Papist. Mr. Patrick Gordon, or Johnston, afterwards Superior of the Jesuits in Scotland, was tried for a similar offence at the Circuit Court of Aberdeen, in May, 1751. The Sheriff of Banff at that time acquired some distinction by his active execution of the Laws against Catholics. Mr. George Gordon [Sealensis] writing, from Aberdeen, to Mr. John Godsman, May 21, 1711, says, "We are still kept in hopes of an end of our troubles, though, as yet, little of the effects have appeared. On the contrary, we are under frequent alarms here; and, just lately, when people were convening in the night-time, for Celebrating the Solemnity of Pentecost, there was the narrowest escape from the malicious designs of two extravagant fellows of townsmen, to bring the Guard upon a Churchman at Mrs. Duncan's; besides great threatenings against Meetings in the Town, from the same Sergeant who apprehended Mr. Patrick Grant. This gentleman is now at Edinburgh, in Mr. Maitland's place and office; and Mr. Maitland sailed for Dunkirk on the 15th instant."

This time, the fury of Persecution was particularly turned against Bishop Smith, who was then engaged in providing Copies of the Scripture for his people. After eluding search for a while, he retired into England till the storm should subside a little. Principal Innes, at Paris, informed Abate Grant at Rome of the depressed

condition of his countrymen. "Our poor distressed people," he says, "are as hard put to it at home just now, as they were immediately after the fatal Battle of Culloden. That Furthering Bill which passed in last Session of Parliament, having five Scots Members for it, nine against it, and thirty-one who absented at that time, is the cause of continuing our Malheurs, which, probably, without that, would have been by law entirely at an end. But now they can take up whom they will upon suspicion, whether attained or non-attained, 'tis all one." Abate Grant laid this intelligence before the Cardinals of his acquaintance, representing the injustice and cruelty of such proceedings. He succeeded in obtaining through them an application from the Pope to the Catholic Powers, requesting them to use their influence at the Court of St. James' in behalf of the Scotch Catholics. The Imperial, Sardinian, and Bavarian Ambassadors entered warmly into their cause. Bishop Challoner prevailed on the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk to intercede with the Duke of Argyll, who made them fair promises. Mr. G. Gordon [Scalan,] informs Mr. Godsmar of this hopeful news, July 13, 1751, having first received it from Mr. Alex. Gordon, the Procurator at Edinburgh. He tells them that their accounts from London, even the latest, are agreeable enough. The Foreign Ministers had made a second application to the Duke of Newcastle, in favour of the Scots Catholics, ten or twelve days before, and the Duke had then positively assured them that orders had been sent down to Scotland to stop all further prosecution on account of Religion. Mr. Pelham had given them the same assurance, and the Secretary at War had undertaken to answer for the good behaviour of the soldiers. In consequence of this, Dr. Fisher [Bishop Challoner] had waited on the Ambassadors of the Catholic Powers, to thank them for their friendly offices in this matter.

Bishop Smith lost no time in taking advantage of this lull and returning to Scotland, whither his presence among them much encouraged his Clergy and their people, especially in the Northern part of his District, where the Catholic population was more numerous, and where, in consequence, the Persecution had been hottest. The fair promises of Government were not perfectly fulfilled, but so much was done to mitigate the pressure

of the Penal Laws, that the Missionaries began once more, with great caution, to exercise the functions of their Ministry among their people. Through the influence of Cardinal York, and his father, a subsidy of 200 crowns was voted this year by Propaganda for the relief of the extreme poverty and hardships of the Missionaries.

In the Spring of the year 1752, Cardinal Riviera died. Though a good man, he had unhappily conceived such unreasonable prejudices against a certain party among the Scotch Clergy, that he took little interest in the welfare of the Mission, and his death was no loss to their interest. His successor, Cardinal Spinelli, was a man of a very different temper. His influence as Protector of Scotland, and as Prefect of Propaganda, was always at the service of Religion in this Country. Mr. George Innes, Principal of the Scots College, Paris, was suddenly cut off this year, in the prime of life and of usefulness, after a few days' illness. Besides his personal virtues, he rendered much valuable service, by imitating his illustrious uncle Mr. Thomas Innes, in collecting Documents to illustrate the History of the Scotch Mission. His place at Paris, was filled by Mr. John Gordon, (Auchentoul.)

The Persecution, though somewhat abated in the South, continued to rage in the North and West of Scotland. Bishop Macdonald had been all this time residing in his Highland District, though in continual danger of being apprehended by the Soldiers, who were constantly on the watch for him. It began to be currently reported that he was a Foreign Emissary, employed to recruit for the French Army. His own District soon became too hot for him; and he reluctantly withdrew again, for a time, to Edinburgh, and changed his name. Large rewards were offered by Government, and, in two instances, paid, for the apprehension of a Catholic Priest. In July of this year, the Scotch Bishops wrote their Annual Letter, from Edinburgh; and set forth, in strong terms, the poverty and sufferings of the Clergy; once more entreating Propaganda to appoint a Coadjutor to Bishop Smith, who was then in his seventieth year. This appeal was not made in vain to good Cardinal Spinelli. He at once applied himself to learn the state and past History of the Scotch Mission; on which Abate Grant, and Monsignore Lercari, Secretary of Propaganda, readily gave him every

information. His paternal heart was moved even to the shedding of tears, at the recital of all the sufferings of the poor Missionaries, inflicted not only by the cruel Laws of Britain against their Religion, but by the intrigues of false Brethren. On learning the true state of the Case, he gave directions for the immediate nomination of three persons, from whom his Holiness might select one for the office of Coadjutor in the Lowlands. Bishop Smith, with joy and gratitude, proposed, first on the list, Mr. Alexander Gordon, then Procurator of the Mission at Edinburgh; and, in the second place, Mr. John Goddard, Missionary, at Auchenhabrig, in the Enzie of Banff. Here, however, new difficulties arose. The majority of the Lowland Missionaries, together with Bishop Smith's personal choice, was in favour of Mr. Gordon's appointment. But no sooner did news of these events reach the Highland District, than a strong opposition was raised to Mr. Gordon, much against the desire of Bishop Macdonald. Party spirit was soon communicated to the Lowland brethren, and fermented by other external influences, so that it was found dangerous to the interests of the Mission in general to nominate Mr. Gordon. Bishop Smith conducted himself in this trying crisis with his usual moderation and forbearance. Perceiving how matters had turned out, he at once wrote to the Cardinal, waiving his own personal inclination or vote in the Election, and requesting Propaganda to appoint any one whom it should think best suited to the Office. The choice of the Congregation fell on Mr. James Grant, then Missionary in his native Parish of Rathven, in the Enzie. [See his Memoir, page 11.]

The efforts of the British Government, meanwhile, to harass and oppress the Scotch Catholics, were sustained with unequal odds. Yet they were much supported by the sympathy and the prayers of their Brethren in England, and on the Continent. A Letter written from London by Bishop Challoner to the Bishops Macdonald and Smith, reveals another proof of the charitable interest taken by that eminent man in the protracted struggle of his Scottish Brethren. "Messieurs," he thus addresses them, "We are sorry our little endeavours to procure the peace and tranquillity of your poor afflicted Church, have not met with all the success we could have wished for. But God's holy will be done. Our interest here with

men in power is very inconsiderable; we can only join our prayers with yours, to entreat upon Him, who has all hearts in His hands, to give peace in our days, and to let the light of His countenance shine upon His people. In this, as in everything else that lies in our small power, without transgressing rule and order, we shall be ever glad to contribute our mite towards the assisting you and yours.

Believe me to be, Messieurs, your affectionate, humble servant—RICHARD DEBOES."

In a similar tone of patience and constancy, F. John Seton writes from Binns to Bishop Smith:—"We have ere now stood the brunt of their Persecutions, and have got a respite. I hope we shall not degenerate at present. *Modicum et Videbitis me*: a courageous patience can do a great deal; and God will send relief, I hope, in due time, if we apply to Him with fervent Prayer." A glaring instance of injustice had occurred three months before. A Protestant had raised an action against his Catholic son-in-law to obtain possession of his grand-children, which was granted to him, with this additional hardship on their father, that he should still maintain them, and pay for their Protestant education.

The greatest destitution of Spiritual assistance continued to try the patience of the Scottish Church, owing to the scarcity of Missionaries, and the imperfect provision that existed for supplying the deficiency. This destitution was most severely felt in the Highlands. In the Lowlands, the same necessity obliged Bishop Grant to discharge the ordinary duties of a Missionary Priest, and thus deprived Bishop Smith of his assistance in other functions more peculiarly belonging to his Office. It will easily be imagined, therefore, with how much sincere joy the near prospect of welcoming home three young labourers like Mr. Hay and his companions was hailed by all the Catholics of the Lowland District.

Easter-Day, 1759, was the last Sunday which the three young Missionaries spent together at Rome. The new Pope, Clement XIII., gave his Easter Blessing, that day, for the first time, *Urbi et Orbi*, (to Rome and the world.) That spectacle of Majesty, unsurpassed by any other, in this world, was a suitable close to their long residence in Rome; it was their Farewell to it; the Farewell of Rome to them. Two of them shall never see it again; the third, only after three and twenty

years of toil and fatigue, shall be permitted once more to refresh his Missionary spirit there; to behold once again, the glories of Easter-Day in Rome; but not until two Pontiffs shall have reigned and died on the Throne of the Fisherman.

The following Friday, April 20, they bade adieu to the Scotch College, where they had earned for themselves a high character for the virtues belonging to their state. Abate Grant, for whom they ever afterwards cherished a warm and constant friendship, when informing Bishop Smith of their coming, adds—"For these many years, three better disposed and more accomplished young men, have not gone from this place." There is a Tradition, also, still preserved in the Scotch College, that, after the door had closed upon them, one of the Superiors remarked to their companions who remained, that he should not be surprised if those young men were to raise the dead in Scotland. About 4 o'clock, then, on Friday afternoon, April 20, they went on board a Bark, bound for Leghorn. Next morning, at daybreak, they sailed from the Ripa Grand, reached Fiumicino about noon, and anchored there for the night. They went on shore the following morning, being Low Sunday, and all of them said Mass. The same day, about sunset, they sailed from the mouth of the Tiber; and about 10 o'clock, April 23, entered the harbour of Civita Vecchia. Immediately on their arrival, they went on shore to the Pratique-House. A young gentleman, belonging to it, treated them with great civility, and conducted them to a Church, where they said Mass, it being St. George's Day. They were invited to return every morning, during their stay, to say Mass, and receive the ordinary Alms; and, in such a way, as if their doing so would confer a favour on those who invited them, which they interpreted as a visible sign of the protection of Divine Providence. To the same protection they attributed their deliverance from a certain dangerous person, before the commencement of their voyage; their being prevented from sailing in a Felucca, which afforded no shelter from cold or heat, wind or rain; their good fortune in securing a very good Tartare, with every convenience, and a civil and obliging crew; and, not least of all, their escape from the company of a man of rank, with his two servants, who would have occupied the whole of the cabin, and much incommoded them; but who had suddenly

changed his mind the very day that they sailed, and had abandoned his intention of accompanying them.

At Civita Vecchia they were detained some days, by unfavourable weather. During this time they slept on board, and went on shore every morning to say Mass; they laid in some fresh provisions, and were very happy together. Friday morning, April 27, about 8 o'clock, after saying Mass, they sailed from Corneto to take in a cargo of corn. Everything was ready for them, when they arrived there about noon. Their cargo was immediately put on board, and they sailed at 9 o'clock that evening, with a favourable wind, which continued all night and next morning, when it blew pretty strong, but died away at noon, leaving a heavy sea, in consequence of which they were tossed about for some hours, suffered much from sea-sickness, and broke their only sail-yard. With great difficulty they reached the Island of Elba, and cast anchor at Porto Limgone that night, at 10 o'clock.

Till the application of steam, the experience of two thousand years had contributed little to the improvement of the coasting navigation in the Mediterranean. The Phœnician Merchants could hardly have crept about their seas more timidly. One is strongly reminded, while tracing the progress of our Scots Missionaries, of the memorable Voyage of St. Paul to Rome. They would have been astonished, could any one have informed them that, ninety years afterwards, it would require no longer time to convey a traveller from Rome to Scotland, than it had taken them to reach the Island of Elba.

The morning after their arrival was Sunday. As usual, they went on shore to say Mass. All this time they had worn the purple dress of the Scots College. Their appearance again attracted the favourable notice of a young gentleman in the Harbour, the Chancellor of Pratique, as he was called, who showed them extraordinary kindness, and took them to the Port to introduce them to the Governor, the Marchese de Monte Vergine, a Spaniard. They then repaired to the Church to say Mass, and before they left it, a servant of the Governor brought them an invitation to dinner. The good Marquis conceived such a regard for them, that he made them dine with him every day during their stay in the Island. He took them out to walk with him after

dinner, and but for fear of their Bark sailing in the night, or before the gates of the Port were opened in the morning, he would have made them sleep in his house. They were lodged at night at the Neapolitan Consul's, who lived at the Port, outside the Castle, and who, together with his brother, the French Consul, was assiduous in his good offices towards them.

They were detained in the Harbour four days by contrary winds, and had an opportunity of making the acquaintance of some of the principal people in the place, and of the officers in the garrison, who all vied with one another in showing attention to the young Missionaries, whose surprise, on the other hand, was great, to find military men so much devoted to prayer and other Exercises of Piety. Two of them conversed on the subject in the true language of the Saints. Mr. Hay, in a joint-Letter which he afterwards wrote from Leghorn to Abate Grant, in the name of his companions, and his own, gives the following curious account of the manner of those good soldiers:—"We cannot omit observing to you the extraordinary satisfaction and singular edification we received from the conversation of several Officers of the Garrison, among whom we found such sentiments of virtue and solid piety, as to make us really ashamed of ourselves. It was no small surprise to us to find gentlemen of the sword every day punctually reading their Spiritual Book, as if they had been in a Cloister; but our wonder was still more increased when we understood that every night, at 21 o'clock (the *Ave Maria*, half an hour after sunset), they meet together in Church with their Chaplain, and make three-quarters or an hour of Mental Prayer in common; and, indeed, to our sincerity to you, though to our grief to say it, we received a great deal more edification from the soldiers in general than from another set of people, more nearly related to us, and from whose sacred character better example might be justly expected than, we are informed, they generally give at Porto Lingone. But you will not be surprised at this, when you hear that the Ecclesiastics of Elba are in a manner without a Superior, or any one to take cognisance of their behaviour; for the Bishop, who resides on the Continent, at Massa, being an old man, has been so long without paying them a visit, that some of the gentlemen there, with great concern, told us that, though

they were thirty years of age, they had not yet received the Sacrament of Confirmation. However, of this enough, as it lies not in our way."

When the time came for the young Missionaries' departure from Porto Lingone, the kind Governor pressed them to stay longer with him; offered to send them to Leghorn in his own Felucca, and begged them to tell him if there was anything in which he could serve them, desiring them to mention, not as to the Marquis de Montevergine, but as to God and before God, whatever they stood in need of. Thursday, May 3, they said Mass there for the last time, surrounded by many friends, whom Providence had thus unexpectedly provided for them; and going on board their Bark, they reached Leghorn at noon the following day. Here also they were kindly entertained by their old friend, Dr. Gray, and another fellow countryman, to whom they had Letters of introduction. They remained at Leghorn a week, before they could find a vessel that suited their convenience. May 10, they wrote their joint-letter to Abate Grant, mentioned above, informing him that they had first engaged a Bark going to Nice, and were waiting for a fair wind. They had also found a young Catholic Englishman, mate of a vessel commanded by his brother, also a Catholic, who took charge of their luggage, and promised to consign it in London to Mr. John Gordon, the Scotch Agent there.

May 13, they sailed in a Genoese Bark, bound for Nice. On the passage it was taken by an English privateer, near the Island of Albagna, on suspicion of having French goods on board; but, after a detention of three or four days, it was found impossible to prove the goods to be French property, so the Bark was permitted to enter the Bay of Villa Franca, and the travellers sustained no loss. Here, however, they were obliged to perform quarantine for sixteen days, on board their vessel; and their imprisonment must have lasted twenty days longer, but for the interference of General Paterson, Governor of Nice, and his Lady, to whom they had a Letter of introduction from Dr. Gray, and who procured their release, on the 6th June, and gave them an hospitable welcome to Nice. Next day, they set off in a chaise to Avignon. On their arrival there, June 13, they wrote a joint-letter to F. Bormi, their late Prefect of Studies, with a description of their

journey from Leghorn. The Jesuits at Avignon were very kind to them, and offered to send the little luggage they had brought with them to Lyons, whither they set out on foot, June 15, the day after *Corpus Christi*. The first day or two, they walked only a short distance, but increased it by degrees, as they became accustomed to fatigue. They were sometimes much incommoded by a strong north wind; and, several days in the afternoon, it was rather warm. On the whole, they had a cheap and pleasant journey to Lyons, which they reached on the ninth day. They rested there four days waiting for their luggage, but as their friends, the Jesuits, at Avignon had imagined they would take longer time on the journey, they waited in vain. Finding, therefore, their delay at Lyons expensive, they gave a Jesuit Lay Brother charge of their luggage, when it should arrive, with directions to send it after them, and took places in the Diligence-boat up the Saone, June 25, landing at Chalons next morning at 6 o'clock.

They started immediately on foot towards Auxerre, and walked seven leagues that day. June 30 brought them to Auxerre, early in the morning; but, impelled by the low state of their finances, they pushed on through the town without ever stopping for refreshment, and, continuing their laborious journey for three days longer, they were relieved by their countrymen at the Scotch College, Paris, July 3, and found their reception there far exceeding in kindness anything they could have expected. Here they remained seventeen days to refresh themselves, and procure new clothes, for hitherto they had travelled all the way in their College dress. July 8, Mr. Geddes wrote another joint-Letter to Ab. Grant, with further details of their adventures.

They now began to amuse themselves with some of the sights of Paris and its vicinity. Mr. Riddoch, the Scotch Agent, took them one day to the Abbey of St. Denys, where they dined. They saw the Tombs of the French Kings, and other remarkable objects of interest in the Church; they were conducted over the Monastery, examined its Treasury containing the Royal Crowns, Sword, and Sceptre, together with the body of St. Louis, in a silver coffin, and many reliquaries of gold. But nothing that they saw seems to have given them more gratification than the Archives of the Scotch College at Paris.

July 16, Mr. Gordon, the Principal, engaged a Mr. Mackay, "a Braemar man," and an Officer in the Company of Bodyguards then called the Scottish, to show the travellers the beauties of Versailles. The Principal himself, Mr. Mackay, and two Scotch Students accompanied them, the whole party setting out in the morning in two coaches. They visited the Royal Stables, in which 6,000 horses were kept; the Royal Apartments of Trianon; and the Menagerie. They saw the Queen going to Mass; the apartments of the King and Queen; stood near the Duke of Berry (afterwards Louis XVI.), and the Count of Provence, two beautiful boys, while they dined. The King (Louis XV.) was at St. Hubert's, six leagues off; the Dauphin kept his room; and the Duchess of Burgundy had dined before they arrived. After dinner, they had an opportunity of seeing the celebrated Water-Works, as they were exhibited that day to the States of Arras. They stood a long time near the Dauphiness and the Princesses Madame Adelaide and Madame Louisa, while they were fishing in a pond. Our travellers spent the night at Versailles; next day they went on to Marly, one of the Royal country-houses, to see the machinery employed in raising the water to Versailles.

Three days afterwards they left Paris. The Agent and one or two other friends from the Scotch College conveyed them in coaches two long leagues beyond the Gates; then they went into an Inn, drank several Farewell healths, not forgetting their College friends at Rome. And so they parted, most affectionately, the Scotch Boys who had come with them shedding tears. Thence they travelled on foot, by way of Senlis, Peronne, and Arras, and reached Douay, July 25, early in the morning. They were gladly received at the Scotch College by F. Riddoch, the Rector, and F. John Farquharson, Prefect of Studies, "one of the most sincere, honest, affectionate, homely men," they had ever seen. There were then thirteen fine Scotch Boys in the House. The day after, Mr. Geddes addressed a joint-letter to their friend, Mr. John Reid, "Decano del Collegio Seozzese, Roma," giving these particulars of their journey to Douay. He mentions also a Signor Vivaldi, who had amused them exceedingly on their voyage from Rome to Leghorn. Among their remembrances to their friends in Rome, he particularly enumerates Canon Ambrosetti, F.

Mancini, and their friends and benefactors in the Roman College.

Their stay at Douay lasted only four days. They then proceeded on foot to Lille and Ghent, where they took a coach to Antwerp; and another next day to Rotterdam. As they approached their own country, their difficulties much increased. Besides the imminent risk they incurred of being taken by the British Government, and punished as Catholic Ecclesiasties, they had to face the additional danger of being taken prisoners by the French as British subjects. A French Invasion was then much dreaded in this country; a periodical panic, apparently inseparable, from the vicinity of the two nations to each other. Orders had been issued for a strict examination of every stranger, at his landing on the British shores. To these dangers must be added the risk of imprisonment. Our travellers had no Passports, and could have given no satisfactory account of themselves, without incurring the execution of the Penal Laws then existing against Priests. Hence their friends at home were very anxious about them. A Letter from Aberdeen to Bishop Smith, at Edinburgh, expresses this very clearly:—"You'll easily conceive the joy the good news of the three travellers gave me. Their danger now is in their landing in Br. [tain], seeing orders are given, and strictly executed, to examine narrowly all passengers from abroad. Could it be possible for them to procure a Pass, by means of some other Ambassador, from Col. Yorke at the Hague? If this cannot be done, there is no other method but to run them ashore, like contraband goods, in a boat in the night-time, in some Creek. It were to be wished that letters of advice on this subject might find them at Grisy, or in Holland. May Alm. God preserve them, and send them safe and quickly."

After waiting a week at Rotterdam, they embarked (August 9) in a Dutch vessel bound for Leith. The day before they sailed, Mr. Hay wrote a Letter to the good Cardinal Spinelli, detailing their journey, and their prospect of soon being on the scene of their future labours. Late on the 15th of August they entered the Firth of Forth; and next morning, the wind being contrary, they anchored at Buckhaven, a small fishing village on the Coast of Fife. An excellent opportunity was thus afforded them of landing without being subjected to the vigorous examina-

tion which awaited them at Leith. The inhabitants of Buckhaven took them for merchants who had smuggled goods on board, and every one they met was civil to them, in hopes of a good bargain. They walked along the shore to Wemyss, where they engaged horses to Kinghorn, and reached Edinburgh by the ferry, the same night, in excellent health, nearly four months after leaving Rome.

CHAPTER III.

1759—1760

Mr. Hay at Presbome—Missionary Life—Death of Bishop Smith—Mr. Hay appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Grant—His Consecration.

The three travellers received a friendly welcome from Mr. Gordon, the Procurator at Edinburgh; Bishop Smith being at that time engaged in making his annual journey through the Northern part of his District, under the assumed name of Robison. Mr. Hay's father was then dead; the Date of his Decese lying somewhere between the Summer of 1756, when his wife Died, and the period of his son's return to Scotland. Mr. Hay had the satisfaction of obtaining his father's consent to his becoming a Priest. His sister, and many other relations and connections whom he found at Edinburgh on his return, earnestly requested that he might be permitted to stay for some little time among them, a petition which Mr. Gordon, in the absence of Bishop Smith, very willingly complied with, as the arrangement was likely to contribute to the removal of prejudice from the minds of Mr. Hay's Protestant relations. It was also considered more prudent that so many as three strange Priests should not travel through the country in company. Mr. Geddes and Mr. Guthrie, accordingly, set out on foot from Edinburgh, August 21, taking the Coast Road, by Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, and Stonehaven, and reached Aberdeen in three days. Two days afterwards, they proceeded on their journey to Presbome to meet Bishop Smith. When they arrived there, August 29, they were greeted with a reproof for taking the longer way from Edinburgh by Aberdeen. Mr. Guthrie was appointed to the vacant Mission in Glenlivet, and entered on his duties September 1. Mr. Geddes was left at Presbome in charge of the

Catholics in the Parish of Rathven, while Bishop Grant accompanied Bishop Macdonald, for a few days, on his return from the Meeting, to his usual residence in the Cabrach.

No sooner was the first bustle of his arrival over, than Mr. Hay sat down to write to his friend Abate Grant, at Rome, August 26. He informed the Agent of the arrival of himself and his companions, "without the least trouble or molestation anywhere," and adds—"My friends and relations have all received me with the greatest affection; even those whom I least imagined would do so. I believe I am kept here for a few weeks principally upon that account."

To the same purpose, the Bishops, writing to Propaganda, from Preshome, September 1, informed the Congregation that Bishop Grant would for the future be relieved from the burden of Parochial Duties, in consequence of the safe arrival, only a few days ago, of the three labourers whom they had been expecting from Rome, and whose escape from all the perils of so long a journey, through the Divine favour, had relieved the Bishops from much anxiety.

It had been arranged that Mr. Hay should relieve Bishop Grant of his charge in the Parish of Rathven, the Bishop continuing, however, to reside with him at Preshome. From its convenient extent, and its exemption from the rigours of more mountainous Districts, this Mission was then considered one of the most eligible at the disposal of the Bishop, and, therefore, best suited to Mr. Hay's previous habits of life; "because his being in all his younger days," as Mr. Gordon suggested to Bishop Smith, "accustomed to a convenient way of living, would make some countries [Districts] harder to him than others." It was not thought advisable that he should remain long at Edinburgh, both for the sake of the more speedy relief of Bishop Grant, and because it was considered better that a young Missionary, destined for a rural charge, should not be much in Town at the beginning of his course. Bishop Smith returned to Edinburgh in the end of September, and Mr. Hay had an opportunity of conversing with him, for a few days, on his future prospects. He then set out on his journey; going to Banffshire without visiting Aberdeen, "by the Highland road over the Cairn," and reaching Strathbogie, in time to officiate in that Mission, on Sunday, October 21. Early in November, he

took up his residence with Bishop Grant, at Preshome; his luggage following him from Edinburgh two months afterwards. His friend, Mr. Geddes, had been sent, October 11, to succeed the late Mr. Thomas Brockie, in the Mission of the Cabrach; and had fixed his residence in the hamlet of Shenval, with Bishop Macdonald, who still lived there in strict seclusion, under the name of Scot. Mr. Geddes had charge of the Catholic Population scattered over the Parishes of Cabrach, Glass, Mortlach, near Huntly, and Skirdustan, with a few adjacent places. In 1760, he was directed to extend his Pastoral Charge to the Catholics of Strathisla, in the neighbourhood of Keith; and thus, to his four original Stations, at Shenval, Keithmore, in Auchendown, Beldorny, and Aberlour, on the Spey, he was obliged to add a fifth, at Achanaey, visiting each by turns, on successive Sundays.

The Parish of St. Peter's, Rathven, extends about ten miles, along the Southern Shore of the Moray Firth, from the neighbourhood of Cullen, westwards, to a little brook, called the Burn of Tynet, which divides it from the Parish of Bellie. Its Southern boundary lies in the vicinity of Keith. This Parish includes the greater part of the Rural District or Barony, known as the Enzie of Banff, a tract of country very celebrated in the History of Catholicity in Scotland, for at least two centuries. The majority of its population has always professed the ancient Religion, of which many traditions still linger among them. Since the beginning of last century, it has given no fewer than seven Bishops to the Scotch Church, from its Yeoman population.

The clearing system has been carried into the Enzie; and the grain now waves in many a pleasant field, where once cottages stood and children played; nothing remaining but an old tree here and there, to mark the humble homes from which many distinguished Priests have gone forth to College, and the subsequent labours of the Mission. Besides the Churchyard of St. Ninians, already described, and which may be regarded as the palladium of this District, it possesses other memorials of Catholic times. The Parish Church, standing in the Village of Rathven, is a fragment of the old Edifice; near it is a Bede-House for a few poor men, founded more than six centuries ago. The whole Parish is under the Patronage of St. Peter; and, to this

day, a rustic Fair, called "Peter Fair of Rathven," is held every year, soon after the Octave of SS. Peter and Paul, O.S.

Preshome, the residence of the Missionary in the Enzie for more than a century and a half, stands in the central part of it, three miles from the sea-shore, on an eminence commanding an extensive prospect to the North and West. The House in which Mr. Hay began his Missionary life stood a few feet to the eastwards of the present Chapel-House, and on a little higher level. Before the year 1746, the Congregation had assembled for Mass in a Chapel, called the Chapel of the Craigs, standing in a wooded ravine, a little way above Cairnfield, and about half a mile to the eastwards of the Priest's Residence at Preshome. It had been gutted by the English Soldiers, on their return home, in 1746, and the Books and Vestments carried to Cullen, and burnt in the Market-place. Since then, the Congregation had assembled in great privacy, in a small Room at Preshome.

The Catholics residing in the neighbouring Parish of Bellie, which was Dedicated in honour of the Holy Virgin, at the time of Mr. Hay's arrival at Preshome, and for ten years afterwards, enjoyed the superintendence of Mr. John Godsmann, a man whose memory deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance by every Scotch Catholic. His Protestant parents had resided in that neighbourhood, on a small piece of land, which they held in feu from the Duke of Gordon, where their son John was born in 1698. When very young, Mr. Godsmann used sometimes to be present at Mass, and felt much attracted to the Catholic Religion, he could not tell how, or why. Mr. Hackett, the Priest at Fochabers, one day took notice of him, spoke to him of Religion, and finding him docile, by degrees instructed him, and admitted him into the Catholic Church when he was about eleven years of age. He afterwards manifested a strong desire to be a Priest. Mr. Charles Stuart, Abbot of Ratisbon, was applied to for the admission of the youth into his Monastery in 1719, but he thought the youth too old for his purpose. Mr. Godsmann was, therefore, sent to Rome the following year; he and his companions travelling through Germany to avoid a Pestilence in France. They reached the Scotch College, Rome, January 1, 1721. He became a favourite with his Superiors, particularly with one of them,

F. Wolfe, an Irishman, and Prefect of Studies. Mr. Godsmann was Ordained in due time; and, soon after Easter, 1730, sailed from the Ripa Grande, down the Tiber, to Genoa. Thence he made a short passage to Marseilles; travelled by land to Bordeaux, where the Jesuits were very kind to him. He engaged for his passage to Scotland with a Presbyterian shipmaster, who was so much won by his conversation and behaviour on board, that he refused to take anything for his fare. He reached Edinburgh early in August, and remained there for some time to say Mass in the lodgings of the titular Duchess of Perth. After a short visit to his friends in the Enzie, in September, he was sent, early in the following month, to supply the Mission at Deeside. There he maintained an excellent understanding with the neighbours on the Mission, who were Jesuits. On the Apostacy of Mr. James Tyrie, in 1731, Mr. Godsmann was removed to the Parish of Bellie. He lived for some time alone at Auchenhalrig, a Hamlet on the out-kirts of the Park at Gordon Castle, not far from the Meray Firth. Then Mr. Alexander Todd, the Duke of Gordon's factor (a Protestant), boarded with Mr. Godsmann, till his marriage, after which, the Missionary built a cottage for himself at Auchenhalrig, which is still part of the Priest's residence there. Three years after his settlement in this Mission, he was much distressed by a severe attack of palsy, which disabled him for a whole year. During the perilous times which followed the defeat of Prince Charles, Mr. Godsmann was made prisoner, and was taken to Fochabers; but nothing being alleged against him, he was immediately liberated. Mr. John Gordon, the Missionary at Preshome, had taken too prominent a part in behalf of the Prince, to appear in public with safety, for a long time after the Battle of Culloden; Mr. Godsmann was, therefore, obliged to serve the people in both Parishes of the Enzie. He went about in the dress of a respectable farmer, saying Mass and Preaching in barns, principally at midnight, in order to elude the search of the Soldiers. He hardly ever slept at his own house, but changed his residence from one cottage or farmhouse to another, among the hills. By and by, the Officers at Fochabers, learning, from the united testimony of both Catholics and Protestants, that Mr. Godsmann was not only harmless, but more like a saint

than anything else, made an arrangement to secure him from any further molestation. By concert, they met him at supper one night in the house of a respectable tradesman at Fochabers, whose wife was a Catholic. The Officer in command, asked Mr. Godzman "What he was doing that made him so obnoxious to the Government?" He replied that he "only said his Prayers, and endeavoured to make his neighbours good Christians." "But you Pray against the King," rejoined the Officer. "No, sir," said Mr. Godzman, "I Pray for the welfare of all men; of all whom the earth bears, and the heavens cover." The Officer declared himself satisfied with this assurance, advised Mr. Godzman, for the future, to be as quiet and cautious as he had hitherto been, and promised to molest him no further. In Summer, 1747, he resumed his usual practice of Meeting, for Public Worship, in a fixed Place, which was then nothing more than a large Cottage. For a year after that time, the hour of assembling was still at midnight. When Mr. Hay joined him in the Enzie Mission, this venerable man was upwards of sixty years of age, and was universally regarded by all who knew him, far and near, as "a man of Apostolic sanctity."

Thus, as the Winter of 1759 was setting in, Mr. Hay joined Bishop Grant at Preshome, and commenced his Missionary career in the very District where his namesake and collateral ancestor had been Parson some two centuries before. His first Letter from his new residence to Bishop Smith, gives us an insight into the impressions made on his mind by the destitute state of the Missions. It makes allusion, also, to his practice of Medicine among his people.

"December 12, 1759.

"Much honoured Sir,—I received yours by course of post, and am sorry when I reflect upon my sudden departure from Edinburgh, which deprived me so soon of your paternal counsel and direction, which could not have failed to be of particular use and advantage to me in the weighty charge I am now entered upon. However, I hope you will, with your conveniency from time to time, communicate to me such advices and instructions as your prudence and charity shall judge most necessary for me. Nothing, I assure you, can be more agreeable to me; and I shall always receive them with that filial submission and gratitude, which they require at my hand. I am extremely happy and content in my present situation. I am sensible, indeed, how every way unfit I am for the station I am placed in, and

this makes me fear; but I comfort myself with the thoughts, that the work I am engaged in belongs to Alm. God, who can make use of the weakest instruments to bring about His own great ends; and I trust, through your prayers, in His infinite goodness, that He will not fail, by His gracious assistance, to enable me to perform what He requires at my hands. I am glad you are of my sentiments with regard to the Medicines. I hope Alm. God will turn it out to His glory, and reward all those who promote so charitable a design. I shall always endeavour to observe a just medium in these matters, and follow the directions of Mr. Siniten in that respect. . . . There is a great want here of proper Books in the hands of the people; my heart bleeds to see the effects of that want. There are several of those Pamphlets which I saw with you, such as "The Grounds of the Catholic Religion," "The Roman Catholic's Reasons," "Short History of the Reasons," "Fenelon's Thoughts," etc., which might be of unspeakable advantage, had we numbers of them. It would be a great charity to send us as many as you could of these pieces. I am extremely concerned for the people of Stroyla [Strathisla]; we have daily complaints and laments from that country. Mr. Geddes's friends think they have him too seldom already, and will not hear of wanting him a Sunday or two more. As for me, I find more to do here than can well be done as it ought; and this place would take two, at least, to have nothing else to do. By this means poor Stroyla is, in a manner, neglected; and yet I understand there are above 100 Communicants in that country. It gave me, I assure you, a great concern that a poor man died there two weeks ago, without any manner of help or assistance. May Alm. God look upon us in mercy, and send us soon relief. . . . My apartment here is vastly open and cold in stormy weather, but I hope to stand out this Winter, and get it some way helped when Spring comes. I humbly thank you for your care of my Musical Instruments, as also those my kind friends, who are so kind as to supply me. I earnestly recommend myself to your good prayers; and am, with all dutiful respects and veneration, much honoured Sir, your most obedt. Servt. and Son, —

"P.S.—As it is customary in Cath. Countries to grant Indulgences to those who do their duties about the great Festivals, I should be exceeding glad to know whether you are wont to do so, and in what degree; and, if you thought proper, should be very desirous of having some Faculties of that kind; however, this only by way of proposal to yourself."

It appears, from one passage in this Letter, that if the Rathven Mission was the most eligible in the Lowland District, its circumstances were far from luxurious. It must be remembered, also, that Mr. Hay came to it with a constitution

enervated by eight Roman summers. At the time of his arrival, too, a general sickness prevailed in the neighbourhood, which gave him much laborious occupation, as a Physician, both of body and soul. Mr. Godsmán, who lived at Auehenhalrig, about three miles from Preshome, has left us a more circumstantial account of the difficulties of Mr. Hay's first winter in Banffshire, than appears in his Correspondence. "I heard from Mr. Hay," he writes to Bishop Smith at Edinburgh, December 12, 1759, "two days ago; for, as the sickness is not ceased, we can't see one another but seldom. As he has been accustomed with better accommodation, I fear the room he is in, which is that above Mr. Siniten [Bishop Grant], is so cold in winter that it will impair his health. The flooring, ceiling, and casements of the windows are so much worn, that the wind and cold comes in every way. I really think he is never warm in this weather but when in bed. When Mr. Siniten went there, he got empty walls." Yet such was the circumspection necessary, and such the jealousy and vigilance with which every action of the Catholic Clergy was at that time watched by Government, that a few weeks after this, Mr. Hay writes again to Bishop Smith, January 1, 1760—"I am very sensible of the danger of making great reparations; and, therefore, we shall do the best we can with as little noise as possible; and I hope Almighty God, through your good Prayers, will hinder any bad consequences from the coldness of my habitation. Alas, honourable Sir, I am almost ashamed to mention it, when I consider the situation poor Mr. Guthrie is in. However, God is good as well as strong, and I hope He will enable him to bear it all."

In the midst of his many engagements and discomforts, he found time, December 18, to send his Christmas wishes to his friend Mr. Geddes at Shenval, in the Cabraeh Mission, a wild and remote Glen among the hills which divide Banffshire from Aberdeenshire. "I cordially wish you a happy Christmas," he thus concludes his letter, "and I am, with all affection, dear Brother, your sincere friend and brother, Nel Cuor di Gesù à Maria."

A slight misconception had taken possession of Bishop Smith's mind regarding some books belonging to the Chapel House at Edinburgh, which

Mr. Hay had borrowed from it. After clearing up the matter very fully, and, as it appears, to the Bi-hop's entire satisfaction, Mr. Hay adds:—

"Believe me, Honourable Sir, nothing would give me greater concern than that anything should happen, though in appearance only, which could in the least tend to lessen the share I have hitherto possessed of your paternal affection; much more, should that be attended with any circumstance which might seem to argue any shadow of ingratitude in me towards so kind a benefactor; and as nothing can be of greater service, in such cases, than to speak or write about them, I beg of you, Honourable and Dear Sir, per Viscera Misericordie Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, not to let anything pass with me which you think blameable in my conduct, either in what you may already have heard of me, whilst at Edinburgh, or since my coming here, or may afterwards be informed of, concerning me. Believe me, I have nothing more at heart than to discharge my duty to the best of my weak abilities; and when I fall into any fault, or mistake (as what other can be expected from my weakness), I assure you I will receive, as the greatest piece of charity that can be done me, to be advertised of it, particularly by you, whom I am bound to regard as in the place of God Himself, and whose reprehensions I shall always esteem as the surest sign of your affection for me."

The hardships of Mr. Hay's first Winter were lightened by the receipt of a friendly Letter of encouragement from the good Cardinal Protector, dated Rome, in reply to a letter which Mr. Hay had written to His Eminence from Rotterdam, August 8, 1759. He congratulates his young friend on the improving prospects of Religion in Scotland, and promises ere long to supply the scarcity of Missionaries—a subject which, he assures Mr. Hay, he has very near his heart. This excellent Prelate concludes these and other expressions of his regard:—"You have a good return for your labour; do not spare yourself, and assure yourself always, more and more, of my good will. I take leave of you, in the Lord, with my paternal Benediction, yours, most affectionately, G. CARD. SPINELLI."

There can be no doubt that the life of a Missionary Priest at that day, in the heart of a great City like Glasgow, with crowded Confessionals, with Sermons to deliver, perhaps fasting, in large and overflowing Chapels, with incessant calls to the Sick, and the duty of frequently visiting densely-populated and unwholesome Districts, and the Hospitals, far surpasses in fatigue and difficulty a Country Missionary's life, such as Mr.

Hay led at Preshome. Yet it, too, had its elements of discomfort, by no means trifling or insignificant. The narrow scale of his house-keeping, for instance, may be understood from the simple fact that Bishop Grant paid him forty shillings in the quarter for his board and lodging, and for economy, the same fire and candle served them both in the same room; the Bishop's linen being washed by his friends at Wester Boggs. Then when a call to the Sick came, it was almost sure to be a distant one, miles away, across the Moor, perhaps through the drifting snow; and such claims on the Missionary's time and strength were always more frequently in Winter, and in bad weather. Mr. Hay kept a pony while he resided at Preshome, to carry him up and down, where it was possible to ride. In his later years he was very fond of relating Anecdotes of Missionary life, for the amusement and instruction of his younger companions, in the Seminary and elsewhere. He hardly ever mentioned any incident as having happened to himself, but they shrewdly suspected that he had had personal experience of many of them. Once, however, as the Author is informed by one who was present and heard him, he forgot his usual caution, and the following incident escaped him, as it seemed, inadvertently:—"When I was Priest at Preshome," was the unusual commencement of his narrative. It was too late to recall his words, so he went on to tell them that one night, about eleven o'clock, after every one else was gone to bed, and he himself was on his knees, finishing his Prayers, before retiring to rest also, a loud rapping at the outer-door, as if with a heavy whip-handle, made him start to his feet. The servants also were roused by the noise, and went to the door; but when it was opened, no one could be seen; nor could any one be found, though they searched in all directions outside the house. Mr. Hay then retired to rest, but could not sleep. At two o'clock in the morning the rapping was repeated; Mr. Hay instantly conjectured it was a call to some sick person; dressed in haste, and when he got down stairs found a man, with two saddle-horses, waiting to conduct him to a lady who was dying, twenty miles off. This anecdote is valuable, perhaps, for its illustration of the harrassing duties often imposed on the Missionary, even in the most favourable situations, rather than for any suggestion of

the preternatural which it may be imagined to contain.

Writing again to Bishop Smith, Mr. Hay addresses him as "a Superior, who has upon all occasions shown rather the affection of a father than the authority of a Superior towards him." He describes himself as in "a hurry of business;" and, once more alluding to the affair of the Books, he says:—

"This only shows how little mortified I am, and how much attached to creatures; which still more appears, from the anxiety I felt concerning what you might think of my behaviour. This, indeed, I must confess, that the desire of the esteem of men has always had, and, I am much afraid, continues still to have, too great an ascendancy over me. I have for several years been pretending to use my best endeavours against it, but the little progress I have made against it is the daily subject of my confession, and makes me fear these my endeavours have indeed been little else than mere pretensions. Your reasonable admonition to me, upon that head, was of great service to me. Methought the words of the Apostle, *mihi autem pro minimo est*, etc., in your Letter, carried a light and weight with them, which I had never before perceived in them. I am really ashamed of myself; but trust in the goodness of God and your prayers, to be enabled at last to triumph over these my enemies. . . . I have written again to Dr. Challoner and Mr. Baker, thanking them for their kindness; and design, as you advised me, before parting, to improve a Correspondence with these gentlemen, which I hope may turn out to the good of my people."

A few days later, in the same month, Bishop Challoner addressed a Letter to Bishop Grant, at Preshome, May 20, 1760, concluding in the following words—"I flatter myself that He, whose Providence presides in the choice of His Ministers, and who has inspired my worthy Brother to choose you for his helper, will give that blessing to your labours, which may bring that part of the Lord's Vineyard which is committed to your charge, to bear such fruit as it was accustomed to produce in the ancient days, before that *exterminavit eam aper de silva et singularis ferus depastus est eam*. . . . Your devoted Servant in Christ, Richard Challoner, Oremus pro invicem. I beg leave to write a line or two on the other part of the paper, to my friend, Mr. Hay, to save postage."

Mr. Hay's difficulties at this critical period of his life, were much increased by the protracted and, at one time, alarming, illness of Bishop

Grant, whose shattered constitution never entirely recovered from the shock of his unlooked-for promotion to the Episcopacy. The whole of the Winter 1759-60, and the following Spring and Summer, he continued ailing, and more than once his life was despaired of. His young Curate acted also as his Physician, together with another Medical Adviser, Dr. Donaldson. Mr. Hay's treatment of the case turned out very successful. As the Autumn advanced, however, it became evident that Bishop Grant could not survive another Winter, unless he were removed to a more Southern residence, where he could have more comforts, and be better attended. It was accordingly arranged, towards the end of October, that he should set out for Edinburgh, by easy stages. His health improved by the change, and he continued there all Winter, much better.

While labouring for the Spiritual good of his people, Mr. Hay secured the esteem and affection of his Protestant neighbours; also, by his moderation and benevolence. He gave Medical Advice, and dispensed Medicines to the poor of all denominations, without distinction. Dissensions, on account of Religious opinions, were unknown in the Parish. A curious exception to this occurred in the Spring of 1761. A Member of his Congregation, John Wiseman, had a son named Peter, a lad of twenty years of age, self-willed, and much disposed to make choice of a Religion for himself. His independent disposition inclined him to leave the Congregation at Preshome, and attend Public Worship in the Parish Church of Rathven. John, his father, it seems, did not interfere at first; but, in consequence of Mr. Hay's remonstrances, as it was alleged, an interdiction was put on Peter's schismatical propensities. Mr. George Grant, the Parish Minister, now stepped in, and addressed the following Letter to Mr. Hay. Mr. Grant was not, in general, unfavourable to Catholicity; and, from the tone of his Letter, one is disposed to think that he acted more from necessity than from choice.

“Rathven, April, 18, 1761.

“Sir,—The bearer, John Wiseman, in Kirk-town, of Rathven, had, it seems, for some time past allowed his children to make a choice for themselves in the matter of Religion. By some means or other, he has of late altered his method with them. His son Peter, a man of about twenty years of age, or upwards, who may be well supposed capable of judging for himself, has

several times told me and others, and once in presence of his father, that he neither liked nor understood the Romish Worship, that he had no exception against what by law is established in the Country; and yet, in obedience to his father's authority, he was obliged to give an outward compliance. This, I am told, is in consequence of your discipline with the father. If Romish discipline has such effect, it naturally puts us upon the method of making application of some British discipline, to prevent such effects that are so hurtful to the Religious and Civil liberties of our Country, from which it may at least be expected that we may support and protect our people from violence and force. It will be with the greatest reluctance if I am forced to make any complaints. I don't, indeed, like the interposition of the Civil Magistrate in matters of Religion. I would very gladly cherish peace in the corner where I live, if I could do it consistently with character, the nature of my office, and the subordination to authority under which I am placed. But our sentiments are every way so different and opposite, I begin to be afraid of the consequences of things. While you and your people, not satisfied with an ample toleration you are indulged with to manage your own people, according to the form of your Establishment, but are ever labouring to make Proselytes, I cannot see how that harmony I wish for can be cultivated. You know our Church has rules of discipline that I am bound to regard; one of them obliges me to make report of all Apostates to Popery. I have acted in this matter, hitherto, with all the prudence and discretion in my power, and with a sincere view to promote peace and good understanding with my neighbours. I have still the same dispositions; nor would I wish by anything I have said that you should think I have any inclination to alter it; but the truth is, your character, both as a Physician and as a late Convert to the Establishment you have now adopted, makes us look upon you with an eye of suspicion. I write this, not as of myself, but from what I have gathered from the conversation of others; and, therefore, least any complaint should have effect, that I should be sorry for; and since, in your last letter, you made a very reasonable demand that I should inform you myself of anything that gave any umbrage, I have thought proper to let you know something of the case with respect to Peter Wiseman. I cannot pretend to offer any advice, but I must beg leave to assure you, that if the trade of Proselyting is with any great success carried on, by whatever means, it will be attended with noise and perhaps other effects, that I would wish, if it was possible, they were prevented.—I am, most respectfully, Sir, your most obedient servant, GEO. GRANT.”

Mr. Hay's activity, address, and habits of business, had so much recommended him to the confidence of His Superiors and of his Brethren,

that, as early as May, 1761, we find him appointed one of the Temporal Administrators of the Offices of the Affairs; an Office which had been usually assigned to seven or eight of the Senior Missionaries, ever since its creation by Bishop Nicolson, in 1701. In May, 1761, Mr. Hay's Colleagues, Mr. John Godsmán and Mr. William Reid, met him at Preshome, and addressed a Joint-Letter to Cardinal Spinelli, dated, as was usual, "Ad ostium Speæ." Mr. George Gordon, another Administrator, signed the Letter afterwards at Aberdeen. The following month, Mr. Hay presented to Bishop Smith an Abstract of his Correspondence with F. Bruni, S.J., his old Prefect of Studies, on the subject of preparing youths for the Scotch College, Rome. A few days later, June 19, Mr. Hay wrote to the Procurator at Edinburgh, Mr. Gordon, in the name of Bishop Macdonald, who was then with him at Preshome, pointing out several material errors in the Accounts of the Mission, in a clear, business-like, and yet deferential manner. Letters of business, one should imagine, from the masterly way in which he composed them, must have been a favourite kind of writing with him. Among his private Correspondents at this period, one, the most valued, was a worthy Lay Gentleman, of advanced age, Mr. Alexander Craw, late of Haughhead, then residing at the head of Toddrich's Wynd, Edinburgh.

Tranquillity was gradually returning to the afflicted Mission, particularly in the Lowland District. In the Highlands, Bishop Macdonald was still closely watched, and obliged, on that account, to reside, the greater part of the year, out of his own District. He was now an old man, much broken down by the fatigues of his Office, and the hardships of those disturbed times. He had, therefore, applied some time before this to Cardinal Spinelli, for the appointment of a Coadjutor. The good Cardinal at once complied with his request, desiring him, in the usual form, to name three persons from whom his Holiness might select one for the Office. The choice fell on Mr. John Macdonald, the Bishop's Nephew; a former companion of Mr. Hay at Rome. He was born in 1727, entered the Scotch College in 1743, was Ordained in April, 1752, and returned to the Mission the following year. He was first sent to Lochaber, and was labouring in South Uist, when his appointment to the Coadjutorship

was made. He retired to Shenval, to make his retreat preparatory to Consecration, under the superintendence of his Uncle and his old friend, Mr. Geddes. On the 27th September, 1761, he was Consecrated at Preshome, by his Uncle, assisted by Bishops Smith and Grant; when he assumed the title of Bishop of Tiberiopolis.

The following Winter, 1761-2, severely tried the constitution of Mr. Geddes, in the stormy and inhospitable Wilds of the Cabrach. In Spring, 1762, he was attacked with a spitting of blood. Mr. Hay undertook a journey to the Highlands of Banffshire, in May, to visit and prescribe for his friend. According to the practice of that day, blood-letting was resorted to, and with success.

Death had been busy, during those last years, among the already reduced ranks of the Missionaries. Mr. John Gordon, at Huntly, and Mr. George Duncan, a man of great Piety and Christian simplicity, were the most missed in the Lowlands. The other District, also, had lost several; in particular, a very valuable Missionary, Mr. Æneas Macdonald. Throughout the whole of the Highlands, there remained only three serviceable Priests. Bishop Hugh Macdonald was therefore obliged, in spite of every risk, to resume Missionary duty in some of the most destitute parts of his District. The miserable state of the Seminaries began now to be much felt. Since the invasion of Prince Charles, so strict a watch had been kept over the proceedings of the Catholic Body by Government, that no supply for the future wants of the Mission, by means of the Seminaries, had been possible. A few boys, indeed, had been sent by Bishop Macdonald to board in private houses around Fochabers, attend the common Schools, and receive some instruction from Mr. Godsmán; and this was nearly all the provision that the Bishop had been able to make. The Lowland Seminary at Scalán was on a poor and limited scale, and had still further failed since its late Superior Mr. Duthie had left it to assume the Office of Prefect of Studies in the Scotch College, Paris. Mr. Duthie was recalled this year, but not to Scalán; he went to fill the vacant Mission at Huntly. His successor at Scalán, Mr. Gray, had turned out unfit for the charge of a Seminary, wanting either the prudence or the activity necessary for so responsible a post. He was, therefore, removed, and Mr. Geddes was called from Shenval

to the charge of the Seminary, September 3, 1762.

This admirable man had now, for three years, supplied one of the most laborious Missions in the District, though suffering all the while from feeble health. Soon after his removal from it, Bishop Grant bore the following high testimony to his eminent services:—"He had not been full three years in that country (Auchendown) at the time of his removal, when, by his fervent zeal, unwearied activity, and, much more, by the uncommon sweetness of his temper, and his exemplary life, he was the means, under God, of the Conversion of nine persons, fully instructed and Confirmed last August; besides many others, not sufficiently disposed for the Sacrament, when he was torn from his flock, notwithstanding the universal regret of all that knew him, both Catholics and Protestants, who, in spite of their prejudices against his principles, esteemed and loved him."

During the year 1762, Mr. Hay began to keep a List of his Communicants. Their names, in his handwriting, are still preserved at Preshome, arranged under the Sundays and Festivals from 1762—1767. So lately as 1828, a woman survived in that neighbourhood, who had been prepared for her first Communion by Mr. Hay, while a Priest at Preshome. The following Table exhibits the number of his Communicants at Easter and Christmas, during those years. There was also a large Communion every year at the Assumption:—

1762, Easter, 460;
1763, Easter, 460; Christmas, 1763, 379.
1764, Easter, 450; Christmas, 1764, 342.
1765, Easter, 475; Christmas, 1765, 350.
1766, Easter, 480; Christmas, 1766, 360.
1767, Easter, 520; Christmas, 1767, 360.

As Autumn advanced, it was determined, at Mr. Hay's strong suggestion, resting on his Medical view of the case, that Bishop Grant should pass the approaching Winter at Aberdeen, for the sake of his health, lodging with a Mrs. Thomas Young, in the Vennel.

In the year 1763, the Mission sustained a serious loss in the Death of Cardinal Spinelli. Ten years had hardly elapsed since he found it in great destitution, harassed by internal dissensions, and externally opposed by an arbitrary and persecuting Government. Divine Providence had

much mitigated the latter evil; and the wise and firm measures of the Cardinal had, to a great extent, restored union and peace among the Missionaries, by discouraging the cabals and intrigues of certain persons, not well disposed to the Secular Clergy in general. Whether the warm personal regard, shown by Spinelli to the Scotch Bishops and Clergy, and even to the Scotch Students, is taken into account, or the considerable pecuniary assistance which he either contributed, or procured for the more urgent wants of the Mission and the Seminaries, this excellent Prelate justly deserves to be reckoned among the best benefactors to Catholicity in Scotland. His Death was felt as a personal loss by the Missionaries.

Cardinal Albani, who was appointed through the interest of the Chevalier St. George to succeed Spinelli in the Protectorate of Scotland, was a man of a wholly different stamp. Justice without merey was the bare sum of his contributions to the interests of the Mission. His very first measure was a hard one, and yet in itself not unreasonable. He intimated to the Bishops that the Legacies bequeathed by Cardinal Spinelli for the benefit of the Scotch Seminaries should not be paid till a full and exact Account or Census of the state of the Seminaries, and of Religion in general, should be made out and returned to Rome. Considering the scattered and depressed state of the Scotch Catholics, even then, the extreme difficulty of communication for such a purpose, especially in the wide Highland Districts of the Country, and the danger of rousing the jealousy of the Government, this measure must be regarded as a highly impolitic one in the circumstances of the time. And yet we are indebted to it for some curious and valuable information, on the subject of Scotch Catholicity, which would, very probably, never have been otherwise obtained. Hard and difficult as was the condition imposed on them, the Bishops had no alternative but to execute it, or forfeit the bequest of their late Protector. Propaganda also called for this Census, as a condition of its support being continued to the Mission. The Lowland District made a return of its Statistics the same year, but the extreme scarcity of Missionaries in the Highlands, where there were only four Secular and three Jesuit Priests, made it utterly impossible to enumerate the population of the various scattered Missions, till the year 1764.

The Bishops, in their Report, mentioned that the number of Scotch Catholics had been diminished, by at least 1000, in consequence of their connection with the unfortunate enterprise of Prince Charles. The English Army, the Public Executioner, Voluntary Exile, and Sentence of Transportation to the American Colonies, had to that extent reduced their numbers in the fatal years of 1745-6. Since the breaking out of War with France, in 1756, it was also computed that not less than 6,000 Scotch Catholics had been draughted out of the Country, for Foreign Service, principally in the East and West Indies. The total number of Catholic Communicants in Scotland at the date of this Report was reckoned in round numbers at about 18,000, of which the proportion belonging to the Lowland District was to that of the Highland, as one to two. The number of Secular Missionary Priests in the Lowland District amounted to twelve, and in the Highland District to four. Of the Jesuit Fathers there were ten in the Lowlands and three in the Highlands; and one Benedictine, only, in the whole Country. Seven out of the twelve Secular Priests in the Lowlands, and all the Secular Missionaries in the Highlands, had been educated in the Scotch College, Rome; as had also been the Bishop of the Highlands and his Coadjutor, and the Coadjutor in the Lowlands.

From this Report, it appears that by this time Mr. Hay had, in addition to his own Mission in the Enzie, undertaken the Superintendence of the Catholic Congregation in Strathisla, in the neighbourhood of Keith, then destitute of a regular Pastor. He is associated with his neighbour, Mr. Godsman, in the commendation of the Bishops, as both of them worthy sons of the Scotch Roman College, and as truly holy, prudent, and full of zeal, but *Secundum Scientiam*.

In the month of September, 1763, Mr. Hay acted as Secretary to a full Meeting of all the Bishops and Administrators at Edinburgh. Abate Grant, the Scotch Agent at Rome, though an amiable and useful man, had often been blamed, with some justice, for devoting too much of his time to the amusement and entertainment of the numerous British visitors of distinction at Rome, to the neglect of the interests of his Constituents in Scotland. Mr. Hay wrote him a friendly though strong Letter, in the joint name of all the Administrators, complaining of his negligence

and enclosing a Copy of the original Rules of the Administration, framed in 1701, regarding the duties of the Procurator at Rome. The Agent having replied, and offered a full explanation, with promise of amendment, Mr. Hay, who had ever since his Student days retained a sincere regard for the Agent, recommended the Administrators to adopt mild counsels towards him, to which they ultimately agreed. At this Meeting, also, Mr. G. Gordon, at Stobhall, was named Procurator, and exchanged places with Mr. Alex. Gordon, who retired from the Office.

On their return home, Bishop H. Macdonald and Mr. Hay travelled by land; Bishop Grant and Mr. G. J. Gordon taking the sea route to Aberdeen. Mr. Hay thus describes their journey in a Letter, dated September 17, 1763, to Mr. G. Gordon of Stobhall:—

“According to promise, I send you these few lines to inform you of our safe arrival here, and how we found friends in this place. We had very good luck upon the road for good weather, for, though there was a good deal of rain, yet it always happened when we were within doors. We were on Monday night at Kincauldram, the next at Laurencekirk, eight miles on this side of Brechin. On Wednesday, we came in time to drink tea at Blairs with Mrs. Menzies and her Husband [Mr. David Menzies, uncle of the late Mr. Menzies]; and, on Thursday morning, after breakfast, came in to Town, from whence we are not to set out till Monday morning.

“Our sea-travellers set out, as was said, about an hour and a half after we parted from them, and had a fine gale all that afternoon; but in the night-time, there arose a violent storm of wind from South-east, which, though favourable to their course, yet raised a great sea, and tossed their little Bark exceedingly. Your namesake stood it out like a veteran sailor, but Mr. Sinit [Bp. Grant], was very sick. However, next morning, viz. Friday, by six o'clock, they landed safe at Stonehive; and, as no chaises could be got there, were obliged to wait all that day, till a chaise was sent out from Aberdeen for them, where they arrived next day.”

This was a busy Autumn with Mr. Hay. Yet, in the midst of his engagements, he received orders from Bishop Smith to hasten to Aberdeen, where Bishop Grant was lying dangerously ill. Mr. Hay's opinion and advice were considered as of peculiar value to the very life of the Coadjutor. He wrote, accordingly, to Bishop Smith from Aberdeen, November 16, with a more favourable report of Bishop Grant's health. “I have been so hurried about,” he adds, “with calls

to Banff, Strathisla, Aberdeen, &c., and a crowd of business of one kind or another, at home, that since Mr. Scot Bishop H. Macdonald left the Enzie, I do not remember to have been but two whole days at home all that time." His fatigue on Sundays was sometimes so very great, as he himself incidentally mentions, many years afterwards, that he was scarcely able, from exhaustion, to get home. About this time he took two boys from the Highlands to live with him at Preshome, and prepare for a Foreign College, but his Protestant neighbours having discovered it, and suspecting it to be the beginning of a Seminary, and therefore forbidden by the Laws, raised such an opposition to it, that he was obliged to relinquish his design.

On the 1st of March, 1764, Mr. Hay sent the following Report of his health, throughout a busy Winter, to Bishop Smith:—

March 1, 1764.

"I have great reason to bless God that I have kept my health exceedingly well all this Winter. I have not even had the cold, notwithstanding I have been several times pretty much exposed to get it. Indeed, I don't remember ever to have been so much occupied as I have been all this Winter, so that, I daresay, since the first of Advent, I have not had five free days at my own disposal, one necessary avocation always arising as the former ended. Although it is my comfort, in the mid-st of these employments, that I am doing the Will of God, yet I must own that (with all submission to His Ble-sed Will) I could earnestly wish to have some more time to myself, as I find, from experience, that such a continued train of distractive external employments is a prodigious dissipation to the spirit. However, this I cannot expect at present, as the approaching season of Lent will rather increase than diminish my occupations. I beg to be remembered in your good Prayers that the Great God may be pleased to support me, and enable me in everything to submit to and perform His Holy Will."

Mr. Hay was now meditating the Restoration of the Old Chapel of the Craigs, which had been abandoned ever since its pillage by the English soldiers, in 1746. Besides the interest belonging to such a place, Mr. Hay was disposed to resume possession of it, on account of its retired situation, contrasted even with his quiet residence at Preshome, where the Catholics then assembled for Public Worship. The greatest circumspection, however, was first necessary in feeling his way, before engaging in such an enterprise. These preliminary negotiations he details very

fully to Bishop Grant, March 4, 1764. He had taken the opportunity of several repeated visits to Rannes, the seat of his distant relation, Mr. Andrew Hay, to sound that Family on the subject, and secure their influence with Mr. Grant, the Parish Minister, to procure his connivance. His friends at Rannes, though Protestants, had entered cheerfully into the plan, and easily obtained from the Minister a hearty promise and assurance that he would throw no obstacles in the way, but would assist it by every means in his power: by removing whatever belonged to himself about the place; and if any notice was taken of the undertaking in the Pre-bytery, by doing all that he could to persuade that Venerable Body to overlook it. He also undertook to give Mr. Hay timely warning if the decision of the Pre-bytery should be unfavourable to him. This was surely as much as a worthy Minister could have been expected to do; a good deal more, one should imagine, than many Reverend gentlemen in these days would take upon themselves. If it does not augur much for the earnestness of the Ministers own opinions, or perhaps for its Party spirit, it at least says much for his appreciation of Mr. Hay's prudence and peaceable demeanour.

It was much debated, at this stage of the business, whether or not, to await the young Duke of Gordon's arrival, and be guided by his inclination on the subject, as he was proprietor of the ground, and might eject the Catholics from it, if the proposed scheme displeased him. Mr. Hay proposed a middle course, which seems to have been ultimately adopted. After Mr. Grant had removed all his property from the place, a few men were to be hired to put it into some repair, and roof it in, for the walls had never been thrown down. This would give some little time to collect the sentiments of the neighbourhood, as its attention was sure to be attracted to the designs of the Catholics, by these preliminary steps. If there was an outcry, they could only desist from anything further. If their neighbours showed no great objections to their taking possession of their old Chapel, it might be opened at first, on Sunday afternoons, for Christian Doctrine, or the Sunday School, "nows and thens; and, as they found encouragement, oftener." Prayers on some half holiday would be another step towards complete possession; still keeping the present place of Meeting at Preshome open,

till sure of a permanent footing in the other. Meanwhile, every effort should be made, through personal friends of the Duke, to dispose him to consult the wishes of his numerous Catholic tenantry, as a sure means of gaining their good will, at his first residence among them; and his merely overlooking what they were about would satisfy their most sanguine wish.

With such consummate prudence directing the plan of restoration, it will surprise no one that it was fully accomplished, by the end of the following year, almost as a matter of course. December 3, 1765, Mr. Hay wrote as follows, to Bishop Smith—"I have got my Chapel now put in good order; my Altar is up, and pleases. The seats are to be put in next week; but I have been forced to put up a loft [gallery], twelve feet long, from the one end. I expect the money I will raise by a cess on the seats, with the help you procured for me, will go pretty nigh defraying all the charges, which, however, will be above thirteen guineas." After it was reopened for Divine Service, Mr. Hay was, one Sunday, standing at the Altar, Vested, and ready to begin Mass, when news was brought to him, by some one who had, as usual, been set to keep watch outside, that a Soldier was seen approaching. Mr. Hay immediately withdrew into the wood adjoining, till he was informed that the alarm was a false one; the bright scarlet waistcoat of a worthy citizen of Fochabers, father of the late Mr. George Matthison, had been mistaken for the British uniform. Confidence was restored, and the service proceeded.

Besides his ordinary duties at home, much additional labour was thrown upon the hands of Mr. Hay by the temporary vacancy of several neighbouring Missions. He had written to F. Alexander Menzies, the Successor of Mr. Geddes, in the Cabrach, requesting him to take the Station at Achanasy, near Keith, off his hands; to which F. Menzies replied, "I'm very sensible how fatiguing it must be for you to serve both the Enzie, Grange, and Achanasie; and you judged very well that I would incline to see my friends at Achanasie as often as I can; for which reason I shall agree to keep the Station. I had otherwise been at Achanasie if higher Powers think proper to order it. [Dated Keithmore, in Auchen-down, March 30, 1764.]

The Returns of the State of the Mission made to Rome had excited the lively compassion of

Cardinal Castelli, who now filled the vacant Office of Spinelli at Propaganda. It became a matter for serious consultation how the present scarcity of Missionaries was to be supplied, both as to men fitted for so arduous a duty, and as to the means of providing for their maintenance. In the Autumn of 1764, the Cardinal of Propaganda arranged a Meeting for the Discussion of this important subject, with the Protector, Albani, and his Eminence of York, now promoted to the Bishopric of Frascati. This year, also, Mr. John Reid returned from Rome to the Mission; as did Mr. Alexander Geddes, from Paris. Mr. Alexander Cameron and Mr. John Gordon [Clasmore] went from Sealan, August 4, to continue their Studies in the Scotch Roman College.

Mr. Hay's Medical skill continued to be in much requisition. In June, 1764, he was consulted, and sent a written opinion on the state of Bishop Smith's health; while Bishop Grant's indisposition still continued to give much anxiety to his friends, and threw no small share of personal responsibility on Mr. Hay, who prescribed for him, and who sent Bishop Smith, early in November, a full account of his late Medical treatment of Bishop Grant under a severe aggravation of illness. Again, November 14, after describing at some length the means he had successfully employed for his relief and ultimate recovery, he concludes—"Let us not fail, my Dear Sir, to thank and praise God for this unexpected mercy; qui deducit ad inferos, et reducit, humiliat at sublevat, according to the times and seasons, and means appointed by His ever-blessed Providence." This double demand upon him, as a Missionary Physician, necessarily consumed much of his time. After the Christmas labours of this year had a little abated, he wrote thus to Bishop Smith—"I have been so much taken up with the business of this season, and a great sickness that has been among us, though not all mortal, that I really have scarce had half an hour to myself, since I got your Letter. Having now got a little respite, I shall endeavour to answer the several articles of yours as clearly as possible." This was a Winter of unusual severity; the snow lying deep in the Enzie and Strathgogie till the end of March.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from France about this time, opened up to the Scotch Bishops a

prospect of recovering their Seminary at Douay, of which a brief history may be found in another place. While they were deliberating as to whom they should entrust with the charge of the Seminary, Mr. Hay was spoken of as a suitable person. In a full statement of his reasons, made to Bishop Smith, against Mr. Hay's appointment, Mr. G. J. Gordon (Scalanensis), one of the Senior Missionaries, bears high testimony to the excellence of his young friend. Mr. Gordon says:—

“I have very seriously and attentively considered the proposal about a Master for the House of Douay, if it is obtained. As to Mr. Hay, I think him much better fitted for being more useful as a Labourer at home, by his clever, active spirit, and great qualifications for doing greater good in the Country than in the narrower sphere of a Shop [Seminary], and a few 'Prentices [Students.] Besides, the place he now occupies could not be so advantageously filled by any other Labourer we have at present. Moreover, it is of no small consequence to have so near the D. of G.'s door (whose inclinations towards us are yet much in the dark) a person that is much loved and esteemed by every one, and has gained kindly many friends among the better sort, who may be of use to protect him, if any danger was threatened. In fine, which with me is of great weight, he is, in my opinion, the only fittest person among all the Labourers [Missionaries], to be made a Coadjutor in due time, being neither too young, nor too old, and having abundance of qualifications, both natural and acquired, with much zeal, and a good fund of piety. . . . So that it would be very unadvisable to let him go out of the Country, or from the place wherein he is settled.” [Dated Aberdeen, March 12, 1765.]

In reply to this Letter, in the month of May, Bishop Smith adds, as another important reason for keeping Mr. Hay at home, his being so useful, or rather so indispensably necessary, for the preservation of Bishop Grant's health. So he could not be spared for Douay, and Mr. Robert Grant was sent to superintend the Seminary.

During Lent, 1765, Mr. Hay prepared a short Report on the State of his Mission, to be sent, through Bishop Smith, to Exchange [Propaganda]. The number of his “Customers,” or Communicants, was 959. But, as his own private List shows only 475 for this Easter, the larger number must either include Mr. Godsmann's division of the Enzie Mission, or, more probably, the Communicants in the nearest Mission which Mr. Hay then served. Within the five years preceding, twenty-nine new Customers, or Con-

verts, had been received, or were on the way. He rejoiced that Bishop Macdonald's Report, sent last year to Rome, had disposed ‘Padrones Cardinal’, to set about supplying the great deficiency of Labourers in the Highlands. Mr. Hay, however, urges very strongly on the Bishop the view taken by his friends and himself, that a greater number of Labourers in proportion to that of Customers is required in the Lowland, than in the Highland Vicariate. He supports this view by the following considerations:—Each of the three noble Families, at Traquair, Drummond, and Stobhill, required a Labourer for itself; in towns, because they were where their people were fewer, more Missionaries were needed, because they were obliged to keep more in private. In the Lowland District, also, though the number of Catholics was smaller than in the Highlands, they were more scattered, and brought more into connexion with Protestants, and were, therefore, in greater danger of perversion than their brethren in the Highlands, unless they had a Labourer constantly among them. In the Western Vicariate, public opinion, and the absence of temptation, in part supplied for the want of constant Missionary Superintendence. Experience had also shown that wherever a Labourer was paid, the business of Religion began to prosper; and the contrary had been observed whenever he was removed. There were several parts of the country still unprovided, where much good might be expected to follow the settlement of a Missionary. “These reasons, and such as these,” Mr. Hay concludes, “will, no doubt, have occurred to yourself; but I thought it my duty to let you know the sentiments of friends here, that, if you think it proper, you may make use of them in the account you send to Exchange this year.”

In the following month, Mr. Hay offered his opinion to Bishop Smith, on the subject of the pecuniary provision necessary for the support of Missionaries. It is a highly characteristic Letter, and discloses the very slender means then at the disposal of the Scots Mission.

“12th April, 1765.

“ . . . By state of Funds last Meeting; the whole amounted to about £310, and out of this must be paid—(1st), The clothing apprentices; (2d), Their viatic; (3d), Their extraordinary expenses by accidents on their journey, which sometimes runs very high; (4th), When young Labrs. come home, being perfectly desti-

tute, they would need some extraordinary supply; (5th), Extraordinary expenses, when any Labr. falls sick; (6th), When old and infirm; (7th), If any should be imprisoned; (8th), Sacred Utensils of all kinds, which, as we are exposed from time to time to persecutions, are frequently, upon these occasions, pillaged and lost; (9th), Postages of letters, both at home and abroad, which will now be considerably increased by the want of franks, and, still more, as our good friend at Old Town is, in all appearance, soon to leave us; (10th), The expenses of meeting from time to time, so much recommended, and so necessary for our affairs; (11th), The expenses of printing Catechisms, of which great numbers are wanted, and of buying books of devotion and controversy, to be distributed or lent to those who have need, and are not able to buy; (12th), The paying debts of those Labrs. who have the misfortune to die and leave debts behind them, which is sometimes the case, and the good of Religion requires to be paid.

“Now, a proper allowance being made for these occasional and necessary expenses (and some of them happen almost every year) Padrons will see that there will remain but a very small pittance for particulars. In fact, till of late, it was only £7 or £8, and our present £10 is chiefly owing to the scarcity of hands we have had of late; but, if the number Padrons proposed was complete, all our funds would scarce keep up that to us. Ten pounds, or forty crowns itself, will not seem a great affair to those gentlemen, when they are also informed that out of this we must provide bed, board, clothes, washing; that in large country Missions there is no doing without a horse; that in towns living is extravagant, and proportionably so even in the country; that we are sometimes obliged to assist our people in their necessities out of our own pockets; and that well-timed charities have been found by experience to be of the greatest service even to souls; and more of this kind might be done, had we more to spare. This much, honoured sir, was the subject I wrote to Mr. George, and added, as Mr. Godsmans’s opinion, that £15 was the most moderate demand could be made for those in the country, and £20 for those in the towns. . . .”

The Bishops were preparing a strong Appeal to Propaganda, and were collecting details and opinions from all the influential Missionaries, to support their claim for more assistance in men and money. Mr. Hay again wrote to Bishop Smith, at length, discussing the whole subject, and strongly advocating a frank disclosure of all the resources of the Mission Fund, such as they were. Bishop Smith, in a notice of this Letter, which he communicated to Mr. G. J. Gordon, April 20, 1765, says—“He generally writes very judiciously [sic.], but sometimes pushes things too far.”

The embers of Persecution were still smouldering, especially in the remoter Districts of the Western Highlands. The Factor on the forfeited Estates, while collecting his rents in the end of the year, 1764, at the instigation of some of the more violent among the Presbyterian Ministers, gave notice to all the Tenants that unless they would at once begin to attend Public Worship in the Parish Church, they must all of them leave their farms at the next term. This was a severe trial of their fidelity to Religion. On the one hand, starvation and ruin were imminent, if they refused to comply, for their farms were their only resources; while, on the other, they had lately enjoyed few opportunities of instruction and encouragement in their Religious duty, from the scarcity of Missionaries. Nevertheless, in the hour of trial, those poor people were not found wanting in the spirit of fortitude which makes Martyrs; they declared to a man that they would never renounce their Religion. Government had not sanctioned such extreme measures; and when they were represented to it, matters were accommodated without disadvantage to the poor Catholics. As an instance, however, of the extreme caution still necessary on their part, Abate Grant informed Principal Gordon, Paris, that the Cardinal (Duke) of York had entrusted him with two Copies of the Acts of his Synod, held at Frascati in 1763, which His Eminence had presented to the Scottish Bishops. They consisted of two large Volumes in 4to., the first containing 946 pages, and the second 766, ornamented with his Titles and Coat-of-Arms. But, out of prudence, it had been determined not to send them to Scotland till the Bishops could assure him that they could venture to keep his present.

Bishop H. Macdonald gives the Scotch Agent at Rome a full description of the necessities of his Missions; of the impossibility of Opening a Seminary, owing partly to the absolute want of any one to sit over it, and partly to the vigilant watch kept over his every movement by a number of idle Ministers who, having no Presbyterians in their Parishes, had no other occupation than acting as spies on their Catholic neighbours. “Though the present movement be visible in that respect, yet Under-Agents, instigated by our enemies, even execute the Laws that are still in force against us; for which reason we must act

wisely, and step by step, for fear of raising a new storm." The good Bishop was, nevertheless, resolved, on the first opening, to establish a Seminary. Meanwhile, he had sent his "Prentices" to a distance, under the care and direction of Mr. Godsman and Mr. Hay, in the Enzie. He had applied to the latter for a character of the two boys supported by Cardinal Spinelli's Legacy, which had been presented to the Protector, with the Bishop's attestation. He adds his opinion that the very smallest sum required for the decent maintenance of a Missionary was £20 in the year. He still looked forward to a time when each Labourer should have a dwelling of his own, however humble, to which he might retire to recollect himself, and compose his dissipated spirits in Prayer and Study; nothing but danger resulting from his going continually from one house to another, with mean accommodation, and no opportunity of seclusion, as was then the case with the Highland Missionaries.

The severe Winter and late Spring of 1765 produced great scarcity of provisions in the Country. Mr. Hay mentions to Bishop Smith, June 13, that meat was so exceedingly dear, that he found it cheaper living to use even the second kind of flour than oatmeal, which was then thirteen pence halfpenny in his neighbourhood. He had another sudden call to Aberdeen, in the end of November, to prescribe for Mr. William Reid, the Missionary there; and, while spending a day or two with him, was called as suddenly back again to the Enzie, to attend a Parishioner who was supposed to be dying. His Correspondence about this time is more than usually full of kind and active interest in boys and young Students, arranging, sometimes at his own expense, for their board; and devising means for advancing them in their studies for the Priesthood.

"Our good friend at Oldtown," as Mr. Hay had designated the Chevalier St. George, Died at Rome, January 1, 1766. He had been, indeed, a good friend to the Scotch Mission, and is deservedly numbered among its benefactors. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp at St. Peter's, and in the Churches of the English College, and of St. Laurence in Damasa, in presence of the three British Colleges. Subsequent events, connected with his family, led to sudden changes in the Scotch College, Rome, in the following manner:—Soon after the Death of his

father, Prince Charles returned to Rome, where, however, his Royal claims were not recognised. On Easter Monday following, he visited the English College in private, and received a kind of Semi-Royal welcome. The next day, the Irish Dominican Friars at San Sisto offered him a more public mark of their loyalty; on Wednesday, he visited the Irish Dominicans at St. Tridon's; and on Friday, the Scotch College. Except at San Sisto, his visits were all of a private nature. These proceedings gave umbrage to the Holy Father and to many of the Cardinals, who very naturally, among other reasons, dreaded the consequences of such imprudence on the struggling Catholics in Britain. The Superiors of the Four Houses were immediately removed from their Office, and ordered to leave Rome without delay. Before a week had elapsed, F. Booth, Rector of the English College, was on his way to Terni; good F. Altierzzi, to Tivoli; the Superiors of the Irish Convents, to Civita Vecchia and Capranica. Even Abate Grant's great popularity did not save him from a severe reprimand, accompanied with a prohibition to approach the Holy Father; but, through the intervention of powerful interest, this penalty was soon removed.

In Mr. Hay's Correspondence at this time, we find a singular instance of a member of his Congregation, named Bennet, Apostatising, but uncertain whether to follow the Religion of his Non-juring wife, or of Presbyterian self-interest, resorting to a trial of shame, to decide the question.

"Preshome, 13th June, 1766.

" . . . Mr. Sinitin and I were highly diverted with Cairnfields's account of Bennet. You remember, last year, I consulted you about one who had allowed two sons his Protestant wife had brought him at a birth, to be Baptised by her Minister. As it was a case, that both of itself, and also by our *Statuta*, necessarily required a public Penance, I used all my endeavours to get the unhappy father (who is the very Bennet you write of) willingly to comply to it; but, as he would not hear of it, I delayed, in hopes of bringing him in by good will, till the end of harvest, when I was threatened with another case of the very same kind, and my having passed Bennet was made a handle for doing so. I then, without more delay, represented Bennet's behaviour to the people, showed the wickedness and scandal of it, told his obstinacy in refusing to do Penance for it, and recommended him to their prayers. This effectually put a stop to the other case I was threatened with. But poor Bennet thought fit to

come no more to me. I went to him again and again, but to no purpose. I found, however, his mind in great confusion: conscience led him one way, the instigation of his wife and her Nonjurant friends another, and interest a third. In this quandary, he falls upon the following expedient to extricate himself.—He threw his staff in the air, resolved to follow wherever the head of it should fall to: if it fell to Preshome, he would come to us; if to Aradoul, where the Nonjurants meet, he would go to them; if to Rathven, he would go to the Kirk. To his great comfort, it fell to Rathven, and, accordingly, to the Kirk he goes, professes himself a Protestant, and gets an Attestation from the Minister and Session of his being so, in order to be a defence against Cairnfield, should he object his being Popish. Although the poor man's case be very deplorable, yet, I thought it would not be amiss to let you know these particulars, in case you had occasion for them. I saw the poor man since, and he seemed to refuse the story of the staff in the air, or was ashamed to own it; but it was affirmed by all the neighbours, even the Protestants themselves. . . . ”

Later in the season, Mr. Hay undertook a journey to Edinburgh, at the earnest entreaty of Bishop Smith, on business of much delicacy. A young Missionary of the name of Fraser, lately returned with Mr. John Reid from College, had given much annoyance to the Bishops during his short residence in the Country, and was at last detected in scandalous practices. Mr. Hay was deputed to treat with him, and succeeded so effectually as to prevail on him to leave the Country, without noise, in a few days. Mr. George Gordon, recently appointed Procurator, had suffered so much from repeated strokes of palsy, as to be unfitted for active service any longer, and returned in Mr. Hay's company to the society of his friends in the Enzie, to spend the evening of his life among them. They crossed over to Kinghorn in a Pinnace, on an early day in October; spent Sunday at Stobhall, and transacted business with the titular Duchess of Perth; the middle of the following week they went on to Aberdeen, where Mr. George James Gordon (Sealanensis) had lately Died. Mr. Hay looked into his affairs, and sent a statement of them to Bishop Smith; he then pushed on towards the North, and reached the Enzie by the middle of October.

The Lowlands Missions were, this year, much crippled by the failing of several veteran Labourers. To the Death of Mr. G. J. Gordon, at Aberdeen,

and the Retirement of the late Procurator from active service, must be added the Withdrawal of Mr. William Reid, at Mortlach, from Missionary duty, by severe and chronic asthma; and of Mr. Duthie, at Huntly, by the infirmities of age. Mr. Godsmán, also, was much enfeebled by repeated attacks of palsy. These losses, together with the recent mischance at Edinburgh, and the failure of repeated efforts to procure assistance from the Scotch Benedictine Monasteries in Germany, furnished the Bishops with matter for a strong Appeal to Cardinal Castelli. He was not slow in responding to it, and in a more satisfactory way than in empty promises. He offered good encouragement to any Irish Friar who would encounter the difficulties of the Scotch Mission, undertaking to pay for his journey, and to maintain him without charge to the Scotch Bishops. Only one, however, could just then be found; F. Wynne, a Dominican, who was associated with old Mr. Forrester in Uist, and did good service to the Mission. Mr. Charles Cruickshanks was called to Edinburgh to fill the Office of Procurator; the Family of Traquair being then abroad, his services as Chaplain were not required.

The eccentric Mr. Alexander Geddes, addressed a Letter to Mr. Hay, from Traquair, February 4, 1767, in which he congratulated him on his obtaining quiet possession of St. Margaret's Chapel of the Craigs, and on his extraordinary success in making Converts. Mr. Geddes himself had succeeded in making only one, and had no hopes of any more where he then was. His brother sent him compliments to Mr. Hay, and would send him the strings for his fiddle which he wanted.

The early part of the year, 1767, Mr. Hay became more and more engaged in public business. He wrote long Letters to various Correspondents, on complicated and intricate affairs connected with the General Mission; Questions of Accounts; Mission Funds, &c., displaying habits of business, clearness of arrangement, and expression of very high order, together with a remarkable deference to the feelings of others who are not such adepts in business as himself. His Labours had prospered on his hands; his List of Communicants was steadily increasing; Converts were dropping in; his Brethren had admitted him, though a Convert, into their most intimate confidence; his advice was taken by

Bishops and Seniors in the most difficult and delicate emergencies; his plans adopted, his talent for business universally recognised. Thus eight years had rapidly passed away, chequered by sunbeam and shade, by toil and reward. A wider and more important field was now opening upon him, as the designs of Providence, in regard to the Scotch Mission, were gradually developed.

The secret of Mr. Hay's success lay deeper than mere constitutional energy, or practical skill in the business of life. The employments of a Catholic Missionary are supernatural the strength necessary to sustain him in them, unless drawn from supernatural sources, will give way; and nothing but disappointments, if not failure, can ensue. Notwithstanding Mr. Hay's habitual modesty and reserve in communicating information relating to himself, enough has been preserved by persons who lived with him in intimacy daily, to enable us to judge, with much accuracy, of the details of his spiritual life. If there is one thing more remarkable than another in their portraits of his character, it is that he was eminently a man of Prayer, a fourth part of his waking time being spent in that holy exercise. He rose very early in the morning, and devoted a whole hour to conversing with God in pious meditation. He then recited the Little Hours of his Office, and prepared by long and fervent acts of devotion for saying Mass, which he never omitted, as part of his daily duty, when in sufficient health. If possible, he heard another during his thanksgiving. His morning exercises were usually concluded by a little spiritual reading; and, for this purpose, he put together, in his peculiar short-hand cipher, a selection from the best ascetic writers. Once a fortnight, when practicable, he made his Confession. Thus he preserved the methodical and pious habits, acquired in his College days, from those unrivalled masters in the art of holy living, his old Superiors in Rome. If those habits were necessary for the formation of the Clerical character, in the retirement of the Seminary, surely they are not less so, for its preservation and health, in the distractions and the long martyrdom of the Mission. A short time in the morning, spent with God, is worth its full value all the rest of the day. The balance of mind, the composure, and the strength thus gained, are more than equal to the irritations, the vexations, the wear and tear of mind and body, that await

the Missionary at the door of his Oratory. Without such preparation, it is ten to one but the first incident of the day's labour will upset him, and the end of it find him bankrupt in patience at heart, and peace of mind, if not more seriously injured still.

Mr. Hay's whole time was systematically divided among his various avocations. He dedicated the early part of the day, till dinner time, to business either within doors, or without, if called upon. He dined soon after mid-day, and again applied to business, and the Recital of the Divine Office. As an invariable rule, he spent an hour in Contemplation, every evening, at eight o'clock, either in his own room, or when he had the opportunity, in presence of the Holy Sacrament. A light supper followed; then Evening Prayers, with his family; Study and Devotions were afterwards prolonged till midnight.

His bed consisted of a mattress and two blankets, without sheets. As long as his health permitted, he performed with his own hands the menial offices about his own room, such as dusting it, making his bed, and kindling his fire. He never wore linen, nor any garment, with the slightest pretensions to fashion, though he was always scrupulously neat and clean, like an old-fashioned gentleman, as he was. His food was, partly from weak digestion, partly from choice, of the most frugal kind; for a considerable part of his life he lived chiefly on milk and vegetables, and drank nothing stronger than water. Yet those who knew him best affirm that his manners were cheerful and engaging; in lively conversation, and even humour, no one excelled him; in the art of telling an amusing story, he had few rivals. The appearance of his countenance, indeed, was at first sight somewhat austere; but the severity of its lines was soon forgotten, when its varying expression began to give effect to what he was narrating, accompanied by appropriate gestures. Children were fascinated by his stories; and the boys at his Seminary used to contrive to meet him in his walks, and draw some amusing Anecdote from him. In the play-room, of an evening, games were thrown aside when the old man came among them and began one of his charming tales. He excelled in music, both vocally and on the violin. On one occasion, at a convivial party at Edinburgh, Mr. Hay was invited to sing. He gave the company a song from his

own "Collection," entitled, "O the Years, the many, many Years, that I have lived in vain," arranged to the excellent Scotch melody of Cowdenknowes. Mr. Alexander Wood, his old medical friend, who was present, was affected to tears, and at the conclusion of the song, remarked, while wiping his eyes, "O, Geordie, man, I didna think ye had sae muckle po'er ower me." Mr. Hay played on the violin, chiefly for his own recreation, with great truth and feeling. Living persons who have heard him in his old age say that his hand had then lost something of its youthful execution, but that, excepting a certain tremulousness in his touch, his playing of Scottish airs was very beautiful.

As the first impression we have of any one is derived from his personal appearance, it seems a little out of order, in most Biographies, to reserve a picture of their subjects till the close. Mr. Hay was not quite six feet in height, of a spare habit of body, though not emaciated. In his declining years he stooped a little from the shoulders upwards, but was otherwise erect. His eye was a bright hazel; his nose aquiline and very prominent; his teeth, though irregular, remained entire to the last. Living contemporaries of his report that his pale countenance was remarkable for its expression of firmness and the habit of command, in every line but in the mouth, and there an extraordinary sweetness was indicated, which softened the strong expression of his other bold features. Otherwise, he had a look of severity, a contraction of his brow above the eyes, that at first somewhat repelled people. At times, his mien and bearing must have been actually majestic.

His favourite virtue throughout life, to the acquisition of which he devoted part of his daily meditation for nearly sixty years, was the fundamental one of conformity to the blessed will of God. The honour of God seemed always uppermost in his mind. His estimate of events was much modified by this habit of conformity to the Divine Will; so that, at last, those about him wondered at the secret of his peace of mind, in the most trying circumstances. His favourite expression, when things seemed going against his interest, was that of Judas Macchabeus, *Sicut fuerit voluntas in celo, sic fiat* (1 Macchab. iii. 60). It is repeated over and over again in his Correspondence; it was the key-note of his life. When

consulted on spiritual matters by others, this was the virtue which he most emphatically recommended. He made a little collection of the places in Scripture, in which it is taught and exhibited, and used to comment on them with great fluency and delight. Among his Manuscripts there is a beautiful little Treatise on this subject, entitled, "On the Glory of God."

As early as his third year in the Mission at Preshome, we are presented with a curious and instructive account of his method in preparing Sermons, in a Letter written January 1, 1762, to Mr. George Gordon, at Aberdeen. It arose from the following circumstances. This old Priest having heard that his young friend, Mr. Hay, devoted a very great deal of time to the preparation of his Discourses, took it upon him to remonstrate with him on the subject, in an amiable way. This produced a long reply from Mr. Hay, written in his usual manner, systematic, and exhausting every point under review.

" Preshome, January 1, 1762.

" My dear Friend, for now I think myself entitled to address you by that name, having received from you the most certain proof of your being so, in the kind and friendly admonition you have sent me concerning my studies; for, as it is the most difficult duty of friendship to admonish our friend of what we esteem amiss in his conduct, so the overcoming that difficulty, in order to comply with that duty, is, doubtless, the most assured sign of the sincerity of our affection, and the tender regard we have for our friend's wellbeing. For return to your kindness, I think myself obliged to give you all manner of satisfaction with regard to this affair, and am persuaded (as well as Mr. Godsmen, to whom I was obliged to send your Letter, with the £20 in small notes, not being at leisure then to wait upon him myself) that when you know precisely how the matter stands, you will not so much disapprove of the methods I observe in it. When I first began to speak in publick, in preparing what I had to say I made no use of notes, but, reading over such books as I had upon the intended subject, endeavoured to commit to my memory such things as I thought most for my purpose, adding of my own whatever occurred as proper thereto; but in this I found a great difficulty, viz., that, after I had formed in this manner the skeleton of a Discourse in my mind to-day, before to-morrow my memory (which is extraordinary weak, especially when I have any of my headaches, which, indeed, I seldom altogether want, and what I have of it very material) failed me, and I was obliged to renew my former reading, and then ten to one if I fell upon the same sequel of thought as before, or to make an express act of recalling the former

ideas as it were by force, and this I found to be extremely afflicting to my head, and very often to little purpose. Hence, as Mr. Grant may well remember, almost my whole study from Monday to Sunday was reading, or thinking over and over again what I had to say, in order to fix it in some manner in my memory. In this manner I continued till about the time of our Meeting here, or a little before it, when I began to alter my method of proceeding, viz., by making notes, or, rather hints, of the principal heads I intended to speak upon, of the chief texts or examples of Scripture I found to my purpose, and of any reason, similitude, or comparison I found suitable to my subject. In doing this, I soon found some considerable advantages—1st, The time of studying my discourses was considerably shortened, for, in reading any book upon the matter I had before my eyes, when I met with any (thing) that suited my turn of thought, I jotted it down in the shortest manner possible, very often a whole argument in a line or two, and examples, similitudes, or comparisons in a single line; and by this means a single glance of the eye was afterwards sufficient to recall the whole to my mind; 2nd, I found this a great ease to my head, as it freed me of that continual poring and thinking upon what I had to speak upon; 3rd, It proved a great help to my memory, not only for the present ease, but likewise afterwards, having thus the chief texts, reasons, &c., upon any subject more deeply fixed there from seeing them collected together before my eyes; 4th, It proves a great help to me afterwards when speaking upon the same subject, and saves me all the trouble of studying it anew, which, especially in seeking out texts, is very tedious; and, in fact, had it not been for the help I just now receive from what I had jotted down last year about this time, it would not have been in my power to have answered your Letter so soon. Neither does this, as may be objected, oblige one to walk in trammels, or have always the same Discourse when speaking upon the same subject; for, though the substance of the matter be the same (which indeed cannot vary upon the same subject), yet, as the arguments, similitudes, &c., are only hinted at, the manner of handling them and connecting them may, with all ease, be so varied as to give the whole a new dress as often as necessary. However, when I first began this method, I own I proceeded at first with a good deal of doubts and fear, least by so doing I should trust too much to my own industry, and fail in the confidence I ought to have in God, whose work our Sermons are more than our own; but my worthy friend here much diminished these fears by putting me in mind that we are obliged to use our own industry, and that experience is the best rule to know what kind of industry is the most profitable, and these doubts entirely vanished when I read Dr. Butler's Life of S. Basil the Great, who, in his Notes there, recommends in the warmest manner to all beginners to take Notes of their

Sermons, as the most excellent means to learn to speak *methodically* and *extempore* upon any moral subject. I must own this authority had the greatest weight with me, not that I look upon his rule to be universal, because, if it suits with some turns of mind, the contrary method will agree better with others; but because, joined with the experience I had of both ways, I was convinced it was the most proper for me. Now, my dear Friend, I entirely join with all you say upon this subject, in the supposition that one were to write out his whole Discourse, and then to get it by heart. This would, indeed, be an endless and laborious task, but I am persuaded you will, as well as I, think the ease extremely different when the principal points, &c., are only hinted down, and the enlarging upon them left to whatever Almighty God shall please to send when at the Altar. In following this method, the composing a Sermon will cost me three, and sometimes four hours' reading, studying, noting, &c., and after that is done, I have nothing more to think about, except to read them over twice or thrice the night before I am to speak to the people, or that morning itself if time allow. To complete this tedious apology, I must beg leave to subjoin a specimen of one of my Sermons, and that in one of a middle size, neither of the longest nor of the shortest, 'On the motives to a Speedy Repentance after Sin,' namely (1). The miserable state of a soul in sin, shown from the fallen Angels; a dead carcase; a King's son made a slave. Now, if we get a wound in our body, or fall into any disease, &c.; if we fall into a mire; if we get a spot upon our clothes. (2). The great injury done to God by delaying, it being an open contempt of His commands, for He wills not the Death, &c. (Ezeck. 18, &c.); a contempt of His threats; Almighty God to enforce His commands, &c. 'Because I have called, and ye would not hear,' &c. (Prov. 1.) Also, our B. S. assures us He will come as a thief in the night, &c. The Ten Virgins; where there is one Faith, &c. 'Delay not to be Converted to our Lord,' &c. (Eccles. 5); but what aggravates, &c., under-values and rejects His promises; 'Be washed,' &c. 'Though your sins be as scarlet,' &c. (Is. 1.) Let the wicked man forsake his way,' &c. (Is. 55.) God offers pardon, mercy, grace; the sinner rejects, despises; chooses rather to continue, &c., slave to Satan; like to him and his hellish crew, &c. God promises to clothe him again with the stole, &c. What an affront, &c. And what can be expected, &c. An Pivittas Bonitatis, &c. (Rom. 2.) (3). The danger of contracting a habit of sin, and going on from bad to worse; this is the fatal prerogative of sin, &c. Reasons—The want of God's grace; the tyranny of the Devil; our own natural corruption; when once the ice is broken, &c. Examples—Cain; David; S. Peter; Judas. (4). The vast danger of a bad habit, &c. Ossa ejus implebuntur vitii adolescentie ejus and orem eo in pulvere dormient. (Job 20.) Adolescent juxta viam mune, &c.

(Prov. 22.) Si mutare possit *Ethiops pellem suam*, &c. (Jer. 13) A tree newly planted is easily pulled up; a house just built, &c.; a tender twig is easily bended; a beginning disease is easily cured, &c. (5), The great difficulty of making a good Confession when one comes but seldom to it; the importance of a good Confession; it requires that no sin be forgot through our fault; a true sorrow; a firm resolution, &c. You see, dear Sir, there is here plenty of matter to enlarge which may be put in many different dresses and combinations, and yet not a great deal of writing! The reason why I was more employed when Mr. Grant was here, was because I was transcribing, in a little book, some Notes like the above I had made upon loose papers, that I might not lose them. So much, then, for that affair.
”

The little Book, to which he refers, increased by degrees to a thick volume, to which he gave the name of “The Code.” It contains a systematic arrangement of subjects suitable for Discourses, divided and prepared in the manner of the example given in the preceding Letter, and written in exceedingly minute characters, in the Bishop’s usual short-hand cipher. A number of loose leaves and slips of paper, in the Book, contain a List of the Subjects on which the Bishop Preached every Sunday, for many years. Reference is constantly made in them to the “Code.”

His manner in Preaching is described by living persons who have often heard him, as peculiarly animated, impressive, and forcible. He occasionally resorted to the *percussio furoris* and the stamping of the right foot, but neither noisily nor violently; and he gesticulated a good deal with his hands, in the Italian manner. When warmed by his subject, he articulated very rapidly. His language was of the simplest kind, delivered in the old Scottish dialect, in which he always spoke. If an expression escaped him, which the common people seemed unlikely to understand, he would presently substitute another phrase, perhaps a Scotch one. The whole appearance of his countenance, while he spoke, illustrated and corresponded with the subject of his Discourse. He threw his whole soul into what he was doing, without apparent effort, or the least affectation. His Discourses, like his Writings, were enriched with numerous passages from Scripture. He used frequently, also, to employ examples from the Lives of the Saints, or some other authentic source, to explain and enforce his meaning. He was sometimes severe in his remarks, when any

one distracted the attention of his auditory, by unnecessary noise in going out, or coming in, and he soon recalled the wandering thoughts and eyes of the people to himself and his subject.

His power over his audience was sometimes very great. On one of his many journeys through Buchan, he stopped a Sunday and Preached at Bythe. Many Protestants in the Chapel were in tears, and, as they came out, they were heard to say to one another—“If he Preached here always, we would never go any where else.”

We incidentally derive a curious insight into the Bishop’s manner, as a Confessor, from the testimony of a Lady, a Correspondent of Bishop Geddes’. While requesting the Bishop to undertake the duty of advising her in Religious matters, she says that, when she had been under Bishop Hay’s direction, she had found the “rigour in his manner, in what regarded Spirituals,” the source of the comfort she had derived in applying to him.

With boys, he seems to have been more gentle. The late Mr. Donald Carmichael testifies, from his own experience as a Student under the Bishop, at Scaln and at Aquhorties, that, “although a kind of severity might, at first sight, appear in his exterior, particularly in the expression of his countenance; yet if any one went to him for advice, particularly in Confession, I never knew any Clergyman who at once engaged one’s confidence, in such a degree, by his extraordinary mildness, and his warm and affectionate expressions of kindness.

The aged Bishop Smith, now in his 84th year, was gradually sinking under the pressure of the heavy trials and privations which continued to weigh upon the Mission. Mr. Cruickshanks, the new Procurator, who had undertaken that Office with no great aptitude for it, and an infirm constitution, which was no match for the severe climate of the Capital, was petitioning for a Substitute, and Bishop Grant had undertaken to supply one. All eyes were turned on Mr. Hay, as in every way fitted for the post; as a native of the place; perfectly acquainted with the affairs of the Mission; with youth and great energy, if not robust health, to carry him through the double fatigues of Missionary and man of business, which there fall to the share of the Priest resident at Edinburgh. His health, indeed, was not all that his friends could desire. His head-

aches had given him much uneasiness, and lately he had suffered a good deal from pain in the back, which, however, had the effect of relieving his head for the time. His own inclination did not second the universal wish that assigned him the Capital as his new sphere of labour. Writing to Mr. Cruikshanks before his removal was thought of (April 25, 1767), he remarked that it did not surprise him to hear that his Correspondent was tired of Edinburgh; "Who would wish to be there?" Early in August he went to see Mr. William Guthrie, who had been in poor health for a long time, and had recently broken his leg. Mr. Hay afterwards spent a week at Aberdeen, and the Sunday after his return to the Enzie, he addressed the following Letter to Mr. Cruikshanks:—

" August 23, 1767.

". . . . Upon my return home, last Friday, I found yours of the 15th Inst., giving the melancholy news of Mr. Smith's situation. May the great God be his defence, and grant him a happy death, for Christ's sake. I am entirely of your opinion, that Mr. Grant's presence is absolutely necessary, and that everything should be sealed up till he arrive. He is just now at Shenvile, but will be here Monday or Tuesday, and, I dare say, will make no delay in going South. As for my going with him, there are great difficulties, especially as Mr. Geddes cannot come here at present, both upon account of his house and of Mr. Guthrie; but I hope there will be no necessity for me. Mr. Sinit and you will easily see how affairs stand, and put them in proper order; yet, if Mr. Sinit think proper, I shall never refuse that, or any labour for the common good, which obedience shall lay upon me. I said above, that I suppose Mr. Sinit will make no delay in going South, but, as far as I can judge, his sentiments are these: As long as Mr. Smith is in life, and able to speak or know anything, Mr. Sinit will not go South, except Mr. Smith desires him, or he know that it will be agreeable to him that he go. If Mr. Smith were dead, he will certainly make no delay. If, therefore, upon the receipt of this, Mr. Smith be still in life, see to get his good will for Mr. Sinit to come South, and write to himself without delay. He will be here all this week, when he returns from Shenvile, and proposed, when I left him, to go into Aberdeen, if nothing occurs to hinder it, Monday or Tuesday come eight days. . . . "

Two days before this Letter was written, Bishop Smith had calmly expired at Edinburgh, August 21, 1767, after receiving every assistance from Mr. Cruikshanks. Bishop Grant was then at Shenvil, and Mr. Hay, the day after his last

Letter was dated, had been called into Moray-shire. On his return home, through Fochalers, August 26, a Letter from Mr. Alexander Geddes informed him of the Decease of the late Bishop. He instantly dispatched an express to Bishop Grant, who was no further off than Achnacly, near Keith. It was soon arranged that he and Mr. Hay should set out together for Edinburgh on the 1st of September. Communicating these arrangements to Mr. Cruikshanks, August 27, 1767, Mr. Hay adds—He could fain have wished that his going had not been necessary at that time, as it was with great difficulty that he could leave Preshome just then; but as both the Bishop and the Procurator insisted on it, it was his province to obey. He expected to reach Edinburgh the end of the following week. Bishop Grant would reside with Mr. Cruikshanks at the house of a Mrs. Innes, if convenient; if it were difficult to make up a bed for him, materials might be procured from the house in Blackfriars' Wynd. Mr. Hay was to reside with his sister, at her friend Mrs. White's.

Thus, with the month of August, 1767, terminated Mr. Hay's residence as a Missionary Priest among the interesting Catholic population of the Enzie. His vacant place at Preshome was filled, December 15, following, by his friend Mr. John Geddes, who had laid the foundation of a new and larger Sanctuary at Scalau, in the preceding month of June (1766), and had begun to reside in it about St. Andrew's Day. On Mr. Geddes' removal to Preshome, the charge of Scalau was contided to Mr. John Thomson, a young Priest, lately Ordained in the Scots Roman College, and who had acted, for a short time on his way home, as Prophet of Studies at Douay.

A few months after Mr. Geddes' arrival at Preshome, we find his old companion, Bishop John Macdonald, writing to him from Kinloch Moidart (March 8, 1768), as follows:—"I hope you are now very happy in the Enzie, and have not met with the fate of the *Propheta in patria sua*, which you seemed to dread; though you cannot fill that vacancy like your good predecessor equally in both capacities. You have, at least, that advantage over him, that your deficiencies shall give you a good deal of peace, which he wanted, so that you may more freely enjoy from books, etc. . . . "

The state of Bishop Smith's affairs gave ample employment to Mr. Hay's genius for Financial business. The difficulties of the times, together with his own charitable disposition, had involved the Bishop in considerable debt, principally to the Mission, and the Funds belonging to him at home and in France were found inadequate to meet the demands. In this emergency, Mr. Hay set vigorously to work to reduce confusion into order; this involved much harassing attention to business, Meetings of Creditors, of Law-Agents, and arrangements with them, and applications for Funds to various persons likely to contribute, both at home and on the Continent. He forwarded to Rome a full Statement of the late Bishop's affairs, and earnestly entreated Abate Grant to procure some relief from his friends there. Bishop Grant also seconded his Petition in Letters to the Agent, and to the Cardinals Castelli and Albani. In his Letter to Abate Grant, after mentioning the want of Labourers and the reduced circumstances of the Mission Funds, which had suffered from the late Bishop's inadvertence, and which were not sufficient to furnish the Missionaries with their poor half-yearly Income, without encroaching on the Capital, Bishop Grant solicits the Agent's concurrence and support in his application to Propaganda for a Coadjutor. [Dated Edinburgh, September 14, 1767.]

Bishop Grant did not remain long at Edinburgh, but returned to take charge of the Congregation at Aberdeen, accompanied by Mr. Cruikshanks, who now resigned his Office of Procurator into Mr. Hay's hands, and went to reside in the remote Mission of Shenval. Mr. Hay, whose address at this time was "the Second Turnpike down Chalmers' Close," now entered in earnest on his many engagements, as Pastor of the Congregation, and Agent for the Mission. His Correspondence soon grew very voluminous, on the Subject of Funds, Administration of Temporal Affairs at Home and Abroad, Arrangements for Sending Supplies of Boys to Foreign Seminars, and Providing the Means for their Travelling Expenses in Going and Returning; in short, on all the endless Details of the Procurator's Department. Before the end of the year, we find him undertaking the charge of the Christian Doctrine, or the Sunday School. His Letter to Bishop Grant, at Aberdeen, gives a singular

picture of the sort of Chapels that were in use at that time, and of the simple mode of living adopted by the Clergy.

" October, 1767.

" I received yours in answer to my two last. Am glad you and fellow-traveller got safe to your journey's end, and hope you still continue in good health. I will now be expecting every post a Letter from the Enzie, with the final Resolution of Admrs. in the North about this House, which, I suppose, will be entirely conformable to your sentiments, as, indeed, the thing speaks for itself. You take no notice in yours of the other scheme I proposed about the House in Bl. fr. Wynd. Since I wrote you last I have been considering it more accurately, and think it may be turned out to still greater advantage than I formerly mentioned. I find upon mensuration, that Mrs. Jean's room and the dining-room are fully larger than both the rooms here, and that, if an opening were made in the partition wall of the kitchen, which could be put up and taken down at pleasure, the use of the kitchen could be got as a kitchen, and it would serve to contain a good number of people upon occasions. I observe also, that the Altar could be so situated as to be seen from Mr. Smith's room, so that a good many of the better sort could be stated there, and would hear perfectly well. Upon these considerations, then, could it not be practicable that that House should serve both for Chapel and Dwelling-House, and the House below be got set? This would extremely facilitate money matters. For example: Let the little Chapel above stairs, which has a convenient fire-place, be fitted up for a room to the Missr. in this place; let Physician have Mr. Smith's room, and the Servt. be in the kitchen; let the outer garret be made a Library, and, if that be not large enough, let Physician's bed be taken out of the closet (which is too cold a place for it, and too far from the fire) and be placed in the room, and let the closet be made a little Library. Then, as for the money part. Suppose the £200 ppl. of Hacket's Legacies, and Mr. George's £150 we laid upon the House; in this case (as I make no doubt of getting Mr. George to allot his £150 in favour of Physicians, at least, till such time as a Hopitium be formed, if ever that should be), out of what may be gathered for Chapel Rent, and the Rent of the House below and Cellar, there would be only £10 to be paid for the Legacies, and what is above would belong to Physician, and for keeping the House in repair. The sole and only inconvenience I can perceive in this scheme, would be the subjection Physician would be under from people coming into his room on public days. This inconvenience could be lessened in this manner—That upon these mornings, after Physician had done his own business, he might go up to the Missr's. room about the time of people's gathering, which, generally, is not till just about the hour. But, in case it should afterwards happen

that Physician and Missr. should not choose to live together with this inconvenience; in case no better place can be got for a Chapel, what is raised upon that House above the £10 for Hacket's Legacies, could easily enable Physician to take a room in any other convenient place. I shall be glad to know your thoughts upon this, or what other step we shall take, if this House be sold, as they are determined to do when we give it up, and, therefore, require our positive answer, what we are to do, as soon as possible. . . . "

On the 24th of January, 1768, Cardinal Castelli's answer to the Bishops' Common Letter of last year arrived at Edinburgh. Next day, Mr. Hay forwarded a Copy of it to Bishop Grant. The good Cardinal sympathised very deeply with the Bishops in the present straits of the Scots Mission, both in Means and in Labourers; assured them that the Congregation of Propaganda did not lose sight of their necessities; that he had written a pressing Entreaty to the Abbot of Ratisbon to send some of his Monks to the Mission; and, in conclusion, acceding fully to Bishop Grant's request for a Coadjutor, directed him to propose two or three of his worthiest Priests, with attestations of their qualifications as to behaviour, and the requisite knowledge, both from himself and from his Colleague in the other Vicariate, and his Coadjutor, so that the Congregation might come to an easy and safe decision in the matter.

The Cardinal was as good as his word. He contributed, out of his own private purse, a supply for the pressing pecuniary wants of the Mission; and procured the services of an Irish Priest for each of the Vicariates--Propaganda undertaking the expence of their journey and maintenance. Mr. Mackenna was sent to the Highlands, and F. Dominic Braggan, O.S.D., was appointed to the Mission of Glenlivet, to assist Mr. Guthrie, who had never recovered the use of his leg, owing to the unskilfulness of the Country Surgeon in setting it. This year, also, a Seminary was Opened in the Highland Vicariate. Some idea may be formed of the difficulties which the Highland Missionaries had to contend with from the following Extract. [B. H. Macdonald, Glengarry, to B. Grant, Aberdeen, Feb. 23, 1768]:—

" 23rd February, 1768.

". . . . As to the function of H. Thursday, I would most willingly perform it for your and my own concern, if it was not for the great inconvenience and danger of bringing a sufficient

number here over so many mountains; and what happened last year frights me much, for Mr. Alexander, upon his return to Knoidart, was like to be lost in a storm of snow, and if he had had a quarter of a mile further to go, he would never have been seen in life. He suffered much, and was bad after it. Mr. McLeod suffered much also; and, yet, both are the strongest we have. This made me concert with Mr. Tiberiop, this year, to perform that function in Arisaig, where he can have a sufficient number without danger. Therefore, I cannot give you any certainty, unless I desire Mr. Tiberiop to do for you and himself; yet, that being so far off, there would be great difficulty to transmit the affair to your country. . . . "

[We may observe how carefully the Subject—the Consecration of the Holy Oils—is concealed in ambiguous phrases.]

In March, Mr. Hay mentions that he had been pressing Mr. Alexander Geddes, when lately in Town, to visit his aged parents this Summer in the Enzie; and, with a view to his own probable Journey to the North for the Bishops' Meeting. Later in the season, he had made arrangements with Mr. A. Geddes to pay this projected Visit between Easter and Pentecost, so as to be free to supply the Edinburgh Congregation in Mr. Hay's absence. All that was then wanting to complete the arrangement was Bishop Grant's permission. About this time Mr. Hay begins to Seal his Letters with a Crest—an Eagle displayed on a Wreath.

Mr. Hay's scheme for sitting up a house and Chapel in Blackfriars' Wynd seems to have met with Bishop Grant's approval. Mr. Hay informed the Roman Agent that the house in which he then resided, in Chalmers' Close, being sold to another Proprietor, and the rent raised to a half more than had been hitherto paid, he was to remove at Whitsunday to the house lately purchased by Bishop Smith. It had a large and more commodious Chapel, and a good Dwelling house underneath, capable of accommodating "both Physician [Bishop] and Labourer," who would be able, by living together, to effect a considerable reduction in their expenses. The Agent might, therefore, address his Letters, after the ensuing term of Whitsunday, to "Robison's Land, near the Middle of Blackfriars' Wynd." About the same time, Mr. Hay mentioned, more particularly, to Bishop Grant, his arrangements about the new House and Chapel. The whole of the upper floor was to be thrown into one apartment, to serve as a Chapel, and the floor underneath to

be the residence of the Bishop and the Missionary. He proposed to raise the rents of the Chapel in consideration of the superior accommodation to be provided, so as nearly to make up for the loss of rent for the lower floor, which at that time was let to a tenant. The advantages of this arrangement were many and important, especially when the great difficulty of finding a suitable Place anywhere was considered. By Whitsunday everything was completed, and Mr. Hay dates a Letter, June 13, "Robinson's Land, near the Middle of Blackfriars' Wynd."

In the end of June, Mr. Hay set out for the North, to attend the Bishops at Preshome. The first Sunday in July he spent among his old friends in the Enzie. The business of the Annual Meeting was finished, and Mr. Hay at his post again, at Edinburgh, before the end of the month. In the beginning of September he went out on a special Mission to Traquair, on the pressing invitation of the Dowager Countess, to make arrangements for the removal of Mr. Alexander Geddes from the Chaplaincy, in consequence of some acts of imprudence which threatened seriously to compromise the interests of that noble Family, and of Religion in general.

This clever and eccentric man was Born in 1737, at Pathhead, a small Farm near Preshome, in the Enzie; and, after a rambling education in the Bible Schools of his native Parish, was finally sent to the Seminary of Scalau. His English and Protestant Biographer, Mason Good, relates an Anecdote of his School-days, at the expense of the cloudy atmosphere of the Seminary. One of his companions at Scalau had obtained leave to visit his friends at a distance, and as he was setting out, asked young Geddes if he had any Commissions for him. "Pray be so kind," was his reply, "as to make very particular inquiries after the health of the sun, and do not fail to present my compliments to him. I live in hope of one day renewing our personal acquaintance." Mr. Geddes was sent, in 1758, to finish his Studies in the Scotch College, at Paris, and returned home, in Priests' Orders, in 1764. On Mr. Cruikshanks' removal to Edinburgh, he was appointed Chaplain at Traquair; but, in consequence of his indiscretion and vain self-reliance which disdained advice, he was removed soon after Mr. Hay's visit, and sent back to Paris for a time to conceal his mortification.

In reply to Cardinal Castelli's invitation, Bishop Grant, some time before this, had proposed Mr. Hay to Propaganda, as his Coadjutor, with the unanimous consent of both of the Highland Bishops, and of the whole Clerical Body in the Lowlands. Before his nomination by the Congregation could be officially certified, the news had transpired through the Agent at Rome; and Mr. Hay, who was then contemplating the preparation of a Book of Instruction for Converts, hastened to address his old friend Abate Grant in the following terms:—

"3rd October, 1768.

"Dear Sir,—Your two last I received in due course, and I think myself obliged to return you my grateful thanks for the regard you show for me, in so much approving and entering so cheerfully into Mr. Siniten's views with regard to the affair of his Coadj. No doubt, you look upon this as an honour done me—that is, the light such dignities are commonly viewed in; and the favourable opinion you express of me, as if I were capable for so great a charge, shows your esteem for me, and demands my gratitude. But, my Dr. Sr., as I cannot help having a very different idea, both of the dignity proffered and of the abilities of the person proposed, I should have esteemed it a much more endearing proof of your friendship, had you used your endeavours to free me from a burden which I am altogether incapable of bearing; and I certainly should have applied to you, to ask this proof of your friendship, if I had not found matters brought such a length before it was hinted to me that I could have no hopes of succeeding. Mr. Siniten never gave me the most distant hint of his design till I went to the North last July; and, when he then told me his intention, gave me to understand at the same time, that such measures were taken, that all opposition would be in vain, and only serve to expose me; that the general consent of the whole Mission approved his choice, and that I would find none to second me in refusing to comply. In fact, I found this was the case—when making my complaint to several of my most intimate friends, they would not so much as hear me. Soon after my return to Edinr., some Letters from your Brother and Mr. Dorlet, for Mr. Sinit: (who had written to them), came open through my hands, testifying the approbation of all our friends abroad of the choice he had made; and, Don Albano arriving soon after, confirmed the same. What could I do? I found every door shut whence I could hope for relief; and had nothing remaining but to make my complaint to my good God, begging of Him either to avert the storm which threatened me, or, if it was His holy will to lay so great a charge upon me, that it might not be in His wrath, but in His mercy, and that He would not refuse me all necessary

graces to enable me to comply with what He requires of me. I hope, in His goodness, He will hear my prayer; and the hopes of this is the only source of comfort I find in my affliction. For this reason, my Dr. Sr., I return you my most cordial thanks for your clarity in promising to pray for me; and I beg of you, for Christ's sake, not only to do so yourself, but, also, to recommend me to others, especially our young folks with you, and to my worthy friend, F. Bruni: to this last, also, please make my kind complts., and tell him I would have answered before now his most friendly favour, which you forwarded to me last Summer, but that my mind has been, since I came North, in such a situation, that I really could not apply myself to do it; but I will be glad to hear from him, and shall write him as soon as I can.”

The Briefs for Mr. Hay's Consecration as Bishop of Daulis, *in partibus*, and Coadjutor to Bishop Grant, dated Rome, October 5, 1768, and despatched November 26, reached Scotland in the end of that year, accompanied by Letters from the Cardinal of Propaganda to himself and the Scots Bishops. Their arrival was announced to Bishop Grant by Mr. Hay, January 2, 1769. None of the congratulations which welcomed his appointment were warmer than those offered him by his friend, Mr. John Geddes, who assured him that his desire had been to see his friend a Bishop ever since they had Studied Rhetoric together, and again addressed to him a Letter full of affectionate regard.

“ 19th December, 1768.

“ My dear Friend,—I remember you was once kindly displeas'd at me for calling you 'Dear Sir' at the end of a Letter; but now, the circumstances are such, that you must allow me to leave off the too familiar appellation of 'Friend,' and address you in another manner. Yet, the heart of a friend I will always bear towards you; nor would it be easy for me to lay aside the familiarity that becomes a friend, in treating with you, though I endeavoured to do it, so long have I now been accustomed to look upon you in that light. You will guess from what I here write, that Mr. Siniten has informed me of the answers received from Old Town, relating to your affair. He has done so, and, I believe, I may say with truth that, never in my life, did I receive news that were more agreeable to me. As I have obtained what I most ardently wished for, not so much, I assure you, on my own particular account (though, I must own, I am not so disinterested as to forget that entirely), as upon the account of others, about whose general good I am concern'd. As I am not a stranger to your sentiments, I don't doubt but the news of the final determination of the matter has even occasioned some

agitation in your mind, when you reflected on the burden you have to undergo. But I can easily imagine the thoughts that have immediately succeeded these first motions; and, I think, I see you prostrate before your God, offering yourself to do or suffer whatever you shall know to be His Holy Will. You have certainly all the reason in the world to persuade yourself that what has been lately determin'd concerning you, is what Heaven requires of you. Without an express revelation, I do not see how you could have more certain indications of the Will of your Maker, and you know He is well able to support you in the work to which He calls you. It is also some comfort to you, nay, a very considerable one, and, at the same time, a great satisfaction to your friends, that everybody, anywise concern'd, expected and wished for what has happen'd. You will not, I hope, doubt of my being as earnest as I can in my prayers for you, such as they are; nor, need I tell you, how much my inclination will join with my duty in obeying you. The only distinction that I ask of you, in consequence of our long friendship, is, that you always use me with less ceremony than you would do another, and that you command me with the greater freedom.”

Mr. Hay's own sentiments, at this critical moment in his Life, may be fully gathered from his Reply to Cardinal Castelli's Letter of compliment. The following Extract is chiefly valuable for its graceful and feeling allusion to his Conversion to the Catholic Faith, and for the evidence which it bears of the tender gratitude with which he cherished the remembrance of that event:—

“ January 2, 1769.

“ My mind was not a little disturb'd when I learn'd, from a very eacuteous Letter lately received from your Eminence, that I was to be Promoted, by the Decree of the Holy Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, to the dignity of Bishop and Coadjutor to the Bishop of Sinita. I knew, indeed, that my name had been sent among those whom the Vicars Apostolic in this Kingdom had propos'd to the Holy Congregation for this honour, but I continu'd to hope that the Divine Mercy would take compassion on my weakness, and, in answer to my Prayers, would avert from me so formidable a burden by laying it on another whom it knew to be better fitted for sustaining so heavy a charge. Since, however, the matter has turn'd out contrary to my hopes (and I am very well aware of my own infirmity), I am of necessity greatly trouble'd. One thing, indeed, I observe, which ought to console me, and it is this, that the unanimous consent of all concern'd, with which the matter has been accomplish'd, makes it hardly possible to doubt of the Divine Will in regard to it; but not even so can I entirely lay aside all my solicitude. For when I see King

Saul, at first a man of great virtue, and afterwards, when promoted by the most manifest disposal of Divine Providence to the Royal dignity, fall away from the path of truth, and cast off by the Lord who had chosen him, how much occasion have I to be afraid, who am weak, and of little experience, and far inferior to Saul in the understanding of judgment and laws. But since I cannot oppose the Divine Will so clearly manifested, nor refuse to obey the commands of His Holiness the Pope, who wields the Supreme authority in the Church of God, I have only thus left to me, while undertaking this burden with fear and trembling, to commit myself entirely to the mercy of God, with full confidence in Him who has called me, by His mercy alone, out of darkness into His marvellous light, and has condescended to promote me to the Holy Priesthood, that He will not refuse me the assistance of His Divine Grace, in order to my pious and holy discharge of its duties. That this assistance may be granted to me, I humbly commend myself, and trust much to the Prayers of the Beneficent Patron who has always cherished us and our affairs with the affection of a father. . . .”

Meanwhile, the Holy See again became vacant by the Death of Clement XIII., February 2, 1769. In the ensuing Conclave, Cardinal Ganganelli was Elected, May, 19, and assumed the name of Pope Clement XIV. At the same time, a Lady, connected by birth with Scotland, was received at Rome as a Convert to the Catholic Church,—Miss Margaret Murray, daughter of Mr. William Murray, of Polmaise, then deceased. In the 20th year of her age, February 12, 1769, she made a profession of her faith in the Domestic Chapel of Cardinal Orsini; and, subsequently, making the acquaintance of the Marquis of Accoramboni, she was Married to him, May 31, in the same year. Abate Grant, who knew her well, makes frequent mention of her in his Correspondence for several years afterwards.

On the 1st of April, 1769, the Apostolic Life of Mr. John Godsmán was crowned by a holy Death. He received his summons home, in the midst of his people, while saying Mass on Easter Sunday. Returning to his humble cottage, he languished till the ninth day after, attended and supplied with all Spiritual assistance by Mr. John Geddes; and, finally, gave up his pious soul to God, on Saturday, April 1. He was interred in St. Ninian's Churchyard, amidst a great concourse of people, and much weeping. “Devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.” The Bishops, in their next Annual Letter to Rome, while informing Propa-

ganda of his Death, and that of the late Procurator, Mr. George Gordon, at Fochabers, pay a high tribute to the many virtues of Mr. Godsmán, in the following words:—“His sanctity of life, his habitual charity to God and his neighbours, his prudence and moderation in everything were so conspicuous, that we deem it beyond our power to praise him as he deserves. From his boyhood, he seemed to be on fire with love to what was good. Since the termination of his Studies at Rome, and during the long Course of nearly forty years' residence on the Mission in Scotland, it was evident that he had nothing at heart but the Glory of God, and the Salvation of his neighbours. His whole time was consumed either in Prayer or in Labouring for the Salvation of others. Hence it is, that not only Catholics, but some Protestants, witnessing his actual Life, spoke of him when alive, and now that he is Dead, continue to speak of him as a holy and truly Apostolic man. At last, under the pressure of toils, which he had always borne with a cheerful heart, he fell bravely on the field, as we may say, seized with a violent pain in his side, on Easter Sunday, while saying Mass; a fever supervened; and a few days after he breathed forth his holy soul, at an age upwards of seventy. The Death of such a man has affected us with great grief, and would affect us with some greater, were we not persuaded that he is now admitted to the beatitude of Heaven, where he will be of great assistance to us, with God, in our affairs.”

The Student of Scottish Ecclesiastical History may, if his devotion leads him, visit the humble chamber, and kneel beside the little bed from which this blessed labourer, in the Vineyard of the Lord, passed from trial to Eternal Rest. He may then pursue an easy and beautiful path from the Hamlet of Auchenthalrig, skirting the domain of Gordon Castle, to the Churchyard of St. Ninians, where he may read this simple Epitaph beside the last resting-place of that faithful servant of God—

TO THE MEMORY OF THE REV'D.

JOHN GODSMAN, CATHOLIC MISSIONARY, WHO, HAVING LABOURED WITH APOSTOLIC ZEAL IN THE PARISH OF BELLEY 35 YEARS, DEPARTED THIS LIFE AT AUCHENTHALRIG, ON THE 1ST OF APRIL, 1769, IN THE 72D YEAR OF HIS AGE.

The period of Mr. Hay's Consecration had been delayed till Summer, owing to the difficulty of getting the Bishops together in the inclement season of Winter; to the many engagements which occupied them and their Clergy, as Spring advanced; and to the danger which threatened their Meeting for such a purpose, at any public or central place. Edinburgh had, therefore, been deemed ineligible; Preshome was not less so, where Mr. Hay had too many friends, to give the event a chance of being kept private. The retired situation of Scalan pointed it out as the most suitable place; and there, on Trinity Sunday, May 21, 1769, Mr. Hay was Consecrated by Bishop Grant, assisted by the Venerable Bishop of the Highland Vicariate, and his Coadjutor, Mr. Hay's former Companion at Rome. The usual Attestation of the event was drawn up by his friend, Mr. John Geddes. Mr. Hay took the Oath prescribed in the Pontifical, before Consecration, and made the usual profession of his Faith; but, from motives of prudence, the primal Certificate of his having done so was not sent to Rome at that time. Happening to be in Paris, in 1772, on their business, he wrote both of them out on parchment, with his own hand, and entrusted them to the care of the Principal of the Scots College at Paris, for transmission to Rome by the first opportunity. By the 6th of June, 1769, we find him once more at his post in the Capital.

The study of this History conveys impressions to the mind similar to those communicated by the observation of the starry heavens. While the Astronomer watches the slow progress of the hours, bright stars and constellations succeed one another in endless order; as one descends to its setting, another is culminating on the meridian; as it in turn begins to decline towards the West, others as bright are peeping over the Eastern hill. It has been so, since time began, in the material Heavens; it has not been otherwise in the firmament of Christ's Church since it was called into being. They come and pass, those lights of their time; and then their shining is no more seen on earth; but while we look after them with regret, and a half-confessed fear that their equal does not remain, behold, a new glory appears, shining and reigning in its appointed course, and assuring our faint and mistrusting hearts that light, and rule, and order shall never fail.

CHAPTER IV.

1769—1771.

Bishop Challoner — Robert James — Scotch College at Madrid — Removed by Mr. Geddes to Valladolid.

Dr. Hay, now promoted to the Episcopate, continued his services at Edinburgh as Procurator for the Clergy, and Pastor of the Secular Mission there; while Bishop Grant remained for a time in the Enzie, to supply the vacancy left by the recent Death of Mr. God-man.

One of Bishop Hay's first anxieties was to provide better Vestments and Altar furniture than the poverty of the Scotch Mission had hitherto been able to supply. On this subject he had been for some time meditating an appeal to the Catholics of England, through their common friend Mr. Constable, of Evingham, a warm and steady promoter of every scheme for the honour of Religion, and the benefit of the poor Scotch Mission. To this proposal Bishop Grant had given his concurrence, and other circumstances favoured the design. The very day after Bishop Hay's return to Edinburgh from Scalan, the arrival of the Dowager Lady Traquair furnished him with an opportunity of engaging her Ladyship's good offices with Mr. Constable, in behalf of his plan, which now included the general destitution of the Mission, as well as the poverty of its Altars. Lady Traquair requested the Bishop to draw up a Memorial, representing all its wants, in as clear and concise a manner as possible, which he did, before the end of June. Without any parade of words, but in strong, simple language, he presented an affecting picture of the great number of souls depending on the services of an inadequate supply of Missionaries, of whom hardly three could be named in robust health; many of them without a home, subsisting on the scanty provision made for their maintenance, as they removed from one Cottage to another, as a temporary residence. The Bishops were not in a position to assist them to any good purpose, having already too large demands on their own scanty store, for the expenses of travelling from place to place, in the exercise of their Episcopal duties. From this state of poverty, two effects resulted, especially to be deplored, the absence even of decent furniture for the Altar in the Country Missions; and the impossibility of pro-

viding little Books of Instruction and Devotion for the poor people, of which there was the most urgent need. On these two grounds, Bishop Hay rested his claim to the friendly aid of the English Catholics.

The Dowager Lady Traquair and Mr. Constable were highly pleased with the Memorial; and, in order to give it every chance of success, it was resolved that the most regular way of proceeding would be to lay it before Bishop Challoner, and leave it to him to say whether the application about to be made to the English Catholic Body should be of a general nature, or whether it should not rather be confined to personal solicitation among private friends. As Lady Traquair and Mr. Constable were to leave Edinburgh for England in a few days, there was not time to communicate with the other Scotch Bishops on the subject. Dr. Hay, therefore, took it on himself to send a Copy of his Memorial to Bishop Challoner, in the name of his Colleagues in Scotland, requesting the advice and co-operation of his venerable friend in this undertaking. He took the opportunity, also, to thank Bishop Challoner for former favours done to himself, a duty which the recent change in his own position seemed to render peculiarly appropriate; as, to Bishop Challoner, under God, he owed his Ecclesiastical vocation. Dr. Hay then solicited the good Bishop's patronage for the Memorial, representing the difficulties which lay in the way of recovering help from Rome at that time, and suggesting that Divine Providence had, perhaps, reserved it for the English nation, and for Bishop Challoner in particular, as the crown of his former good Offices, to be the happy instrument of imposing so great a benefit on the Scotch Catholics.

The English Bishop's Reply to this Appeal, though friendly, was not immediately encouraging. Two Public Collections were at the time in progress for rebuilding the Secular and the Benedictine Colleges at Douay. "As to particular contributions," continued the Bishop, "I doubt not but some, if properly applied to, might be willing to assist you. I shall make some trial among my friends, but the chiefest is now out of Town." This approbation was sufficient to authorise Lady Traquair and Mr. Constable to undertake their Mission of Charity. A few months afterwards, Mr. Constable sent Bishop Hay £100 as a contribution from himself.

Before the Letter (of date July 5) was sealed, in which Bishop Hay had communicated these particulars to Bishop Grant, another Letter arrived from Dr. Challoner, in the following terms: "Honoured dear Sir, admire and adore the goodness of God. Since I wrote to you, I was visited by a person of great honour and virtue, to whom I showed your Memorial, upon the perusal of which they [*sic*] proposed to me the giving you, for the necessities of your Mission, the sum of £1,000, with an eye to your present relief, and the procuring the Prayers of your Missioners for the repose of the soul of their kinsman Deceased, for which they had destined the money. In the meantime, you are desired to let us know what number of Prayers you could procure among your people for this their intention, which they take much to heart. They do not expect any number proportionable to that sum, but that you can conveniently perform.—Pro Roberto Jacobo Defuncto. Your answer to this, with instructions how to return the money, will oblige your devoted Servant in Christ, R.C." A Celebration for this intention is still made, every year, by the Scotch Missionaries, on or about July 13. Bishop Grant naturally offered his thanks to the English Bishop for his goodness, who replied through Bishop Hay—"My best respects to that worthy gentleman. His Prayers I thankfully accept of, but, as to the rest, the benefit you lately received is owing to a particular Providence of our merciful Lord; to Him alone be all the Glory."

Dr. Hay was much alarmed, about this time, for the security of the Mission Funds, in consequence of the failure of several banks, and seriously proposed to withdraw their Funds from the hands of bankers altogether, and invest them in loans to landed proprietors, on good security; a measure which, as will afterwards be seen, accidentally involved him in some trouble and loss, arising from the state of the Penal Laws against Catholics at the time.

Besides public interests, he found leisure to plead the cause of deserving persons in private life. He wrote long and fully to Abate Grant, at Rome (August 17), in behalf of a Miss Anne Cameron, a lady in reduced circumstances, who had merited well of the Catholic body, and in whose favour he urged the Agent to use his influence with Cardinal York. This application,

however, to his Eminence was in vain. This Letter is further remarkable as an exception to the silence which Dr. Hay usually maintained in his Correspondence, on all the current secular subjects of the day. The great object for which he thought, and wrote, and lived, generally excluded every other from his mind, while conversing with his friends at a distance. But, in this Letter, he makes the following allusion to an appalling accident which had lately occurred in the progress of the North Bridge, then erecting as a means of communication between the ancient City of Edinburgh and the future New Town.—“Poor Mr. Miller, your acquaintance, has fallen into a sad misfortune. You will, probably, have heard he was employed by this City to build a fine Bridge over the North Loch, as a street of communication with the New Town that is building on the Moultrie’s Hill [the site of the present Register-Office] and Westward. The Bridge was well advanced, with three beautiful large arches in the middle, and two small ones, one at each end, and was to have been finished next Spring; when, behold, this day fortnight, the one end fell down from the great weight of earth that was laid upon it, to bring it up to the proper level, and five persons, at least, were buried in its ruins, among whom are Mr. James Fergus, Writer to the Signet, and Miss Dundass, daughter to Doctor Dundass.”

Bishop Grant now resided permanently at Aberdeen. A slight misunderstanding had occurred between the Bishop and his Conductor, the particulars of which are now lost. It terminated in an ample testimony, borne by Bishop Grant, to the merits of his Conductor.

September 16, 1770.

“Honoured dear Sir,—As we all fail and offend in many things, he is surely the happiest here, and shall be the most exalted hereafter, who is the most humble. I have had very often occasion to observe how well you are grounded in this favourite virtue of our Blessed Redeemer long before this time, but it discovers itself with a new lustre in your long apology for a fault (if, indeed, any at all), scarce perceptible, which at least others, even of our character, I could mention, would not have been sensible of. This humility of yours humbles me much, and, I hope, will serve to help me to pull down my own pride, even that very pride which very readily may have been the cause of some of the expressions I made use of in my last. Go on, dear Sir, in the

constant pursuit of this amiable virtue; it will be the best safeguard of your other good qualities, and will best enable you to perform great things for the public good of our poor country.”

To this confidential Letter, Dr. Hay replied (September 27th) in these terms:—“. . . Your most obliging Letter, in answer to the Apology affected me exceedingly. I could not peruse it with dry eyes, to find so much kindness and condescension, when it was so little deserved. May Alm. God reward your charity, and give me grace to follow your good advices. I now remain, with the most profound respect, most honoured, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant to command.”

Till a late period of this year, Bishop Hay was still occupied with the settlement of the late Bishop Smith’s affairs. He was also contemplating printing ten or twelve thousand copies of a Catechism, but explained that the recent bankruptcy of Meighan in London, had caused great confusion and stagnation of trade among Catholic Booksellers. His friend, Mr. John Geddes, at Preshome, was occupied with similar projects, and urged the Bishop even to employ some of the public money in printing books for the common people; of so much importance did the distribution of little Catechisms and Manuals of Devotion appear to him. He also suggested a plan of getting a Catholic boy taught the art of printing, so as to get their work done more conveniently, and, what was of more consequence, with less risk of attracting attention and notoriety.

Early in the year 1770, we find Dr. Hay employed in preparing a young Student for his Ordination. Writing to Bishop Grant, February 3, he says:—

February 3, 1770

“. I am very well pleased with Johnny Paterson, and have all reason to hope he will do well. He has exceeding good dispositions of heart, but seems to be still something behind in what would be necessary for him to know. He has made a particular study since he came here of the Treatise de Legibus (which I had thought very necessary, as I have found great benefit from it myself), and de Sacramentis, particularly some practical pieces de Pœnitentia, namely, Benevlet and Segneri. I have employed him all along in giving the Christian Doctrine, and through the week helped him to prepare a little Discourse after it, in which he has succeeded with general satisfaction; and I have caused him to transcribe some other little practical things that I have collected for my own use. At present I am dic-

tating to him (when time allows) some schemes and heads of Sermons, which he may have occasion for in case he be left here when I go North. The plan I have been thinking on of proceeding in his promotion is to give him the first on the first Saturday of Lent, the next on Ember Saturday, and last the Saturday thereafter. . . . Our little Catechisms will be finished about the end of next week or beginning of the following, but it will be a week or two longer before we get them folded and stitched. . . . ”

Immediately after the Ordination of Mr. Paterson, he was appointed to the charge of the Seminary and Congregation at Scaln, vacant by the removal of Mr. Thomson to Strathavon.

A Letter, addressed by Dr. Hay, to Mr. John Geddes, at Preshome, February 5, gives a faithful picture of his numerous engagements.

“ February 5, 1770.

“ . . . I am just now getting the Catechisms printed—that is, the little ones. I have gathered as much, one way or another, as will print 10,000 copies of them, which, before I get them folded and stitched, will cost at least 120. As I am absolutely overpowered with different things, I beg you would think no more of printing anything here at present. We shall talk of it, at large, please God, at meeting; but, I assure you, till then, though we had cash in abundance, I would not have a moment's spare time to think of it. Johnny Paterson will soon now be preparing for Orders; Lent is at hand; betwixt Easter and Pentecoste I will, probably, be obliged to go to Galloway: after Pentecoste, I must go to Drummond and Stobhall, before I go North. I must be here again by the middle of August, to settle our Bank affairs, the year being out then. Judge yourself, then, my dear Sir, with all the other things I have to do, whether I can have time to think of printing Books. . . . I am obliged to you for your Enzie news; anything from that place, and about my dear people there, is always interesting to me. . . . ”

About a hundred years before the Birth of Dr. Hay, a Seminary for Scotch Students was founded at Madrid by Colonel William Semple, brother of Robert, fourth Lord Semple. This gentleman was long in the service of the Kings of Spain, and was much esteemed by Philip II., III., and IV. successively. The first of these sent him with private despatches to the Court of James VI. of Scotland, in the year 1587, when the Invincible Armada, as it was called, was fitting out against England, and a report was current that James was about to marry the Spanish

Infanta Isabella. The Armada foundering next year, and James prudently adopting the policy of the English Court, Colonel Semple was arrested and thrown into Prison. He contrived, however, to effect his escape into Spain, where he lived many years. His last Will and Testament is dated February 10, 1633.

His wife, Doña Maria de Ledesma, was childless. She and her husband had, therefore, formed the pious design of founding a College for the benefit of the Catholic Religion in Scotland. In the year 1627, a Charter of Foundation was drawn up, and signed by himself and his lady on the 10th of May, which was to take effect after his Death. It may be seen at length, printed from a legally certified Copy, in the Collection at Preshome, in the “Miscellaneous Papers” of the Maitland Club, 1834. It is entitled, “Escriptura de Fundacion y Dotacion del Seminario de Collegiales Seglares Escoceses en la Villa de Madrid; 10 de Mayo, 1627.” The certified Copy at Preshome is in Bishop Geddes' handwriting, with an English translation in parallel columns, written by Mr. John Gordon, Master of Divinity in the Scotch College, Valladolid.

This Deed of Foundation and Endowment bears that the Founders, . . . “desirous of performing some good work directed to the greater service of God, to the increase of the Divine Worship, and to the Teaching of the holy Catholic Faith, the Preaching of the Gospel, and the Conversion of Heretics, have resolved to Found and Endow a Seminary of Scotch Secular Collegians, in the manner, and under the direction, and with the patronage, conditions, and clauses following:—
. . . The said Seminary shall contain as many Collegians as can be maintained on the Funds of its Endowment. They must be Scotchmen by birth, of good family and character, and persons from whom the greatest fruit may be expected in the good of souls. They must apply, as long as shall be necessary, to the study of Grammar, Philosophy, Theology, Controversy, and Sacred Scripture; and when they shall be found sufficiently skilled in these sciences, they must return to the said Kingdom of Scotland to preach the Gospel, and labour for the Conversion of Heretics; in which they must occupy themselves there; and, as they shall leave the said Seminary for that purpose, let others be received in their place for the same end; and so let this

method continue as long as it shall take to effect the said Conversion. . . .” The chief support of the Seminary was to be derived from certain Houses, belonging to the Founders, at Madrid; and, in the event of the Conversion of Scotland, the property was to revert to Colonel Semple’s family. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus were to be the Superiors of the Seminary; the appointment of its Rector being vested in the Provincial of Toledo.

For some years after Colonel Semple’s Death, the College was not in a condition to maintain many Students, its funds being impoverished by Legacies and Annuities which had to be paid out of them, to the amount of £2,000. About the year 1660, some High Friars, observing that the intentions of the Founders were not fulfilled, applied to the Spanish Government to have the management of the College transferred to themselves. F. Hugh Semple, nephew of the Founder, succeeded in repelling their application, by providing that the burdens on the Foundation were such as to render the maintenance of a greater number of Students at that time impossible. Before the lapse of twenty years, instead of being merely Superiors of the Scotch College, Madrid, entrusted with its management, the Jesuit Fathers came to be regarded by themselves, and by others, as its sole and exclusive Proprietors. The supply of Students from Scotland was irregular and scanty; and those only who were found qualified and willing to enter the Society were permitted to finish their Studies in the College; their remaining in Spain, or returning home to the Scotch Mission, being no longer contingent on the completion of their Studies, but on the decision of their Superiors. So entirely was the property of the College monopolised at last by these good Fathers, that, for many years, the Bishops and Secular Clergy in Scotland were totally ignorant of its very existence, as originally Endowed for the exclusive maintenance and education of Students for the Secular Mission.

At the end of F. Adam Gordon’s triennium in the Rectorship of the Scotch College at Rome, in 1655, he was sent to Madrid as the best person among the Scotch Jesuits to recover the property of the College there from the Spanish Fathers. During the year that he remained there, he recovered the College and a good deal of its property from them.

The prescriptive right, however, of the Scotch Fathers to the property of the College was challenged by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Wm. Leslie, Agent for the Scotch Clergy at Rome. In 1671, he prevailed on the Congregation of Propaganda to appoint a Visitation of the College, which was entrusted to the Nun io at Madrid. Diplomatic etiquette interfered a good deal with the efficiency of this Visitation. It was conducted entirely extra-judicially, and did not affect to penetrate far beneath the surface; nevertheless, its results are a curious illustration of the history of the Colonel Semple’s Foundation. The income of the College was nearly 45,000 reals, and its annual expenses were hardly 33,000. But the Visitor looked in vain for one Scotch Student, though the other national Seminaries in France and Italy were at that time well supplied. There were ten persons residing in the College; the Lector and the Doctor, or Professor, both of them Jesuits, together with two Lay-Brothers; the Confessor of the German Ambassador, and the three sons of the Protestant Ambassador of Denmark, who paid for their board, and whom the Fathers entertained on the chance of their one day becoming Catholic; the Steward and the Cook completed the number of ten inmates residing in the Scotch College. At this very time the Scotch Mission was in the utmost destitution for want of Labourers; the few who were serving in it was worn out with fatigue; and many souls were perishing without Spiritual assistance.

It was impossible for the Visitor to shut his eyes to such abuses. As a remedy, he proposed to transfer the management of the College from the Scotch to the Castilian Fathers, a measure which the former strongly and successfully opposed, and there the matter ended. This partial Visitation resulted in no benefit to the Scotch Mission; the Jesuit Fathers remained in undisturbed possession of the College; and by and bye converted it into a place of general education for young Spaniards. Between the years 1720 and 1730, under the management of F. Clarke and other Scotch Jesuits, it acquired such a reputation, as an Academy for youth, that the sons of the first Spanish nobility were sent to reside in the College, as pensioners. An application for a similar indulgence was made on behalf of some young Spanish nobles by the

Princess of the Asturias, to Mr. A. Cameron, in 1786. [B. Geddes to B. Hay, January 14, 1787.] Philip V. soon proceeded to entrust the Scotch Fathers with the direction of a College, instituted expressly for the education of noble youths, which he Endowed with an eighth part of the revenue derived from tobacco, at that time amounting to a very large sum. But jealousies arising between the Scotch and the Castilian Fathers, put an end to this arrangement, and F. Clarke was obliged to resign the flattering distinction conferred on him and his brethren by his Spanish Majesty. His residence at Madrid was so much embittered by this unhappy dispute, together with a heavy debt with which a long course of mismanagement had burdened the College, that he finally discovered the last weak link connecting the Foundation of Colonel Semple with his native Country, by personally transferring the College to the Spanish Fathers, and withdrawing with his Students, among whom was Mr. Charles Farquharson, to Douay, in the Autumn of 1734. £300 were to be annually paid to the College at Douay for their maintenance out of the revenues of the College at Madrid. The remainder, which amounted at least to as much more, was partly applied to support three Spanish Fathers, who lived with a Lay-Brother in the College, managed its rents, transmitted part of them to Douay, and said about 500 Masses in the year, with which the Foundation was burdened; of the surplus revenue, the books of the College contained no account.

Mr. John Geddes, while sending these details to Bishop Grant, mentions that he had collected them from actual inspection of the College books, and from the testimony of several persons of eminence and credibility, who had been intimately acquainted with F. Clarke at the time of his removing to Douay; particularly of the Marquis of St. Leonard, who had himself resided in the Scotch College at Madrid as a pensioner, and of "a good old lady, Mrs. Connoch," whom Mr. Geddes often saw at Madrid. She had been Governess to the Infanta, and, while filling that Office, and others of considerable distinction at Court, had been well acquainted with F. Clarke, and several other Scotch Jesuits.

While their conduct in this matter must appear as a rather liberal interpretation of the Deed of Foundation, the remarks with which

Mr. Geddes concludes his Narrative are full of prudence and forbearance. "I do believe F. Clarke and his brethren meant no harm to their Country; they may have met with difficulties that we are strangers to; and they may have seen things in another light than we do; however, I think I may safely say that, in all probability, things would have been on a better footing in Scotland than they are, had even twelve Students of the Secular Clergy been constantly maintained in Spain, these hundred and thirty years, according to the Founder's intention. . . ."

The storm which swept the Society of Jesus from Spain, was long in gathering, and burst with cruel violence upon it in April, 1767. As a matter of course, the revenues of the Scotch College at Madrid were confiscated to the Spanish Crown, as property belonging to the Expatriated Order. But, amidst the many acts of injustice which accompanied that terrible convulsion, one just act, at least, of reparation was made to the Scottish Mission. It seems that the English Secular Clergy had similar claims on the property of the Spanish Jesuits, and as early as May, 1767, Bishop Challoner and others applied to the Spanish Ambassador, in their name, for the recovery of what had once belonged to them in Spain. In consequence of the favourable reception which their application received from His Excellency, Mr. Perry, one of their own Body, was at once dispatched as Agent to represent their interests at the Spanish Court. On his way through Paris, he stayed some little time with his friend Mr. John Gordon (Dorsethers), Principal of the Scotch College there, who engaged him to keep an eye also on the interests of the Scotch Secular Clergy, and send to Paris any intelligence that might be for their advantage. Early in 1768, Mr. Perry informed his friend that the Scotch Secular Mission had a just claim to property in Spain, upwards of £1,000 a year in value, consisting of a College at Madrid, and another at Seville; advising an early application, through the Spanish Ambassador in London, in a manner similar to that lately made by the English, and representing the Government of Spain as well disposed to do the Scotch Clergy justice in the matter. Principal Gordon instantly communicated with Mr. Hay, urging that a Deed of Procuracion should be made out without delay in name of the Scotch Bishops and Admin-

istrators, authorising Mr. Perry to act for their behoof. This agreeable intelligence, and sound advice Mr. Hay forwarded to Bishop Grant, April 7, 1768. Mr. Alexander Geddes was then at Edinburgh, on his way to the North; and Mr. Hay employed him, as familiarly acquainted with French, to draw up a Memorial for the Spanish Ambassador, in that language, and a Deed of Procuration, for Mr. Perry, which Mr. A. Geddes should himself submit to Bishop Grant's approval the following week. Mr. Hay further mentioned that he had written to Bishop H. Macdonald to request him to send an Express for his Coadjutor, and to meet Bishop Grant at Preshome, immediately, where as many Administrators as could be collected, on such short notice, might concert their measures together with the Bishops, and transmit the necessary Papers to Mr. Hay, after duly executing them. This Letter of Mr. Hay's affords a fine example of the masterly vigour with which, on an emergency, he arranged his plans and marshalled his forces. The only difficulty which he could force in the matter was the necessity which might arise for maintaining the College at Madrid in a state of efficiency, in case of the Spanish Ministry making that a condition of reinstating the Mission in its property, and refusing permission to turn its revenues into capital, and remove it from Spain. But even this difficulty must not interfere with prompt and decided action.

As the affair advanced, it became daily more necessary that the Scotch Clergy should send one of their Body to conduct it in person, at Madrid, and afterwards undertake the superintendence of the College, which, it was decided, must be opened for the education of Scotch Priests. Much delay was occasioned by the extreme difficulty of sparing a Priest from the service of the Mission for this purpose. Mr. Perry, indeed, continued very friendly, and did what he could; but for his assistance, the whole transaction would have been miscarried from the first. Bishop Challoner, also, with his usual charity, and his lively interest in all that regarded Religion in Scotland, together with his Coadjutor, Bishop James Talbot, employed his influence with the Spanish Ambassador, to keep the matter open and undecided, till a suitable Agent could be found for the Scotch Clergy. Mr. Robert Grant came over from Douay to London for a short time to represent them in

the negotiations with the Ambassador, who engaged, in name of his Court, to pay all the expenses of sending an Agent to Madrid, whenever he should appear to claim them. It became at last impossible to delay any longer, unless the Bishops were prepared to surrender every chance of recovering their property at Madrid. The Irish on the spot had been busy, and had obtained a Decree, uniting the Scotch Seminary to their own at the University of Alcala, whither it had been also determined to remove the Scotch College from Madrid, in order to avoid giving umbrage to the English Ambassador by re-establishing it in the Capital.

Matters were in this unsatisfactory state early in 1770. Two years had been consumed in negotiations; the College property was to be had for the asking; and still the main business of sending a fit Representative of the Scotch Clergy remained unexecuted. Bishop Hay himself had been mentioned by one or two of the Administrators as a suitable person for this Embassy, but insuperable difficulties appeared in the necessarily poor provision which he could make for going as a Bishop among the ceremonious Grandees of Spain. At length the universal suffrage of all concerned nominated Mr. John Geddes to the task. His Missionary life had hitherto been one of vicissitudes. "Torn from his beloved Flock," as Bishop Grant had expressed himself, in the Wilds of the Cabauch, he had hardly settled himself in his rising Seminary at Scalan, before another removal to Preshome again dissolved his relations with his interesting Charge in the Braes of Glenlivet. And now, settled among his own kindred, and a congenial people, in the Enzie, surrounded by so many monuments of Scottish Missionary History, which was to him an object of untiring interest, he is called again to leave his native Country, and to go among a people speaking a language then entirely strange to him, and on a Mission of peculiar delicacy and difficulty.

True, however, to the spirit of his Vocation, his resolution was taken at once. Writing to his friend Dr. Hay, from Preshome, January 27, 1770, before the final decision of the Bishops and Administrators had been made known, and alluding to the probability of their choice falling on himself, he gives utterance to his feelings in these words:—"As for me myself, if I should be thought on for that purpose, from our old principles, and

from what I wrote [to] you before, you will not doubt of my endeavouring to be in the *Santa Indifferenza*, which alone can give peace. Indeed, I must own the concern I have for my dear children here would give me some pain in being separated from them; besides, my health would not agree with that climate; the affair is become difficult and doubtful, particularly for one unacquainted with the language and manners of that Country, &c. But one *Go* from Superiors unsolicited should make all easy."

The sacrifice of inclination was not all on his side. Dr. Hay, alluding for the first time to his friend's nomination, as a possible event, says:—"The thought of parting with Mr. John Geddes is terrible." [To B. Grant, January, 1770.] And writing to Mr. Geddes himself (February 5), he says:—"You will by this time know Mr. Siniten's [Bishop Grant's] resolutions about who is to be sent. I own I was rather for Mr. Reid, who would not be so much missed as Mr. Geddes, but *sicut fuerit voluntas in celo, sic fiat*. A short time will now determine."

A few days afterwards, Mr. Geddes received notice from Bishop Grant to prepare for his journey to Spain. He accordingly bade Adieu to his "dear children" at Preshome, Thursday in Septuagesima, February 15; passed through Aberdeen to get his final instructions from the Bishop, whom he never saw again on earth; and reached Edinburgh, February 21. Mr. John Reid succeeded him at Preshome; Mr. Thomson taking Mr. Reid's vacant place in the Mission of Strathavon. Mr. Geddes remained three days at Edinburgh, with Bishop Hay, arranging his affairs, getting his Credentials ready, and looking out for a companion to share the expense of a post-chaise to London, as was the custom in those days. On Sunday, February 25, he set out in company with a Lieutenant Macpherson, of the Family of Macpherson Grant, and a young Lady, on her way to Bath for her health. Mr. Geddes was chosen Purse-bearer for the party. After an agreeable journey they arrived in London on Friday, March 2.

In the afternoon of the same day, he waited on the venerable Bishop Challoner, who "received him in a very kind and fatherly manner," inquired after Bishop Grant and Bishop Hay, and showed great concern for the success of the Spanish College. He then sent Mr. Geddes to

Bishop Talbot, who happened to be much engaged just then, but arranged for a visit to the Spanish Ambassador next day. Mr. Geddes then returned, by invitation, to dine with Bishop Challoner and those Priests who resided in the House with him; and, writing a few days afterwards to Bishop Grant, expressed himself as "charmed with the easy, agreeable, edifying behaviour of the great man of whom he had heard so much." [To B. Grant, March 5, 1770.]

Next day, Bishop Talbot presented Mr. Geddes to the Spanish Ambassador. The affairs of the College seemed to prosper; his Excellency promised to have everything ready for Mr. Geddes' journey; Papers, Letters, Money, &c., the following Monday. That day, accordingly, he had another audience, and received all the Papers necessary for his Mission to Spain, and a handsome allowance for his journey. The same day, he wrote to Bishop Grant an account of all that occurred to him since leaving Scotland. "This afternoon," he says, "I was invited to the Conference the Clergy have every Monday. The two Bishops were present, and twelve or fourteen Churchmen. Bishop Challoner made a pathetic, instructive Discourse, *on a Priest in Len'*, with regard to his duties towards God, his people, and himself, insisting principally on this last head. After he ended, every one proposed what difficulties he pleased."

Wednesday, March 7, Mr. Geddes left London for Dover; crossed over to Calis, next day, in fifteen hours; and, on Friday, took horse to St. Omer's, where, leaving his luggage at an inn, he called at the English College, the residence of Mr. Alban Butler. This venerable man was very kind to the Scotch traveller, and sent to the inn for his luggage, declaring that he should be very much mortified if Mr. Geddes were to lodge anywhere at St. Omer's but in the English College. In the evening, Mr. Geddes had the satisfaction of hearing him make a Discourse to his Students on "The Necessity and Advantage of Prayer."

Sunday morning, he reached Douay before nine o'clock, and was cordially welcomed by Mr. Robert Grant, Principal of the restored Scotch College there. After Mass, Mr. Grant took him to see the English College, once the Seminary of Martyrs—the thought of so many Saints having gone forth from that House, filled the mind of

the devout traveller with a "sacred awe." Next day, he started for Paris, by the *Lisle Diligence* through Cambray; and reached the French Capital, Wednesday, March 14. The third day after, he set out for Bordeaux; thence, *à Bay* and Pampeluna, to Madrid, where he arrived, without accident, on Holy Saturday, April 14.

Dr. Perry, the English Agent, now Rector of the English College at Valladolid, showed Mr. Geddes every attention, and they immediately applied themselves to business. Mr. Geddes was well received by Señor Grimaldi, the Secretary of State, to whom he presented his Credentials, and by the other Ministers, with whom he had to transact business. Abate Grant sent him some useful Letters of introduction from Rome; the Cardinal, Duke of York, and Cardinal Albain, the Scotch Protector, wrote to the Spanish Government in his behalf; Señor Campomañes, also, the First Fiscal of the Council of State, exerted himself to much purpose in favour of the Scotch claims. At the Royal Palace of Arranjuez, Mr. Geddes found an old Fellow-Student in the Schools of Logic and Physic, Count Vincenti, the Pope's Auditor, who was very friendly, and promoted the success of Mr. Geddes' Mission with all the interest at his command. Mr. Geddes, though new to the business of Diplomacy, conducted his Embassy with the tact and prudence of a proficient in the art. His patience was, however, often severely tried by the slow, procrastinating habits of business which he found prevailing among the Spaniards. He acquired the perfect use of their language in no long time, and secured a lasting place in the regard of many Members of the Spanish Court, by the extraordinary sweetness of his manner and the variety of his accomplishments. He completely succeeded in recovering the Property left to the Scotch Secular Clergy by Colonel Semple; and in his application to have the restored Seminary transferred to Valladolid, the Capital of Old Castile, as possessing a climate better suited to Scotch youths than the air of Madrid, and as being nearer a convenient seaport. Nearly six months were consumed before these preliminary negociations were settled. It was not till October 8th, that he was able to write from Madrid to Scotland, to request that two Masters and twelve Boys might be sent without delay. Even then, final arrangements had not been completed, and it was with a

view to hasten them, that he wished to have his Students on the spot.

To Mr. Geddes' prolonged residence at Valladolid, for more than ten years, we owe some of the best examples of Dr. Hay's Correspondence which remain. The early intimacy of those good men, the similarity of their sentiments on the subjects of engrossing interest for both of them—the increase of Catholicity in their native Country, and their own sanctification—impart a tone of unreserved and confiding friendship to Dr. Hay's Letters to Valladolid, at this period, which is not to be found elsewhere in all his Correspondence. While he conversed with the gentle spirit of his friend, zeal suspended its force, and assumed an air of tenderness; his native energy of character, for the time, gave place to an overflow of affectionate sympathy; "they walked in the House of God with one consent." Dr. Hay's first Letter to Mr. Geddes, after his departure, is dated at Edinburgh, May 28, 1770, and is addressed to Madrid.

28th May, 1770.

My Dear Sir,—You will, I daresay, be longing to hear from your native County, and to know how things are going on here; this I should have let you know ere now, but that I have been obliged since Easter to take a journey to Galloway, and am only of late returned from that place. I received both your Letters, the first from Paris, and the other from Madrid. The accounts you give us in this last are very agreeable, and give good hopes of your future success. I see you will have some difficulties to overcome, but I hope Alm. God, who knows the straits of this poor country, will enable you to get over them. All concerned have been advised how things stand, and requested to have Boys ready upon the first call. I hope you will endeavour to give us warning as long before as possible, as you know our folks here are sometimes not so active as could be wished, and, if you can, you will also get Viaticos allowed for them. Mr. Gordon, at Grisey, will have informed you that the destruction of the East India Company there will occasion a considerable loss to us, which our small funds are not well able to bear, which I suppose you will not fail to avail yourself of where you are. We long to get further accounts from you. Your friend Mr. Reid was immediately pitched upon for Presbome after your departure. He went with great reluctance, but has given great satisfaction to them all, as a proof of which he writes me that, upon Low Sunday he had upwards of 500 Communicants, which, he observes, is a proof how great a sense they have of their duty, and the effects of the diligence and zeal of their

late worthy Pastor, whose absence they so greatly lament. Mr Thomson was, of course, obliged to supply at Mr Reid's old quarters, and Mr Paterson was ordered to Alma Mater. He left this yesterday for that end, by which means Mr Dauley is left again all alone. I have no doubts but Mr Paterson will prove a valuable subject; he supplied here when I was in Galloway, and gave great satisfaction, nay, so far had he gained the general affection here that there were several tears shed when he left us. Friends in the West have cheerfully agreed to give us one for you, as it was at their desire, and with their approbation, you was sent to Spain. The choice of the one they give is to be deferred till Meeting, and he will be settled in Strathdown upon account of the language, and in that case Mr Thomson will (I understand) go to Mortlich, and Mr Roy to Angus; for you must know your old friend, Mr Alex. Godman, is no more. Soon after you left us he asked leave to retire to the Enzie, as he found himself daily weaker and weaker, and unable to do anything where he was. This request was immediately granted him. Accordingly he set out, and got the length of Ned Smith's, but could go no farther, and after two days, died there. Mr Tiberiop [Bishop J. Maedonald] after your departure wrote me as follows: "Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to see him entrusted with our most important affairs, being convinced they could not be safer in any other hands, for he is not behind any mortal in my esteem and affection. I am entirely confident of success in that affair since he has undertaken it, not so much trusting to his abilities, which I think equal to those of any other, as to his virtue which I hope will bring a blessing upon all his undertakings. At the same time I felt a kind of shock at the sudden news of his being already gone so far off, not knowing when, or if ever, I may expect to see him again. I wish to be remembered to him in the most affectionate manner, when you write to him; but I shall defer writing to him myself till I hear from him, which I desire may be with his leisure and convenience, not doubting but he will be sufficiently employed in the beginning." So far Mr. Tiberiop. You will easily understand whom he speaks of, and you see what expectations he has of that person; I have no doubt but his expectations, which many, I may say all others have as well as he, will be fully answered. . . . The above is all the news I have to communicate to you. And, now, my Dr. Sir, as you are likely to be fixed for some time in those countries, God knows if ever we shall see one another again in this world; but I hope we shall never fail to meet every day in the heart of our beloved Master, and there recommend to His infinite goodness our mutual necessities. You will now enjoy that retirement from the busy scenes and distracting employments of our state, which is so delightful to you; while we must here sweat and toil, sub pondere dici et astu; but as the Saints in Heaven,

from the experience they have had of the miseries to which their friends behind them are here exposed, are the more solicitous to plead their cause at the Throne of Mercy, so I hope you, copying after their sacred example, and knowing the many hardships and toils to which your Brethren are here exposed, will redouble your daily solicitations before God to obtain for us a plenteous Grace to support us under our difficulties, and that success to our labours as may most tend to promote the glory of God and the great end of our Calling. Remember me in the most affectionate and grateful manner to worthy Mr. Perry, whose solicitude and concern for us may God reward.—I ever remain, my dear Sir, most affectionately, yours in Christ. GEORGE HAY.

The day after he had dispatched this Letter to Mr. Geddes brought Dr. Hay one from his friend at Madrid, dated May 7, to which he replied, June 4, in a similar tone of intimate confidence. Letters on public business he requested Mr. Geddes to transmit by way of Paris, addressed to the care of the Principal of the Scotch College; private and confidential Communications between themselves had better be sent by the ordinary post. "In such," Dr. Hay adds, "you may depend upon it, the appellation of friend will always be the most agreeable address from Philalethes to Staurophilus." In compliance with a common custom of the time, they had assumed these imaginary names—Mr. Geddes calling himself a Lover of Truth, and Dr. Hay, a Lover of the Cross.

4th June, 1770.

My Dear Sir,—It gives me great pleasure to learn from yours in detail the different steps you have taken, and the reception you have met with about our affairs, and I am half expecting that to-morrow, which is a post-day from abroad, will bring me an account of your long conversation with our good friend Señor Campouranes; but I must not delay this till I get yours, for as this is a Foreign post-day from hence, if I put off to-day, it would be several days before I got another cessation. When you find a proper opportunity, you may please make offer of my most respectful compliments to Señor Campouranes; assure him how deeply sensible we all here are of his friendship and regard to the concerns of our poor country, both from what we have learned from you, and had before heard from Dr. Perry, and that whatever way things shall turn out, we will not be wanting in our earnest prayers to God for him, as the only grateful return we can make for his goodness towards us. I sincerely partake of the satisfaction you find in perusing the life of that venerable servant of God, Jo: of Avila. Alas, my ignorance of the Spanish language would deprive me of reaping the benefit you draw from

it though the book were here. But the usual uniformity of our sentiments convinces me it would be both useful and delightful to me, were I so happy as to meet with it in any of those languages I understand. . . . No doubt you will represent to them our present straits in the most affecting manner, and let them know how much Physicians themselves are obliged to take upon them for that reason; for my part, I may say it to you my friend, where you are at present, though I would not be rash saying it here, the continual close application of mind, which I am here exposed to daily, is so wasting and so exhausts my spirits, that I am afraid my constitution is greatly suffering by it: my stomach is very poor, and my digestion often so disordered, that I have several times been obliged of late to take vomits, after the family were all gone to bed, without anybody's knowing anything of the matter, for that could have served for no end, but only have alarmed people to no purpose; but this you may make use of where you are if you think it can be of any service. And you see there is no help for me; I expected, indeed, Mr Paterson would have been allowed to stay here, which would have made me very happy; but, alas! poor Mr Godsmans's death renders that impracticable, and, therefore, I rest most contented with the will of heaven, and, with God's assistance, shall esteem it my greatest happiness to be entirely spent, and lay down my life in doing His will. . . .

Mr. Geddes continued to send home voluminous Reports of the protracted negotiations in which he was involved with the Spanish Government. Two of these arrived in time for the Bishops' Annual Meeting at Preshome, in July; a third was waiting for Dr. Hay at Stobhall, on his return from the Enzie. The very day that he reached Edinburgh, August 16, he sat down to Correspond with Mr Geddes, and to encourage him in the trials of patience and forbearance to which his relations with the Spanish Court continued to expose him.

“ 16th August, 1770.

“ My Dear Sir,—As some necessary affairs obliged me to beat Edinburgh before the Assumption, we were forced to have our Meeting sooner than the time you expected. However, both yours, of the 2nd June, by Mr. Brisby, and that of the 25th June, by Post, came to my hand whilst we were all at Preshome, besides all those inclosed in the former, and another large packet to your namesake and Mr. John Reid. Your last, of the 5th July, inclosed in one from Mr. Dorlet, I only received two days ago at Stobhall, on my return to this place, where I am this day arrived. What we received from you at Preshome made us all very happy. We thanked God for the several favourable circumstances that had concurred, and

the good prospect you had of an entire success in our affairs. Your keeping your health so well was particularly agreeable to us, and our repeated wishes were expressed for a continuation of the same. We are very sensible how disagreeable it must be to you to meet with so many delays and off puts; yet, it gives us great pleasure to see the Christian patience and resignation with which you bear them; and, we do not doubt, but your doing so will at last bring a greater blessing upon your endeavours. God Altho', as you well know, my Dr. Sir, often tries his servants in this way, when they are engaged in arduous undertakings, for His glory, in order thereby to divest them of all dependence upon themselves, and perfect their confidence in His Divine assistance; and He is never nearer bringing all things to the most happy conclusion than when all human appearances seem most combined against it. On the other hand, the enemy of all good, fearing the detriment that such undertakings will be to his kingdom, never fails, as far as he can, to use all endeavours to disappoint them. We must not, then, be surprised, my Dr. Sir, that you meet with opposition; but we must humble ourselves the more profoundly before our great God, acknowledge our entire unworthiness of the desired success; deplore our own sins, which put a stop to His more speedy aid, and increase still more and more our confidence in Him alone. These, I well know, are entirely your own thoughts, and, therefore, it is needless to mention them here; but it is a pleasure to me to write to you upon a subject about which I have so frequently had the most delightful and profitable conversations with you. These I am now deprived of for a time, and the only supply for that want is, when circumstances will allow, to renew the pleasing ideas by a touch of the pen. . . .

Mr. Geddes was not slow in reciprocating the sympathy and affection of the Bishop, as will appear from the following Extract to B. Hay, Madrid, October 15, 1770:—“ . . . I have not time to write [to] you word, having spent this evening in a Church, hard by me, of Carmelite Nuns, in a Monastery founded by St. John of the Cross. I prayed for you; it is St. Teresa's Day. . . . This moment I feel my heart full of the most tender and sincere affection for the best of friends, and I am, honoured and dear Sir, your obedient son in Xt. . . .” All Mr. Geddes' Letters to Scotland, at this time, are filled with expressions of affectionate regard for all our own friends.

In the month of December, 1770, fifteen Boys sailed for London, in two parties; one of them from Leith, the other from Aberdeen, to avoid exciting suspicion. They were received, on landing, by

Coghlan, an excellent Catholic bookseller, who had succeeded Meighan as a publisher, and with them Dr. Hay transacted much business, on Bishop Challoner's recommendation. This good man took charge of the boys on their arrival in London, and saw them set sail for Spain. Before leaving England, he presented them to Bishop Challoner and his Coadjutor, who gave them their blessing. Some of them reached Spain in the following month of January, 1771, and were accommodated in the English College at Valladolid till their own was ready for their reception. The rest arrived in the end of February. Mr. John Gordon, who had lately finished his Studies at Paris, and Mr. Allan Macdonald, at the same time entered on the duties of Masters and Assistants to Mr. Geddes in his Office of Rector.

After mentioning at length his arrangements about sending a supply of Boys to Spain, Dr. Hay gives Mr. Geddes his views as to their training.

“December 20, 1770.

“ . . . Thus you see, my dear sir, we have done our best to answer all your commissions, as soon as possible, and taken the most proper measures for their safe arrival with you; all that remains is now to consign them entirely to the Divine Providence, and I trust in our good God, he will always be their Protector. It were superfluous for me to give you any admonitions with regard to the management of your young folks, as I am conscious of your superior abilities as to the execution, and know that your sentiments and views are perfectly similar as to the plan and principles. Yet, as I daily see more and more the necessity for the most solid piety in those of our calling, and am convinced that our great defect in that, is one of the principal obstacles to the advancement of God's glory and the good of souls, I cannot help expressing to you, my dear friend, the most ardent desires of my heart, to see our people rather humble, obedient, disinterested and resigned to the Divine will, than great Wits and fine Scholars. All the good that's done in business is commonly by the former; the latter are for the most part rather an impediment. Were both joined together, it was most to be wished; but I am sorry to think that both where you and I were, and, if we may judge by the effects, in other places also, more pains seem to be taken for the latter than for the former qualification; but this I trust in my good God will not be the case in your House, whilst it pleases God to keep you there, and amidst the numberless cares which oppress us, it gives me a sensible pleasure to think that this poor Mission will, in a short time, see Saints as well as Scholars come to its assistance. I am afraid that it is a mistake to think that the

essential exercises of self-knowledge and self-denial are not proper for young folks, and am of opinion that if the right way were taken to implant those virtues in them, it would be both proper and most salutary. But there is a way of doing this. May Alm. God put you upon it. . . . ”

Bishop Hay's extreme anxiety in regard to the Spiritual direction of the Infant Seminary at Valladolid is evinced in another Letter to Mr. Geddes, January 1, 1771.

“ . . . And now, my dear Sir, as I know you will not be pleased if I send you a whole page of white paper, let me add here a thought that has come several times into my mind, of which, as our sentiments about such matters are generally very similar, I believe you will easily see the reasons, and enter into my views. Thinking with myself about the different charges to be allotted to Superiors in your house, I fear the management of the Temporals must entirely fall upon you. Mr. Gordon is but young and quite inexperienced; and Mr. Allan, by what Mr. Tiberiop writes to me, and by what I find from himself, has no manner of turn or genius that way. Perhaps this will not be entirely to your own inclinations; but I know also, that if you see it necessary, inclination will have no weight with you in the matter. But I would not wish that this should hinder you from taking upon you another charge, which I am entirely of opinion you should have alone; and that is, the direction of Spirituals. We already know not what abilities God Almighty has bestowed on you for managing young plants, in that respect; it is his goodness; blessed be He for it; and as you now are in a field for employing these abilities, I should be very sorry if that field should be given to another. The other two gentlemen will have their hands full with the drudgery of the Studies; and as they are both very capable for that, will need little more from you but that general inspection, which, as Principal Superior, you owe them; but the other two parts I would wish you had entirely to yourself. These are my thoughts in the little knowledge I have of the immediate circumstances; but you will be the properest judge yourself how just they are. My blessing and best wishes attend you and yours, and I ever remain, my dear Sir, most affectionately yours.”

At length, after nearly a year spent in tardy diplomacy, Mr. Geddes wrote for the first time to Dr. Hay from Valladolid, April 2, 1771.

He had obtained from the Spanish Government a part of the Jesuit College of S. Ambrose, which had been unoccupied since the Repulsion of the Fathers from Spain. Some further arrangements as to the Division of the House, consumed eight weeks more. At last all was ready; and, “on the last day of May,” as Mr. Geddes wrote to Dr.

Hay, June 14, "after supping at St. Alban's [the English College], all the English and we came together to this College of S. Ambrose. We said the Litanies in the Chapel, then the English returned home, and we retired soon to our rooms, which were already prepared for us. . . . We have here a very decent Domestic Chapel, a good Refectory, Kitchen, and Cellar, 27 or 28 good Rooms—five of them are excellent, and all of them have small Closets, called Alcoves, for the bed; we have also two Granaries, a Pigeon-house, two Courts, three Draw-wells, and a little Garden. On the top of the House is a large Lodge, from which there is a beautiful prospect. . . . "

Such were the circumstances in which the Scotch Secular Clergy resumed possession of their Spanish property. In the Royal Cedula and Letters Patent, granted to the Scots College of S. Ambrose, at Valladolid, it is declared that "the end of this College, according to the intention of the Founder, is the Education of Scottish Priests, who are to return to their own Country, to Preach the Holy Faith, take care of the Catholics already in that Kingdom, and labour for the Conversion of Heretics."*

The comfort of the Students was still further consulted in the course of the next five years, by the addition of a good Domestic Chapel to the College—it had formerly been the room where the Venerable F. Da Ponte had lived and died. Among the numerous Relics which enriched it, was the Body of the holy man himself, in a brass coffin. In the Loggia, or Gallery, where the Students often took their recreation, F. Da Ponte used to walk and meditate, during the composition of his great Work.

In August, 1773, Mr. Geddes was able to report to Bishop Grant his recent acquisition of a good Church in the immediate vicinity of the College.

"August 23, 1773.

" . . . We have obtained from the Conneil of Castile the use of an excellent Chapel, better considerably than the little Church of the College at Rome; and we got possession of it on the Feast of the Assumption. It will cost us something to make new doors to it, and a passage from the College; but I was desirous of getting it, because it is dedicated to God in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the B. V.; and our Founder,

in his Charter of Foundation, desires his College to have such a Church, as it actually had at Madrid. I believe it would be proper to cause his bones, and those of his lady, which are deposited in St. Martin's, at Madrid, to be translated hither, as he requires, in his Testament, that they be in the Church of his College. The Council has given us only the use of this Chapel. . . . "

CHAPTER V.

1770-1771.

Persecution in Cist - Emigration—B. Hay Publishes his First Controversial Work.

While the year 1770 was thus productive of lasting benefit to the Scotch Mission, through the recovery of the Seminary in Spain, affairs at home gave ample employment to Dr. Hay's universal talent for Administration.

The vacant Mission at Auchenhalrig had, by this time, been supplied by Mr. Alexander Geddes, who, on his return from Paris, seemed disposed to redeem his past errors of judgment, by closer application to the duties of his vocation. He informs a friend that, since his coming to that Mission, he had reconciled twenty-seven "old Easter defaulters," and received several Converts. Till Mr. John Reid's arrival at Preshome, to take Mr. John Geddes' vacant place, Mr. Alexander Geddes said Mass twice on Sunday, for several weeks; one Sunday, an early Mass at his own Chapel; and, afterwards, riding over to Preshome for another Mass and a Sermon, and the following Sunday reversing this order.

Shortly after Dr. Hay's return to Edinburgh, from Galloway, he proposed to Bishop Grant the following arrangements for the Summer:—

"May 28, 1770.

" . . . Mr. Dugud will not refuse to do his best to serve the people in my absence, but that is not the only difficulty to be answered here. Letters, both from England about Memorial affair; from Mr. Geddes, about his business; and from Paris, about affairs there, may come, which may require some speedy answer, or something to be transacted here: Mr. Geddes' demand for Boys may also arrive about that time; several things also might happen here, like what has actually happened within this twelve months, which would require some necessary steps to be taken about money matters. Things of this kind, of which I have my hands daily full, make a very considerable difference between this place and Aberdeen. However, as there seems no

* NOTE.—At Preshome there is a certified Copy of this Royal Cedula, in Spanish and English—the Spanish is in Mr. Geddes' handwriting; the English Translation is written by Mr. John Gordon, Master of Divinity.—pp. 56.

remedy, I shall take every precaution in my power, for whatever may happen, before I leave this; and only wish that things could be so ordered, that my absence may be as short as possible—in which wish, I neither study my own ease nor satisfaction; for, I must own, it would be very agreeable to me to pass a week or two among my old acquaintances; and, perhaps, a relaxation of this kind might be, in some measure, necessary, as I never, in my whole lifetime, was in such a continual application of mind, as I have been since I last saw you. When I got your last, reflecting upon what is above, I was resolved to ask to be dispensed from going to Mr. Fletcher this season; but he has since been in Town, and we have agreed upon a middle way—viz., his Wife and two Daughters, who want Confirmation, and the French Lady, are to meet me at Greenock the week after Trinity Sunday. He will provide there a proper place to give them all necessaries, on Corpus Christi Day, so that I can return to Glasgow that night, and be absent from this only a few days. This agreement could not be sooner, as next week I will have enough to do here; and I did not choose to defer a week longer, lest the call had come for going North; and Mr. Johnston will supply here on Corpus Christi. . . . As you mention fixing the Jubilee about the Assumption, I think it would not be amiss, if you please, to begin it upon that Day, and to continue it for the fortnight after it; for, as it will oblige me to be here some little time before, to use some endeavours to prepare the people for it. If our Meeting be late, I will be rather straitened. . . .”

The Jubilee to which Dr. Hay here refers, for the Accession of the Sovereign Pontiff, Clement XIV., was not published in the Lowland District, till Saturday, October 7th, 1770, and lasted till November 10th.

The straits to which many Missions were reduced for want of Labourers, are forcibly represented in the cordial warmth with which Bishop Hay welcomed the proposed arrival of an Irish Priest, whom Cardinal Castelli was to send from Rome; but whose coming was ultimately prevented. The Letter in which the Bishop expresses his pleasure at the prospect of even so small a relief, gives a remarkable picture of the number of Converts under instruction, in that time of depression.

“ June 11, 1770.

“ To come now to the most essential part of yours, which I delayed till I should hear from Mr. Siniten; and, though I made no doubt of his answer, yet I wanted what I should write were corroborated by him—I mean, concerning the Irish gentleman that so charitably offers himself to our assistance. Please offer our most respectful compliments to our worthy friend, Mr.

Castelli, and assure his Eminence that, however great our straits are, and the difficulties we labour under, we are most willing to have them still increased, and undergo still greater hardships, rather than have the main affair neglected, as, alas, it is too, too much at present; for, such want of hands to manage it, besides the great prospect there is in many parts, had we the hands to spare to send to them; and, even in this very place, I have never been without some business of that kind—have several upon hand just now, and a prospect of several more, had I any one to help me with other matters. For these reasons, then, that good gentleman will be most heartily welcome to us; and we will not only willingly, but with the greatest joy, put him upon an equal footing with our own people, and share to the last farthing with him, or any other proper person that shall have the charity to give us their assistance. Offer my kind compliments to the gentleman himself, with my sincerest good wishes of a speedy and prosperous journey to us. . . . ”

One of the Acts of the Scotch Bishops at their Meeting this year, was to discharge a debt of gratitude to Dr. Challoner for the eminent services he and his Coadjutor had rendered to the Scotch Mission in general, in the affairs of Robert James; by a subsequent donation of £200; and by their influence at the Court of Spain. Bishop Grant conveyed the sentiments of his Colleagues to the English Bishop, as follows:—

“ July 24, 1770.

“ Hon^d. Dear Sir,—Having had the pleasure for some days past, of enjoying the company of my Colleagues from the Highland District, Mr. Hay laid before us, from your Letters, a full account of the repeated instances of your friendship and concern for our welfare since he went to Edinburgh, and, especially, of the unexpected success our Memorial met with, chiefly by your means. I shall not undertake to express the grateful feelings of our hearts on so affecting an occasion, but we will not cease to praise our good God, who has stirred up so charitable a friend to us in our necessities; nor will we ever forget daily to pour forth our most ardent prayers for so kind a Benefactor. The conditions required, pro anima Roberti Jacobi, shall be punctually complied with, according to your direction. While we were, among other matters, settling a plan for getting this regularly and effectually done, your last to Mr. Hay, of the 10th inst., came to hand, in which you inform him of a Benefaction you send us of £200, for a present supply to such as are in greatest distress, whether Priests or Laity. This new proof of your generosity filled us with admiration, as we cannot but be sensible how many people in distress you must have among your own immediate concerns to provide for; and we return you our united and most

grateful thanks for this favour. . . . We had scarce settled this affair, when we had a Letter from Mr. Geddes, informing us that a late Letter from Mr. Fisher [Bp. Challoner] and his worthy Coadjutor, to Señor Campomanes, Fiscal General, had given a most favourable turn to our affairs where he is, so that he expected, in a short time, to have everything settled to his mind. For fear of offending, I shall say nothing of the deep impression this information made on our hearts; but I beg you will be pleased to accept of our most grateful acknowledgements and hearty thanks for this and all favours, which, in the name of my Colleagues and of all our people, I here humbly present to you. . . .

On his way home from Preshome, early in August, Dr. Hay stayed a short time at Aberdeen, partly for the purpose of Receiving and Confirming Mrs. Barclay, a lady who resided there. He sent some of the particulars to Bishop Grant, at Preshome, August 3, 1770. In the same Letter, he adds a Sketch of his own Plans for a week to come. Arranging his movements for a much longer period beforehand, was a favourite practice of Dr. Hay's; and, though sometimes obliged by unforeseen circumstances to modify them a little, he generally adhered with remarkable fidelity to their general outline, so as often to arrive at a particular place within an hour of the time he had mentioned several weeks before. Method was as characteristic a feature of the Bishop's habits as energy and decision.

“August 3, 1770.

“As I purpose leaving this town soon, I thought it my duty to write to you before my departure, and inform you of what I have been doing here. I found my friend in such dispositions as gave me great pleasure, and as she had made a very good use of the time I was in the North, with the help of Gother's 8th Volume, in preparing Accounts, I found little remaining for me to do. On Wednesday last, she was received; yesterday and this day all Accounts have been cleared, and to-morrow the whole is to be finished. I would very willingly have had her defer Confirmation till your return, but as she expressed a desire of having all at present, and had wrote to her friend at Edinburgh that all was to be settled before I left this, mentioning that in particular, I could not well refuse complying with her desire. . . . To-morrow, after breakfast, I go to Pitfoddell's to dinner; and at night return to Blair's, as Mr. Dugud is to be at Pitfoddell's on Sunday. On Sunday I leave Blair's, and propose living at Stobhall on Monday. As I have some Foreign Letters to write, along with what I bring with me, and will get little time at Edinburgh for that after my return there; as Mr.

Gordon Coff, has been preparing his people for Confirmation, and they will not be got gathered together till a Sunday; and as Mr. Allan is to stay at Edinburgh till I return; for all these reasons I intend to pass the next week at Stobhall, to write my Letters at leisure, and have them all ready for the Post when I go to Edinburgh to serve Mr. Coff's people the Sunday following, and take some days' repose to myself.”

Notwithstanding the prudence and secrecy with which Dr. Hay conducted the printing and circulation of his Catechisms, they began to attract Protestant attention. Early in October, a virulent attack on Catholics had been made in the Edinburgh Newspapers, alleging that they had printed Catechisms and other Books of theirs. “However,” Dr. Hay adds, “I hope it will produce no trouble: God's will be done. I shall not be wanting in taking proper advice, and making suitable applications.”

Bishop Hay's farseeing and comprehensive view of the future interests of the Mission, made a constant supply of Boys for the Seminaries an object of unremitting importance to him. He spared no personal outlay of time and money, to secure a good and promising youth, as appears from his Correspondence at several periods. In Autumn of 1770, his hands seem to have been unusually full of such engagements. He had picked up a boy, Ranald Macdonald, at Edinburgh, whom he took to reside with him, together with another, Robert Menzies—both of them received their daily Lessons from the Bishop himself. A third boy, Tom Robertson, who, like Menzies, had run away from Sealan, in consequence of misunderstanding, used to come at this time as a day Scholar, to get his Lesson from the Bishop, together with the others, till places opened for them in the Scotch Seminaries abroad. Macdonald fully justified the Bishop's penetration, became a good Student and Missionary, and finally succeeded to the Government of the Highland Vicariate. The boy Menzies was long a useful Missionary among the Highlanders at Edinburgh. Some interesting particulars regarding him are preserved.

“October 12, 1770.

“. . . You remember Robert Menzies, the young man I brought to Sealan with me in May, 1769. He lost his health greatly at Sealan, was neglected by Mr. Thomson, deemed incapable of study, and sent off without any orders from Mr. Smit last Spring, sometime after you

left this. I was quite surprised when he came in upon me here one day, but what could I do? I knew his piety, his favour, and sincerity. I was convinced he had a vocation to trade, at least such convincing signs of it as entitled him to a fair trial. Upon examination, I saw clearly he had not got that at Scalau. The account I got from that country confirmed the same. I therefore resolved to keep him with myself, and after now some months, I do not repent my doing so. He has not, indeed, a bright genius, but it is solid; and, though (having hitherto had not the least assistance) he requires a good deal of application to comprehend things which are entirely new to him, yet, when he gets anything, he possesses it, and his piety and application, with his good will, give me great hopes that he will prove a good subject. His health is greatly better, and I cannot help thinking it Providential he was sent here, as I am pretty certain he will do more in a month here than he could have done in severals where he was. It is true, in the meantime, it is a little hard upon me, both as to time and expense; but I trust in Providence for a supply to the last; and I hope, in a short time, Robert will become useful, and make up for the former. . . . ”

Regarding his own health, Dr. Hay mentions the following particulars:—“I have been using the essence of waterdock for some weeks past, which is doing me a great good. I have been in a way of ease since it began to take effect, more than I had been for twenty years past; but I find it will require a long course, and the price comes very high—what I use in six days, costs me a Crown.” And a little later in the year—

“December 14, 1770.

“ . . . I have great reason to bless God that my headaches are become vastly easier, and I can even venture on a single glass of wine, or a draught of porter at a time, without prejudice. But you would scarce imagine what a number of things one has here to do of different kinds, which keep me in such perpetual occupation, that I have scarce a moment to myself, or to pay a visit, but where business leads me. If it were possible to get any assistance, there is certainly need for it; but, as I am sensible that it is not to be had, I have hitherto said or done nothing for that view. However, for some weeks past, there has come a thought into my head, which, if judged proper, would be of great relief to me, and which I beg leave to mention to you, but, at the same time, to assure you that I have not the smallest attachment to it, further than you judge proper. It is to bring Mr. Guthrie here to stay with me. . . . If it were thought proper to put him here, he would both fill a place and take a great deal off from me, by which several things would be better carded for than it is possible for me at

present to do, as he would take the Christian Doctrine, hearing Confessions, and instructing new Customers off my hand, besides supplying when I was obliged to be absent, &c. However, in case you think the scheme advisable, all particulars may be treated of afterwards, and if you disapprove, there will be no more of it. . . . ”

The year 1770 is memorable in the Annals of the Scotch Mission for a bitter Persecution directed against a number of poor Catholics in the Western Islands, resulting, however, as is usual in such cases, in effects directly contrary to the hopes of their persecutors. The Island of South Uist, in which it began, is the largest in the chain of the Outer Hebrides, extending about twenty-two miles in length, and eight in breadth, and separated from the nearest point on the mainland of Inverness-shire by a distance of sixty miles. At this period, the Island was divided between Macdonald of Clanronald, and his Cousin-German, Macdonald of Boisdale, who, besides his own property in the Island, had a large tract of land in lease from the Laird of Clauranald. His Tenants thus amounted in number to nearly two hundred families, all of them professing the Catholic Religion. Boisdale himself had been a Catholic from his infancy, till he arrived at man's estate, and with the common rancour of an Apostate, he resolved to extirpate the Religion of his youth from the Island, by forcing his dependants to adopt the established Religion of the Country, or by expelling them from his Estate. His efforts were at first directed to the children of his Tenants, whom he invited to attend the gratuitous instructions of a Presbyterian tutor, employed in the education of Boisdale's own sons. The poor people, suspecting no evil designs, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity, and his School was numerously attended. It was not long, however, before the real intentions of Boisdale became apparent; abuse of the Catholic Religion was mingled with the Schoolmaster's daily lessons; those who were learning to write had scurrilous and even immoral sentences set them to copy. In the Spring of 1770, when Lent arrived, violence was employed to force flesh-meat into the mouths of the poor children. No sooner did their parents hear of those scandalous practices, than, with the concurrence of F. Wynne, O.S.D., the Catholic Missionary in the Island, every one of the children

were withdrawn from the School at Boisdale. This interference with his designs provoked a violent Letter from the Laird to the Missionary, threatening him with instant apprehension, as a criminal, if he presumed again to exercise any of his Religious functions, or even to remain on the Island; and pushing his violence to such a length as to swear that, if he were to meet the Priest, he should twist his head from his shoulders. F. Wynne retired to Ireland, his native Country, and never appeared again in the Scottish Mission; his vacant place was supplied by Mr. Alexander Macdonnell, a Secular Priest.

Boisdale did not stop here. At the term of Whitsunday, 1770, he summoned his Tenants together to hear a Paper read to them in their own Gaelic language, containing a formal renunciation of their holy Religion, and a promise, under oath, never more to hold communication with a Priest. The alternative was then offered them to sign this infamous Paper, or lose their Houses in the Island, which was equivalent to starvation and ruin for nearly all of them. To the honour of these poor people, their unanimous resolution was taken at once; they all, to a man, declared that they would beg or starve rather than submit to such conditions; and suiting the action to the word, they returned home at once, and made instant preparations to quit the Island, and go whither God should direct them. Their Landlord, finding that he had mis-calculated their resolution, and was in imminent danger of incurring serious loss, from his lands lying for a long time without a Tenant, departed from his threat, and renewed their Leases, unconditionally, for another year, to give them, as he said, more time to think of what he had proposed. With a refinement of cruelty, he had no sooner thus fixed them in his power for another year, than he renewed his former base solicitations, and punished their refusal to comply with his demands with unrelenting perseverance. He raised their rent to a sum three or four times higher than before; he kept them in continual agitation by summoning them frequently, and even in the busiest seasons of the year, to treat with him on these hard and unreasonable conditions; and by acts of oppression which their remote situation, far from any legal redress, permitted an unscrupulous possessor of authority to practise with perfect impunity. His position gave

him a complete monopoly of all the trade of the Island, by export and import; and he used his power to impoverish and reduce his poor dependants to the lowest condition of servitude, so as to put it out of their power to leave the Island, and so escape from his tyranny; all the while, in his personal intercourse with them, stooping to the grossest abuse, heaping upon them epithets of the most revolting and exasperating kind.

Such was the state of things in South Uist, in Summer, 1770; the evil example of Boisdale threatened to spread to other parts of those remote Islands. When Mr. Kennedy, the Catholic Missionary, landed on the little Island of Muck, he was arrested by orders of Mrs. Maclean, the wife of the Proprietor, who was then absent from home. He was taken to her house, and kept in confinement for two days, till a boat could be procured to convey him back again to the Mainland. None of his people were permitted to see him, and when he asked what offence he had committed, and offered every satisfaction, this Lady's only reply was to cite the example of Boisdale, and announce his determination never to allow a Priest again to set foot on her husband's Estate.

The very existence of Catholicity in the Western Islands of Scotland seemed at stake; the aged Vicar Apostolic of the Highlands, in great anxiety, brought the whole circumstances of this provocation under the notice of his Colleagues, at Preshome, in July, 1770. They resolved to take the opinion of Dr. Challoner upon it, and, accordingly, in the Common Letter which Bishop Grant wrote to him in their name, to acknowledge many past benefits conferred by him on the Scotch Mission, he confided to him their new difficulties, in the following terms:—"While, through your charity and friendship, Divine Providence has been thus pleased to bestow so great favours upon us, it has, at the same time, been pleased to send us just now a very sensible affliction, by a violent Persecution, which is already gone a considerable length against us, in the Western Isles. The fatherly concern you take in the welfare of Religion among us naturally induces us to communicate to you all our afflictions, as well as joys; but we the more earnestly beg leave to give you a full account of this affair, both because we have a very great dependence on your

advice, and also because we have the greatest confidence that our good God, through your means, will afford some remedy to so great and dangerous an evil. The giving you a minute detail of this affair would be too long for the bounds of a Letter, and we have, therefore, drawn up an account of it, on a separate paper, which Mr. Hay will forward to you along with this. In the meantime, I beg leave, in all our names, to offer you our most grateful and respectful compliments. . . .” The Bishops also transmitted an account of this affair to Cardinal Castelli; and Dr. Hay, while enclosing that Letter to Abate Grant, informs the Agent that the only remedy for the threatening evil, suggested to the best informed on the subject, was Emigration to an American Colony. The great obstacle to this plan was the necessity for a considerable sum of money which it involved; it must, therefore, be the last resource, but if matters should come to extremity, an effort must be made to raise the sum required, by application to the Catholics of other countries. Of Maconald of Glenaladale, the chief promoter of this Scheme of Emigration, Bishop Hay speaks in terms of the highest praise. “Worthy Glenaladale affirms he will sell all he has for that end, and go himself along with them. His conduct, indeed, upon this occasion is exceedingly edifying; he seems to inherit all the zeal of primitive times, as well as the piety of his own worthy ancestors.”

October 12, 1770, Dr. Hay sent further information regarding the progress of this affair to his friend at Valladolid. It had added another to his already innumerable engagements which had crowded upon him, “one after another, as if by appointment the one had agreed to begin when the former was ended.” He had been recently occupied in collecting all the intelligence he could about the price of land in America, and had ascertained that, at the lowest rate of currency, £2,000 would be required to provide a sufficient tract of land for the Emigrants from Uist. Glenaladale was willing to raise this sum, on the security of his own Estate; but even then, it would be no easy matter to procure the money before the following term of Whitsunday.

The narrative of these negotiations is continued in a Letter addressed by Dr. Hay to Bp. Grant.

“November 17, 1770.

“ . . . Glenaladale is at present here, in

order to treat of a place of settlement with the Lord Advocate [Henry Dundas], who has large tracts of land in S. John’s Island, Lawrence River—a most excellent soil and fine climate, and who, though a man so much of the Government, is most willing to give them all encouragement, and their being R. Catholics is far from being an objection with him. There are about 50 families of the old French inhabitants upon the Island, of whom his Lordship has got the most amiable character, and he is glad to think that this proposal may be a means of getting a Ch.-man to the Island for their benefit. Indeed, a friend of mine, a Presbyterian Minister, who went out there last Summer as a Teacher and Factor, and who is himself very well disposed towards us, wrote to me this harvest a most affecting Letter about the poor French Catholics there, representing their case in the most moving terms, and begging I would see to get a Ch.-man sent among them; upon which I wrote their situation to Mr. Robert Grant, desiring him to see and provide one (as he behove to have the French), and he tells me he is in hopes of getting a very pious, good man to go. My friend also wrote to me, that these good people will bear all his charges out, and give him £50 a year for his maintenance. By this, I hope the French will be supplied whether our people go or not. . . .”

Intelligence of these plans for the relief of the suffering Catholics in the Hebrides reached the ears of their Persecutor, and by its appeal to his self-interest, procured a temporary cessation of his cruelty. In May, 1771, Bishop Hay informed Abate Grant, on the authority of Mr. Alexander Maconald, Missionary in the Island of Barra, that the Persecution in Uist seemed at an end. The Bishop quotes the following passage from his Letter:—

“May 22, 1771.

“ . . . When the storm first began, and the clouds gathered and burst with terrifying threats and menaces, we apprehended, not without some appearance of reason, saving the Divine Providence, a total subversion and annihilation of Catholicity in all that large tract of lands—that hold of Boysdale. But the consequences, *grazia a Dio*, have been quite the reverse; for, those that appeared at first weak timorous, irresolute, and hesitating, became every day more zealous, firm, and steady than ever they were—the more they suffered, the more it served to rivet them in their principles; so that I may aver what one of themselves said, when asked “How they did in that part of the Country?” “We behave very well,” said he, “for it is more difficult to make a proselyte now of a child of eight years of age, than it was at first to pervert the whole Country.”

As the Summer of 1771 advanced, appearances

in Uist proved deceitful. Boisdale resumed his violent measures against his Catholic dependants, and the plans for their deliverance from his power had to be pushed on vigorously. Mr. John Geddes, hearing of the Scheme of Emigration, disapproved of it, as tending to drain off the Catholic population remaining in Scotland, and affording an opportunity for unfavourable contrasts between Protestant and Catholic occupants of land. Dr. Hay undertook to set his mind at rest on those points. "There is no thought of dispeopling any part of the Country, but only of providing for some, and by that means getting better terms for those that remain. As for your fear of Protestants getting into Catholic countries [parts of the country], and improving them better, and laughing at Popish laziness, you must know, my dear Sir, that on a late Survey of Clanronald's Estate, on the Mainland, by him and Glenaladale, it appeared, to Clan's great satisfaction, that there was no such improvement, nor such signs of industry, in any of the neighbouring countries, as in his own Estates; which I had from Glen's own mouth."

In the month of October, Boisdale "still continued to rage" against his Catholic dependants, with unrelenting fury; but the scheme of Emigration was going on apace. [B. Hay to Abate Grant, October 11, 1771.] No less than 400 had sailed from Skye for Carolina, with some of the principal gentlemen of that Island at their head; and a great number of Glenaladale's neighbours were selling off their stock, to be ready to go with him the following Spring. It was thought, in consequence, that the Highland Gentry would very soon have very serious cause to repent the oppressive measures they had adopted for some time past.

All that was now wanting to the complete success of the Emigration was money. With a view to assist in procuring this necessary means, Dr. Hay drew up a short Statement, or Memorial, in writing, with details of the origin and progress of the Persecution, chiefly taken from Letters addressed to him by the Vicar Apostolic in the Highlands. This Memorial he transmitted to Bishop Challoner, November 27, 1771, leaving it entirely to the tried prudence and charity of the English Prelate to make what use of it he should think most suitable and most likely to benefit those whom it regarded. It concluded thus:—"The

above Memorial is taken from authentic Accounts sent from Uist, and especially from the Letters of B. Macdonald; and, as their case is very deplorable, whilst their constancy and resolution, especially in such poor country people, is most admirable; and renews, in these our days, the Christian heroism of the Primitive Ages. They are most earnestly recommended to the charitable assistance of all good Catholics, into whose hands this Edition may come, in his own name, and in the name of all his Colleagues, and of all the Missionaries of this Kingdom—by Geo. of Doulis, Coadjutor."

Good Bishop Challoner, in the fulness of his heart, entered warmly into the cause of those poor people; and had the Memorial printed in London, at his own expense, together with an Extract of the private Letter with which Bishop Hay had accompanied it.* This Extract is arranged in the form of a Postscript, and is in the following terms:—"The same worthy gentleman in a Letter which he sent to R. C. [Richard Challoner], together with the above Memorial, gives also a most melancholly account of the state of poor Catholics in other parts of Scotland, writing as follows:—"Times here are exceedingly alarming: the oppression of landlords, and the bad season, is driving many poor families from the Highlands to this place (Edinburgh), where, with families of four, five, or six children, they are obliged to beg their bread. Accounts from the North Country are no less dismal; in many places bordering on the Highlands, the frost and snow came on before the half of their corn was cut down, which has ruined their crops entirely, so that our Missionaries from Glenlivet and that neighbourhood (mostly inhabited by Catholics), write to me that they have scarce bread to eat; a peck of oatmeal, containing only nine pounds weight, costing sixteenpence, and that there is not seed in the Country to sow their lands again. What all will end in God knows. May His infinite goodness give us grace to behave in a proper manner under these visits of His Divine justice, punishing us for our sins."

The Memorial, when printed, was distributed among the English Catholic Body, by Bishop Challoner, who also recommended its object very

* "Memorial for the Suffering Catholics, in a violent Persecution for Religion, at present carried on in one of the Western Isles of Scotland." 12mo, pp. 11.

strongly to his own particular friends. It had the desired effect; every one was much affected by the suffering and the heroic constancy of the poor Highlanders; public Collections were made for them at the Catholic Ambassadors' Chapels in London, and a considerable sum of money was thus obtained. [B. Hay to Abate Grant, January 31, 1772.] On receipt of this intelligence, Bishop Grant remarks, in his Reply to Bishop Hay, December 16, 1771, "I'm charmed with Dr. Challoner's amiable behaviour; I pray God reward him for all his charity. You'll readily write to him about the beginning of the New Year. I beg compliments to him, in the most respectful, affectionate manner." And in the month of May following, Dr. Hay, when writing to Rome on the subject, begs Abate Grant to get some Letter of thanks addressed to Bishop Challoner for his great zeal in the Uist affair.

Bishop Hay contributed largely to the success of this undertaking out of his own slender means, as well as by his pen. We learn this, incidentally, from a Letter addressed to him by Glenaladale, December 8, 1771. "I do certainly admire the extent and heroism of your charity towards Boisdale's people, but I feel little pleasure in being the admirer; could I persuade myself that you spared so much to them out of a superfluity, rather than out of what seems your whole, or a great part of it, I would easily reconcile myself to it."

Before the end of the year, 1771, Glenaladale had bought a large Estate in St. John's Island, to which he proposed to transport a numerous colony of Highland Catholics next Spring. In order to adapt his plans to the best advantage, he visited the Island of Uist in the month of February, 1772, in company with Bishop John Macdonald. Of the thirty-six Families residing in Boisdale's own Estate, mentioned in the Memorial, as being in the greatest distress, he had the mortification of finding that ten or twelve had renewed their Leases only a few days before his visit. About twenty-three other families, with more resolution, had refused to do so, unless they were permitted to enjoy the regular assistance of a Priest. These poor people seemed at first overjoyed at the prospect of a release from their prolonged misery, which the visit of Glenaladale afforded them; but, on examination, their poverty turned out to be much greater than it had been represented. This discovery at once

unsettled all the calculations which had been made as to the probable expense of their Emigration. Only two of those families had about £10 or £12 to spend; other two or three had £10; the rest had £7 or £8; and some of them had nothing at all. They were all of them, therefore, unable to defray the expenses of their passage; but, rather than that the scheme of Emigration should fail at this stage, for want of funds, Glenaladale generously declared his readiness to sell his own Estate at home. The result of this visit was not satisfactory. When it came to the push, only nine families, consisting of twenty-five grown persons, and eighteen children, accepted the offer of Emigrating, though afterwards many more changed their minds, and went. Glenaladale, writing from Greenock (March 8, 1772), mentions that a Vessel is freighted, and will be ready for sea by the 20th instant. The expense of transporting the Emigrants would amount to nearly £1500. A few days afterwards, this indefatigable man travelled to Edinburgh, to see Mr. Cruickshanks, and received £500 of the Memorial Money, Bishop Hay being then in France. March 23rd, he returned with it to the West Coast. The Emigrant Ship had sailed to Arisaig the middle of the preceding week; and, after ten days' stay there, went on to Uist. Early in May, 1772, 210 Emigrants sailed for St. John's Island—100 from Uist, the rest from the mainland. They took with them meal enough for a year's provision, and were accompanied by Mr. James Macdonald, a Secular Missionary Priest. Faculties had been obtained for him from Rome, to last till he could get them renewed by the Bishop of Quebec.

After the departure of the Emigrants, Clanranald interposed, and insisted on obtaining from Boisdale Religious Toleration for the poor people who remained. He applied also for the same to Maclean of Muck, but with less success. Abate Grant had shown a Translation of the Memorial to the Pope, who undertook to bring it under the notice of the young Duke of Gloucester, then residing at Rome, and secure his interference on behalf of the poor Highlanders, and their liberty of conscience. The Duke at once frankly promised to use his most vigorous endeavours to put a stop to Boisdale's cruelty. The Pope also charged the Nuncio at Paris, to speak on the same subject to the British Ambassador.

The result of this combination of circumstances was highly favourable to the poor Catholics in the West Highlands and Islands. Boisdale, indeed, at one time towards the end of 1772, talked somewhat loudly of publishing a Reply to the Memorial, a design which seems, however, to have been dropped. The Persecution was not only ended in Uist, but in other parts of the West Highlands, where the Proprietors had begun to imitate Boisdale's example of intolerance. It was made apparent that the poor Catholics had powerful friends elsewhere; and, therefore, thought dangerous to drive them to extremity. Two years afterwards, Mr. Alexander Macdonald, Missionary in the Island of Barra, attested, from personal knowledge and observation, the beneficial results of this Persecution. [To B. Hay, September, 1774.]

“ September 25, 1774.

“ Since our late terror and persecution, Boisdale is quite reformed, and is himself, in all appearance, the person who repents most for his former doings. He grants his people a most unlimited toleration in Religious matters, welcomes our Clergy always to his Family, uses them with the utmost civility, and with the deference they are entitled to. His condescension is sometimes so great, that we are allowed to perform some of our functions within the precincts of his 'Palace;' for, to be serious, he has built such a genteel House, as I never expected to see in the Long Island. This grand truth, that God oftentimes permits evil, in order to draw good from it, is in a glorious manner verified with regard to Boisdale's former unaccountable conduct; for his Anti-Christian attempts proving unsuccessful, notwithstanding his arts, interest, and riches, has effectually deterred others, actuated by the like unscrupulous principles, from ever attempting the like undertaking. Protestants, in general, live now in good harmony with us, and upon better terms than heretofore; they no longer look upon us as a set of execrable wretches, destitute of friends, and the abomination of King and Government; so that the consequences of Boisdale's foolish attempt had, in the end, proved salutary and beneficial to Religion, and are likely to continue to do so.”

The Emigrants, meanwhile, had a fine passage to America, where they arrived in seven weeks, with the loss of only one child. At first landing, some of them complained of unexpected difficulties and privations, inseparable from the experience of an Emigrant; others, however, sent to the old Country more cheerful accounts of their

circumstances; and there seemed every prospect that, with time and prudence, they would make their way against every obstacle. Mr. James Macdonald sent Bishop Hay a highly favourable description of the French Colonists there, whom he represented as a set of excellent people, and good Catholics.

The noble-hearted Glenaladale was himself so much embarrassed in circumstances by his generous exertions in behalf of his countrymen as to be obliged ultimately to sell his Estate to a relation, and follow the Emigrants to their new home. Dr. Hay, while communicating this intelligence to Abate Grant (March 8, 1773), exclaims—“Honest man! he is sacrificing fortune and person for the good of those poor sufferers, and to procure an asylum for any that may be in their straits afterwards. But what a loss to us that he should leave us.” In Summer, 1773, the good man sailed to Philadelphia, and thence to Boston, on his way to St. John's Island. From Boston he wrote a full account of his trials and difficulties to Bishop Hay. These difficulties disappeared before his unbending resolution; and early in 1776, Dr. Hay was able to communicate to Mr. Geddes, at Valladolid, the cheering intelligence, on the authority of a Letter that was received from Glenaladale, that “the Uist people were doing extremely well in St. John's Island, coming fast on, and living already much better than at home.” Their example encouraged a large Emigration from Glengary, in 1773, consisting chiefly of Catholics, to the number of 300, and including most of the leading Country gentlemen. They sailed for New York in Autumn, attended by Mr. Mackenna, Missionary Priest in Braelochaber.

As the season of Lent, 1771, approached, Dr. Hay applied to Bishop Grant for permission to publish a General Dispensation to his Congregation at Edinburgh, from some of the Penitential Observances of the Season. The Bishop dissuaded him from thinking of such a proposal at that time; but, anticipating a future day, when the Catholics in the Scottish Capital might be ten or twelve thousand strong, and, when, in consequence, such a measure might be necessary, as then in England. The Letter is a curious counterpart to one of Bishop Hay's own, written

on a similar subject, to one of his Clergy, in the year 1801.

“ February 14, 1771.

“ You know, my Dear Sir, you have all necessary power and authority to dispense with Customers [Penitents] there, as you shall see occasion, and as the backwardness of the season and other circumstances, of whatever kind require; but your giving a Dispensation in the general solemn way you mention, is not at all necessary, for all the poor handful of Customers we have got in any of our Towns, and would be attended with bad consequences. The great number of Customers in London, and in the other places, you seem to have on view, among our Southern neighbours, renders it, in some measure, unnecessary for Superiors to grant Dispensations in the public solemn way you mention; which, alas! is very far from being our case, Great numbers of our people, all over the Kingdom, have very little discretion, and are far from having that earnestness that were to be wished, to comply with the duties the Church requires of them; and, if they only but heard of your public general Dispensation, they would be very ready to take the same liberty without consulting those that have the charge of them. But you'll say— ‘ There is a vast difference between your people's circumstances and those of other places.’ I shall not dispute this point with you, though, perhaps, a good deal might be said on the head. But I'm very positive that your Dispensation would serve as a pretext to many, to follow your example, without duly weighing the reasons for granting it at Edinburgh, preferably to other places. . . . When we come to be ten or twelve thousand strong at Edinburgh, the Superiors that live in those happy days may give them a Dispensation with the solemnity you mention. Till then, I sincerely think it more advisable that we continue to go about our affairs in our old usual quiet way. . . . ”

Mr. William Reid, a veteran Labourer, had been by this time disabled for active Missionary duty, at Mortlach, and had retired to Aberdeen, where he rendered such service as he could, in the intervals of an incurable asthma. Bishop Hay thus discusses with him the subject of the proposed appointment of Mr. Alexander Geddes to assist him at Edinburgh:—

“ February 21, 1771.

“ Were it to take place, I foresee a thousand chagrins and servitudes I would have to put up with. *Novi enim hominem.* Indeed, were Mr. Siniten to order such a thing to be done, I would cheerfully agree to it, and make the best I could of all these difficulties, because then, acting by obedience, I could always say, *Dominus salus Dux meus fuit, and Sequens Te Pastorem non erubescam.* But, for the same

reasons, I am determined never to ask it, for then it would be *propria voluntas*, which I always find the most pestiferous enemy. . . . Let Mr. Siniten consider and consult upon it, and whatever he shall order, will be most welcome to me, as from Heaven itself. . . . ”

Dr. Hay next day addressed another long Letter to the same excellent old man, which is remarkable as containing the earliest allusion to the preparation of the Bishop's great work “ *On Miracles*,” and, as also affording no little insight into his multifarious engagements.

February 22, 1771.

“ Being this day idle. Idle! you will say; yes, but stay till you hear the reason. You will have heard, from what I wrote last night to Mr. Siniten, that I have been a little distressed for some days past with an inflammation in my throat from the cold. Yesterday, I found myself so well that I thought all was over, and told so to all my visitors. However, it was found necessary this morning to give me a dose of physic; its operation is now over, and I am free and easy, but yet not so strong that I dare apply to anything studious; at the same time, free from visitors, and, therefore, have nothing to do but Beads and Breviary. Being, then, as above, this day idle, I was resolved to divert myself in conversing a while with my good friend. . . . Now, with regard to the Controversial affair, you know I am engaged at present in writing upon “ *Miracles and Transubstantiation*,” in consequence of Mr. Duguid's dispute with Mr. Abernethy. I am only in the former part as yet, viz., on “ *Miracles*,” and I have it much at heart, as the little study I have got made upon it has really been a great pleasure, and of much use to myself. I could never have thought so many good and useful things could have been said upon that subject as I see now may be done, and really am in earnest to get it finished. In consequence, you will imagine I am well advanced. I'll tell you how far. It is done in the form of Letters, and since my return from the North, last August, I have finished one Letter, which was begun before I went North, and have got another near fit for re-copying. Judge you from this whether I have time for composing. . . . As for what you mention about getting Mr. Guthrie for a helper, I wrote what I thought sufficient, for the time, to Mr. Siniten upon that; and, as he justly observed, that nothing could be done effectually in it, though it should be agreed on, till Summer, that either he or I be in the Glen, I had resolved to think no more of it for the present. However, as you desire to know my real sentiments upon the affair, I shall here freely communicate them to you, and beg your reasons to Mr. Siniten, which will save me writing them again. We shall take it for granted that a helper is needful, if it could be got; indeed, there is

none can be more sensible of that need than I; but the not seeing any possibility of getting it supplied, made me hitherto say little on the matter, and resolve never, as things stand, to ask what could not be given. Now, we may consider two kinds of helpers—one who could have the charge of the People, and be Procurator at the same time, as others formerly were; this would leave to Physician only transacting public and Foreign Affairs, and bring a help to Procurator in serving the People, or at Christian Doctrine. In choosing a Help of this kind, besides the ability for the above, consideration would need also be had to his being agreeable to Physicians to live with (as it would be by all means advisable they live in the same house), and, especially, to Mr. Siniten, who, if such a one could be found, could come and stay here, and employ Mr. Dauley where and how he pleased through the Country; and there would be some necessity for this, because in this case, as perquisites of Procurator behoved to go to Procurator, and no longer to Mr. Dauley, he could not possibly live here without them. But, as things stand at present, it seems impossible to get one for this purpose; and it was always in this light I had hitherto considered it. But, finding myself sometimes very much oppressed, and scarce knowing where to turn me, it came into my mind that another kind of Helper might be got *pro interim*, viz., one who, though either too young to be Procurator, or not able for it, could yet have the charge of the bulk of the people, at least as to Confessions, and Christian Doctrine, and (which runs away with a world of time) the Hearing of every little trifling Consultation they come with; whilst public Affairs, Letters, and Procuratorship should remain where it is till it could be better supplied. . . . ”

The truly paternal solicitude of Bishop Grant for the health of his indefatigable Coadjutor, is evinced in a Letter written by him to Bishop Hay, in which he thus expresses his feelings:—

“ February 26, 1771.

“ I am sorry to learn that you have been so bad in your health. I earnestly entreat you to take all prudent care of yourself, as you cannot but be fully sensible that the public good of your poor Country requires so of you. Your zeal for your people had lately well appeared, by your care in procuring a Dispensation for them at this season of the year; and I think it is proper that I should take care to dispense with you; and, therefore, I hereby expressly command you to use Flesh meat at least for three days in the week, till Palm Sunday, viz., on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. Do not put yourself to the trouble of begging to be excused in this particular, because I'm resolved not to admit of any excuse. . . . ”

In spite, however, of this friendly Injunction,

Dr. Hay did take the trouble to remonstrate, and drew forth a reply from Bishop Grant.

“ March 5, 1771.

“ It was not at all my intention to confine you in the least, and, by endeavouring to support your body, oppress by too great fatigue, to lay a restraint on your mind; and, therefore, as your health is in so good a way, I very readily leave you to your own freedom, and only beg of you here again to take all possible care of your health. You are naturally keen, and like to be in action. I could wish you would see to moderate a little this ardour, and go on piano, piano, about the ordinary business of the day. . . . ”

As soon as the pressure of the Paschal duties was over, Bishop Hay sat down to converse a little with his Friend at Valladolid, and send him his Easter remembrances:—

“ April 12, 1771.

“ I lately had a Letter from Mr. Tiberiop, which greatly affected me, to find the exceeding great hardships he has to undergo. May Alm. God support him. He mentions you in the most affectionate manner, and regrets he has never yet been able to write to you. . . . I have kept my health tolerably well this Winter, but I fear my constitution, which began so well, is beginning to lose its effect, as I have had of late a more obstinate and continued fit of my headache than for a long time before. Fiat voluntas Dñi, fiat semper! . . . I wish you most cordially all the blessings of this late holy Season, and, earnestly commending myself to your good prayers, I remain, with all regard and affection, my dear Sir, ever yours in Christ. . . . ”

Converts were, meanwhile, dropping in, even from the highest ranks of Society. “ You will be glad to hear,” writes Bishop Hay, from Edinburgh, to Abate Grant, May 22, “ that Miss Peggy Mackenzie is lately received among us. She is oldest daughter to the late Lord Seaforth. She had, I am told, always been inclined that way, and last Summer, contracting a friendship for Lady Lucy Stewart, went to pass some months at Traquair with her, where, having time and opportunity to inquire into matters, and upon her return to Town last winter, set about completing that business, which was happily done last Easter. . . . ” The reception of this Lady into the Church took place the last day of March. Bishop Grant (April 11), expresses his great joy at the news, and wishes her perse-

veranec. She was Confirmed by Bishop Hay, April 27.*

The Bishops' Meeting, held this year at Sealan was over before June 18th, and Dr. Hay once more at Edinburgh a few days afterwards, whence he wrote to Mr. Geddes, at Valladolid, to the following effect:—

“ June 24, 1771.

“ Being just now arrived from the North, and being to leave this to-morrow, upon account of some business I have in Stirlingshire, I embrace this spare hour, between 10 and 12 at night, to write you a few lines, as a cover to the enclosed. We had no Meeting on Company's account this year; but the two old Gentlemen and I met, and stayed a few days at Sealan; but I was obliged to leave them a few days after we had met, by reason of some Letters I got from this place. You cannot imagine the straits we are put to for want of hands. The Augustinian we expected from Italy, has accepted a Chaplaincy in an Irish Regiment in Spain, and gone with it to Centa. Mr. Ramsdoun is gone to the Highlands, without giving us any hopes of returning. Lord Traquair is in a very tender, ailing way of health, and begs to have Mr. Charles Cruickshanks sent to him. Mr. Bragan's (Irish Dominican) health is greatly impaired, and he has fairly given up Glenlivet. Mr. Macleod, at Aberdeen, is threatened, or, rather well advanced in a dropsy. Angus still destitute!

In a subsequent Letter to his Friend at Valladolid, July 22, Dr. Hay gives him intelligence of the approach of another Convert to the Church. Christian Lady Traquair was the daughter of Sir Philip Anstruther, Bart., in Fife, and, previously to her marriage with John, Sixth Earl of Traquair, in 1740, was the relict of Sir William Weir, Bart., of Blackwood, in Lanarkshire. Her Ladyship, at the period of our History, was in her sixty-ninth year.

“ July 22, 1771.

“ Since I returned from the North, I have scarce been eight days in this Town, having been obliged to take a tour in Stirlingshire, and come about by Alloa; and, after that, to go to Traquair, where I was detained two full weeks, upon the lady's account. Her ladyship has of late been more than usually serious upon Religious matters; and I hope matters are now in such a way with her, that she will very soon give her family and well-wishers the satisfaction to see her a Member of the Church of Christ. In

the meantime, I recommend her earnestly and all the family to your prayers, and those of other good folks with you. Conscious of my own unworthiness of being made use of as an instrument of any good of this kind, and that I am fit for nothing but to put a stop to the good of souls, I often reflect on a remark of Rodriguez—‘ That if we knew the real causes of the conduct of the Divine Providence, we would often see that the Conversion of souls, which human wisdom attributes to the abilities and labours of a Missioner, is solely owing to the fervent prayers of some pious souls, who, being unknown and, perhaps, despised in the eyes of the world, but well known to the all-seeing Eye of God, are in some obscure corner, pouring forth their fervent prayers for the Conversion of souls, and for the Divine Benediction on the Apostolical Labours of their Brethren.’ It would surely be the height of presumption in me not to be persuaded that something of this kind is the principal cause of my success I meet with here; and, therefore, I hope our good friends with you will not be wanting in doing their part for the common Cause, to obtain a blessing on our weak and unworthy labours.”

Among Dr. Hay's extraordinary engagements at this period, was the erection of a Chapel. The work was going on apace, although money was not readily forthcoming. He was also soliciting subscriptions among the Clergy, in the end of July, for a new Edition of the “ Protestants' Trial by the Written Word,” which a young printer was then engaged in preparing, and which was to be sold at 1s. 6d. a copy, or 16s. for a dozen. By the middle of September, the Edition was printed, and in the binder's hands.

Writing about this project to Bishop Grant, August 24, 1771, Dr. Hay assures him “ the circumstances of the present case render it, in appearance, void of all danger, as the printer's interest is so entirely engaged in the affair; and he does not so much as know who employs him, the affair being carried on by William Hay and him, without my ever appearing, or indeed having so much as seen him. . . . As for the Piece itself, in my humble opinion, it is one of the most useful controversial Pieces that can be put into the hands of our people, and quite fitted for this Country.”

August 6th, Dr. Hay gives Bishop Grant some information as to his health, and mentions his beginning to use Spectacles at the age of forty-two.

“ August 6, 1771.

“ The two weeks I staid at Traquair, I did my best to take care of my health, and have found that good effect from that, and

* This Lady was eldest daughter to Kenneth, Lord Fortrose, who was eldest son to William, Fifth Earl of Seaforth, attained in 1715. She was married, in 1785, to William Webb, Esq., London. Her brother, Lord Fortrose, received the title of Lord Seaforth in Ireland, in 1771.—“ Douglas Peckage,” ii. 131.

from the water-dock, that I have ventured for these two weeks by past, to take a glass of porter after dinner and supper, which agrees with my stomach, has hitherto done my head no harm, and I have reason to think will be of considerable use to me. As I found also that my much writing and hanging my head both ruined my head and my eyes, I have begun to use my young glasses, which are of good service to me also. . . .”

Some further information regarding the progress of the Lady Traquair's Conversion, is found in the following Letter. (Bp. Hay to Bp. Grant.)

“ August, 21, 1771.

“ Two days ago, I had a most affecting Letter from Lord Traquair, telling me his Lady is become worse in her health, and that they are all much afflicted at being so long without a Churchman; that though there be hopes of getting one from England before Winter, yet we cannot depend upon it, and, therefore, has his chief confidence in us, and hopes we will supply him as soon as possible. My Lady is to be in town next week for a consultation about her health; and, if she stays any time, hope her other affair will be got concluded, as she is very anxious about it, and much east down for want of a Churchman at home.”

Two days later, August 26th, we find Dr. Hay, at Traquair, writing again to Bishop Grant, with additional particulars.

“ August 26, 1771.

“ You will be surprised at getting a Letter of mine from this place, but the reason is this: Last Saturday, after I had sent off your Letter in Mr. George's [Chalmers] packet, an express came in from Traquair, with word that my Lord was in a dangerous way, and that my Lady also was greatly distressed; and, on both accounts, they begged I would come out next morning with Doctor Gregory. Accordingly, the Doctor and I set off yesterday morning (Mr. Dugud supplying for me) and found my Lady in a very distressed way, but my Lord was a little better, and this day his Lordship is pretty well recovered of his illness. I am to remain here to-morrow and Wednesday, and return to Town on Thursday, in which time I hope to get my Lady's main affair concluded.”

A journey to England had been recommended for her health by her Ladyship's physicians; and it was proposed that Bishop Hay should accompany her, going and returning, as he had for some time had a journey to London in view, on business connected with the Mission. Bishop Grant, on being consulted, gave his consent to this arrangement early in September. Her Ladyship's reception into the Church was at this time hap-

pily completed; the first intelligence of its having taken place was conveyed by Dr Hay to Mr John Geddes, September 11th, and with more circumstantial details in a subsequent Communication to the same friend, October 7th. “ I was detained,” the Bishop writes at this latter date, “ at Traquair some weeks in whole, but where my labour was happily rewarded, it having pleased our good God to complete the Lady's affair, who has now declared herself Catholic, and is received accordingly. Poor Lady! her great regret now is for having delayed it so long, and I have reasons to believe she will give great edification. Pray for her, my Dear Sir, and recommend her, and all that family, to your friends.”

The ways of Providence are inscrutable. This excellent Lady was not permitted long to enjoy on earth the rich blessings of her newly-recovered Faith. Exhausted by protracted illness, she left the world, Tuesday, November 12th, “ after receiving all Helps, in a very edifying manner,” as Dr Hay informed Abate Grant, November 25th. As usual, he is more particular in communicating details of the event to his friend at Valladolid.

“ December 19, 1771.

“ I have been lately again at Traquair, upon a very different occasion—giving the last Helps of the Church to good Lady Traquair, who died in a very edifying manner, on the 12th November. She esteemed herself only two months old, for she said she only then began to live, when she was received into the Catholic Church. I earnestly recommend her to your charitable remembrance. My errand to Stirlingshire was to see a Catholic lady, lately from England, that stays for the present near Stirling.”

Lord Traquair (December 16th), while replying to a letter of condolence addressed to him on the occasion by Bishop Grant, adds some further particulars of this pious Lady's decease:—

“ December 16, 1771.

“ My present affliction is greatly alleviated, as you most justly and piously observe, by that remarkable providence of God, in my dear wife's being received some months before she died, into the bosom of the Catholic Church; and the most sincere sentiments of true piety and resignation she constantly expressed, during all the time of her illness, give me and all this family the most sanguine hopes that she died the death of the just, and is now gone to receive her reward. She often wished for a calm and easy passage into eternity. Almighty God heard her prayer, and she received all the Rites of the

Church with a tranquillity and devotion that greatly edified Bp. Hay, who assisted her. As I must soon follow her, may God, in His infinite mercy, give me grace to make as happy an exit as she has made. . . . ”

His Lordship survived her eight years, and expired at Paris, March 28th, 1779, in the eighty-first year of his age.”

An Irish Dominican Friar, F. Albertus Hope, was sent this year to the Scotch Mission, at the expense of Cardinal Castelli. His mother accompanied him from Rome, where she had a pension. On his arrival at Edinburgh, September 13th, he was suffering from ague, caught at sea. Dr. Hay took care of him, and kept him with himself till he was well. He was then appointed to the Shenval Mission, to relieve Mr. Cruickshanks, who retired to the Chaplaincy at Traquair House early in October.

On the 9th of April, 1771, Dr. George Campbell, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, had the honour of Preaching before the Synod of Aberdeen a Sermon, which was published a few weeks later, entitled, “The Spirit of the Gospel, neither a Spirit of Superstition nor of Enthusiasm.”* The Author at that time enjoyed a considerable literary reputation as a Lecturer on Rhetoric, and the Author of one of the best Refutations, that had appeared, of Hume’s “Essay on Miracles.” He was by no means a vulgar or bitter Adversary of Catholicity, but on this occasion he had been betrayed into an imitation of the commonest and weakest attacks on the Catholic Religion. Its polished style, and its perfect adaptation to the tastes of his countrymen, together with his widely-spread celebrity as a Writer, contributed to give this little Pamphlet an extensive currency. On Dr. Hay’s return from Traquair to Edinburgh, in the middle of July, he found it in every one’s mouth. It was pronounced unanswerable; a fatal blow to Popery. He was thus induced to purchase it, and read it. He found it, as he says, written with immense art, and a most insinuating address; but, other-

wise, as “poor, pitiful an affair” as he had ever seen. For his own amusement, rather than with any view to publication, he now and then noted down answers to its successive attacks, and, as his Reply began to grow on his hands, some of his friends, to whom he had shown it, insisted on his making it public. Towards the end of August, Dr. Hay informed Bishop Grant of his design, and added that he had put his Reply to Dr. Campbell into the hands of F. Patrick Gordon, or Johnson, Provincial of the Scotch Jesuits, for the benefit of his Censorship. It was also to be submitted to the criticism of Mr. Cruickshanks. If their suffrage was in its favour, and Bishop Grant would sanction it, it should forthwith appear before the public. He assured the Bishop that there would be no risk whatever in what he contemplated, as the little Work was framed on the supposition that its Author was a Protestant, and somewhat in the manner of “The Free Examination into the Causes of the Growth of Popery.”

The last day of August but one, the Provincial of the Jesuits forwarded his approbation of the Work to Bishop Grant; declaring his opinion, that it was “very well done; a complete answer to Dr. Campbell’s sophistry; and well adapted to convince the reader of all the points of Faith which are contained in it. Bishop Grant’s “Imprimatur” was dated September 7th. It was accordingly sent to press, Dr. Hay taking on himself all the expense and risk, and the chance of reimbursement by its sale.*

In the end of September, the little Work appeared, under the title of “A Detection of the Dangerous Tendency, both for Christianity and Protestantism, of a Sermon said to be Preached before an Assembly of Divines, by G. C., D. D., ‘On the Spirit of the Gospel.—Psalm l. 20, 21.’ By a Member of the Aletheian Club, London. Printed for the Aletheian Club, and sold by J. P. Coghlan, in Duke’s Street, near Grosvenor’s Square—1771.”† The fictitious name of “Staurophilus,” which Dr. Hay assumed, corresponded with the general scope or plan of the Work, as exhibited in its Introduction.

* This famous Sermon is advertised among the new Books, June, 1771, in the “Scots Magazine,” vol. xxxiii., 306, “The Spirit of the Gospel neither a Spirit of Superstition nor of Enthusiasm; a Sermon Preached before the Synod of Aberdeen, April 9, 1771; by George Campbell, D.D., Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Pp. 123. Price 1s. 6d. 2 Tim. i. 7.”

* The estimated cost of printing was £20; and as its sale would be limited, it could not be offered to the public under 2s. or 2s. 6d.

† It is advertised under this title in the “Scots Magazine,” October 1771—pp. 176, large 8vo. Price 2s 6d. Sold at Edinburgh, by Drummond.

“ Among the many Literary Societies in our great Metropolis, for the improvement of useful knowledge, there is one, the Aletheian Club, whose principal aim is, in the most impartial manner, and without bias or prejudice, to search after truth in Religious matters. A Sermon, lately published in North Britain, and said to be the production of the celebrated Author of the ‘Dissertation on Miracles,’ fell into the hands of this Society. Finding, on perusal, that it contained many things dangerous to true Religion, and that the Author had used the utmost efforts of art, and all the eloquence he was master of, to gild the pill, and the more securely communicate the poison to his readers, they thought it an object worthy their attention to detect the dangerous tendency of this Sermon, and undeceive the unwary readers, many of whom, they had heard, in its native country, had received it with the highest esteem and approbation. The charge of doing this they committed to Staurophilus, one of their members, who was then residing at some distance from London, informing him, at the same time, of the reception this Sermon had met with, and begging a speedy compliance with their request. His Answer, in a Letter to the Club, is been presented to the public. The pressing desire of his friends for a speedy answer hindered him from making a regular examination of the whole Sermon. He has, therefore, confined himself to those parts which seemed most exceptionable in it, and productive of the most dangerous consequences. Whatever opinion Dissenters may have of the Sermon and its Detection, it is not doubted but all true members of the Church of England, and all sincere and candid lovers of truth, will be very well pleased to see the truths of Religion vindicated from the aspersions of so dangerous an enemy.

“ Dated, Verity Hall, August 1, 1771.”

The idea which suggested itself to the Author's mind, regarding the plan of his “Detection,” is thus communicated by him to Bishop Grant.—

“ September 21, 1771.

“ I hope before the last goes, to have the Answer to the Doctor ready to send with it. With regard to this, I have been consulting with Mr. Cruikshanks about the method of getting it disposed of, and what occurs to us upon it is this: That you and Mr. Reid, and Mr. Barclay, should give it out, that you hear from the South that there is an answer, soon to appear, to the Doctor, which will show his Sermon in its proper colours. This will soon fly, and raise people's expectations; and, if any enquiry be made about where it is to be found, it may be answered that you believe it will be got at one Coghlan's, a bookseller in London. When this report is spread, it may be hinted to some bookseller, by either of you three, that, if he pleases, you can get a number of them sent to him, to be disposed of upon advantageous terms, and that none shall

be sent to any other bookseller in Aberdeen; for, you may tell him, the Work is done by a Member of a Club in London, and printed for the Club, and only a small number of copies cast off. Now, this is literally true; for, as you will see by the Introduction, when it comes to hand, by the Club (I mean the Catholic Church) in this Island which has its most numerous Meetings in London. Something like this we are to do here; by which means, I hope, we will get our Charges made up.

“ P.S.—As for what you say of getting the Pamphlet sold—‘that many will be found to buy it for the Author's sake’—I don't know how far it would be advisable to let the Author be known, even to our own people; and am afraid we might run the risk of raising resentment, were this to be known; though, where you think it can be done with safety, I shall have no objection.”

Early in October, Dr. Hay informed his friend at Valladolid, of the appearance of his Acquaintance, Staurophilus, as an Author, and of the circumstances which had brought it about. In the beginning of November, a copy of the “Detection” found its way to Mr. Paterson's remote dwelling at Scalan.

There seemed some danger of the *incognito* of Staurophilus being discovered before the end of the year. About the middle of December, a gentleman in Aberdeen had been heard to boast that he had found out who was the Author of the “Detection,” and, from his manner of speaking, it was thought by those in the secret that he had the clue to it. It was also rumoured that Dr. Campbell was preparing a Reply to it, and that he had been heard to say, that it should be such an Answer as, he was sure, would turn the rigid of all Denominations against him. Bishop Grant, while communicating these Aberdeen reports to Dr. Hay, assures him that the Author of the “Detection” has not, in his opinion, laid himself open to criticism any where, except, indeed, in his remarks on St. Paul and Cornelius.

Copies of this little Work were forwarded to Rome in January, 1772, for presentation to Abate Grant, F. Thorpe, S.J., and Dr. Stoñer; and those, more elegantly bound, for the acceptance of his Holiness, the Cardinal Duke, and his brother. Dr. Hay took the opportunity of recommending honest Coghlan, the London bookseller, to the notice of the Scotch Agent, and his friends at Rome. His Holiness was graciously pleased to honour this little act of homage with his acceptance and approbation, and the Author

of the "Detection," in return, requested Abate Grant, in November, 1772, to assure the Holy Father of his sense of the obligation conferred on him.

The "Detection" was not permitted to escape keen Opposition. An antagonist made his appearance in the "Edinburgh Courant," early in January, 1772. It seems to have given umbrage, especially to the more bigoted of the Nonjuring Party, who affected a more decided opposition to its principles. Dr. Abernethy Drummond, a leading Minister among them, conducted a series of Strictures against it in the public Newspapers of the day, particularly in the "Courant" of March and April, 1772, to which the Author of the "Detection" furnished replies in the same Journals. One fertile subject of discussion seems to have been certain Indulgences, said to have been bought at Rome, and carried to Scotland by some of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry, for the benefit of themselves and friends. This gave occasion to Dr. Hay to write to Abate Grant for exact information on this point. The Controversy on the subject of the "Detection" had no very immediate result, but it laid the foundation of that implacable hostility which Abernethy Drummond ever afterwards entertained against its Author, and which was never fully gratified until, a few years later, it had raised a storm of Persecution against the whole Catholic Body, scarcely less violent, while it lasted, than even the disastrous afflictions occasioned by Prince Charles.*

CHAPTER VI.

1772.

History of Scotch College at Douay—Ep. Hay's Journey to Douay and to Paris.

Early in 1576, Dr. James Cheyne, of Arnage, a Scotch Secular Priest, Parson of Aboyne, and Canon of Tournay, also Principal and Professor in the University of Douay, founded a Seminary for Scotch Secular Clergy at Tournay, out of the revenues of his Canonry, soon after the breaking up of the English and Scotch College there, in 1575. It was afterwards transferred to Pont-a-

Monsson (Mussipontum) in Lorraine. Doctor Cheyne's numerous avocations elsewhere, soon made it impossible for him to superintend the young Seminary in person; so, in March, 1580, he entrusted its government to F. Edmund Hay, of Megginch, a Scotch Jesuit. It remained under the administration of the Scotch Fathers of the Society, till F. George Christie left it for the Scotch Mission, in 1605, when it fell, for a time, into the possession of the Walloon Jesuits, till the Scotch Fathers again obtained the government of it in September, 1632, and procured its erection into a College, by their Father General, under the superintendence of F. John Robb. After that time, it remained, for the most part, in possession of the Scots Fathers, though now and then, for short intervals, it was Governed by the Walloon Fathers of the Society.

Other Benefactors besides Dr. Cheyne contributed to the assistance of the rising Seminary. Queen Mary Stuart was applied to in its behalf, by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow; and, in a Letter addressed to that Prelate, dated June 1, 1576, she promised to contribute to the support of "Cheyne's Seminary"—a pledge which she redeemed, March 4, 1582, by announcing her intention of settling on it an annual Pension of 1200 Francs. This sum was subsequently augmented to 400 gold Crowns. Pope Gregory XIII. was also among the Benefactors of the Seminary; but his Pension ceased with his life, in 1585; as also did the Scottish Queen's with hers, in 1587. Besides the aid thus contributed by those distinguished Personages, the charity of many wealthy Scotch Catholic Emigrants found its way into the Treasury of the Seminary. In 1593, Mr. William Meldrum, Precentor of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, endowed with eighty-seven Florins four Bursaries in the Seminary of the Scotch at Douay, or Louvain, which he directed should be transferred to the University of Aberdeen, on the Restoration of the Catholic Religion in Scotland.

The Seminary had not been long established at Pont-a-Monsson, when it became necessary to remove it to a situation at once more salubrious and more distant from the Seat of War. Before the year 1593 was far advanced, it is found established at Douay, with the sanction of Clement VIII. On the 17th of February, in that year, there were Published at Rome, "Literæ Hortatoriæ, Smi. D. N., Clementis VIII.; Pro Semi-

* For Dr. Hay's own account of the "Detection," see his Letter to Mr. J. Geddes, June 12, 1772, page —.

nario Scotorum Duaci," of which a printed Copy may be seen at Preshome. This Letter contains the following passage:—"Owing to the confusion consequent on the Wars, it has happened, in these recent years, that the Seminary for Scots youths, which our Predecessors had established at Pont-a-Monsson, in Lorraine, has been so much disturbed as to make it necessary to transfer it to Douay, in Belgium." Even there, however, it had enjoyed no exemption from the agitations of the Wars, or from the dearth of corn and provisions; and, in consideration of the number of persons who were flocking to the Seminary, from the miseries and dangers under which the Catholic Religion then laboured in Scotland, his Holiness recommends it as a worthy object for the charity of the Faithful.

In 1596, after several Emigrations hither and thither, the Seminary was established at Louvain, but, in circumstances of such depression, and with its resources so much reduced, as to render it incapable of maintaining more than seven or eight Students. Father Persons, S.J., exerted himself among his friends at Rome and Madrid, and F. Creighton, S.J., in France, Flanders, and other Countries, to procure some assistance for the struggling Institution. Monsignore Malvasia, the Nuncio at Brussels, in 1596, memorialised his Holiness on the subject, representing that in the whole of Scotland there were only four or five Priests; that the College of the Scotch, now settled at Louvain, was so much crippled by poverty, as to be unable to send home more than a few Priests, or to support more than seven or eight Students. The decease of Gregory XIII. having further reduced its means of support, the Nuncio pleads for renewed assistance from his present Holiness, and further hints that it may be necessary, before long, still more to reduce the number of Clergy in Scotland, by recommending the withdrawal of the Jesuit Fathers from that Country, at least for a time, as peculiarly objects of suspicion, and offensive to the King.—[M.S. at Preshome.]

The Seminary, though destined for the education of Secular Priests, was, like many other Institutions of the same kind, placed under the administration of the Jesuit Fathers. In the Breve, applied for and obtained from Rome, sanctioning the transference of the Seminary from Pont-a-Monsson to Douay, Pope Clement

VIII formally authorised the Father-General of the Society of Jesus to depute a fit and proper person to govern the Seminary, and to account to the General for his Administration. F. Creighton, S.J., the Rector, in 1597, addressed a Letter to F. Persons at Rome on the 1st of August in that year, giving some particulars regarding the Seminary. The Pope, at the instance of F. Persons, had ordered payment to Mr. John Leslie of arrears of a Pension due to his deceased uncle, the good Bishop of Ross, out of the Bishopric of Cassano, on condition of a part of it being given to the Scotch Seminary at Louvain. F. Creighton had recently heard from Spain that the Cardinal Archduke Albert had ordered payment of 200 florins to be made to the Seminary. He informed F. Persons that there were, at that time in it, twenty-two months to feed, and all its permanent revenue amounted only to 600 crowns, derived from Roman sources. The same Father had written to Cardinal Chietan, who had promised to maintain twelve Students at his own expense. "Every month," he says, "there come from Scotland some very well-disposed young men, though they are Heretics; in a fortnight they are sufficiently prepared to embrace the Catholic Faith. During the past month we have received two excellent and learned Masters in Philosophy—one of them well versed in Polite Literature. Though much straightened, I had not the heart to refuse them a place, thinking the work was of God, and that He will not abandon it, but will inspire his Holiness and other illustrious Personages to assist us." F. Creighton, in a subsequent Letter to F. Persons, November 13, 1597, adds that, though he understands that the Pope, being engaged in Founding a Scotch Seminary at Rome, declines to assist this at Louvain, yet this is more convenient than one at Rome for Scotch Converted Heretics to repair to.

In 1602, Dr. Cheyne made the Seminary his heir, as a Commemoration Tablet, which, together with his Portrait, used to adorn the Refectory at Douay in later years, thus expressed it:—

"JACOBUS CHEYREIUS AD ABOYN SCOTUS,
JURIS UTRIVSQUE DOCTOR, CANONICUS TORNACENSIS
COLLEGIUM SCOTORUM HEREDEM RELIQUIT EX ASSE,
27 OCTOBRIIS, 1602."

[Oliver's Collectanea, S. J. 19.]

About the year 1609, a House was provided for the Seminary at Antwerp, its Government still remaining in the hands of the Jesuit Fathers; but before every arrangement for their occupation of the new House could be completed, the Seminary was once more, and finally, transferred to Douay, in 1612, to its old House in the Refuge de Marchiennes, which the Walloon Jesuits had obtained for it. Application was made to Philip III. of Spain for permission to purchase a site for the erection of a College; the solicited permission was accompanied with a donation for the same object.

A great Benefactor, and, indeed, second Founder of this Institution, was F. Hippolytus Curle, S.J., son of Gilbert Curle, Secretary to Queen Mary Stuart. He Studied in the Scotch Seminary at Douay, and at the end of his Philosophical Course, in 1618, desired to enter the Noviciate of the Society of Jesus. Previously, however, to doing so, he executed a Testamentary Deed, dated, signed, and sealed at Antwerp, September 1, 1618, in which he declared his intention of joining the Standard of the Society, and ordained and disposed of all his temporal goods in form and manner aftermentioned. After specifying certain donations to members of his own family, and others, he directed that the whole residue of his property should be assigned to the Seminary of the Scotch at Douay, under the annexed conditions, which he requested might be simply and exactly observed. His object in making this assignation of his property he declared to be the education of as many Seminarists as possible; the expense of which was calculated at 150 florins in the year for each. He estimated the annual produce of the capital sum at one for every eighteen units of capital, or somewhere about 5½ per cent, and directed that if anything should remain at the end of the year, over and above, yet without being sufficient for the maintenance of another Seminarist, it should be applied to the support of the persons required for the Administration of the Seminary, and to giving "viaticus," or travelling expenses, to Seminarists "who should be sent by their Superiors to Scotland, as Secular Priests, and Labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord."

Curle further provided that the number of Seminarists should always be kept full of good and suitable subjects. As another condition of

his Bequest, he directed that the Seminary should enjoy his Endowment as long as it should be under the Administration of the Society of Jesus; but that, if it should ever be put under other Government by the resignation or removal of its Fathers, then the Father-General of the Society should be authorised to apply the whole of Curle's Endowment to the maintenance of Scottish Seminarists, who should be under the Government of the Society. He also earnestly requested that, if the General saw fit, there might be always one Scotch Jesuit in the Seminary, in which the said Seminarists should reside. He further stipulated that, if the Catholic Religion should ever be re-established in Scotland, the whole capital sum of his Endowment should be transferred to that Country, at the discretion of the Father-General and the Scotch Fathers of the Society; and a Seminary for the maintenance of as many Scotch Seminarists as possible should then be Founded in the University of St. Andrews. The execution of this provision he entrusted to the Scotch Fathers of the Society. The Seminarists were to consist only of Students of Philosophy and of Theology.

Curle lastly declared that this instrument should take effect when, at the end of the usual period of two years, spent in his Noviciate, he should emit his Vows in the Society; or, if he should die before that time, then, in the month of July or December, next following the date of his Death.

The whole tenor of this Testamentary Instrument clearly shows that, in 1618, when it was executed, Curle regarded the Scotch Seminary at Douay as an Establishment for the Education of Secular Priests, not as a College for the training of Scotch Jesuits. His provision for the application of any surplus money, to furnishing viaticus, or travelling expenses, for Secular Priests returning from the Seminary to Scotland, is an evident proof of this. So also is his provision for the contingent withdrawal of the Seminary from Jesuit Government, by the resignation or removal of the Fathers. Such a contingency he could never have contemplated, unless on the understanding that the Seminary was not the property of the Jesuits, but only placed under their direction, for the Education of Secular Priests destined for the Scotch Mission. Even if the Jesuits should cease to govern the Seminary

at Douay, the General of the Society was to apply Curle's Endowment, not to Jesuit purposes, but to the maintenance of Scotch Seminarists elsewhere, under the Government of the Fathers of the Society.

Curle, however, as it appears, executed another, and a later Disposition of his property, at Douay, September 29, 1626.* He is designated in that Deed "a Priest and a Religious of the Society of Jesus;" and he makes a new Disposition of his property, in virtue of a License or Faculty granted him for that purpose, by the Father-Provincial of the Society of Jesus in French-Belgium, at Douay, August 9, 1624. This second Instrument, except in one particular, cannot be said materially to differ from the former, in the nature of its Provisions. Curle directs that his property shall vest in the College at Douay, till the Catholic Religion and the salvation of souls shall be publicly and freely promoted in Scotland, by Labourers of the Society of Jesus, with the assistance of his Endowment; when the College may be established in a more convenient place in that Country, at the option of the Society. He renews the Provision of his former Deed—That the Seminary of the Scotch at Douay shall enjoy the benefit of his Endowment, only so long as it is Governed and Administered by the Society. Whenever this arrangement should cease (and here is the only material point of difference between the former and the latter Deed), the Superiors of the Society were to dispose of his property "as in the Lord they shall judge for the greater spiritual good of the Scotch, whether for a separate Seminary, or for the maintenance of Members of the Society, labouring in the Missions in Scotland." And if the Society should ever be permitted to settle in Scotland, and exercise its Functions publicly in that Country, all the fore-said property should be applied to the Foundation of a College in Scotland, or to the commencement of such a Foundation.

The effect of this second Deed was, unquestionably, to give the Society of Jesus more complete and unfettered control over Curle's property, than they possessed under the Deed of 1618. But when the Deed of 1626 was executed, Curle was a Priest and a Religious of that Society;

and, in order to make it possible for him to execute the Deed, he required and had obtained a Faculty or Dispensation for that purpose from the Provincial, dated August 9, 1624. Before this date, therefore, the Deed of 1618 had come into force, in terms of one of its Provisions, that it should begin to take effect when Curle should emit his Vows in the Society. It, therefore, becomes a question of serious doubt, how far any such License granted him by the Society could authorise him, after the Deed of 1618 had come into force, to alienate his property from the Scotch Secular Clergy, in whom that Deed had vested it, and apply it for the exclusive benefit of the Religious Body furnishing him with a License to undo, in its own favour, what had been already by his own act, placed beyond his power to revoke, without serious injury to the rights of the Scotch Secular Clergy, as a third party to the Deed.

Another element of suspicion attaches to this Deed of 1626, in consequence of the new designation of "The Douay College of the Society of Jesus," which it twice applies to the Scotch Seminary at Douay. On this point, indeed, it is inconsistent with itself; for, in a third place, in which mention is made of the Seminary, and it is provided that it shall continue to enjoy Curle's Endowment as long as it shall be Governed by the Society of Jesus, it is designated as "The Seminary of the Scotch at Douay." A little reflection, however, will satisfy any one who examines this Deed, that such a designation of the Scotch Seminary, as Jesuit property, could not possibly alter or affect the original nature and character of the Seminary at Douay, to which this Deed only conveyed a Benefaction, without even pretending to be a Deed of Foundation. If Curle, then, in 1618, clearly recognised that Seminary as Established for the Education of Scotch Secular Priests, no subsequent Deed of his, or any new Designation which he or his Superiors might apply to the Seminary, could transfer it from the Scotch Secular Clergy, and change it into Jesuit property. There still remained, also, in this Deed of 1626, the provision that in case of the Seminary ceasing to be Governed and Administered by the Fathers of the Society, Curle's property should be otherwise disposed of, a contingency which was totally inconsistent with the assumption that the Seminary was a "College

* NOTE.—Both of these Deeds may be seen at length in Mr. Tierney's "Dodd's History;" Vol. IV., Appendix Nos. 49 and 50. An able discussion of their Contents will be found in the same Volume, page 125

of the Society of Jesus." And, on the face of the Deed itself, such an occurrence as the removal of the Jesuit Fathers from the Government of the Seminary was to entitle them only to take his Endowment with them; not to transfer elsewhere any other part of the property of the Seminary as their own; and, while they remained in the Administration of the Seminary, they were bound to apply his Endowment, as well as the rest of the property belonging to the Seminary, to the Education of Secular Priests for Scotland—the purpose for which it was originally Established.

If any further proof were wanting of this being the original intention of the Founders of this Seminary, it is supplied by Documents emanating from the Members of the Society of Jesus itself. About the year 1692, a dispute arose between the Jesuits employed on the Scotch Mission and the Superiors of the Seminary at Douay, as to the right claimed by the former to free quarters in the House, for disabled Fathers, which the Superiors of the Seminary absolutely refused to recognise. The dispute was referred to the Father-General of the Society, Thyrse Gonzalez, by F. James Forbes, Rector of the Seminary, a man described by his Superior as "very well versed in our affairs," and who, while expressing to the General his resolution not to allow the Seminary to be burdened with persons who are not necessary to it, adduces, as a reason, that the income of the College, as a Seminary ordained by its Founder and its Benefactors for the maintenance of young Secular Students, and of so many Members of the Society as are required for their Education and Government, ought not to be burdened with the support of superfluous persons, even of their own Fathers, until the College, together with the Catholic Faith, be settled in Scotland; for that was the Founder's express Will. That F. Forbes should have confounded Curle with the Founder of the Seminary, only adds force to his testimony, that it was ordained for the maintenance of young Secular Students.*

Whatever may have been the rights of the case, it is certain that, in process of time the

Jesuit Fathers came to consider the Scotch Seminary at Douay, and its income, as their own property. They transferred to it their Establishment in the Scotch College at Madrid, together with a great part of the income of that House; and, at the expulsion of the Society from France, in 1765, the Scotch property at Douay was Confiscated to the Crown, as part of their goods.

The French Government, however, recognised the claims of the Scotch Secular Clergy to the property of their Seminary at Douay, and after some complicated negotiations, carried on chiefly through the intervention of the Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, the Management of the National property at Douay was confided to a Board (Bureau) of French Civilians, who permitted so many Scotch Students to be maintained and educated in the Seminary, under the Superintendence of a Scotch Rector, named by themselves, on the recommendation of the Scotch Bishops. The late possessors of the Seminary were permitted for a time to retire to Dinant, in Namur, whither they removed all the furniture of the House at Douay, and the richest Ornaments of the Church, including a precious Shrine, in which the head of St. Margaret had been enclosed. The Shrine was removed, and the Relic was left behind. The Scotch Jesuit Fathers also left at Douay a heavy debt, which, for a long time after, crippled the efficiency of the Seminary.

The first Rector appointed under the new Administration was Mr. Robert Grant, brother of the Scotch Agent at Rome; an office which he accepted with great reluctance, foreseeing the difficult nature of the negotiations in which he would have to engage, but in which he acquitted himself with remarkable firmness and prudence, if not always with perfect and unmixed success. His appointment took place in August, or early in September, 1765. For a long time after his assuming the Rectorship of the Seminary, his position was far from being an easy one, owing, in part, to the numerous matters of business, connected with the property of the Seminary, which he had to transact with the French Government; and to the various obstacles thrown in the way of the amicable adjustment of those affairs, very much at the instigation, as it appeared, of the old Superiors of the College, and of their friends and partisans. It might have been expected, indeed, that those persons, seeing the

* At Preehome, there is a Certified Copy of the Correspondence between F. Forbes and the General, whose final answer, dated Rome, March 28, 1693, confirms F. Forbes' views. The Copy was made by Bishop Hay, with his own hand, at Douay, March 21, 1772, and attested by Messrs. Grant and Oliver, Superiors of the House. There is also in the same hand, and with the same attestation, a Copy of the Will of F. Curle, dated September 1. 1618.

property of the Seminary taken out of their hands by the French Government, and knowing that the principal design of those who had bestowed it on the Seminary had been the promotion of the Catholic Religion in Scotland, would have been, at least, content that the property thus destined should be applied to the purposes chiefly and, indeed, exclusively contemplated by the original Founders and Benefactors of the Seminary, even though its Administration had passed into other hands than their own. Such, however, was not their temper of mind, as distinctly appears from the following Letter—[B. Hay to Abate Grant, August 16, 1770]—“As I am just now returned from a Meeting with our Friends in the North, I send you this, to accompany some Letters from them to your parts—one to his Holiness, of congratulation on his promotion; one to C. Castelli, as usual; one to the Cl. D[uke], at Mr. Geddes’ desire, of thanks for the assistance he has given him in his affairs; and a fourth to the C. Protector, giving an account of the Boys on Spin[elli]’s Foundation. We hope you will enforce the subjects of each, as much as possible, when you deliver them; some particulars of which I shall here further explain to you, that you may make what proper use of it you shall see occasion for.—What is mentioned, both to his H. and C. Castelli, about reflections cast out by some here, upon the conduct of Physicians [Bishops] relating to Donay College, is owing entirely to the ungenerous behaviour of some of our Friends of the Society. Notwithstanding all that we have endeavoured to do for their assistance, of late years, it would appear they can never digest the vexation it gave them to see that House put into our hands. The most of them, indeed, say but little upon the subject; but some among them have put such odious constructions upon that affair, among the people immediately under their charge, as to make Physicians here appear guilty of the highest injustice to their Order, and of having, by intriguing and underhand dealing, got that place turned over to themselves; and Mr. Siniten [Bishop Grant], this very Summer, in visiting some of these people, was reproached to his very face for having done so. You will easily see, my Dear Sir, how unjust such dealing is; as you will know how far we were from intriguing in that affair, and how uprightly your worthy brother acted with regard to these gentlemen in it. You

will also see how unjustifiable their conduct is, in showing a greater willingness to have that House lost entirely to the nation than be put into our hands. How strange a blindness! How unaccountable a prejudice! You will likewise see how fatal a tendency their behaviour must have in prejudicing the minds of the people against their chief Pastors; and how just our request is, to have our conduct vindicated by the Authority of the H. See, in order thereby to confound such as may still gainsay, and to put a stop to the evils that might otherwise ensue. . . .”

Bishop Grant, as being the principal sufferer from these insinuations, was less disposed to press any complaint against the authors of them; and, in reply to an application from Abate Grant, on the subject, endeavoured to soften down the charges which Bishop Hay had made. He, however, only shifted the blame from the Jesuit Fathers themselves, to their friends and supporters, as may be seen in the following Extract from his Letter, dated January 24, 1771. It will be observed, also, that the Bishop is describing the state of matters in 1771, not at an earlier stage of the proceedings; hence his representation may be perfectly well reconciled with all that Dr. Hay says in his Letter to Rome.

“January 24, 1771.

“ . . . You seem to mistake that part of our Letter which concerns the Donay affair. Physicians had not the least thought to complain of Birilies [Jesuits], nor insinuate that Birilies clamoured about that affair. The Birilies are now very quiet, and seem easy on that head, as well as about the Spanish affair. But here, as, perhaps, everywhere else, there are some who continue to sticke for them: and, sometimes, in public company, plead for the losers in a way very apt to give scandal: and, uninformed and ignorant as they are of the state of things, exclaim against the present possessors. We were, therefore, desirous to have from our Old Town Friends an effectual answer, in order to silence these clamours and the scandal naturally arising from them. We were not ignorant what step our Friends in the South took to silence those who blamed themselves in the affair of St. Omer, and we thought our own method as regular and as effectual as theirs. . . .”

It is much to be regretted that all trace is lost of Bishop Hay’s own remarks on Curle’s Will, to which Mr. Robert Grant refers in the following Letter to B. Hay, July 6, 1772. They seem to have coincided with the writer’s own.

“ I duly received your last with the remarks on Curle’s Testament, which are both just and solid, and will pass for such with every unprejudiced person. If they have any monuments—I mean originals—clearer on their side, let them publish them; but I am pretty sure they have not, neither is it possible they should, without supposing F. Curle to talk nonsense in his said Testament. Nay, their having carried off all the other original Papers regarding the Foundation of this House, without leaving any authentic Copies, is a strong presumption against them. It is more than necessary these remarks should be published, in order to undeceive those who look upon us as unjustly possessing what we have no title to. The common conversation amongst their Debates is, that we are sacrilegious robbers, &c., and how these good gentlemen can connive at such injurious aspersions, is astonishing beyond measure. . . . ”

For some months past, Dr. Hay had been contemplating a journey to Douay, on business connected with the Scotch Seminary. So long ago as July 25, 1771, Mr. Robert Grant, its Rector, had suggested the idea to him, that he might on the spot examine its affairs, and the whole system of its management. He also mentioned, at the same time, that the boy Robert Menzies, who had by that time been sent to Douay, was going on well, though labouring under peculiar difficulties from previous neglect of his education. Bishop Grant, in a Letter to Dr. Hay, August 10, highly approved of his proposed journey to Douay, both on account of its public utility, and because it would, probably, be of service to Dr. Hay’s own health. August 22, Mr. Robert Grant expressed to Dr. Hay his pleasure at hearing that he was coming, but recommended him to postpone his visit till after Easter, 1772; the rather, because recent political events had issued in the Suppression of the Parliament of Douay, and the Exile of its Members.

Acting on this advice, Dr. Hay resolved to wait. “This day,” he writes to Bishop Grant, “I received yours, and herewith send you what Mr. Robert writes me in answer to mine, wherein I informed him of your being willing I should pay him a visit, and hinted if anything could be got done by that means for Company [Mission.] As his sentiments and yours agree entirely as to the time of making such a visit, there can be no thoughts of doing it sooner; for my part, I have been all along perfectly indifferent about it; willing to go, if it be thought proper, and no less

willing to stay; so that whether it be done or not, or, if it be done, now or afterwards, it is equally agreeable to me. Nay, my own inclinations would rather had me to defer it, and [I] shall inform Mr. Robert, by first occasion, that it is put off.”

A scheme set on foot in France for the benefit of the Scotch Mission—a Benefice, it was hoped, would soon be obtained, nominally, for the Seminary at Douay, or the Scotch College, Paris; but, in reality, for the Relief of the impoverished Mission at Home. The proposal had originated with Mr. Edmund Butler, at Lille; and some of his Friends, who, on reading the Memorial drawn up by Dr. Hay two years before, for circulation in England, and which Mr. Constable, of Corringham, had lately showed them, when travelling on the Continent, had resolved to use all their interest at Court, to procure some relief for the Scots Mission. They had engaged the cordial services of Monsieur de Müy, a great favourite with the French Sovereign, to solicit a Benefice, whose revenue should be applied solely to the maintenance of the Scotch Missionaries. Mr. Grant requested his brother to interest Cardinal York and Cardinal Bernis in the plan, and to prevail on their Eminences to write in its favour to the Archbishop of Rheims. The very day that he wrote, the Members of the New Council of Douay were to be installed: they were nearly all of them Members of the late Parliament.

While Dr. Hay was waiting for a suitable opportunity to inspect the affairs of Douay in person, he received a Letter from his friend at Valladolid, dated November 18th, which gives a pleasing picture of the state of Religion in Spain, even at that unsettled time.

“ November 18, 1771.

“ Say everything that is kind and friendly from me to honest Mr. Craw. I reverence that worthy gentleman as I would do a Father of the Desert, and I have a great confidence in his Prayers. Tell him from me, and I know it will give him satisfaction, that however depraved the world is become, there still remains a great deal of true piety in Spain; and that not only in the Convents and Monasteries, but even in the Palaces and on the Judgment Seats. There are some most excellent Secular gentlemen in this same city, among the rest, the Comptroller-General of the Royal Revenues of Old Castile is just such a man as Mr. Craw himself, or Dr. Gordon of Keithmore. . . . ”

This venerable man, whom Mr. Geddes thus associates with Mr. Craw as an ornament of Catholic old age, was a younger brother of Bishop Gordon. He was engaged on the losing side in 1745, and had to conceal himself for some time after. He lived, for a while, on a small property of his own in Deeside, in the neighbourhood of Braemar; and, ultimately settling as a Tenant-farmer at Keithmore, in Achdown, he died there, at an advanced age, in 1763.

To this Letter of his friend, Dr. Hay replied (December 19, 1771). He recommends to him two new Books, lately published, which seemed likely to be useful—Beattie's Essay "On the Immortality of Truth," the second Edition; and Reid's "Enquiry into the Human Mind." The Letter concludes with a characteristic "P.S."—

" December 19, 1771.

"P.S.—You will remember that it was commonly said and thought here among ourselves that our Friends Abroad did not seem to have the relieving our straits so much at heart as we could wish. Now, as I am perfectly certain of your mind that way, I was lately musing upon the above opinion, and I think I have found out the cause of our mistake here. We feel our straits, as well as know them; Friends Abroad know them, but don't feel them. On the other hand, they feel the obstacles and difficulties of procuring help, as well as know them; we never feel them, and have but an imperfect knowledge of them. This reflection, which appears to me just, shall for the future rectify my former unjust and mistaken opinion, and leave all with calmness to the Divine Providence, who knows all well."

Before the middle of January, 1772, Dr. Hay was making final arrangements for his journey. Mr. Charles Cruickshanks came in from Traquair, to supply his place at Edinburgh during his absence. January 23d, the Bishop started on his journey, in the Fly, after waiting twenty minutes for a Mr. Scott, who, after all, did not appear. His companions were a lady, and a young gentleman just returned from the East Indies, after seven years' absence. The Fly arrived at Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, at six o'clock in the evening of the following day. The snow was lying deep all the way, but the roads were good and well beaten, and, as Dr. Hay somewhat sarcastically remarks, "in some parts better than if it had been fresh [open] weather." His travelling companions proceeded on their journey,

while Dr. Hay remained at Boroughbridge till the following morning. He then proceeded in a Postchaise to York, which he reached at nine o'clock. After breakfast, he walked over to the Bar, where he "spent the day very agreeably, among the good Religious and the young folks." He afterwards visited Bishop Walton, and made arrangements for spending the next day (Sunday) at York, and starting on Monday, in the Fly, for London. Part of Saturday he devoted to sending Mr. Cruickshanks an account of his journey, from which this Narrative is principally taken.

Monday morning, January 27th, Dr. Hay set out from York, in the Fly, and reached London on Tuesday night, between 11 and 12—"Glad to pass through Finchley Common safely, at so late an hour, without being visited by any of the Collectors." That night he had lodged at the Inn; and, next morning, went to Coghlan's, the bookseller in Duke Street, where Letters were waiting for him. In the afternoon of the same day, he waited on his "worthy friend, B. Chalonier," whom he had not seen for more than twenty years, and who had now reached the venerable age of eighty. He received Dr. Hay most cordially, and took the opportunity of putting into his hands what he had collected for the sufferers in Uist, together with a sum of money entrusted to him for Dr. Hay's own use. The following day, January 30th, the Scotch Bishop received a visit from F. Cruickshanks, S.J., with whom and with his Colleague, F. Gairden, he spent the evening. He found F. Cruickshanks "very free and kind;" and gladly accepted his promise to give him all the information he could about the affairs of his Brethren, with reference to the Scotch Seminary at Douay. The same day, Dr. Hay waited on Lord Stanton, and enjoyed half an hour's very agreeable conversation with him.

The Bishop's stay in London was prolonged till February 5th. During this time, his attention was directed to various engagements and commissions. Thus he endeavoured to obtain from Government some pecuniary assistance for the Titular Duchess of Perth; but her having assumed the title, proved an insuperable obstacle to his success. In matters relating to the Jesuit property in France, formerly belonging to the Seminary at Douay, he transacted business with F. F. Cruickshanks and Gairden, in which he

found them "most friendly and obliging." With a view to his visit to France on the same business, he found it necessary to obtain from F. Johnson, the Scotch Provincial, a formal Deed of Procuration for himself and Mr. Robert Grant, at Douay. The day before leaving London, he waited on Lord Witherington, who promised to contribute to the relief of the poor Uist sufferers.

Wednesday morning, February 5, the Bishop left London, by the Stage Fly, for Dover, "a monstrous cold day, of frost and snow from the South-east," as he described it. He had the Fly all to himself, as far as Canterbury, and reached Dover at seven that evening. Next morning, about eleven, he sailed for Calais, which he reached in five hours, suffering much on the passage. Friday night he arrived at St. Omers by the trackboat (*coche d'eau*) on the Canal, and was kindly received by Mr. Alban Butler. The following day the Diligence conveyed him to Lisle, where he lodged with Canon Butler, who entered warmly into the scheme of the Benefice. Sunday, February 9, Dr. Hay passed an hour at the English Convent, in conversation with a Scotch lady, Miss Fanny Dalziel, or, in Religion, Mother Margaret, whom he was glad to find well and perfectly happy; indeed, as she told him, she had never been properly happy till then. In the afternoon, Mr. Robert Grant arrived to conduct the Bishop to Douay. February 11, they both visited Mr. Leslie at Courtray, and persuaded him to resign his Benefice in France, and return to the Scotch Mission, on receipt of a pension, an arrangement which was not ultimately carried into effect. Returning to Lisle, February 14, the Bishop and Mr. Grant reached Douay the following day in time for dinner, "after an agreeable and prosperous journey." Sunday, February 16, Dr. Hay wrote to Bishop Grant at Aberdeen, with very sanguine hopes as to the success of the Benefice Scheme. His chief support was M. le Conte de Müy, Commander-in-Chief in French-Flanders, "a man of great zeal and exemplary piety," and possessed of considerable interest at Court. The Bishop of Arras, also, had declared himself in favour of the Scheme. It was expected that the Pope would himself write to the French Court on the subject. Dr. Hay, was, therefore, fully prepared to be detained in Paris about it till after Easter. He had also in view to procure some changes in the

Constitution of the Seminary at Douay. Writing, February 20, from Douay, to Mr. Charles Cruickshanks, he concludes his remarks—"You may believe that, though absent in body, my heart is in Scotland, and nothing is more interesting to me than to hear from that quarter how all is going on."

The same day he wrote to his friend, Mr. John Geddes, at Valladolid, mentioning, among other things, the recent publication of "Pastorini's Letters." "There is a very curious Piece publishing just now, in London, by B. Walmesley, whom you may remember at Rome, of the Order of St. Benedict, and came there to be Consecrated, in our time. It is a general History of the Church, by way of Commentary on the Apocalypse. It is thought that this Work will be a greater stroke to the Protestants than either Cardinal Pole or the "Free Examination."

February 24, Dr. Hay and Mr. Robert Grant set out from Douay, and arrived in two days at Paris. They were cordially received at the Scotch College there. Next day, February 27, Dr. Hay waited on the Bishop of Arras, who was very polite and courteous, and put him in the proper way of prosecuting his Scheme, to which the Bishop also promised his own concurrence and support. March 1, Dr. Hay wrote to Bishop Grant with better hopes of success than ever. He also mentioned a plan which he contemplated, of getting some of the Lazarist Fathers to assist the Scotch Mission. "Mr. Johnson's business" he found not promising; the Jesuit College at Dinant was not so poor as it had been represented. Dr. Hay repeated his expectation of leaving Paris after Easter. The same day, he informed Abate Grant that he was awaiting the arrival of a Letter from his Holiness to the Nuncio at Paris, to begin operations. He expressed his desire that "Sandy Cameron" (afterwards his own Coadjutor), should be sent Home that year, his third in Divinity. "He will be at no essential loss in wanting the last year of his Divinity, which several of our best Missionaries have done; and perhaps a place might be found for him, where he would easily make it up. Nay, I can assure him, from experience, that he will have more of the essential parts of the duties of a Missionary, by one year's experience, than by several of speculative Study, provided he has got the grounds; as, by all

accounts I have got of him, I daresay he has. . . . You may easily imagine nothing but the most pressing necessity could move me to insist so much on this." In the same way, Bishop Smith had pressed for Dr. Hay's own return, long before the completion of his Studies; and would have succeeded had not good Cardinal Spinelli firmly opposed it. The concluding sentence of Dr. Hay's Letter is remarkable, as containing the only expression of his old attachment to the Exiled Family which appears in the whole of his Correspondence. "With my kind compliments to all friends with you; and, especially, if you think it would be acceptable, with my most cordial and respectful compliments to the King."

A Letter, addressed by Mr. Cruikshanks at Edinburgh, to Bishop Grant at Aberdeen, March 5, gives us further insight into the extraordinary multiplicity of Dr. Hay's engagements at home. ". . . . I shall be doing what I can, with God's assistance. Yet I am very sensible what a monstrous fatigue he [Dr. Hay] has all along taken upon himself, and wonder how he could bear so much; yet his spirit carried him through, and he delighted in it. I don't think this jaunt will be a great relaxation of mind to Mr. Hay, for he will bustle strongly, while on the other side of the water, to make out his point. . . . " Mr. Cruikshanks mentions the arrival of several Copies of "Pastorini's Letters," sent from London, by Dr. Hay's orders, for his friends in Scotland. The same sentiments are expressed by Mr. Cruikshanks to Dr. Hay himself, March 9. ". . . . I ever am perpetually hurried, and scarce a minute to myself; wonder how you was able to hold out with such a life—Santa Solitudine! "

Man proposes, but the Great Disposer of all events often baffles the best laid plans. Dr. Hay's was one of those. His journey to France ended in total failure. The particulars are communicated by himself to Abate Grant, March 9, in a Letter more than usually calm and staid in its tone. On the 4th of March he had gone to Versailles, in company with Mr. Robert Grant, to present a Letter of Introduction from Canon Butler to M. de Müy, from whose zeal and friendship they had hoped so much. They were received by that gentleman with the utmost coldness; after reading the Canon's Letter, he asked what Dr. Hay wanted from him. The Bishop

put into his hand a Memorial on the subject of the Benefice; he looked at it, and replied, "This does not belong to my department; you should apply to the Clergy." He seemed totally ignorant of the whole affair after all his promises. Their visit to the Nuncio, next day, fared no better. They were received by his Secretary, who admitted that the Pope's Letter had arrived, recommending their plan; but he held out no hopes, except shrugging his shoulders, and saying, "Tirerà a lungo." On requesting to see the Nuncio himself, Dr. Hay was invited to return the following Wednesday, a day of Public Audience, when crowds would be waiting; which he understood as a pointed refusal of a personal interview. The Bishop of Arras alone gave them every assistance in his power, and sincerely befriended them. On the whole, it was evident that unless they would stoop to court intrigue, and solicit, or purchase the influence of some of the King's Mistresses, their errand was hopeless. To this Dr. Hay would not consent, and so the whole scheme fell to the ground. It affords an instructive example of the utter hollowness and baseness to which matters had come, both in the French Church and State, inviting, as they too surely did, the terrible scourge of a Revolution, unsurpassed in horror in the Annals of the world.

Dr. Hay concludes the Narration of his failure in these words:—"You see, my Dear Sir, that this long and expensive journey, which had such a promising aspect of procuring some considerable help to the miseries and straits of our poor Missions, will, in all appearance, end in air! For my own part, I shall endeavour to keep my mind perfectly easy. I should wish never to be wanting on my part, in doing what appears to be my duty for the common good; but, as the events are all in the hands of God, I shall always endeavour to be resigned in that to His holy Will, But I am sorry for your brother [Mr. Robert Grant], who is vastly disappointed and vexed, to think that he had a hand in promoting my taking so long and expensive a journey to no purpose; but, to be sure, his part was most laudable, and nothing could bid fairer for success than the appearance this scheme had. Indeed, there is no accounting for De Müy's conduct; and the only thing we can conjecture is, that, as he is greatly attached to the Jesuits and their ad-

herents, he has, perhaps, been speaking to some of that party of the affair, and been put off it by them; for, it must be owned, that, though we have been as obliging as possible to those of the Society we have a connexion with, and have not only used all our endeavours, but even borrowed money to assist them in their straits at home, yet we have not at all met with a grateful correspondence, but rather been thwarted in everything in their power; and, if they have had any hand in the present disappointment, all I shall say is, God forgive them."

The Bishop then proceeds, in his Letter, to request the Agent to procure an extension to Scotland of a Decree of Benedict XIV., giving the Bishops in England authority over the Regular Clergy within their Districts. "I assure you," he adds, "there are more than one of the Society, of whose conduct I have got complaints from their own hearers; and yet, for want of some such backing, Mr. Grant will not, and I dare not, speak to them. I could give you some instances that would surprise you." In conclusion, he thanks the Italians for their handsome contribution towards the relief of the Uist sufferers.

The same day, March 9th, Mr. Robert Grant wrote from Paris to his brother, the Scotch Agent at Rome, that for the past month he had been so fortunate as to enjoy Bishop Hay's company almost every hour of the day; and that he was cheered to find him a person of real piety and good sense—"Not a bit more attached to the Etiemites than the rules of the Gospel oblige every Christian. This I easily perceive by his ready compliance with every scheme that can any ways conduce to the good of our College and the Mission in general, without having the least regard to the ill-natured tales these good gentlemen are too apt to spread against those who thwart their designs."

Sunday, March 15th, Dr. Hay communicated to Mr. Cruickshanks an outline of his plan of returning Home. His intention was to leave Paris for Douay the following Thursday, March 19th; thence to Calais, on the 23d, where he hoped to arrive on the 25th. In the middle of the fourth week of Lent, he proposed to leave London, and reach Newcastle by the following Friday. Next day, he had arranged a visit to his friend, Mr. Cay, a Mr. Haggerstom of Ellingham,

which would occupy a few days more; and so he could reach Edinburgh, at least, before Palm Sunday. This is a specimen of the minute way in which the Bishop used to map out his plans, often for weeks in advance. Honest Coghlan, hearing of his coming, wrote twice to Mr. Cruickshanks, to express his earnest hope that Dr. Hay would not hurry through London on his return, but would spend some little time in the society of the Catholic Nobility and Gentry then residing in Town, from which much good might be expected. He especially mentioned the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Arundel, and Lord Shrewsbury, brother to Bishop Talbot.

March 16, Dr. Hay informed Abate Grant that "the affair having quite failed," he would leave Paris in two days, and hurry home to relieve Mr. Cruickshanks. The Bishop of Arras still continued friendly. Dr. Hay had heard from Scotland that they had had a "violent storm of frost and snow in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; work had been stopped, and the poor labourers were dying of want. In the North of Scotland, there had not been so severe a season in the memory of man; all the rivers were frozen, and covered with snow; and as last harvest had been very bad, and the fodder almost lost, he anticipated great danger and distress for the poor, from the continuance of such weather. Dr. Hay also informed the Abate that he had written out on parchment his "Formula inramenti ante Consecrationem," and the "Puppis Fidei," which he had emitted at his Consecration, but had been dispensed from transmitting at that time to Rome. He had now put them in the hands of the Principal of the Scotch College, Paris, who would forward them to Rome by the first opportunity.

"March 17, 1772.

"Mr. John Geddes and his two companions had sent over, out of their own savings, £59, 12s. to Mr. Cruickshanks, Edinburgh, for behoof of the Scotch Mission. B. Hay, writing from Paris to thank him, says:—". . . Both in his name and my own, and all our Brethren's, I return you and your companions hearty thanks for your supply, and I bless God Alm., who, having given you the means, has given you the heart, also, to make so proper a use of it. Indeed, according to right reason and Religion, it is the only view we all should have in the use of whatever the Divine Providence bestows upon us; for, having sacrificed our persons to the service of Religion in our poor Country, how inconsistent would it be to refuse to part with the pelf of this world for the

same end? For my own part, I thank God I have nothing so much at heart as the common cause; and shall think myself happy to sacrifice everything that is near and dear to me, in this world, for that end. But it is superfluous to mention this to you, who know me so well already. . . ."

Sunday, March 22, Dr. Hay left Douay, after dinner, in company with Mr. Robert Grant, and slept that night at Lisle. Mr. Leslie met him there; and next morning they travelled together to St. Omers, Mr. Grant returning to Douay. The whole of Tuesday forenoon Dr. Hay passed with Mr. Alban Butler, and started in the afternoon for Calais, which he reached that night. The Packet not sailing till the afternoon of next day, the Bishop had the whole morning at his own disposal; he "spent it very agreeably in the Parish; M. le Curé being a most discreet, kind man; and when he understood who the Bishop was, allowed him to do as he pleased." Wednesday, at 4 p.m., he sailed in the Packet; after a tedious passage of eleven hours, during which the Bishop again suffered much, he landed at Dover at 3 in the morning of the following day, and had the satisfaction of finding that the Fly had set out for London about an hour before. There was an English gentleman, a Dunkirk merchant, in the Packet, whom Dr. Hay had become acquainted with, at Edinburgh, a few years before; they now agreed to take a Post-Chaise, and pursue the Fly. But while they got the horses fed, and prepared themselves for the journey, "with a dish of tea to settle their stomachs," another hour was consumed; the Fly, having thus got two hours' start of them, escaped, and they had to post all the way to Town. They arrived there at five in the evening, without further adventure. The Bishop immediately communicated all these particulars to Mr. Cruikshanks, adding, "Give my kind compliments and best respects to Miss Mackenzie; tell her I waited upon her aunt, Lady Kenmore, twice." March 30, he again wrote to the same Correspondent at Edinburgh—"I long to be Home to my dear people. I do assure you, I would rather be in a Country Mission, in any part of Scotland, than confined to live in the grand world; what a continual dissipation! Yet I must own, I have been dining this day with a most amiable noble Family, Lord and Lady Arundel, with both of whom I am much delighted. There was a young lady there, one

Miss Ravenscroft, a very sweet, agreeable young lady. She has a great love and attachment for Scotland, and expresses the greatest regard for everything that belongs to it. I am told she is an Heiress to a considerable fortune. If that be true, I wish Lord Linton would try his good luck there. By all I hear about her, she would be a good wife to him. . . ." Ten pounds worth of books, which the Bishop had purchased at Paris, were seized on landing in England, and destroyed.

Dr. Hay reached Edinburgh in better health than he had enjoyed for many years past, on Wednesday night, April 8, after an absence of eleven weeks.

Dr. Hay had hardly arrived at Edinburgh, when he proposed to Bishop Grant that, as Mr. James Macdonald was gone from Drummond Castle, and there was no one to supply Dundee and its neighbourhood that Easter; and, as Mr. Gordon, at Stobhall, was not very well, and Mr. Cruikshanks, in Edinburgh, was unable either to walk or ride, but willing to supply for Dr. Hay's absence, he himself should go to Drummond for Low Sunday, and thence by Stobhall to Dundee for the Sunday after; and so home again. Bishop Grant, in reply, April 13th, says:—"I'm much edified with the incessant ardour that carries you on to new toil and fatigue. . . . It gives me a great deal of joy that you are to give the poor destitute people about Drummond Castle and Dundee, the comfort of a visit; especially at so seasonable a time of the year. But I cannot tell how you have been supplied with money, all this time, on your journeys, both within and without the Kingdom; as it was to promote the public good to the utmost of your power, that you undertook them, friends surely ought and will see to this. . . ."

A Brief was obtained from Rome, dated April 19th, in this year, granting a Plenary Indulgence to the Scotch Catholics on the Festival of S.S. Peter and Paul, on any day within the Octave, applicable, "per modum suffragii," to the souls in Purgatory. The conditions for exercising it were Confession, Communion, visiting an Oratory, or Praying at home for the Conversion of Infidels and Heretics, and for the Propagation of the Holy Faith.

Dr. Hay (April 20th) Communicated to his Friend, Mr. Geddes, at Valladolid, news of the

success of the Uist Emigration, together with a sad picture of the state of misery at home.

“ April 20, 1772.

“ . . . I have great reason to be thankful for the good success the affair of our Uist sufferers had in England, and I'm certainly much obliged to many good people there for the countenance and regard they showed to me. Their generosity has already produced some most salutary effects. ‘ Several Landlords,’ says Gleualadale, ‘ were beginning to adopt Boisdale's plan both in the Islands and Mainland, against their Catholic tenants, never imagining they could find any assistance, but persuaded that, by ill usage, they could force them to anything. But now, seeing their firmness, and resolution to go elsewhere rather than lose their Religion, and amazed at the help procured for them, they have quite altered their method, and are at pains to oblige the poor people, and those they think may have influence over them. There are about 210 people shipped off this Spring for America; of whom 100 are from Ouisht, the rest from the Mainland. Their expenses have run a vast deal higher than was at first imagined; the freight alone is £3 12s. 6d. for each person above seven years of age, which amounts to above £600. A whole year's provision of meal is sent with them, which comes to about £500 more; clothing and utensils of all sorts, to near £400; in all, about £1500. Of this, however, only about one-half falls on us, that is, on the Contribution Money, because the most of those from the Mainland go on their own charges. Even one half, you'll say, is a great deal; it is so; but, thanks to God, and the charity of our good friends in England, we are enabled to pay it, and have a trifle more to assist our distressed poor at Home. Of these, indeed, we have great numbers, and are likely to have many more. We have had a dreadful Winter since this year came in. Such frost and snow have not been seen in the memory of man—no, not in 1740. For these three weeks past, the weather has been pretty good here, though the storm is scarce broken in the North, but within these two days the frost is begun again as hard as ever, and just now all the appearance of another fall of snow. There have also been a great sickness and mortality about Stobhall, in Glengarry, and Strathspey; poor Mr. Macgillis, who is much worn out, has had a sad time of it; little Mr. James MacDi. is gone to St. John's with the Emigrants. . . . ”

Before this Letter could have reached Valladolid, Mr. Geddes wrote to his Friend, May 1, and, alluding to his late journey, and his incessant labours in the common cause, thus expressed himself:—“ . . . You are destined to uninterrupted labour, until you go to the never-to-be-interrupted Repose. . . . Pray, when am I to have the satisfaction of congratulating

you on your sister's Conversion? I long very much for that event, and do pray for it. It is lamentable that she should have such opportunities as she has, and not make a better use of them. If you think proper, make her my kind compliments. . . . ”

At Drummond Castle, during the Easter visit which he had proposed, Dr. Hay had about fifty Communicants, “ besides some who lived at a greater distance, and could not be warned in time.” Mr. Gordon was, after all, able to undertake a visit to Dundee, the second week after Easter. Dr. Hay, therefore, “ after resting two days with the good Duchess,” returned home, Thursday, April 30. May 2, he sent these particulars to Bishop Grant, and mentioned that he had seven long Letters to dispatch that day, and had been several times interrupted by people coming in.

Writing to Abate Grant, May 4, on the subject of his recent journey to Paris, Dr. Hay remarks—“ As for our disappointment from Mons. de Müy, there is no help; your suggestion of the source whence that change of his conduct arose, is not unlikely; it is not the first time we have met with rubs from that quarter; pray, is nothing transpiring with you; what is likely to be the fate of these gentlemen? The poor Duchess of Perth, Mary, Lord John's relict, is in great distress, and in most straitened circumstances. . . . ” He returns to the subject of his journey in a subsequent Letter to the Agent, May 18, in which he adds—“ We rely a great deal on your friendly diligence to keep the spark alive, and see what possibly can be done, being well assured that ‘ Sicut fuerit voluntas in celo, sic fiet.’ ”

Dr. Hay again sent to Mr. John Geddes (June 12) some interesting particulars of local news.

“ June 12, 1772.

“ . . . I mentioned in my last, I think, that we have had a most severe Winter here; the consequence of which is, that numbers of families in the North and Highlands are reduced to beggary, especially by the death of their cattle; and numbers, finding no compassion or indulgence from the unrelenting hearts of their cruel masters, are flocking over to America. A most dismal sight we had in this Town, about two weeks ago; one and twenty families from Sutherland, being turned adrift, came up here in a body; they had numbers of children of all ages, many of the women with child, and many of their children in the small pox. They had taken the resolution to

go to America, and were on their way to Glasgow, where they hoped some opportunity would be got of getting over there, though they had not a penny in their pocket. Collections were made here for them. Is not this dismal! Our friends from Uist are sailed some weeks ago, and more are preparing to follow them next Spring. The scarcity and dearth, occasioned by the bad Winter, were, in many places, attended with a great sickness and mortality, particularly about Drummond, Lochaber, Glengary, Badenoch, and are now come to Strathdown. . . . Mr. Guthrie is extremely bad, both in health and leg; and I fear if his leg be not cut off, it will soon cut him off, as it seems, though distantly, to threaten a mortification. . . . My sister is still in statu quo; but I am upon a plan of getting her to the Enzie, boarded, if possible, with Mrs. Gordon, of Clashteerum, or Lady Buchan. She is very fond of it herself; and I am to see to get it accomplished when I go to that country. God reward your charity in her regard; and I beg you would recommend her, in my name, to M. Campbell and her community. . . . I set off next Tuesday for the Enzie, where we are to meet friends. . . . I suppose, before this arrives, you will have perused 'Stanrophilus's' piece, and will easily see it is rude and unpolished—by far too full of exclamations. It was done in by far too great a hurry, being a few days only above two months between its being composed, printed, and published. Had it been written in the character of a Catholic, 'Staurophilus' would, undoubtedly, have fully observed his usual mildness, in writing on these subjects; but, as the Doctor's Sermon was so virulent, and so much esteemed, every one who advised him to write against the Doctor exhorted him to treat him with that sharpness they thought his Sermon deserved; and this gave rise to the form and manner under which the 'Detection' appears. 'Miracles' are well advanced, but meet with frequent and long interruptions. This, if ever it appears, will be quite of a different kind, and is intended to be quite elaborate, and properly examined before it sees the light. . . ."

In the month of June, we find Dr. Hay on his way to the Annual Meeting of the Bishops at Preshome. From Aberdeen he rode on to Shenva, where he dined with F. Hope, June 24, and reached Scalau before nightfall. There he found Mr. Guthrie suffering so much from his recent accident of a broken leg, as to make it necessary to take him to Edinburgh for Medical advice. The Bishop remained at Scalau till June 27, when he set out for Preshome, and arrived at his old house the same evening. [B. Hay to Mr. Cruikshanks, June 28. 1772.] Certain Banks in Edinburgh, in which the Funds of the Mission were deposited, threatened to become insolvent.

Bishop Hay, alluding to the anxiety occasioned by this news, says—" . . . I beg, my dear Sir, whatever has happened, or may happen, be not disquieted; whilst we do our endeavours, we must leave the events to the disposition of Divine Providence; even though all we have in these gentlemen's hands should be lost, to what purpose afflict ourselves? Si bona accessimus a manu Domini, quare non mala? Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sit nomen Domini benedictum. I thank my God, all the alarming accounts we have had have not given me five minutes disquiet. God's Will be done in all things. However, I hope all will yet be well. . . ." The alarm, ultimately, proved a false one. Dr. Hay incidentally mentions a young boy, Joseph Hendrie, a cousin of his own, lately sent to Spain. His father lived at Airdrie.

The Bishops' Meeting this year included all except Dr. Hugh Macdonald, whom the feebleness of age prevented from undertaking so long a journey. His Colleagues, in their Annual Letter to Cardinal Castelli, Prefect of Propaganda, dated July 18, mentioned the aged Bishop in the following terms:—"Hugh of Diana, now worn out by old age, and the labours of forty years, during which he has discharged the duties of Vicar Apostolic, has failed in strength this year so much as to be unable to be with us here; and it seems, indeed, hardly possible that his life can be protracted much longer. He is a man who has merited very highly of Religion; and, by his toils, his vigilance, his concern for the common cause; by his gentleness, and the sweetness of his manners; by his assiduity in the preservation of fraternal charity, in the Administration of the Mission affairs, he has always endeared himself to every one. . . ."

July 8th, Dr. Hay communicated to Mr. John Geddes the thanks of the Bishops for the pecuniary assistance given and promised by himself and his companions to the Funds of the Mission. Alluding to the sickness and mortality lately prevalent in some of the Highland Missions, Dr. Hay mentions one pious Missionary, Mr. Austin Macdonald, who, on the appearance of the dreaded sickness in his neighbourhood, had exhorted his people to Prayer and Fasting, as a means of avoiding the threatened calamity, and had prescribed certain Prayers to be said, and set apart

two days for Fasting. After that, none of his people died but one, who had been very ill before. "He is a truly valuable Missioner," adds Dr. Hay, in his Letter, "and minds nothing in this world—neither brothers, nor sisters, nor any earthly affair—but his duties to his people only. I wish we had numbers such!"

A week later, Dr. Hay was still lingering in the congenial neighbourhood of Preshome. The two maiden sisters of Mr. Cruikshanks, together with their two nieces, sisters of Mr. John Reid, the Missionary at Preshome, occupied a Cottage in the hamlet of Clochin, about half a mile from his residence at Preshome. July 15th, Dr. Hay wrote to the brother of the elder ladies, from their humble dwelling, in the following playful style:—"I returned from Strathbogie last night to Preshome, and found yours, of last Saturday's date, before me. I was very happy, on perusing it, to find you in such excellent humour—a proof that cold and throat were better. I intended, this forenoon, to have wrote you an answer, but it was not in my power till now, that I am in Clochin, to take my leave of friends here, and am just writing these few lines in the midst of four ladies, your two sisters and your two nieces; of whom three are busy at working stockings, and one at mittens, whilst the tea-kettle boils—you will by that guess the time o' day—and I must send in my Letter to Fochabers this night." Tea time used to be called "Four-hours"—a name still used in some remote Districts of Scotland. When people dined at one o'clock, it came nearly midway between the hours of dinner and of supper, at eight or nine o'clock in the evening. The Bishop proceeds to make some arrangements about his sister and her approaching visit to Auchentoul, near Banff; and concludes by informing his Correspondent that, to-morrow, or the following day, he is to go to Glenlivet, and so return to Edinburgh.

His journey to Glenlivet was performed in company with Bishop Grant. Thence Dr. Hay travelled alone to Aberdeen, in time to relieve Mr. Reid of his public duties there, on Sunday, July 26. The same day, in the afternoon, he reached Stonehaven on his way to Edinburgh; and, "while tea was getting ready," he sent Mr. Cruikshanks an account of his movements, past and future. He expected to find Mr. Guthrie waiting for him at Stobhall, and if the invalid

could bear the journey to Edinburgh in one day, they should arrive there together the following Thursday. If, however, he was unequal to the fatigue, then they might be expected the following day.

Dr. Hay's disappointment in regard to the principal object of his late journey to Paris was, in part, compensated for, in the course of this Autumn, by the opportune arrival of an extraordinary subsidy from Propaganda, procured by Cardinal Castelli, who informed the Scotch Bishops, towards the end of August, that two places in the Urban College of Propaganda had been assigned to Scotch Students, between the ages of 12 and 18 years.

This year, also, the Scotch Mission was deprived of the services of F. Bragan, an Irish Dominican, stationed in Glenlivet. His health had broken down under the fatigues of his Ministry, and he returned to his own Country. His departure, together with the flight of F. Wynne, from the Highland Mission, left two vacancies in the number of Missionaries, which were supplied by the return of Messrs. Cameron and Macgillis from Rome. Mr. Cameron reached the North in August, and was appointed to the Mission of Strathavon, on account of his knowledge of the Gaelic Language. He recommended himself at once to the favourable notice of Bishop Grant, and soon began to distinguish himself as a Preacher. Mr. Thomson, his predecessor in that Mission, at the same time succeeded to F. Bragan's late Charge in Glenlivet. Mr. Macgillis was sent to the assistance of his uncle, the Missionary in Lochaber.

Bishop Grant meanwhile continued his Visitation of the Northern portion of his District. He held a Confirmation of 63 persons, in Mr. William Grant's Mission of Deeside; and, had the Bishop gone through the whole of that Mission, there would have been many more. In a Narrative of the incidents of his Visitation, which he sent from Aberdeen to Dr. Hay, August 20th, the Bishop writes:—"I was very much edified with the willingness and earnestness of the honest people in coming to that Duty, the Sunday that Confirmation was given; some having travelled six or seven, some ten, and one, in particular, no less than sixteen miles—all the way from Fettercairn, on the South of the Grampian Hills. By this means it was full three o'clock, afternoon,

before they could get ready to begin our Functions, and five before we had done; and, by a presumed License from the venerable gentleman at Old Town, I even ventured, without scruple, to say Mass. . . .”

Dr. Hay and his invalid Friend, Mr. Guthrie, reached Edinburgh early in August. After a medical consultation, it was found necessary to amputate Mr. Guthrie's leg—an operation which he bore with great fortitude—towards the close of the same month, and which terminated successfully. Dr. Hay took him into his own House, as being more agreeable to Mr. Guthrie, and less expensive than a Lodging, besides securing him better attendance.

Dr. Hay, wanting a boy to stay with him to serve Mass, and run errands, took Charles Geddes from Sealan, and gave him assistance in his Studies for a year. He describes him as a well-disposed boy, but not a bright genius, though tolerable. He afterwards equipped him, and paid part of his expenses to Würzburg, where the youth ultimately became a Monk.

This year closes with a rather gloomy picture of the state of the Scotch Mission. [B. Hay to Abate Grant.]

“November 5, 1772.

“ Though we have all reason, blessed be God, to expect plenty of hands in a few years, yet, in the meantime, we are always daily worse and worse. Mr. Dian [B. Hugh Macdonald] quite ad agendo; Mr. Tiberiop [B. John Macdonald], of late quite spent with fatigue, and seized with severe faintings, loss of appetite, &c.; Mr. Macgillis, afflicted with the gravel, and much decayed; Mr. Macleod, in Strathglass, far gone in a consumption; Mr. William Reid, at Aberdeen, threatened again with the cancer in his lip, and otherwise in great distress; Mr. Roy called home to Würzburg, and, indeed, not fit for our business; Mr. Duthy worn out with age; Buchan, Angus, Drummond, without anybody in them; to Drummond, indeed, I must go from time to time, and only came home from it yesterday, where I had been for this fortnight past; and had a number to prepare for Confirmation, besides other things; Mr. Guthrie is indeed in as good a way as we could expect, but the Doctor tells me he cannot leave this till after Winter, and even then where can he go in the country with a tree leg? By this, you see, dear Sir, how great need there is for all the helps we can think of as soon as possible.”

Bishop Grant again bears testimony to his Conductor's skill in Medicine, when applying to him, November 19, for a Prescription for Mr.

William Reid's complicated ailments; “I have often seen you very happy in your Prescriptions of small simple things for several distempers.”

CHAPTER VII.

1773.

Death of Bishop Macdonald—Suppression of the Society of Jesus—B. Hay Publishes Letters on “Usury and Interest.”

The attention of the Bishops of the Lowland District was at this time directed to the building of a new Chapel at Aberdeen. It had been already begun, and threatened to be very expensive. It was erected on the site of the present Chapel-House, Chapel Court, Aberdeen; the entrance to the Chapel being by the present house door; and the house of that day being entered by what is now the middle window (above the door), which was reached by an outer stone staircase. Mr. William Reid thus hints that perhaps Bishop Hay might contribute something to it:—“ . . . Mr. Hay has done so much already for the general good, as well as for particular ends, that I could hardly have the face to write to him, imploring his helping hand, in our present difficulty; but, if I could speak to him, for a few minutes, as you can do, I flatter myself his piety would be easily moved to help us. If Mr. Dauly [Dr. Hay] set himself to think how he can relieve us, I have no doubt but he will fall on an effectual method of doing it.”

Dr. Hay, in his usual easy and confidential manner, gives his Friend a sad picture of the state of Missionary affairs at Home, Jan. 15, 1773. “ Mr. Allan Ramsdson is returned from Uist to this Town, but hitherto has not been persuaded to go to Drummond, where all Physicians [Bishops] wish him to go; so I have been obliged to serve that place myself from time to time, and only returned from it two days ago. Mr. William Reid has been much distressed all this Winter, so that Mr. Sinit. has had the whole fatigue there [Aberdeen], and is not the better of it. Mr. Cameron is doing vastly well, and becoming a great Preacher. Mr. Tiberiop [Bishop John Macdonald] has been tender this Winter, but by last accounts is rather better. Honest, worthy Mr. Dian [Bishop Hugh Macdonald],

quite failed; Mr. Macgillis, senior, greatly failed; and Don Guglielmo, D.D. [Duguid], quite gone, and ab agendo. Mr. Dauly [himself], God be praised, better in health than for many years past, but enough to do. . . .” A little further on in his Letter, the Bishop thus expresses himself:—“ . . . You will have heard of the sad Bankruptcies that happened both here and at London, last Summer, of which many more have happened since; sad and fatal have the consequences of these been; money is not to be had at any rate; people are diminishing their servants; tradespeople giving up their workmen; no trade going on of any kind, but everything at a stand; hence incredible numbers of poor, everywhere, and vast numbers of robbers, in all parts of the country, both Scotland and England, whilst everything is at the most extravagant price—in some places the greatest scarcity. . . .” This state of things had naturally affected the Bishop’s own money concerns as Procurator for the Mission; added to which, he mentions fresh difficulties arising from the new Chapel at Aberdeen; and, in conclusion, alludes to the Contributions made by Mr. Geddes and his companions to “Company’s Rising Fund.”

With a view of obtaining some Foreign assistance in these pecuniary straits, Dr. Hay, in a subsequent Letter to Mr. Geddes (January 22), enclosed a Memorial, written in Latin, and appealing to the charity of Catholics in Spain; it was sent direct by Post; while a Duplicate of both Letter and Memorial was dispatched by way of Paris.

Bishop Hay’s representations of the poverty to which the Titular Duchess of Perth was reduced, had produced a sum of £50, subscribed among her friends in Rome. It arrived just in time to lighten her dying hour. [B. Hay to Abate Grant.]

“February 12, 1773.

“ . . . This comes in answer to your two last; by the first of which I received the bill on Lord Findlater’s banker for £50, which was duly honoured. Nothing could come more providentially seasonable for the worthy good Duchess, for whom it was designed. She had been for some time confined with a severe cold and lethargic complaints, when yours arrived; and her mind was uneasy on account of several household accounts and small debts, which she owed, and had no view of getting them paid. When I communicated to her the contents of yours, she praised God, whose Providence, she said, never

failed her; and desired me, the first time I wrote, to return her most grateful thanks to all her kind Benefactors, to whom she owed this favour; and ordered all these debts (which took up the greatest part of the whole) to be immediately paid off. Her mind being now at ease, as to that point, and finding her distemper increasing, she applied herself to the concerns of another life. She lingered on in her distemper for three weeks more, and on Thursday, the 4th inst., calmly slept away to a better life. Requiescat in pace. On the Saturday before, vizt., the 30th January, the other good old Duchess at Stobhall, worn out to the last, died also, and has left Lord Drummond her sole heir. She being well able, intended doing something for Company; but, putting it off from day to day, died at last without doing anything at all. Requiescat in pace. . . .”

The Bishop then proceeds to draw a picture of the extreme hardships of the time, adding—“The Landed men continue the most oppressive measures with their poor tenants, who are breaking every day; and especially from the Highlands, coming in shoals to this and other Cities; begging their bread with their families. . . . Last Post I am informed from the Enzie that, at least, fifty families in that and the neighbouring Countries [Districts], Strathbogie, Achindown, &c., wearied out with their oppressions, have, at last, come to a resolution to leave their Country, and go to America, while they have a trifle left remaining to carry them over. God help us, Mr. Grant; what will all this end in? . . .”

The same day (February 12), Dr. Hay communicated to his friend Mr. Geddes, at Valladolid, the news of the Death of “the good old Duchess of Perth,” at Stobhall, on Saturday, January 30; and the Thursday following, February 4, of “the other Duchess Mary, a worthy, good old Lady.” . . . “Now, by the Death of the old Lady,” he proceeds, “what is to become of the poor people about Stobhall? There is not one among them who has a place where a Churchman could stay, their precarious situation hindering them from having proper habitations. However, this could be put up with, but where have we one to go there? It is not to be expected Mr. Gordon will stay there; he has already expressed his inclinations on that head; Drummond has been wanting [vacant] this year past, and I have been obliged to pass a fortnight with them, once in two months, or ten weeks, myself. Mr. Roy is to leave us this Easter, which leaves

Mortlach also vacant; and Mr. Lewis [S.J.] is recalled to England from Traquair. Mr. Cruikshanks is fixed for this place; it is proposed that Mr. Guthrie go to Mortlach, but what becomes of the rest? God help us. . . .” The Bishop concludes his Letter with some personal advice to his Friend on the subject of Training and Preparing his young Students for the Mission.

“ February 12, 1773.

“ I much approve of your laying down a fixed plan of Studies; but, at this distance, and having such innumerable cares upon my mind, am afraid I can be of no proper assistance in it, nor is it necessary. All I shall say, is— what, I am sure, you have most at heart already— Make your Pupils humble, submissive, self-denied souls; and let their Studies consist in what is most for practice here. And now, my Dear Sir, and worthy Friend, for whom I will ever preserve the most tender regard, what advice can I pretend to give you in Spiritual matters, but what you both know and practice already. The sanctification of our own souls consists essentially in flying from self-love and ourselves, and being united with our God. To this, then, all our views should be directed; that by self-denial and a continual attention to do what our Good Master, *hic et nunc*, requires of us in everything, small as well as great, we may daily advance our souls in that happy union. Easy will this be to you, at present; but, oh! what prodigious dissipations and distractions am I daily involved in! Pray for me, my dearest Friend, *ne dum aliis prædicavero, reprobis efficiar.* ”

When Mr. Guthrie was sufficiently recovered to resume his Missionary duties, several places were proposed for his settlement, all more or less beset with difficulties, arising from the loss of his limb. Dr. Hay seemed to take a decidedly different view of the subject from Bishop Grant, who thus wrote to him from Aberdeen, February 17:—“ Let me beg of you, my Dear Sir, to drop and forget entirely that affair of the settlement of Mr. Guthrie; we have written rather too much about it already; we are neither Angels nor Solomons, but two poor men, obnoxious to all the common faults and frailties of corrupt nature. Misapprehensions will, I may say, must happen; but as we’re sincere in the main, at least I’m convinced you are so, and I think it is my desire to be so likewise, our little passing quarrels will always end in a greater degree of confidence and friendship. The remedy you suggest in your last, of being entirely mute, unless when your opinion is asked, is worse than

the disease; by your dignity and character, you are the natural assistant of the Vic., and ought to suggest to him what you judge most conducive to the public good; it would be surely blameable to act any other part. . . . ”

Towards the end of February, Bishop Grant and his Coadjutor addressed a Memorial to Abate Grant, of similar tenor to that lately sent to Spain, representing their great straits, and requesting him, if sanctioned by Cardinal Castelli and Albani, to engage the interest of any in Rome who might be charitably disposed. Among other objects, they mentioned “the new little Semi-public Church,” then building at Aberdeen. Dr. Hay, in a subsequent Letter to the Agent, dated March 8, informed him that Dr. Gregory having lately died, the friends of Dr. Drummond, son of Mr. Drummond of Callander, were anxious to secure the appointment of that gentleman to the vacant Chair of Medicine; and as he was travelling in Italy, Dr. Hay requested the Agent to communicate this intelligence to him, and hurry him home.

March 11th, Bishop Grant had the happiness of congratulating his Coadjutor on the Conversion of his sister, Miss Hay, which took place at Auchintoul. The Bishop adds:—“I look upon it as extremely hard to think that you should be obliged to travel about for a twelvemonth among the poor people you mention. And, indeed, I do not see it possible for you to leave Edinburgh entirely, while things continue to be on their present footing. . . . I should wish that it were in your power to come North, as soon as convenient, after Easter, in order to pass three or four weeks between Strathbogie and Cabrach, where you will have occasion to encourage the poor people by your presence, and hear and see what condition they are in. It would be more than needful to take a trip through Buchan, as we continue to hear so many complaints from that quarter. . . . ”

On the 12th of March, about nine in the evening, the venerable Bishop Hugh Macdonald breathed his last, at Glengarry. He had been conversing with those around him, till within a few minutes before he expired. His nephew and successor, Bishop John Macdonald, communicated the event to Dr. Hay, in a Letter from Buorbach, on the West Coast of Inverness-shire, March 18th. Referring to it, while writing to Dr. Hay,

March 25th, Bishop Grant adds:—"May our Good Lord prepare us for a happy end; the next summons falls, of course, to my turn. . . ."

In a Summary of events, communicated by Dr. Hay to Mr. Geddes, March 25th, he remarks: "I cannot omit communicating to you the following particulars without delay. My poor sister has, at last, happily completed her affair, and seems to be exceeding happy, on the occasion; only regretting she had so long been influenced by the insinuations of her relations against it. Honest Mr. Harrison died about the 5th of February, worn out with age, infirmities, and toil. He had scraped together a little penny, and in token of his universal benevolence to all his brother Labourers, actually in the Mission, whether Secular or Regular, left 20s. to each. Our good worthy friend, Mr. Dian, Died on the 12th inst. He had been exceedingly failed all this last year, and was worn out to the last; he Died in the 76th year of his age, without any pain or agony, having received all Helps. . . ."

In a subsequent Letter (May 3), Dr. Hay thus expresses himself to his Friend at Valladolid:—" You may easily imagine how much joy it gave me to learn from yours the good hopes you have of some success in the Memorial affair, and I could not help reflecting, on that occasion, on a conversation you and I had, some years ago, walking in the Green at Scalau, about our mutual desire of promoting the interests of Company, and how happy it would make us, should we ever have it in our power to do so, &c., &c. . . ." Dr. Hay describes the new Chapel at Aberdeen as to cost £700, of which about £400 had been collected, and an additional sum borrowed.

Dr. Hay's thoughts and interests were not so entirely concentrated on affairs of public importance, as to exclude all concern for the welfare of private persons, members of his flock. He took a lively interest in a young Italian, who, amidst the dangers of an Opera dancer's life, had remained faithful to Religion, and who steadily maintained the same principles of virtuous conduct through a long life. [To Abate Grant.]

"May 17, 1773.

". . . . There is at Bologna one Sigr. Marco Maruccci. He has a son at London, a Gilder, a daughter, also, of his, came over to London some time ago, and was engaged thereto

dance on the Stage, and after some time, came down here in the same style. As she is exceeding good at her business, and had always behaved well, and preserved an excellent character, some people of consequence here, thinking it pity she should be in this way, took her by the hand, advised her to leave the Stage, and take up a Dancing School for young ladies, and promised her their protection. She gladly embraced the proposal, and has succeeded beyond expectation. She has been also with me, once and again, this Easter, and gives me great satisfaction. I beg you will take the trouble to write this to her parents; it will give them pleasure to hear such accounts of their daughter through such a channel, and I promised her to beg this of you. If they make any return, you may write it to me. . . ."

This young woman afterwards married a Frenchman of the name of Bonnet; her Dancing School acquired great repute; and, as we shall see, she continued to enjoy a large share of Dr. Hay's friendly interest till his Death.

Mr. Robert Grant sent news from Douay (June 6) of the Death of Mr. Alban Butler, of St. Omers, about a fortnight before.

In another long, confidential Letter to Mr. Geddes, dated June 14, Dr. Hay fully unburdens his mind to his Friend, on subjects nearly affecting the interests of the Mission. He discusses several matters of business; mentions a few changes among the Missions, which have left him again at Edinburgh "all alone." With great difficulty, he must leave Edinburgh for a short time, early in July, to meet the Bishops in the North; but will be again at his post early in August. After giving Mr. Geddes these particulars, the Bishop continues:—

"June 14, 1773.

". . . . But now, my Dear Sir, I want to open my mind a little to you on this subject. I see clearly that there is no Station in the whole Kingdom of more importance than this place, or where it is more necessary for the good of the whole, to have Labourers both of good parts and real piety; as it is impossible for me to be always here, as I am just now. It would need two such Labourers, to be fixed here constantly; but two such would be fully sufficient for the whole. The two that are here besides me just now—Mr. Johnson and Mr. Dugud—are of little or no service to me at all. I could, with very little more trouble, do without them all that is done with them; but, as long as these gentlemen continue on their present footing, there will always be two of them here, and, therefore, impossible to have more than one along with me; but one, such as I have mentioned

above, is absolutely necessary. At present, you will judge of my situation for want of such an one, having the whole burden of a pretty numerous charge, and all the temporal affairs to transact, both at home and abroad, and not a single person near me, whom I can make a confident, or have for a counsellor, either for public concerns or for my own Spiritual necessities. This last is, I own, particularly hard upon me, as you will easily imagine, considering the numberless avocations and dissipations to which I am unavoidably exposed. But what renders my prospect in this the more alarming is, that I don't know one at present, but yourself alone, who could answer all the purposes necessary for this place, and who could fulfil my views to my mind. On the other hand, the thought of taking you from your present charge is dreadful, especially, as the connexions and friends you have made there put it so much in power to be, in turn, of great service to your poor Country, even temporal concerns also, as well as in preparing good Labourers for us. . . . ”

Dr. Hay then refers to a rule, which Mr. Geddes had laboured hard to get established—that the Rectorship should only be for six years; and to the advice Mr. Geddes had given—that the Bishops should make good their right, the first time, by exercising it, and recalling him.

“ . . . I, therefore, beg of you, my Dear Sir, to consider this seriously, and to give me your thoughts about it. I have hinted it, as yet, to no one, though I have often had my own thoughts about it, nor I will speak of it to any till I hear from you. You see the need on the one hand; you see the difficulties on the other. Consider them maturely, and let me know your sentiments sincerely; and, if you should judge my views advisable, see if it could be practicable, even before the six years be ended, if it should prove necessary. . . . In the meantime, you would do well to get yourself thoroughly acquainted with the practices there of those who have the charge of souls, as also of the customs of the Episcopal Courts, Visitations of their Dioceses, Jurisdictions, &c; at least, whereon you find anything of that kind that might be of service here; for, I fear, we need many things to be regulated among us in a different manner than they are at present. Adieu, my Dear Sir. Remember me in your prayers. Compliments to your companions. My blessing to all your friends; and believe me to be, with most cordial affection, ever yours in Xt.”

The same day, June 14, Dr. Hay wrote, at some length, to the Agent at Rome, strongly pressing for the return of Mr. John Gordon, lately a Student, and then Prefect in the Scotch College, Rome:—

“ June 14, 1773.

“ . . . The whole question, then, lies here, Whether the difficulties of Shop [College] for want of Mr. Gordon, which may be otherwise supplied, or the loss of souls for want of a Labourer among them here, the great fatigue they must occasion to neighbouring Labourers, the Death of many souls, without any assistance, which never fails to happen in vacant Stations, especially in the Winter storms, notwithstanding all the help that can be given them—the question is, I say, which of these two difficulties is greatest, and cries most for a remedy? This question Mr. Sinit. and I leave to you, and friends with you, to determine, and act accordingly. . . . As I am here at present, all alone, and have a load of employments, I will have great difficulty to get out of Town this Summer; however, I must go for two or three weeks to the North, and propose setting out about the 1st of July, to meet Messrs. Sinit. and Tiberiop. . . . ” [BB. Grant and Macdonald.] . . . Referring to what Abate Grant had mentioned, as to the Family of the Marchioness of Accaramboni having dropped all acquaintance with her, the Bishop adds:—“ . . . I think certain folks seem to take the most effective steps they can to extinguish the small remaining seeds of attachment to their Family in this place, and I should not be surprised this should soon happen, as neglect is the most effectual means to beget neglect. . . . ” In another Letter to the Agent, dated August 13, Dr. Hay mentions an honourable exception among the relations of the Marchioness, Mr. Dundas of Manors, a cousin of her Ladyship, who “always enquires most kindly for her, expresses the greatest regard for her, and the greatest displeasure at the behaviour of her nearest connexions. I have great hopes that good gentleman will one day declare himself of ours, as he is thoroughly convinced, and, I believe, retained only by human respects. . . . ”

The three Bishops met at Sealan in July. As the Dissolution of the Society of Jesus was immediately looked for, they wrote a Joint-Letter from Sealan, July 27, to the Scotch Agent at Rome, chiefly regarding the new Government of the Scotch College there. They proposed that the Agent himself should undertake the Rectorship, and have an Italian Prefect of Studies under him. The pressing wants of the Mission also formed an important subject of their communication. “ . . . Mr. Hay,” they wrote, “was never in such straits for money as at present.” . . . Mr. Hope had cost the Mission £40, of which there was small chance of repayment. Dr. Hay, in a subsequent Letter to the Agent, August 20, seems to imply that Abate Grant had offered

himself for the Rectorship of the Scotch College, Rome, and had been accepted by the Bishops.

The Suppression of the Society of Jesus was an event which took no one by surprise. It had been looked for almost weekly, if not daily, for many months before it happened. Reviewing it, at this distance of time, freed from the complication which more or less involves all contemporary events of Political or Religious importance, it is fortunately unnecessary to examine the intrinsic merits of the great question then at issue between the Society and its enemies. Every European State professing the Catholic Religion had proscribed the Jesuits, and expelled them from its territory; their cause was carried to Rome, and it went against them. Impartial Students of History, who recognise in the Holy See the Supreme Judge in all such controversies, must be satisfied that Rome decided wisely, because it decided at all; the decisions of the Holy See, on such a subject, ought not to be revised by any tribunal of human opinion. It signifies little to us on what grounds that decision was based; whether on the allegations of the enemies of the Society, or on public expediency. Whether either, or, perhaps, neither of these reasons entered into the judgment of Clement XIV., it does not now much concern any one to discover. There must have been an irresistible necessity that the Society should cease to exist, before the Holy See could have pronounced such a judgment in the cause. Impartial men will look no further, but will admit the justice and the wisdom of that decision, whatever may be their own private opinion of the circumstances in which it was pronounced.

The Jesuits themselves, at that trying moment, afforded an admirable example of submission to the Decree of the Holy See; bowing their heads at once to the stroke which laid them low. And, in recent times, when again restored to their original and well-merited position among the "Orders in Holy Religion," they have formally disclaimed any complicity with the recent attempt of one of their Apologists to throw discredit on the great Pontiff who Decreed their Suppression. The true interests of the Society of Jesus can never be promoted at the expense of the Holy See; the taste is as bad as the policy is unwise, to place

the Pope in opposition to the General; F. Ricci against Clement XIV. Every good Catholic, as a matter of course, in imitation of the noble sufferers themselves, must bow to the Decree of the Holy See, and must be disposed to adopt any other hypothesis in the case than one which attributes unjust, or unwise, or timid counsels to a successor of St. Peter.

As we have already seen, the Scotch Fathers of the Society had, for a long time, been associated with the Secular Clergy in the maintenance of Religion in Scotland. For the most part, however, they had lived as private Chaplains in families of distinction, and had restricted their Labours to the handful of dependents in the immediate neighbourhood of their residence. Their support was derived partly from the families whom they assisted in their Spiritual character, and partly from their Funds in France. At the Confiscation of their Property in that Country, they were reduced to considerable straits. A Letter of Bishop Grant, dated Aberdeen, January 24, 1767, discusses the subject of their admission to a share of the Funds belonging to the Secular Clergy; and, at the same time, discloses the nature of the opinion which then prevailed in Scotland regarding the Fathers of the Society, and the good dispositions of the Bishops towards them.

"24th January, 1767.

" It would appear our Friends and Fellow-Labrs., the Jesuits, are very much pinched as to quattrini this while past. I wrote lately something to Mr. Robn. on this head, whose answer seems every way satisfactory. I wrote, likewise, to Mr. Hay on the same subject, who has returned me his thoughts at large concerning that affair. Their Supr., I find, is on the reserve, and declines telling hitherto how matters stand with his people in this particular. Mr. Dugud is more open and frank, and declares, *verbo sacdtis.*, that what they have among them all, is bare £90 stg. pr. ann. Now, if any one but consider that they are ten in number, three of whom live in Towns, and that the greatest part of them, besides keeping a house, are likewise under a necessity of having a horse, the above sum is almost nothing at the rate living is at now-a-days among so many. It may be reasonably objected here, that, as Mr. Dugud is very far from being a great Secretary, Mr. Johnson has not given a full account of his hidden treasure; and, therefore, as you are on the spot, and on very good terms with that gentleman who, I know, has a great regard for you, I think it would be proper to try his pulse, and see if you can pre-

vail with him to tell you sincerely and honestly the condition they are in as to money matters—that if their straits be such as they are given out to be, they may be assisted to the best of our power. You may easily believe that I would not give you nor myself any, the least, trouble about their circumstances, did not a motive of charity and zeal for the public good stir me up to it. They serve the same Master, and labour in the same Vineyard; and, therefore, it is just that we should take a concern in the hardships they suffer. Besides, I think I perceive a certain coldness and repining prevailing among them these two or three years past, since the late changes about Douay, which are very apt to do considerable prejudice to the common cause of Religion we have all in view; and, if these seeds of division could be removed, and their growth prevented, I think it a point of duty to contribute all we can to such a good end. Peace, concord, and mutual love serve to draw down the blessing of Heaven on our common Labours; whereas, the contrary disposition of mind produce the contrary effects.

Dr. Hay, while still a Missionary at Preshome, addressed Bishop Smith on the same subject, in a Letter, dated Preshome, July 5, 1767; in which, with his usual fulness, he examines, from various points of view, the proposal of assisting the Jesuit Fathers in Scotland out of the Secular Funds. He seems to have written this Letter under the direction of the Bishops assembled at Preshome for their Annual Meeting.

“ July 5, 1767.

“ The next thing, and what has its particular difficulties, is about giving some help to the Fathers, S.J., in this Country. Concerning this there are two questions—1st, Ought we to supply their straits? 2nd, If so, in what manner ought it to be done? As for the first, considering their straits, our want of Hands, the offer made them of help, and even sent, to Old Town in the Verbal Process, 1763, &c., seem necessarily to determine it in the affirmative. But, then, it seems very reasonable to friends here that the following condition be demanded by way of preliminary. It is obvious to every one how hardly we have been dealt with in the affair of Douay. When that was in agitation, our Scots Jesuits showed themselves upon all occasions (of which several instances, and that very glaring ones, could be given) most averse to our getting that Place at all, and did what in them lay to hinder it. When, notwithstanding this, we did get it, they did not fail to show their displeasure thereupon in the strongest manner. The Bureau of Managers, which is chiefly composed of their professed friends and our professed opponents, have laid themselves out, by all means in their power, to render it useless to us by the most

unreasonable conditions laid upon us—that of demanding the attestation of a Justice of Peace, &c.—to all that know the circumstances of Religion in this Country, can have no other tendency, and has too much the air of being *only* designed to render it impracticable for Physicians to send any Boys there; and it is a manifest insult upon them as paying more regard to the attestation of a Protestant Just. of Peace than to theirs. All these things being put together, make it extremely suspicious, if not highly probable, that our friends, the Jesuits, are at the bottom of all the hard usage we have met with in that affair; and that it is all done with their consent and approbation, if not at their desire and instigation. Now, if this should actually be the case, with what heart can we straiten ourselves to assist them? Howsoever, as it is not certain how far they may be engaged in this, and as the strongest motives of Christian duty and love for Religion oblige us to overlook whatever they may have done against us, yet it seems but highly reasonable, before we give them any assistance, to demand justice at their hand, if they be guilty, or at least what assistance they can give us in promoting the common good, if they be innocent. Wherefore, to sum up all in one view, either these gentlemen are at the bottom of all the opposition we have met with from the Bureau, or they are not. If they are, then, certainly justice would seem to demand they should change their conduct to go hand-in-hand with us in promoting the good of that House as it now stands, and getting the unaccountable conditions taken away, &c., before we increase our own difficulties to lessen theirs. If they are not, then it is evident that their friends (the Managers) have taken the most effectual means to make them suspected of being so; and, consequently, that to the powerful motive of promoting the good of Religion, there is also added that of vindicating their own character (from the apparent suspicion of being the chief causes of all our ill treatment from the Bureau), to engage them to use their most earnest endeavours to get these gentlemen to alter their conduct; and, therefore, since the professed friendship those of the Bureau have for them, give the strongest grounds to think their interposition would be of great service, it seems nowise unreasonable to ask of them to interpose, &c., before we give them the help required; and upon this condition, all here are of opinion that there is none of our Body but who will be very willing to go as far as possible to assist them. Supposing, then, it be determined to assist them, the next question comes—How is this to be done? There appear three ways of doing this:—1st, To be informed from Mr. Johnston which of his people are in the greatest straits, what they have from him, and then to give these what supply we can spare and their straits require; 2nd, To desire Mr. Johnston to condescend upon what number of his people he can at present maintain at a reasonable moderate way; and let him pitch upon those of his people whom he pleases to be

of that number, and that all the rest who either are at present in the Mission, or whom he may bring into it, above said number, be put upon our Funds equal to ourselves; but here two conditions must be added, 1st, If any of his number fails, that he immediately take one of the others from us till such time as he gets another from abroad; 2nd, That such of them as are upon our Funds, be as much at the disposal of Physicians as other Religions are as to the placing them; at least, that, as Physicians shall not deprive them of any place they at present possess, so they shall not claim to fix themselves in the possession of any new place Physicians may put them in, if they should afterwards think proper to change them; 3rd, To give them off a piece of money entirely; *e.g.*, £100 or £200, and let them do with it as they judge best, only with the obligation of restoring the capital, if they should ever recover their affairs again. Now, the first of these three methods would supply those amongst them who are in greatest need; but, then it would be of no advantage for the supply of our present want of Hands. The third would be more showy; but, perhaps, would coincide as to the not bringing us more Hands, with the first. The second is by all here, at present, esteemed the most solid, and the conditions annexed the most reasonable, as it might bring immediate supply of Hands, by calling home more of their people, and could not fail to be agreeable to Padrons, when they see us take perhaps, three or four, or more of them, upon our scanty Funds. A difficulty, indeed, occurs—that, perhaps, they will not be willing to agree to the second condition annexed, of being at Physician's disposal, &c.; but, this is so just in itself, and must appear so reasonable to every indifferent person that, if they should refuse our help upon such terms, we can, at least, with a good grace, represent the case to Old Town, and ask their advice what further we should do. For this reason, it would be very necessary that you should see and speak to Mr. Johnston, and know his resolution, before we can finally determine here, or before Physician's Letter be wrote to Old Town about it; and, if this be agreed to, Mr. Johnston might immediately call home Mr. Strachan, or such others as he pleases. . . . Since writing the above, Physicians here desire me to observe further, with regard to the article concerning the Jesuits, that the condition Bureau lays upon us of not admitting any Converts, is of such an unchristian nature and such a horrid tendency (being no less than a discouragement to Conversions among us), that the very suspicion of the Jesuits having a hand in it, must render them even odious to every sincere Cath. of this nation; and, consequently, still more strongly obliges these gentlemen to vindicate themselves from such a suspicion, and the more justifies our insisting upon their doing so before we agree to relieve them: and if Mr. Johnston agrees to do so, it would not be amiss he write, without delay, to his friends abroad, to interest themselves in

earnest about it, which would be the best immediate proof of his sincerity. . . . ”

As early as January 13, 1773, Mr. Robert Grant, Douay, informed Dr. Hay that news had just arrived from Rome of the Society's being on the brink of Suppression. “All the schemes his Holiness has been contriving to save them, in some degree, are totally rejected by his Catholic Majesty.”

The feeling of good men in Spain about them, may be gathered from the remarks of Mr. John Geddes, addressed to Dr. Hay, from Valladolid, July 12, 1773. “. . . The Jesuits' entire extinction, at least by degrees, is by far most probable: and, here, I may tell you in short, that, in as far as I have been able to learn from their friends and enemies, the chief cause of their fall here was their *too great power*; for it had become impossible (they had so many creatures in Church and State) to do any thing of consequence, if they were against it; and they were a true clog on the Government, which the Ministers thought proper to throw off. . . . ”

Dr. Hay's own opinion, formed on the current reports of the time, is preserved in a Letter written in the following circumstances:—Mrs. Barclay, a lady at Aberdeen, whose Conversion to Catholicity had occurred some time before, had conceived an erroneous impression with regard to the Jesuits and their proposed Suppression; as if the Holy Father, by putting such an act in execution, would prove himself a scourge to the Church, and inflict great scandal on Religion. Dr. Hay is at great pains to undeceive her on these points, omitting nothing that he could bring to bear on the question at issue. His Letter, dated Edinburgh, May 18, 1773, was enclosed to Bishop Grant, for delivery to Mrs. Barclay.

“May 18, 1773.

“Madam,—Last night I had your favour of the 9th inst. by Mrs. Hay, and, as I am writing this day under a cover to Mr. Grant, I would not delay giving you an answer, as I see your mind is in distress about what you have heard concerning the affairs of the Jesuits; and as you seem to have had these matters represented to you in a very improper light, it is the more necessary to give you a just idea of them, which may not only be of service to yourself, but may put it in your power to be of use to others also. A Religious Order with respect to the Church may not improperly be compared to a Corporation or Private Society with regard to the State. Corporations

are members of the Civil community, subject to all its laws, amenable to its Courts, and in every respect members of the State, as well as the rest of the people who are in no Corporation; but, besides this, they have also particular laws and rules of their own, by which they are guided among themselves, and by which the common goods of their Society are managed, and their common interest promoted. So also in Religious Orders—their members are all members of the Church, have the same faith, and teach the same doctrine, are subject to all her Laws, and amenable to her Ecclesiastical Courts, and in every respect members of the Church, as well as the rest of her children who are not members of any Religious Order; but, besides this, these Orders have also particular laws and rules by which their members are regulated among themselves, differing from one another, according to the different spirit of their Orders. Some tend only to the Spiritual perfection of their own members, others join to this the employing their talents in the service of their neighbour, assisting the ordinary Pastors of the Church in Preaching the Gospel, Administrating the Sacraments, and other Spiritual functions; and others join to this, also, the Teaching and Instructing youth in the Languages and all other branches of Learning; and this last is properly the nature of the Order of the Jesuits, who are a Society of men, in every respect members of the Church, who, attending to their own Spiritual advancement, at the same time employ their talents for the good of their neighbour, both in the Spiritual functions of Preaching, Teaching, Administrating the Sacraments, and the like, and also in Instructing the youth at their Schools in all kinds of Learning. This, Madam, is the nature of the Order of the Jesuits, as distinct from other Orders; but agrees with all the rest in this, that they are Governed entirely by their own Superiors, as to the whole observance of their particular rules, and have all their temporal goods in common, none possessing anything of his own, but receiving what he needs from the common stock, according as Superiors judge proper. From this short but clear idea of Religious Orders, you will easily see that before any such Community be established, it is necessary the laws and rules they propose to live by be well examined by the Supreme Tribunal of the Church, and receive the sanction of public authority; and this is always the case; no Religious Order can have a legal being in the Church till its rules be examined by the Chief Pastor, and receive the sanction of his approbation. But even where any Order has received his approbation, this does not oblige anybody to enter into it; much less does it oblige any Catholic States to give it admittance among them, or allow their subjects to embrace it. As no Religious Order can receive the approbation of the Church but such as is not only entirely conformable to the rules and laws of the Gospel, but also conducive to the greater good, either of its own subjects or

of the rest of the Christian world; so when such an Order is approved, it must be of very great service to the Church, so long as it preserves its primitive spirit, and its members live up exactly to its rules. But as all human Institutions are liable to corruption, and where a great number of men are engaged, it is natural that in process of time relaxations of their rules should creep in, and practices be introduced among them contrary to the original spirit of their Order. If, at any time, such things should happen in any Religious community, what must be done? Doubtless it belongs to, and is the duty of, the Chief Pastors of the Church to reform all such abuses, where it can be done, and oblige the members of such Communities to live up to their rule; and, if the evil be gone so far that this cannot be accomplished, to put an end to them entirely. But if this should actually happen to any Order, and if the Chief Pastor of the Church should find it necessary for the above causes to annul any Order entirely, that is, to dissolve all the Communities of that Order which at present exist, and to prohibit any more from following the rules of that Institution, what connexion has this with the Faith or Unity of the Church? Can the Father, in this case, be imagined to crush the Body, when he only puts a stop to a particular Institution among his children, which has been found to be abused by them? Shall we dare to say the Head of the Church is a scourge to her by so doing? or that this can bring a reproach upon Religion? Your own good sense will easily see how totally unjust such reflections would be. . . . Now, Madam, this is the case at present with the Jesuits. These good Religions have been of vast service to the Church in many different respects, and have produced the greatest of men both for sanctity and learning; and had they always kept close to their original Institution, would have always been respected and revered by everybody. But it would appear that this has not always been the case, but that a worldly spirit has got in among them, which had engaged them in trade and commerce, which the Courts of France, Spain, and Portugal found they had carried on in their dominions to a vast extent. Now, commerce and trade are, by the laws of the Church, absolutely prohibited to all Ecclesiastics (whose min's ought to be otherwise employ'd), and much more to Religions who make a solemn Vow of poverty, whereby they renounce all property in the riches of this world. What first discovered how far the Jesuits had gone in such matters was a public affair that happened in France. One of their number, F. La Valette, employed by the rest as an Agent, had, about the beginning of last War, commissioned great quantities of goods from the merchants of Lyons to be shipped to America. These ships were taken by the English, and La Valette refused to pay the goods. This occasioned a Process before the Parliament of Paris, where La Valette was cast, and the Society condemned to pay the whole value, which came to a

vast sum. The discoveries made in the course of this Process gave handle for further enquiries, which landed as everybody knows. People naturally made this remark—If the transactions of one Jesuit Agent come to such a sum, to what extent must their trade be among the whole? Several other concurring circumstances in Spain and Portugal contributed to the same end, and determined these States to expel the Order out of their dominions. The riches the Order had amassed by this means of trade was supposed to be immense, and the power and authority they had acquired by the extent of their possessions in houses and lands, and the number of their dependents was, when discovered, looked upon with a jealous eye by the State; and, as they professed the utmost submission and obedience to their General, who was almost always a Foreigner, and resided in a different State, it was judged no less impolitic than out of character to have so powerful a Body, so much attached to a Foreigner, residing everywhere in the heart of their Dominions. This last reason seems to have had the greatest weight; for, the King of France offered the late Pope to allow them, in his dominions, provided the French Jesuits should have a French General among themselves, and be disunited from the Italian General at Rome; but this they would not agree to, but gave for answer—‘Either let them be as they are, or let them not be at all.’ The late Pope was remarkable for his entire attachment to the Society; and, as all about him were of the same mind, they had such interest at Rome that he would take no step in the matter. This present Pope has hitherto acted with the utmost precaution; he has taken time to canvas every circumstance with the Courts above mentioned; he has not trusted the examination to others, but done it entirely himself, that he might see all that could be said with his own eyes. What the result of his deliberations will be is not yet known, although, by what is said, it seems to point at the annulling the Order. Everybody knows how entirely the Jesuits are, by profession and vow, attached to the Holy See, and it is not to be supposed that the Pope will do anything against them, except he sees just cause for doing so. And we may, without rash judgment, venture to affirm that, if he does annul them, he sees it absolutely necessary for the good of the Church to do so. This, Madam, is the real state of the case, at least, in part, by which you will see that none of these reflections which seemed to give you pain, have the smallest ground in reason, but only arise from a misapprehension of how matters stand. I make no doubt but warm-tempered people who have imbibed strong attachments to the Society, may be apt, in case of its dissolution, to throw out improper reflections; but how unjust such reflections must be, what is above, will, I daresay, thoroughly convince you. But, you say—‘You don’t understand why the General Father should forsake any part of us for secular interest,

or make many innocent men suffer for the guilt of a few.’ This is owing to another misapprehension which I must explain also. We shall suppose the Pope finds just cause for dissolving the Order, and we may be perfectly assured he will never do so if he does not find such cause. What is the meaning of dissolving the Order? It is dissolving that union and tie which at present subsist among its members, prohibiting them from living any more according to its rules, and allowing them either to enter into any other Order, if they choose it, or live as Ecclesiastics under their respective Bishops; and, in either case, providing a sufficient maintenance for them during their lives. Can this be called ‘forsaking any part of his flock?’ Can it ever be called ‘making innocent men suffer?’ Certainly it cannot. He, for just reasons, obliges them to alter those particular rules of life they had hitherto lived in, but he takes care they shall be no sufferers by it; and, in fact, the K. of France, when he dissolved the Order in his Kingdom, allowed every individual a Pension to live on whilst they continued in the Kingdom; and the King of Spain did the same even to those he sent to Italy. ‘But why,’ you will, perhaps, say, ‘might not the guilty have been punished, and the others allowed to live as usual, and follow their rule?’ Who were the guilty? They were their Superiors, their heads, the leading men of their Order. None of their Body durst or could have carried on trade in the way they did, if they had not been countenanced and supported by their authority. Now, how punish them, or prevent that spirit which had got in among them, without annulling the Institute itself? This would have been worse than the other, if not entirely impracticable. To end, then, with the similitude with which I began—The Free Masons as a Society spread over all Britain. Let us suppose that in any City, Edinr. for example, or Abdn., the Magistrates should discover practices among them dangerous or detrimental to the good policy of the Town, and should thereupon prohibit any Lodges among them. Suppose other cities should take the alarm, and make enquiry, and find the same, and at last application be made to Parliament to prohibit that corporation entirely. If the Parliament should do so, and make a law annulling them, would this be ‘the head crushing the body?’ or ‘forsaking any part of the people?’ or ‘making innocent suffer for the guilt of a few?’ or ‘bringing a reproach upon the nation?’ or ‘being a scourge to us?’ The application is obvious. The real conclusion we ought to make, if the Jesuits be annulled, is this: It is well known how powerful a Body they are, and how much esteemed they have been, and of how great service to the cause of Religion, and how devoutly attached to the H. See. What a high idea, then, must it give us of the vigilance, impartiality, and strict justice of the Church, if even men of such character cannot escape condemnation, when they are found to decline from

their rule, and live in a way unsuitable to their profession and character? I hope what I have here explained will give you full satisfaction upon this affair. If any difficulty yet remains, you need only let me know, and I shall further explain it. In the meantime, I ever remain, as usual, Madam, your most obedt. humble Servt.,
 "GEO. HAY."

Bishop Grant, however, thought it best not to deliver this Letter; and in his Reply to Dr. Hay, in the end of the same month, he thus refers to it:—" . . . When your Letter to Mrs. Barclay came to my hand, that Lady was not in Town; as, therefore, you allowed me, I looked over the Letter, and on some serious reflection on its contents, I thought it proper not to deliver it. As I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon, I shall not trouble you here with my reasons till meeting. . . . I think the best method is, as things stand, to suspend our judgment as to either side of the question. If his Holiness thinks proper to abolish them, let him tell his reasons himself. . . ."

In the Correspondence of the Clergy, the Jesuits were very generally mentioned, indirectly, under the name of "Birlies," and of "Etiamites;" the derivation of the former is not preserved; the latter was suggested by a frequent clause, beginning with the word "Etiam," and referring to the Society of Jesus, in Bulls, Briefs, and Rescripts, relating to Religious Orders.

At length the moment arrived when it was Decreed by the Holy See to be necessary, for the peace and welfare of the Church, that the Society of Jesus should cease to exist, at least, in Western Europe; for in Russia it was never extinguished. The first intelligence of the critical event was communicated by Abate Grant to Dr. Hay, August 23, 1773:—" . . . The news I am going to communicate to you is, that at last the Etiamites are quite demolished, being Suppressed, and their Order perpetually extinguished. . . ."

The execution of the Brief of Suppression was entrusted to a Congregation of five Cardinals, namely Marefoschi, Corsini, Zelada, Caraffa, and Cassali. They assembled at the Pope's Palace, in the morning of the 16th August, and spent four hours in private consultation with his Holiness. About 8 o'clock in the evening of the same day, they again met at the Palace of Cardinal Caraffa, situated between the *Casa Proppa* of the *Cesù*, and the Roman College, whence they issued

their orders, which were executed with secrecy and punctuality. Detachments of troops took possession of all the approaches to the Houses belonging to the Jesuits, or governed by them, in Rome; to the *Gesù*, the Roman College, the Noviciate, the Penitengereà, the English, the Scotch, the Greek, the Maronite, and the German Colleges. A Prelate, accompanied by a Notary Public, then entered each of those Houses, summoned the Superior, and read to him the Brief which declared the Society at an end. Monsignor Macedonio and Alpani were sent to the *Gesù*, the residence of the General. They ordered him to be summoned, together with his Assistants, and all the Fathers who had composed his *Curia*. When they reached the foot of the stairs, they were astonished, and a little unnerved, to find the House and all its approaches under military occupation. Mgr. Macedonio, addressing the General, desired him to have no fear, for no personal harm was intended; and requested him to conduct the Prelates and the Notary into a private chamber, where they would communicate to him the orders of his Holiness. This was accordingly done, and the Brief of Suppression was read, declaring the Society extinct, suppressed, and for ever abolished. The Fathers and other Members of it were released from obedience to their former Superiors; they were declared to be in all respects Secular Clergymen; and were forbidden ever again to appear, even in their Churches, in the Habit of their late Order. Eight days were given them to procure a Secular Dress, and prepare for leaving their Houses. Their Churches were served next day by Capuchins, sent for that purpose by the Congregation. Secular Priests, also, were permitted to say Mass; but no one was admitted even into the Society, unless he was going to Celebrate. The Schools of the Roman College were closed for the year. All the Repositories of the various Houses were opened by the Prelates, and an exact account taken of the money, jewels, plate, &c., contained in them, and the Fathers were put to their oath that nothing had been concealed or alienated. They were also severely prohibited from entering any Religious Order, under pain of summary Excommunication (late sententia); and they were all suspended from hearing Confession, and from Preaching.—[Ab. Grant to Dr. Hay, August 18, 1773; and Mgr. Stoñor to Mr. Blount at Douay,

same day; copied in a Letter of Mr. R. Grant to Dr. Hay, September 8.]

The Prelate appointed to convey the Orders of his Holiness to the Scotch College, was Mgr. Passionei, nephew to a celebrated Cardinal of the same name. A party of Soldiers and of *Sbirri*, or armed Police, awaited his orders, out of doors, while he and the Notary entered the College, and asked for the Rector, F. Corsedoni. The good Father, suspecting no evil, and imagining that the two strangers, whom he did not know by sight, and who wore no distinctive dress, had come to purchase a little wine, as was frequently the custom, begged them to enter one of the private rooms, and he would send the butler to supply them with what they wanted. Mgr. Passionei, however, lost no time in letting him know his real errand. The Soldiers then entered, and took possession of the College, and were ordered to permit no one to enter or leave it, without the express permission of the Prelate. The other Superiors of the House were then summoned, together with the Students, and in their presence the Brief of Suppression was read: the authority of the Rector was declared at an end, and that of the Cardinal Protector suspended. Cardinal Mareforelsi assumed, for the time, his functions; and, next day, appointed a worthy Secular Priest to the vacant Rectorship. Seats were then placed on the Archives, and the Students and their late Superiors were forbidden to leave the College; a prohibition which was removed from the Students the third day after, but which continued longer in force against the Jesuit Fathers. This account of the event we have from the pen of an eye-witness, the late estimable Abate Macpherson, who was at the time a Student in the College.—[MS. History of the Scotch College, Rome, 265.] Two days after the event first described, Copies of the Brief were affixed to the usual public places—it consisted of thirty-five pages in quarto.

In anticipation of this catastrophe, of which they had received premonitory notice some months before, the Scottish Bishops, Drs. Grant and Hay, wrote, August 23, 1773, to Cardinal Albani, the Protector of Scotland, begging his Eminence to secure the appointment of a suitable Government in the National College; suggesting the Agent as Rector, with an Italian Secular or Regular Priest, as Prefect of Studies;

or, in case it should be thought better to appoint a Religious to be Superior, requesting that he might be chosen from among the Missionaries of St. Vincent of Paul, or the Fathers of the *Sarole Pù*, of St. Joseph Calasanctius; and strongly urging the propriety of sending the Students to the Schools of Propaganda. Abate Grant waited on Mgr. Passionei, after the execution of the Brief, and represented to him two Bishops' views on the subject, with which he had been for some time acquainted. The Prelate received him politely, and promised him every satisfaction, as soon as the direction of the College should revert to the late Cardinal Protector; but, adding that the Congregation of five Cardinals had the sole management for the time being, and that they had secured a Secular Clergyman, an Italian, to the Rectorship, with Mr. Gordon, a Scotchman, for the Prefect of Studies.

August 25th, Cardinal Castelli wrote from Propaganda to Bishop Grant, or his Coadjutor, informing them that the Nuncio at Brussels would forward them a Copy of the Apostolic Brief, by which the Society of Jesus had been declared extinct and suppressed, together with an Encyclical Letter, prescribing the manner of executing the Brief in the Scottish Mission, as speedily as possible. As there were many members of this late Institute in their Vicariate, the Bishops were directed to see that, in terms of the Encyclical Letter, all of them were obliged to embrace the state of a Secular Priest. For the easier performance of this, the Congregation of Propaganda, with approbation of his Holiness, had prescribed certain means in a Letter appended. Power was given to the Vicar Apostolic to retain those late members of the Society in their present localities, during the pleasure of the Holy See, provided they would fully and sincerely promise to obey the Mandate of the Supreme Pontiff, and live thenceforth like Secular Priests, entirely dependent on the rule and authority of the Vicar Apostolic. This arrangement had been considered more suitable to the circumstances of these Countries than the summary Suspension of all the Faculties of the Jesuits, as in Rome. As it was difficult, also, to collect them all in one place, the Vicar Apostolic was permitted to receive their submission in writing, in a Letter from each of them. An attestation of these acts of submission, together

with an account of the whole proceedings, was to be transmitted to Rome without delay. As many copies of the Brief as were necessary to be sent to each member of the late Society, might be made, and when signed and sealed by the Vicar Apostolic, would have the same force as the original. All expenses incurred in the execution of the Brief would be refunded by Propaganda.

The arrival of this Letter obviated a serious difficulty which had occurred to Dr. Hay, on the very first appearance of the Brief "in the Published News;" for, strange to say, it was there that he first learned the fact of the Suppression of the Society. He had been much disconcerted by the prohibition imposed by the Brief on all its late members, from Preaching and hearing Confessions; and he had already written to the Scotch Agent in Rome, representing "the deplorable situation" in which this clause would leave the Mission for want of Hands. The Cardinal's Letter, therefore, relieved him from this anxiety. But, before it reached him, he had consulted Bishop Grant on the subject, who returned for answer, September 15, that their faculties must be continued to the Ex-Jesuits, till more positive instructions arrive from Rome. ". . . I need not recommend you to take care to treat with Mr. Johnson and Mr. Duguid in as fatherly a way as possible. . . ."

Abate Grant wrote again to Dr. Hay, August 31, with further particulars of the course events were taking. The jurisdiction of the Cardinal Protector of Scotland was for the time suspended, and all authority in the Scotch College was vested in the five Cardinals before named. The Scotch Students were attending the Schools at the College of Propaganda. Mr. Gordon was their Prefect of Studies, and the Curate of the Parish came to hear their Confessions; Abate Massa, acting as Rector, with whom they were all well pleased. Mgr. Passionei had brought him to the College the evening he gave the Etiamites their dismissal. Abate Grant himself had known nothing of the matter till next morning. The old Rector was still in the College, but without any authority detained till he had given an account of his Administration. The Agent informed the Scotch Bishops that they must communicate with the Congregation of five Cardinals, through their Secretary, Mgr. Macedonio, who was also a Secretary of Requests and Memorials

to the Pope. Abate Ricci, the late General of the Jesuits, was still confined in the English College—two Sentinels keeping guard at his door with fixed bayonets; and all communication with him forbidden, except through the Congregation of five Cardinals, or by their orders. Several other Etiamites were confined in the Castel Sant'Angelo; among them, Stefanucci, who was suspected of being the Author of a Book entitled "De Simoniaca Electione, &c." a gross libel on the election of his Holiness, Clement XIV. F. Thorpe, an English Jesuit, was in a private lodging, but under a prohibition not to go beyond the walls of the City for three months.—[Note.—For a little trait of this Father, see "Notes and Queries, iii. p. 12;" also, "Oliver's Collectana, S.J., p. 26," where the Historian cites F. Thorpe as a libel on Benedict XIV.]

September 22, the Agent continued his somewhat gossiping news. "The Heads of the former Etiamites are harshly enough dealt with, being kept in close custody, partly in the Castle, and partly in the English Shop [College], where eighteen Soldiers are placed as a guard upon them." The Book, "De Simoniaca Electione," was the cause of their being so roughly used.

The publication of the Brief, and the suppression of the Society, excited very great interest in this Country, as may be easily imagined. The Edinburgh "Weekly Magazine," October 1, 1773 (vol. xxii. 19), contained the first half of "A Genuine and Authentic Abstract of the Bull of Clement XIV., for Suppressing the Society of Jesus, dated at Rome, August 25, 1773." The remainder appeared in the following number, October 7 (vol. xxii. 52.) On its appearance in this form, Mr. John Reid wrote from Preshott to Dr. Hay, October 15, as follows:—" . . . I saw an Extract of the Pope's Bull, with Notes, first in the 'Edinburgh Evening Courant,' and now in the 'Weekly Magazine,' which I immediately judged to be your doing. I may, indeed, be deceived, but I am pretty confident that I am not. . . ." To which Dr. Hay replied, October 23:—" . . . All I can say, if the Abstract of the Brief (for it is a mistake in all our news to call it a Bull) is, that I did compare it with the original, when it made its appearance, and found it very exact, but I should not choose it were I supposed I had any hand in it at all. . . ."

Dr. Hay's whole attention was now directed to the execution of the Brief, in terms of the Encyclical Letter, received from Propaganda. He wrote to Bishop Grant, September 24, anxiously consulting with him on every point relating to the form and method of taking the Submission of the Ex-Jesuits, and of getting from them a Statement of their Temporal affairs. The following members of the late Society were at that time in Scotland:—In the Lowland District—Mr. Macleod resided at Aberdeen; Messrs. William Grant and Alexander Duguid, in its neighbourhood; at Edinburgh, Mr. Johnson, the Ex-Provincial, and Mr. Joseph Duguid; two resided in Galloway, namely, Mr. Frazer and Sir Alexander Strachan. These, together with two in Braemar, and one in Glengairn, in the Highland District, made up the number of ten in the whole Kingdom. Dr. Hay also expressed his great desire to recall Mr. George Maxwell from Dinant, and the other Ex-Jesuits who had transferred themselves to that House from Douay, on the expulsion of their Order from France. The Bishop further proposed to go himself into Galloway, after taking the Submission of the Ex-Jesuits at Edinburgh, and desired that Mr. Frazer would meet him at Kirkeconnell. He thought of going "Monday first, come eight days," [October 4.] ". . . I am sensible," he concludes, "how much a little jaunt, now and then, contributes to my health. . . . Thus, much Honoured Sir, I have laid before you all that occurs to me on the subject; but I beg leave to assure you that I have not the least attachment to anything I have proposed, but shall, with the utmost promptitude, obey whatever other orders you shall lay upon me; and, in executing them, as the affair is delicate, shall use the utmost mildness, and most encouraging manners, with those concerned, and shall dissemble any little trial I may meet with, as I have already had some occasion to do; except where duty and conscience oblige me to firmness; and, even in this, I shall take no positive step without consulting you. May Alm. God direct us to what is best, and grant a happy issue to our endeavours. . . ."

Bishop Grant informed Dr. Hay, September 27, that he would himself first write to Mr. Johnson, and smooth matters as much as he could. Two days after he wrote again, remarking that the first paragraph in the public Newspapers

relating to the suppression of the Jesuits was dated August 9, and that the original Writer had evidently seen the Brief before it had been intimated or published. The Bishop's extreme anxiety to avoid anything unpleasant in this critical affair, may be traced in the frequency of his Letters to his Coadjutor on the subject. September 30, he dispatched another to Dr. Hay, in which he remarks that the Jesuit Funds must be small, as the Fathers of the Society had received Alms more than once from the Secular Clergy, and from Cardinal Castelli; Dr. Hay should, therefore, be easy about pressing Mr. Johnson in regard to his temporal goods.

At last, October 4th, he wrote once more to Dr. Hay, authorising him to proceed, without further delay, to intimate the Brief to the members of the late Society in the South of Scotland. His Letter reached Edinburgh, October 6th, and before the day closed, the Ex-Jesuits there had made their Submission, and a detailed account of the event was on its way to Aberdeen. Dr. Hay's Letter to Bishop Grant, dated October 6th, is as follows:—

"6th October, 1773.

"Most Hon^d. and Dear Sir,—Upon receiving yours this forenoon, I sent a card to Messrs. Johnson and Duguid, begging them to come and pass the afternoon with me. Upon their arrival, after a short introduction, explaining the cause of my calling for them, and giving them a short sketch of what was proposed by his H[—]ss, I gave Mr. Johnson the Brief, who delivered to Mr. Duguid to read, which he did. When it was ended, I told them the substance of the other Brief for the Erection of the Congregation, the Orders of the Congn. for putting the Brief in execution, and the Indulgence granted us as by C. Castelli's Letter, which I then gave them to read, explaining the nature of the Submission required from them. They were both most willing and ready to comply, and, accordingly, writ over the Form of the Submission both at once, Mr. Cruikshank dictating to them, and then delivered it into my hand, upon which I rose up and embraced them with the tenderest affection, which they mutually returned, and hoped we should always find them most submissive and obedient; and I assured them they should never have reason to complain or regret the change of their Superiors on our part. After this, I then pointed out to them those particular passages in the Brief and other Papers relating to Temporals, showing the obligation we lay under of acting what was commanded us. Mr. Johnson seemed a little alarmed at this, but I endeavoured to explain the case to him in the easiest and most satisfactory

manner I could; but, suspecting he might choose to speak to me upon that head more freely by ourselves, I said—'As we have not time to enter far into this subject at present, do you promise me, Mr. Johnson, that you will give me full satisfaction upon this matter afterwards by ourselves?' He replied 'he really would.' With which I was satisfied for the present, and gave each of them their Faculties, in writing, which I had prepared beforehand; and am to meet again with Mr. Johnson to-morrow, or next day, to have that other affair settled. After this, I represented to them the case of Dinant, and, at the same time, read to them the beginning of a Letter from Peter Grant, which I received last Post in answer to what we wrote him from Scalau on that subject. Mr. Johnson replied that Mr. Geo. Maxwell would probably choose to stay abroad as Governor to his three Nephews, to whatever College they should go; but, both he and Mr. Duguid thought that, by all means, we should write to him without delay, and representing the situation of their Country, their obligation of assisting it, &c., request them to come here to our assistance, being persuaded neither the Bp. of Liege, nor any other will choose to employ them against the will of their own Bp., and in the needs of their Country. . . . This being all finished, we drunk tea together, and were very frank. Having no more time at present to mention other matters, I shall write you again to-morrow, or next day, and, at the same time, answer Mrs. Innes. I only add that Mr. Johnson told me he had written last night to Mr. McLeod, what he hoped would bring him in to a cheerful submission. I send you inclosed the Submissions of the two here, that it may serve as an example to those with you. . . ."

The form of Submission which the Ex-Jesuits had to transcribe and sign ran in these terms:—

"Ego (Patritius Gordon) Scotus, Societatis Jesu olim Clericus Regularis, considerans quod SS. Dno. Nro. Clementi PP. XIV. visum fuerit, per literas in forma Brevis die vigesimo primo Julii proximo clapsi datas, prædictam Societatem supprimere, et penitus extinguere, huic Summi Pontificis dispositioni plene, expresse, et ex animo, me subjicio, et acquiesco, ejusque voluntati obtemperans, ad statum Clericalem Sæcularem me transfero, et Vicario Apostolico in planis Scotiæ pro tempore existenti promptam et sinceram obedientiam et omnimodam deferentiam in posterum promitto. In quorum fidem presentes literas, manu propria conscriptas dedi Edinburgi, die Sexto Octobris, anno Dni., 1773. Sic Subs. (Patritius Gordon, M.A.)"

At the same time and place, Mr. Joseph Duguid wrote and subscribed a similar Formula of Submission.

On the 11th October, after some delay and difficulty, Mr. William McLeod made his Submission to Bishop Grant, in similar terms; as did also Mr. William Grant, at the same place, October 22; and Mr. Alexander Duguid, November 3d. Mr. John Frazer and Sir Alexander Strachan Submitted in like manner, at Kirkeconnell, in Dr. Hay's presence, October 13. The Originals of all their Acts of Submission are preserved among the Archives at Preshome.

Owing to a circumstance which occurred at the Submission of Mr. Pat. Johnson, or Gordon, and which Dr. Hay mentioned in his Narrative to Bishop Grant, October 6, he found it necessary to address a long Letter to the Ex-Provincial, dated October 7, on the subject of the Funds remaining at his disposal, and which Mr. Johnson was exceedingly averse to declare or part with. The Letter must be thought a fine example of a strictly business communication.

"October 7, 1773.

"Dear Sir,—As you seemed to be somewhat alarmed last night when I showed you what orders we had received concerning temporal affairs, I have since thought that perhaps I had not then sufficiently explained to you what is proposed concerning them. Before, therefore, we come to settle these matters together, I thought it would not be amiss to explain the case fully in writing, that you might see and consider upon it at leisure. In the first place, then, as we are all now joined in one Body, and you and the rest of your friends can have no more existence as Jesuits, even though the thing had been left entirely to yourselves, the natural and proper way would certainly have been to have entirely joined Stocks as well as persons, and had one common purse for all. Such an Union must have entirely procured a perfect harmony, and completed our having all but one heart and one soul; whilst, at the same time, it must be an advantage to your friends, as we are most willing, on our part, to give out of our own Funds what may be necessary to make all upon an equal footing. Besides, being now joined to our Body, it is not to be supposed you can acquire any new Funds separate from us, and if our Stocks be joined, whatever new Funds we acquire (as we have good grounds to expect some such soon) will be all equally applied to your friends as well as ourselves. Lastly, such a conjunction is what the world would expect, and which will cause great edification to all. On the contrary, a refusal of this conjunction would have kept up a division and separate dependence, and been a very great hindrance to the perfect union of our two Bodies. It would also have deprived your friends of any help from us to make up deficiencies in your Funds, and of any share in

new acquisitions, and must have given but ill edification to the world. Besides that, such a refusal would have given room to suspect that you have more than you are willing should be known, or of its rising from such motives as, I hope, will never enter your breast. Nor could any reasonable cause be assigned for it. Lastly, in case of such a refusal, what is at last to become of your Funds? When any of your friends fail, and, at last, when they all fail, what is to become of them? I daresay none of you would ever entertain a thought of leaving goods destined for the support of Religion in your poor Country to Secular uses; neither conscience, nor justice, nor piety could allow you to do so. If, therefore, they must be applied at last for the common good of the Mission, all the above reasons show that this is the proper time for joining them in one common Stock with us, even though the thing were entirely left to your own disposition. But, in fact, this is not the case; neither you nor I are at liberty to dispose of them at our pleasure. The Society can have no more property in any kind of goods formerly belonging to it, for two plain reasons: first, because the Chief Pastor of the Church, whom the Society has ab initio acknowledged as the supreme Disposer of itself and all that belonged to it, has, in express words, taken away from the Society every kind of goods whatsoever that it formerly possessed; secondly, because the Society has now no more an existence, and, therefore, can possess nothing. If the Society itself, as a Body, cannot now possess anything formerly belonging to it, much less can individuals, because, whatever title they might formerly have had as members of the Society, they can now have none on that account, because they are no more members, but belong to another Body. Besides that, his Holiness not only takes away all former possessions from the Society as a Body, but also from all its members, and though he allows a maintenance to such of them as join the Secular Clergy out of those goods which formerly belonged to the Society, yet he does this as a provision given them from himself, not as what they have a right to, as having been formerly members of it. Hence, then, it appears that all kinds of goods and possessions, formerly belonging to the Society, are now 'bona Ecclesiastica derelicta,' the application of which solely belongs to the Chief Pastor, or, if you please rather, they are 'Bona Ecclesiastica quorum administratio et in pios usus applicatio per extinctionem Societatis in Summum Pontificem devoluta est.' In fact, this is the very sense of the whole Church, as appears from what former Popes have done with the goods of all other Orders that have at any time been suppressed; and this is what his present Holiness expressly insists upon as his right and due. In consequence of which he has sent us express orders, under pain of the greater Excommunication lata Sententie upon whosoever shall put any let or hindrance to the same, to take posses-

sion, in his name, of everything belonging formerly to the Scotch Missions of the Society, and to give an account of all to him, waiting his orders. You see, then, my Dear Sir, the necessity we are under of doing our part in this affair, and the danger to which a non-compliance on your part would expose you; and you see that neither we, nor you, nor any of your friends can, in conscience and justice, take any other part than what his Holiness has pointed out to us. I am very sensible of the concern this must give you, and I assure you I most heartily sympathise with you; but, for your comfort, we are very certain that these goods you give up will be ordered by his Holiness to be applied as before for the benefit and support of the Missions, so that you and your friends will still enjoy the use of them, only that they will be put in the hands of the Vic. Apost. instead of remaining with you. But to make even this circumstance the more agreeable to you, I here give you my hand, and promise that, if you sincerely and candidly give up everything to my hands, as his Holiness requires, and things be left to our management—1st, If you have any private Funds or sums of money, which you would not choose should be known to others, you may depend upon the most inviolable secrecy with regard to them, and that they shall be applied, either for your own use, or for the use of any of your friends, during your and their lives, solely and entirely by your direction; nor shall ever appear or be joined to the common Funds whilst you or they are in being; 2nd, With regard to yourself no step shall be taken to make your situation less agreeable than it is at present, whatever may be done to render it easier and more convenient, nor, indeed, shall any change be ordered, but such as you shall yourself entirely agree to; 3rd, If, upon a full and entire delivery of all your Funds, it be found that they can afford more to your friends than our people at present have, there shall be no diminution made in what you have hitherto given to each of the present Incumbents during their lives, but we shall continue to give them the same as you at present do. But, if, on the contrary, it be found that your Funds can afford less to each than ours get, and that in fact they have not hitherto had so much from you as ours have, in this case we shall give part of ours to make your friends as well as our own. These promises I make in my own name and in that of both my Colleagues; and, if there be any other thing which you would wish, in order to facilitate this affair to you, and convince you of our entire good will and earnest wishes to promote our common good, name it, my Dear Sir, and, as far as it is in my power, I shall comply with it. In the meantime, as we must give a clear account of every step we take in this affair to the Holy See, I send you some queries concerning Temporals, in order to exonerate my own conscience, to which I hope you will give me a clear and express answer *in verbis Sacerdotis*. Something of this kind

must be done, in writing, to show friends at Old Town we have done our parts; and though, perhaps, they expect we are to require this answer upon oath, yet, as I have all confidence in your integrity and piety, I shall only ask your own declaration of the truth on the word of a Priest. May Alm. God direct you and me in all things to act what is most agreeable to Him; and believe me to be, with every most affectionate regard, my Dr. Sir, ever yours in Christ, GEORGE HAY."

Mr. Johnson, in Reply, gave in the following Statement of the Funds belonging at the time to the Scotch Jesuits:—

All the Funds of the Scotch Jesuit Mission were vested in France, and lent out at interest. Hence, only so much as was necessary for each person was annually sent from the proceeds of those Funds, and no more. Soon after the year 1760, all the Funds and Rents of the Society in France were Confiscated, except 1,604 French pounds, belonging to Lady Webbe, and bequeathed by her to Mr. Johnson and his Assignees. At Rome, there remained 520 French pounds untouched, from both of which sums he derived an annual income of £90 sterling. More than this he had never received from the Society's Funds since their Confiscation in France. After that event, he had to pay £20 Sterling yearly to some ladies, whose whole capital had been given to the Society; he had, therefore, only £70 to divide. This was a small sum, as he said, for the support of ten Missionaries; whom, however, with the assistance of charitable friends, he had managed to maintain for ten years. Hence, on the whole, he could say there was nothing belonging to the Funds of the Society in his hands. The fruits of private industry, however, and of labour proper to himself, he had not accounted for in this Statement.

A fruitless Correspondence and Negotiation ensued, in which Dr. Hay in vain endeavoured to draw from Mr. Johnson a candid Statement of the Funds formerly, or at that time, belonging to the Scotch Jesuits; till at length, about the month of June, 1775, Dr. Hay communicated to Cardinal Castelli the intelligence that, in consequence of the Accession of Pius VI., Mr. Johnson declined to proceed with the Settlement of the Scotch Ex-Jesuits temporal affairs. The Ex-Provincial seems all along to have laboured under the delusive hope of the immediate Restoration of the Society, and found means, in consequence,

to reconcile to his conscience this protracted evasion of the express Injunction in the Papal Brief, and of the fulfilment of his own engagement to Dr. Hay, which was one condition of his receiving a renewal of his Faculties.

Towards the end of 1780, he Died. Dr. Hay, alluding to it in a Letter addressed to Mr. Thomson, November 6, 1780, adds—"Poor Mr. Johnson! Requiescat in pace. By all that I ever could hear from himself, I have little hopes he has left his affairs as were to be wished; however, that cannot be helped, if it be so; the ideas he and his companions had of these matters seemed very different from what the H. See expressed about them; and he now knows whether they were just and agreeable to Alm. God. . . ."

Mr. George Maxwell had been left his principal Executor. With a view to a final settlement of this unpleasant Negotiation, Dr. Hay wrote to him, May 15, 1781, as follows:—

"May 15, 1781.

". . . . The reason of my enquiry is only to discharge a duty which I owe to the Holy See, and to which I must give an account of these matters. On the Dissolution of the late Society, Mr. Johnson, in obedience to the orders from Rome, gave me, as you know, an account of the effects that had been saved in France, but refused to give any account of what he had in this Country, alleging that it had been of his own procuring, and that he was by the Dissolution rendered capable of possessing it in his own person, &c. I desired him to write, in Latin, what he would wish me to say in my Letter to Rome on this subject, which he did; and I inserted it in my Letter, verbatim, and have what he wrote still in my custody. In course I received a return, both from Card. Castelli and the House at Brussels, a Copy of which I herewith send you. I showed the Letters to Mr. Johnson, when they came to hand, and he promised to comply with their contents exactly.

"Mr. Pepper told me he had left everything for the use of his Brethren of the late Society, and that, after they fail, all is to be put into the hands of the VV. AA. for the good of the Missions. This, to be sure, is in some sense complying with the orders of the Holy See; but, whether it be an exact compliance with it, you will best judge on perusing the Letters. Whoever considers my conduct in this whole affair with a degree of impartiality, must be convinced that I never had any view of depriving the members of the Society of the benefit of what had belonged to it, and had no other view but to secure what had been intended by the donors for the support of Religion in this poor Country. For that purpose, I considered that, upon the demise of those of the

Society, the Secular Clergy must supply their places, and it was but just they should be supported from the Funds allotted for that purpose. My intention in writing you at present has no other motive than this. According to the orders contained in the Letters herewith sent you, and the promise Mr. Johnson made on perusing them, the money he had in this Country ought, at his death, to be applied for the good of the Missions. . . . ”

Dr. Hay, therefore, asks an Account of what these Funds are which Mr. Johnson had left, where placed, and how secured, that he may report to Rome.

Mr. Maxwell was not more disposed than his Friend to yield a simple Submission to the Injunctions of Propaganda. He fenced off his compliance with Dr. Hay's request in the following terms, addressed from Pitfodols:—

“ June 2, 1781.

“. . . . On perusing your favour of the 15th May, it appears plainly that Card. Castelli's Letter, and consequently the Nuncio's, which refers to it, proceeds either upon wrong information, or an erroneous supposition as to matter of fact, namely, that the money Mr. Johnson retained in his hands had been given to him by Benefactors *intuitu Missionum*. Now, I know that was not the case, and I had access to know; much of it passed through my hands before it went into his, one part of it in particular, about a fourth of the whole, was offered to me by the donor to do with it what I pleased, but I would not accept for myself. The fact is, that several friendly persons, both in Scotland and elsewhere, gave money from time to time, out of personal regard, either to Mr. Johnson, or to one of his Brethren, not *intuitu Missionum*, but for their present or future occasions, particularly after their misfortunes came on; the generosity of friends and his economy enabled him to save something to be a resource in case of extraordinary distresses: upon the fruits of these, and upon continued yearly helps he subsisted while he lived. At the Suppression, he gave up to you and to Mr. Grant, upon the conditions agreed upon, all the Funds that had been given to the Society, *intuitu Missionum*; what had been given on personal considerations, he returned, to use it according to the intentions of the donors, who had chosen him to execute their intention, which was to supply his wants and those of others. To do this, I don't see that he stood in need of any permission; he did more than he was obliged to do. He might, if he had thought proper, have used or distributed the whole of what he retained; but, both he and such of his Brethren as he consulted, wished that the principal might remain as entire as possible, to be applied, in the end, to the Mission in general. Accordingly, a settlement of his affairs was made out on that plan, by which, after paying off

certain Legacies, the remainder is converted into Capital Stock, not very considerable indeed, but, such as it is, it goes at last to you and yours; and all necessary measures have been taken to secure it for that purpose. In the meantime, the annual rent, after paying certain annuities due to strangers, is to be applied to the use of his Brethren, and to be a resource, as they have no other, in case of any extraordinary distress. . . . ”

An ultimate arrangement took place, by which Mr. Maxwell made over the sums of money at his disposal to the Scotch Mission, on condition of its being refunded, without Interest, to the Society of Jesus, should it ever be restored. This compromise did not, however, prevent him from making over to the infant College at Stoneyhurst a sum of £100, in gold pieces, soon after its institution, in 1794, and long before the Restoration of the Society, which he did not live to see. On the whole, one may learn from entangled disputes like these, to judge leniently of the motives of good men. Seen from one point of view only, their actions may sometimes appear to be totally opposed to every principle of justice and truth; but, more intimate acquaintance with their springs of action will exonerate them, in the opinion of the unprejudiced, from the charge, at least, of wilful injustice, though there may remain behind a grave suspicion of mistaken judgment.

After receiving the submission of the Ex-Jesuits at Edinburgh, Dr. Hay repaired to Kirkconnell, to execute the Brief in regard to their companions in Galloway. By the end of October, he had returned to Edinburgh; whence he wrote to Bishop Grant, at Aberdeen, suggesting the necessity of inserting in the Report of the whole Proceedings, then in preparation for transmission to Rome, an Account of the expenses incurred in the execution of the Brief. “ My journey [to Galloway] has been very dear; for, as I was not well acquaint with the roads, I behaved to take a servant with me; and, as the man I had for my own servant is now got into work at his own business, I had to hire the one who was accustomed to go with Mr. Johnson, and knows all the places. His hire, and the hire of two horses, which is very high (2s. a day for each horse), and all other charges on the journey came, in all, exactly to four pounds. . . . ”

Bishop Grant, November 3, informed Dr. Hay that the Establishment at Dinant was to be

broken up, and Mr. Pepper to return to Scotland, to assist in Buchan. Mr. Johnson had also invited old Mr. John Farquharson to come to stay with him at Edinburgh. Regarding this Establishment, Mr. Robert Grant, a few months later, (March 17, 1774), sarcastically remarked, that all they could expect from the Gentlemen at Dinant was the Relics of St. Margaret and St. Ninian, a few Books, which they had carried off from Donay, and some Church Ornaments, Vestments, &c.

In the month of November, 1773, the Bishops of the Lowland District informed Cardinal Castelli of the execution of the Brief in their District. The Bishop of the Highlands had not yet been able to reach the Ex-Jesuits in his District, on account of their great distance from his residence, and the difficulty of travelling in that Country. When transmitting this Letter to Rome, November 12th, Dr. Hay directed the Agent's attention to the subject of the Ex-Jesuits' Funds, as follows:—" . . . You'll see in the account given me by Mr. Johnson of their Funds, that, of all they had in France belonging to this Mission, no more was sent over here but what was precisely necessary to supply their wants. What became of all the rest? For there was upwards of £400, per annum, in all. . . . The whole expenses of this affair come to £5, 13s. 6d. . . ."

In 1793, an application was made by Mr. Paul Macpherson, for some assistance from the Mission Funds for Mr. John Pepper, his own resources in France having then recently failed. Dr. Hay, then Vicar-Apostolic, replied, through his Coadjutor, Dr. Geddes, that the money Mr. Johnson gave up was only what had been saved abroad, but what he had in Scotland he never gave any account of; and, as far as Dr. Hay could ever ascertain, the Ex-Jesuits in the North, since his Death, had received nothing but what had passed through the hands of the Bishops. Dr. Hay was willing, however, to give Mr. Pepper something out of the Mission Funds, if their state would permit.

The Narrative of the Suppression of the Society of Jesus in Scotland, will suitably close with the sentiments of one or two spectators of the great crisis.

Mr. John Geddes communicated his thoughts, on this occurrence, to Dr. Hay, October 15th—he was fond of writing to his Friend on that day.

" 15th October, 1773.

" . . . I am fully persuaded, and, I think, it evidently appears from the very tenor of the Brief, that his Holiness has taken this extraordinary step with regret, and has been induced to take it by his Fatherly desire of restoring peace to the Church, and of removing, in as far as possible, all cause of dissension. God grant his prudent endeavours may have their desired effect. But, be that as it will, there are no more Jesuits, and, in all probability, there will never be any more of them. I hope those in Scotland, who were of that Order, will easily fall into the state of our ordinary Missionaries; and I am sure Messrs. Sinit, Tiberiop, and you will give them all encouragement to do so. How much do I desire to hear that you are all cemented into one united body, without any separate interest or view! Now is the time to forget any causes of complaint they may have given, and to show them that unfeigned charity there is now a good occasion of exerting. I hope they will show themselves worthy of this treatment, by their contributing all they can to the getting of the Funds they had for their maintenance applied to the support of our Missions in general; which is now become their strict obligation, as there is not the least probability of their Order being ever again re-established; especially, as all its effects and possessions have been, or soon will be, applied to other uses and put into other hands. I hope, also, they will readily let their assistance to the uniting their College at Dinant to ours at Donay, and that their Priests, who are there, will go to the Missions. Such a behaviour will procure them sympathy and friendship; whereas, anything of a contrary nature, would tempt people to say that they had deserved what they have met with. . . ."

Mr. John Reid thus expressed himself on the same subject to Dr. Hay, November 1st:—" . . . I was extremely glad to learn from your Letter, that the Fathers have complied so cheerfully with everything required of them; and that henceforth we shall be one Fold, under one Shepherd! . . ."

Lastly, Dr. Hay, himself, writing to Mr. John Geddes, November 26th, and especially referring to his Friend's Letter, dated July 12th, 1773, remarks:—" . . . I am obliged to you for the accounts you give me of what is commonly thought of that Order with you; but you need not trouble yourself any further about these matters: they are now no more, and I should wish that all that is past were buried in oblivion. . . ."

Father Albertus Hope, an Irish Dominican, who had been sent at the expense of Propaganda

to supply the Shenval Mission, began to grow weary of the hardships and trials of that wild District. His mother, who lived with him, was an eccentric woman, and exposed both herself and her son to the ridicule of the neighbourhood. F. Hope, therefore, began to tire at his post. The way in which he showed it, was peculiar. So early as April 9, 1772, he wrote to Bishop Grant, complaining of some of his people, who would persist in taking interest at 5 per cent. for the loan of their money. The Bishop, on receipt of this Letter, wrote to Dr. Hay, April 13th, begging him to answer it, and deprecating any interference with the established custom in this mercantile Country, of taking and receiving interest at a moderate rate for money lent. Neither the reasons urged by Dr. Hay, who took the same view of the subject as Bishop Grant, nor the remonstrances of his own Superiors at Rome, were sufficient to satisfy F. Hope. He, therefore, sent his difficulties to the "Weekly Magazine," or "Edinburgh Amusement," a popular Journal of that day; and his first Letter, under the feigned signature of "John Simple," dated December 20, 1772, appeared in that Journal, on the 1st of January, 1773. He personates the character of an enquirer, lately alarmed at hearing a learned Friend urging the authority of many passages of Scripture against Usury and Interest; and sums up his enquiry in three heads:—(1), He asks for an explanation of those Texts of Scripture, such as shall show that the Usury which they condemn is different from the interest allowed in this Country; (2), If it be really true that Xtians. in all former ages condemned all kinds of gain for money lent; and on what grounds; and (3), What reason can be assigned for that being considered just and lawful now, which was considered the reverse in the purer ages of Xtianity?

Discussion being thus publicly invited, a short Reply, dated Clydeside, January 3, appeared in the following number of the "Weekly Magazine," and signed "Marcellus." A more elaborate answer to Simple's scruples, signed A.B.C., and dated G—w, January 15, appeared January 21.

His Correspondent, Marcellus, failed, however, to satisfy his doubts; so Mr. Simple sent another Paper to the Magazine, dated January 18, before he could have seen the Answer of A.B.C.

This combat attracted the notice of Mr. Alex. Geddes, Missionary at Achenhalrig; and he, with

characteristic impetuosity, rushed into the field, under the assumed name of "Simon Sober." His Paper appeared February 4. Three days afterwards, the same Gentleman wrote from Achenhalrig, to B. Hay; and, alluding to F. A. Hope's scruples about Usury and Interest, he says:—" . . . If you had the Weekly Magazine, you will have seen his difficulties proposed there, under the signature of 'John Simple.' I have endeavoured to remove them, in last week's Magazine, under the name of 'Simon Sober.' The continuation went from this yesterday. I beg you will take the trouble to read it, and let me know if you find anything amiss in it. I make no doubt but Mr. Simple will Reply, but he shall not be long without a Rejoinder. . . ."

The Bishop seems to have disapproved of something in Simon Sober's Papers; for Mr. A. Geddes writes to him from Fochabers, February 19:—" . . . To be sure, it was impossible, in a public Paper, to act the Catholic Casuist; but I do not think I have advanced anything contrary to Catholic Doctrine. I am not ignorant that there are a number of objections that may be made to my System, and that the general run of Casuists is against me. But, I think, I can easily obviate all these difficulties, and will attempt it, should John Simple appeal from authority to reasoning. . . ."

Meanwhile, Marcellus again took up his pen, with some warmth, and sent a Paper, dated Clydeside, February 5, which was published in the "Weekly Magazine," February 11, addressed to John Simple. Simon Sober resumed his, February 18.

(2) February 25, John Simple, in a few words, declines further discussion, being much discouraged by the violence of Marcellus, and unsatisfied by Sober's reasoning.

B. Hay now entered the field, under the signature of "Michael Meanwell," in a Series of Letters, of which the first, dated February 27, was published March 5, in the same Magazine, with the motto—

"—Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non his utere mecum."

The Bishop's Second Letter, on "Usury and Interest," dated March 8, appeared April 1.

The Third was published April 15.

The Fourth, dated April 6, was published April 22.

An angry opponent, under the name of "Septimius, from the Banks of the Jordan," here interposed, in a Letter, dated April 2, and published April 22.

The Bishop's Fifth Letter appeared May 13.

His Sixth, dated May 1, appeared May 27.

His Seventh and concluding Letter, dated May 9, was published June 17.

In the *First* of these Letters, he briefly reviews the preceding contributions on the Subject, and sketches his own future Method. In the *Second*, he shows that Usury is condemned both by Scripture and Reason. In the *Third*, that it was condemned by the ancient Christians. The *Fourth* is devoted to an explanation of the grounds of Interest. In the *Fifth*, he discusses the Rate of Interest. The *Sixth* applies the preceding Doctrine; and the *Seventh* sums up the whole Question.

While the Discussion was going forward, Dr. Hay inquired of his Friend, Mr. J. Geddes, what was the practice in Spain regarding the Interest of Money? He replied, March 15, 1773:—"The common practice here, with regard to the borrowing and lending money, is this: either it is done among friends, gratis; or the lender buys a right to a perpetual rent from the borrower, just like the *Censi* in Italy. The lender can never require back his money; but the borrower may pay it, when he pleases, giving a short warning. . . ."

Dr. Hay gives Abate Grant a Summary of his views on the subject, while enclosing a Letter from F. Albut Hope to Card. Castelli, on the eve of his leaving Scotland, May 17, 1773. ". . . The reasons he gives to me for the part he has resolved on, are that his constitution cannot bear out with the rigours of these Missions, and that he cannot accommodate his mind to the practice of Interest, as customary in this Nation. I had written him a long Letter on this subject, and have just now published, in one of our Edinburgh Magazines, a Treatise upon it, in a Series of Letters, wherein I show, from the Decrees of Innocent X. to the Chinese Missionaries, as published in my Roman edition of "Antoine's Moral Divinity," and from the Decrees of Benedict XIV. on that subject, that a moderate recompense for the cessation of gain, the supervening loss, or the danger incurred by the loan of money, is entirely conformable to all Laws, Natural, Human, and Divine. I then consider the nature

of a trading Nation, such as ours is, and of a Nation of shepherds and farmers, as was that of the Jews, and show that in a trading Nation the loan of money can scarce ever exist without some one or other of the above circumstances attending it, and for the most part, them all, as daily experience shows us, and numbers feel; from whence the conclusion is obvious, especially as the fixing the Rate at a moderate medium by Law, under severe penalties if more be exacted, effectually shuts the door to extortion and oppression of the poor. All those who have examined these Papers are thoroughly satisfied on this head, but nothing is able to make an impression on Mr. Hope. The plain matter of fact, as far as I can judge, is, the honest man is heartily tired of our painful and laborious Life, and is glad to have such a handle as this of conscience to be a pretext for leaving it. This is another instance, though I own, considering his first appearance, an unexpected one, how little we can depend upon any but those of our own Country; these, indeed, take the affair to heart, and cheerfully spend their lives for the good of their poor countrymen; but a zeal of this kind is not often to be met with among those of other Nations. I hope, however, our friends with you will consider this as an unquestionable proof of the hardships and difficulties to which we are here exposed. . . ."

In the Spring of 1774, this Collection of Letters was published in London by Coghlan, in 12mo, pp. 144. The Title-page, embellished with a copperplate Engraving, was as follows:—"Letters on Usury and Interest; showing the advantage of Loans for the support of Trade and Commerce. London: Printed by J. P. Coghlan, in Duke Street, next Grosvenor Square; and sold by R. Snagg, in Paternoster Row, and W. Drummond, at Edinburgh. 1774."

"Dedication.—To his Grace, the Duke of Buccleugh, &c., these Letters, wrote in support of Trade and Mercantile Credit, are inscribed with the most profound respect, by his Grace's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant, * * * * *"

These nine Asterisks may be supposed to stand for the letters "J. P. Coghlan;" though they also represent the number of George Hay. But the character of the "Advertisement" clearly proves that honest Coghlan had the sole hand in bringing out the Collection. It is as follows:—

“ADVERTISEMENT.—In the following LETTERS, lately published in the ‘Edinburgh Weekly Magazine,’ is contained a Controversy which arose from the scruples of a gentleman (concerning the lawfulness of taking Interest for the Loan of Money) who, in the character of JOHN SIMPLE, gave occasion to several men of condition to elucidate this matter. Commercial dissertations are so useful to a trading Nation, and to every industrious or Religious individual, particularly those of MICHAEL MEANWELL, who has displayed a profound knowledge of Divine, as well as human, Institutes, with peculiar candour tracing out to us the difference betwixt USURY and INTEREST, that to perpetuate a Work of such estimation, is the design of this Publication.

“The Title represents Trade and Commerce introducing of Plenty (who is attended by the Four Quarters of the Earth) to Britannia.—Riches, seated on Bags of Wealth, offering her support by Loans of Money.—The Anchor and Bale of Goods on shore, are representations of the Security of Trade, which affords the Merchant an advantage on his Ventures, and enables him to borrow sums of, and pay Interest to, others.—Britannia, in an Embracing posture, with the cap and spear, seated on a Lion, shows the ready Protection of our Monarchs, who, when roused by the depredations of any Foreign Insult (with comparative vigour of that noble animal) will ever protect our Manufacturing and Commercial Interest.—The abundance of Shipping, and extensive distant view, represents the universal Empire of Great Britain over Sea and Land.—The Rose and the Thistle, uniting on the side of the seat of Britannia, are the Emblems of that harmony which necessarily must subsist under the Reign of a British Augustus, the Patron of the Arts, Science, and Commerce, with Nobles worthy of Imitation, supporting Commercial Banks with their Landed Property.”

The Bishop must have smiled, as he read honest Coghlan’s professional and highly characteristic Advertisement.

CHAPTER VIII.

1773-1778.

Destitution of the Mission—B. Hay Publishes his Doctrine of Miracles—Lord Kames—Highland Migration to the Lowlands—New Chapel in Edinburgh.

Bishop Hay continued to find unflinching relief in unreserved Communication with his Friend at

Valladolid, on subjects nearest his heart. Referring to his pecuniary difficulties, he says:—

“August 13, 1773.

“ . . . Circumstances of this kind are of a far greater weight than such little difficulties as you and I sometimes met with in those scenes of Life after our first acquaintance and friendship began, but I find the maxims we then endeavoured to act by, and in which we were wont to encourage one another, are no less efficacious in supporting the soul under greater trials than they used to be under former smaller difficulties; and, indeed, I must own my present state is not so much to be regretted on account of the troubles and difficulties that attend it, as because I am so continually immersed in temporal and worldly affairs, that I can scarce find a moment for more essential concerns, and much less for applying to those Studies which are most necessary for the Station I am now in, and in which I fear I am an entire novice. However, even in this, there is no other remedy nor support but sicut fuerit voluntas in cœlo, sic fiat. . . .”

Dr. Hay was labouring under depression of spirits when he next addressed the Scotch Agent in Rome.

“November 12, 1773.

“ . . . I am now again left all alone, as Mr. Cruickshanks is gone out to Traquair for good and all. It would be a task to describe to you the perpetual hurry of business with which I am oppressed, and I really begin to find my constitution failing. My mind is perpetually taken up with something or another, and as one thing ends another immediately appears. I am, some days, that I seem to have no memory, but a certain dissipation of my spirits, in spite of all I can do to recollect myself, so that I forget in an hour’s time what I have been about, or intended to do. Whether this be a temporary distemper, or a failure of constitution, I cannot say; but I have a notion I shall soon fail entirely. Yet, thanks to God, my headaches are a great deal better, and I have not near such frequent returns of them, nor so severe as formerly. However, I am not alone; my Brethren are all in the same situation, oppressed beyond measure, and their constitutions breaking with toil and labour. We have, indeed, a prospect, with time, to get more Hands, but I fear, before they come, several Missions will be lost entirely, and most of us now in being, good for nothing, or not at all. However, novit Dominus opus suum ab æterno, sicut fuerit voluntas in cœlo, sic fiat. . . .”

Referring to the young Italian, mentioned above, he adds—“ . . . Miss Marcucci is really an excellent young woman. She is caressed by the first quality here, and has great encouragement in her business of teaching dancing; at the same

time, has such a sense of Religion, and such an edifying conduct, as greatly endears her to me. . . . ”

A proposal was at this time afloat, to send Mr. Alexander Cameron as Rector of the Scotch College, Rome. Dr. Hay discusses its possibility with his Friend at Valladolid, November 26, 1773. After describing the weak health of several Missionaries, and the consequent destitution of the Country in many places, he proceeds:—

“ Do you really think, in these circumstances, it would be advisable to send away so good a Hand as Mr. Cameron, merely to ease or please Mr. Grant? Already our Brethren are too much oppressed, the people by no means served as they would need, many in different places dying, especially in the Winter time, without assistance, in spite of all that can be done. Can we, then, in conscience, send away one of our best Hands, by which all these evils must be greatly increased? Can we, even for the prospect of future advantage, expose those souls to ruin, of which we have at present the charge? If higher powers absolutely command it, Mr. Cameron must go, because then all the consequences must lie on their consciences; but, I own, if left to me, I would have great difficulties, even though Mr. Grant should thereby rather hinder than promote our temporal supply: the greatest degree of which is not to be put in competition with one poor soul. Ah, my Dear Sir, how true is that which I observed in a former Letter—‘ Our friends abroad only hear what we daily see and feel.’ May Alm. God direct us. . . . ”

Three young Ex-Jesuits, Mr. Charles Maxwell, Mr. James Macgillivray, and Mr. John Chisholm, afterwards Bishop of the Highlands, left Dinant, and arrived at Douay in January, 1774, to begin their preparation for the Secular Mission. Mr. Angus, or Æneas, Chisholm, brother of the last, was admitted into the Scotch College at Valladolid. Besides Mr. R. Grant, and his Assistant, Mr. Oliver, there were, at that time, twenty-two persons in the Scotch College at Douay.

Something of the rigour of Winter at Sealan, may be gathered from the following melancholy picture of the state of its neighbourhood in this inclement season, given by Mr. Paterson to Mr. Geddes, January 25, 1774:—“ . . . I seldom pass the ramparts of Glenlivat; can, therefore, inform you but very little that happens without its boundaries; but am very well versed in what goes on from the top of Cairndulloch to the Diennans below Drummin. At present, our Country is all of one colour, as beautiful as the

snow can make it. The storm is so deep, that there is scarcely a possibility of travelling between Towns [Farm-houses]. . . . The people are only drinking down sorrow, and, with the whisky-bottle, banishing away the melancholy thoughts of bad times. . . . ” This Letter reached Edinburgh, on its way to Spain, only on February 17. Before despatching it, Dr. Hay added a Postscript to his Friend:—“ I hope I shall be pretty well, now that Lent is begun, which always agrees with me. Mr. Niel Macfie is dead: very penitent, and received all Helps. . . . ”

Bishops Grant and Hay strongly deprecated the removal of Mr. Alexander Cameron to the Scotch College, Rome, representing the sad condition of many of the Missions. Several Irish Priests, who had been sent at great expence to Scotland, had soon, on various pretexts, left the Mission in its straits. Meanwhile, if some old men were accepted, broken down with years, labours, and disease, and incapacitated for the work of the Mission, five or six Priests were all that remained to cultivate the Vineyard in the Lowland District. Bishop Grant was now almost seventy years of age, and very infirm as well as old; notwithstanding, he was obliged to discharge the duties of a Parish Priest, in addition to all that were required of him as a Bishop. Dr. Hay, though a much younger man, was of weak constitution; and, besides many avocations of a public nature, connected with the whole Mission, had charge of a numerous flock. Many Missions were entirely destitute of Spiritual superintendence, and many Catholics perishing for want of some one to break to them the Bread of Life.

An Emigration from Glengarry to Albany, in America, had succeeded so well as to make it certain that another body of Emigrants would leave the Highlands in a short time. The destitution in that part of the Country was very great. Edinburgh was a common refuge for numbers of unfortunate persons, wandering over the Country in search of relief. For farther particulars, Mr. Geddes was referred to the weekly Magazines of this date.

Dr. Hay reiterates his former descriptions of the destitute state of Religion at Home, from want of Missionaries, to Abate Grant, at Rome:—

“ What I mentioned to you about my health, was not as if I was discouraged on
 “ January 31, 1774.

that account. I thank God, I have not the smallest apprehension in that way; but it was to let you see how the case really is, and the need we are in of getting some help, as soon as possible; for, in our present straits, those who are here being obliged to take more upon them than really they can well bear, must, of course, be the sooner exhausted. For my own part, I am very well satisfied in my own mind, and shall not be wanting in doing everything incumbent on me, with cheerfulness and joy, because *ita est voluntas in celo*; but, if it could be helped, there is need that part of my present employments were taken from me, that I might apply myself to those more suitable to my present Station, in many of which I am greatly behind-hand; for it is plainly impossible to do both. . . . ”

The last week in February, Bishop Grant was seized with an alarming illness at Aberdeen. Dr. Hay hastened to him, and had the satisfaction of seeing him out of immediate present danger, before the middle of March, when Dr. Hay returned to Edinburgh. In addition to this complication of his engagements, the proposed departure of Mr. John Gordon, one of Mr. Geddes' Assistants at Valladolid, had occasioned an Application from the Rector for another Priest to supply Mr. Gordon's place. It became necessary to avert this new drain on the impoverished supply of Missionaries. Dr. Hay, accordingly, again fully laid open to his Friend at Valladolid the miserable state of the poor Missions, as an insuperable difficulty in the way of complying with his request for another Assistant. By way of encouraging Mr. Geddes, the Bishop mentioned Mr. Paterson's great success at Scalán. "He indeed exceeds expectation. His attention and application to his present business gives great satisfaction, especially considering that he has no less than twelve Boys in different Classes, and to manage, himself alone, everything about them, both for soul and body, Temporals and Spirituals, and yet does all in such a manner that no fault can be found, and does it with the greatest cheerfulness and alacrity." Dr. Hay then proceeds to discuss the Application made by his Friend for an Assistant.

" March 9, 1774, near 12 at Night.

" To form a proper judgment of supplying Mr. Gordon's place, we must lay before you a short view of our present situation, and to begin with Aberdeen: Mr. Sinit [B. Grant] is at present in such a way that, though we have hopes of his recovery, yet it is uncertain, and though he should, he surely can never think of having the

charge of Missions any more; Mr. Macleod is determined to leave us after Easter for good and all; Mr. Reid has not said Prayers but twice or thrice since September last, nor been but about as many times out of his room; so Aberdeen is in a manner vacant. The Sheuval Mission has been vacant since Mr. Hope left it last Summer; as Stobhall, next Whitsunday, falls into the hands of new Masters, Mr. Gordon is then to leave it, and go to Dundee, leaving Stobhall vacant; Mr. Ranalson has been persuaded, indeed, to stay these six months past at Drummond, but he is now come in to Edinburgh, and whether he will go back to Drummond, or stay any time if he does, God only knows; you know he is by no means to be depended on, so that Drummond is the next thing to vacant. I shall say nothing of Edinburgh, where I continue (almost quite oppressed) to do the best I can, little that it be; and even that little, should I be deprived of Mr. Sinit (which God forbid), it will not be in my power to do. Mr. Duthy is just on the point of giving it over; Buchan losing ground every day for want of a Missioner among them. And in the large and flourishing Mission about Kirkconnel and Dumfries poor Mr. Strachan, since Christmas Eve, has had a violent rheumatic fever, and several relapses into it; and, by a Letter I had just yesterday from Mrs. Maxwell, is recovering so slowly, that if he be able to say Prayers on Easter, it is the utmost he expects. Now, my dear and good Friend, consider this our situation, put yourself in our place, observe numbers of souls lost on all hands for want of assistance, compare our case with yours, then lay your hand on your heart, and tell me, before God, whether you think we can in conscience part with any one of those we have, to supply Mr. Gordon's place, or allow any whom we have expectations may soon come to our aid, to do so. Whatever others may determine on this point, I am convinced that you, who have been so recently an eye and ear witness of these our miseries, but which since that time are greatly increased, will entirely agree with us, that it is an affair which deeply affects our conscience, and it is absolutely unlawful for us to do so. The souls of our present Flock are our immediate, our first and principal charge; we must render an account of them to Almighty God, but not of those who may come after us; and though it be our duty to take all reasonable care to provide for futurity, yet, when this cannot be done without the manifest ruin of those souls at present under our charge, it is evident that duty in this case obliges us to take care of the present, and leave futurity to the protection of Heaven. We are very sorry to see you have so much to do, and would most willingly relieve you, if we could, without ruining others, especially as you seem to take it so much to heart, and think it so much greater than ever you had before. Yet (for I shall tell you plainly what occurs to us about it) it does not appear in that light to us, when we consider what Mr. Paterson has to do, or what, we may

say, every one of our Brethren here at present have to undergo. I shall only give you a sketch from myself. Since this day fortnight that I arrived here, this is the thirty-fourth Letter I have been obliged to write upon real business, and the most of them after ten o'clock at night, as I am taken up all the day in attending on my Dear Friend. This is my daily bread at Edinr., besides the care of a numerous Flock, almost continual instructions of Converts, the management of all the temporal affairs of the Missions, with innumerable commissions of various kinds, from all quarters, so that I may say, from seven in the morning till twelve at night, I have scarce one hour that I can call my own. Compare this with the care of ten or twelve Boys among two (tanquam insipium loquor) and see what will follow. Wherefore, my Dear Friend, have good courage: God Alms., who sees our straits, and has hitherto so wonderfully assisted you, will continue to do so.

It was some consolation to Dr. Hay to receive an assurance from Abate Grant, about this time, that Mr. Cameron should not be called for, and that Mr. Gordon, the Prefect of Studies, should soon return Home. Nevertheless, time, which often solves difficulties, seemed only to complicate those of the unhappy Missions. In April, Mr. Frazer, the Ex-Jesuit in Galloway, was laid aside from Labour; Sir Alexander Strachan, at Kirkeconnel, had been disabled for active duties since Christmas; and Dr. Hay, having no one to send, must go to Galloway himself after Easter. The Missionary at Drummond, also, had been taken ill at Edinburgh, and confined to his room for three weeks.

Besides the great anxieties which at this time harrassed the Scots Bishops, on account of the unsettled state of their Seminary in Rome, the failure of several Boys at Valladolid, in their Ecclesiastical Vocation, had still further increased the perplexities of the Bishops, and had even occasioned some unfavourable criticisms of Mr. Geddes' method of conducting his Seminary. Dr. Hay lost no time in encouraging him under this new trial; and, while supporting his Friend, also encouraged himself.

May 6, 1774.

“ At all events, we must comfort ourselves with doing our best, and leaving all to the hand of God. When we are disappointed in things of little consequence, the merit of patience is the less; but when we do our best in things of high importance, and where the glory of God and good of souls is deeply concerned, and meet with disappointments there, doubtless the affliction

is much more sensible and affecting, but the merit of resignation is enhanced beyond conception. And, after all, my Dear Friend, we must remember that the glory of God does not consist in what we think so, but in the accomplishment of His Will. Let us, then, according to our old maxims, study to do in all things what we know to be our duty before God, and let us always endeavour to keep ourselves perfectly indifferent as to the success of our endeavours, and to preserve the same equanimity and peace of mind. Whether things succeed to our inclinations or not—or, rather, happy would it be if we could have no inclinations at all for the event, but leaving all that in the hands of God—be perfectly indifferent, go which way it will; at hic labor, hoc opus! Yet it is not impossible with the Divine assistance, and even the very endeavours to acquire it is glorious.

“ I was obliged to go to Galloway, after Low Sunday, to assist Friends there in their Easter duties, as those two gentlemen were laid by—the one with sickness, and Mr. Frazer with cold and fatigue. I returned only last Monday, May 2. Mr. Banalson, who came in here about the beginning of Lent, is not yet returned, under pretence of health, and I do not know if he will return or not; so I expect I shall be obliged to go to Drummond next week to serve the good people for their Easter. So you see, my Dear Sir, how we are oppressed here. May the great God send us relief.

“ Holy Thursday was the first day that poor Mr. Strachan could say prayers from Christmas Eve, so violent was his rheumatic fever, and as it is thought he never will keep his health at Kirkeconnel, which is a damp, moist place, a plan is likely to take place of having him in here with me, and sending Mr. Pepper (whom we expect this Summer) in his place. Mr. Strachan is a pious, good man, and his behaviour on a late occasion was most edifying, so that I hope I shall be very happy with him, and his being here to have the charge of this Clappel will be a vast relief to me.

The late Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, whose praise is in all the Missions in Scotland, was Born August 15th, 1756, a few months after his father's decease. The care of his Education devolved on his mother, a lady of singular prudence and force of character, and a daughter of the House of Kirkeconnel. She resided for some time at Dinant, where her son was educated; and, on the breaking up of the Jesuit College there, she applied to Dr. Hay for permission to employ the services of Sir Alex. Strachan, the Ex-Jesuit Missionary at Kirkeconnel, in completing the Education of her son. Connected, as it is, with so distinguished a Scottish Catholic as the late Mr.

Menzies, his mother's Letter possesses much interest.

“ June 23, 1774.

“ . . . It would be natural for me to endeavour to interest your compassion for a mother, anxious for the good of an only child, who has been the constant, I may say, the only, object of her attention and care since he came into the world, and whose anxiety is redoubled at this critical time of his life, when he is to enter into a world over-run with incredulity, vice, and folly, and has so much need of a wise and careful hand to conduct him through this dangerous period of life: a mother, I say, who trembles for the safety of her child, and begs your assistance to save him from shipwreck—Can you refuse her in such pressing circumstances? But, what will be of still greater weight with one of your zeal and piety, and invested, as you are, with the charge of Religion, is, that the Education of a young Gentleman who is born to be the head of one of the few Catholic Families who remain in our Country, is so essentially connected with the good of the Missions and Religion in general, it has always been my view, and I even think it my duty, in the station that Providence has placed him in, to bring him up, as far as lies in me, not only as a good Christian for himself, but also to be an example to others, and a protector of Religion in the Country where he is to live. . . . ”

The necessities of the Missions at-Home were found still more pressing than those of Mr. Menzies' education, and Dr. Hay was compelled to decline his mother's request.

The time now approached for the Bishops' Annual Meeting in the North. The Summer had been unusually wet, and Bishop Grant, who had gone to Preshome in July, for change of air, was detained on his way to Scaln by the continued rain. . . . Early in September, the three Bishops are found at Scaln. On the 6th of the month, Dr. Hay wrote a kind and friendly Letter, in their joint names, to Mr. Geddes, Valladolid, conveying to him their favourable decision in the matter of Mr. John Gordon's complaints against him, completely exonerating Mr. Geddes from all blame, and recommending great caution and kindness on his part towards the Boys for the future, and suggesting a few changes in his management of the College. The last week in September, Dr. Hay is found once more in Edinburgh. In a private Letter to Mr. Geddes, the Bishop mentions that their common friend, Mr. Craw, a pious and venerable Layman, frequently named in their Correspondence, was much failed, and had removed last Candlemas to

Dr. Hay's own House, where he now was nearly bedridden. He desired to be kindly remembered to Mr. Geddes, and to have his Prayers for a happy death.

Early in the same month, the English College at Valladolid, had to mourn the premature Death of its excellent Rector, Dr. Perry. It occurred at Madrid, September 4, in the 55th year of his age. Among his MSS. he left a Life of Bishop Fisher, and a History of England from the end of Ven. Bede to the Conquest. Copies of both of these are preserved in the Library of St. Mary's Chapel-House, Edinburgh.

About the middle of October, Mr. J. Geddes communicated to Dr. Hay some particulars of the sudden Death of his Holiness, Clement XIV., August 22nd. On the 8th or 9th of that month, he had something like an apoplectic fit, while driving out; he remained for two hours speechless. Fever supervened, and, on the 20th, all hope was lost. The next day he received Extreme Unction, and, at 8 in the morning of the 22nd, he expired.

Mr. John Gordon left Valladolid; and, on his arrival in Scotland, began to spread the most unfavourable reports against the character of Mr. Geddes, his late Rector, whom he represented as vain, arbitrary, and imperious. The failure of several of his Students in their vocation, Mr. Gordon attributed to the misconduct of the Rector. The Bishops, on enquiry, were satisfied that no blame whatever attached to Mr. Geddes; but that the failure of those young men was the necessary consequence of the haste with which the first urgent call for Students had been answered. By and bye, however, new circumstances came to light, connected with Mr. Gordon's case, which still more completely exonerated the pious and truly humble Rector from every shadow of blame. It turned out that his acenser must have been subject to mental delusions, both while residing in the College, and since his return Home. Dr. Hay communicated this intelligence to his Friend, October 14, and adds:—“ Thus, you see, my dearest Friend, how Providence permits afflictions to happen for our trial and humiliation, but clears them up in His own good time, for the vindication of the innocent. We, indeed, from the beginning, were convinced that it could be nothing but mistake and exaggeration, on John's part, which you could easily put to rights;

but this he has now done for you: his last Letter to me is your fullest vindication, and shews him—poor man!—to be a great object, not of anger, but of compassion and pity. . . .” In fact, after a course of eccentricities, the poor man ultimately lost the use of his reason entirely.

In the middle of January, 1775, Dr. Hay visited the Catholics at Dundee. On the 21st of the same month, we find him at Aberdeen. “Since receipt of your last,” he writes to Mr. F. Geddes, “I have been in my usual way, daily taken up with numberless avocations. I must now serve Dundee and Angus, and propose, till I be relieved, seeing them every six weeks or two months. I must also go now and then to Alloa, and sometimes to Glasgow, which, indeed, is now more easy for me, as I leave Mr. Strachan at Edinburgh; but still, you see, this takes up a good deal of time. . . .” Dr. Hay also mentions that two Nags were much wanted at Scalau. Would Mr. Geddes give this help to his old Habitation? The good Rector at Valladolid responded to this invitation in a few months by remitting £17 for the purchase of horses for Scalau.

Early in February, Dr. Hay returned to Edinburgh. News of Cardinal Braschi's Election as Pope reached him in course of post from Rome. The Cardinal was regarded at Rome as a man of abilities, possessed “of a clear and steady head, firm in his resolutions, of a vigorous and healthy constitution, and of a majestic aspect.” Such was Pope Pius VI. in the 58th year of his age. [Abate Grant to B. Hay, February 15, 1775.]

A very early notice of the American War of Independence occurs two days later. In Dr. Hay's Reply to Abate Grant, the New Englanders had been declared Rebels, and an Army had been sent to quell them. What the result might be nobody knew, but it was generally thought that, when they saw things becoming serious, they would submit.

On the last day of February, Mr. Duguid, a Venerable Jesuit Priest at Edinburgh, expired. His Death, which had been hastened by a fall in the street, deprived one of the Congregations in the Capital of its Pastor. Dr. Hay's Chapel, in consequence, became for a time the only Place of Worship open, and his constant residence in Edinburgh more than ever necessary, till a Successor to Mr. Duguid could be appointed. Eleven days later, his good old Friend Mr. Craw departed

this Life, at the advanced age of 91, leaving a considerable Benefaction to the Scottish Mission.

Mr. Alan Macdonald, Mr. Geddes' other Assistant at Valladolid, had been for some time pressing for his recall. The Bishops at Home were obliged to delay acceding to his request till some one could be spared to succeed him. The last day of June, Dr. Hay assured his Friend that the Bishops were fully alive to the importance of sending an efficient person to undertake the second Charge in the Spanish College, but time and patience were necessary. “For my own part,” he adds, “I have in a manner given up all thought about sparing myself. I see I must be a sacrifice, and a sacrifice I am most willing to be. Ahn. God enable me to be one agreeable in His eyes. . . .” The three Bishops, at their Meeting at Scalau in September, repeated their assurances to Mr. Geddes that his speedy relief was an object of their anxious solicitude; they also reiterated the expression of their approbation in regard to his conduct towards Mr. John Macdonald.

On his return from Scalau to Edinburgh, early in October, Dr. Hay found his Assistant, Mr. Cruikshanks, fast recovering from a serious illness; Mr. Maxwell, the Ex-Jesuit, also convalescent, after a severe fever, and threatened with consumption; and his own housekeeper also in fever, but recovering. It may be supposed that the Bishop's hands must have been even more than usually full of Parochial Duty, in consequence of the indisposition of those Clergymen. In fact, it had become quite necessary that he should have a permanent Assistant at Edinburgh. Mr. John Thomson was, therefore, removed from Glenlivet to the Capital; his vacant place being supplied by Mr. Macgillivray, one of the Ex-Jesuit Students, lately returned from Douay. Mr. John Chisholm, another of those Students, was settled in his native Strathglass; the third, Mr. Charles Maxwell, after serving Dundee for a short time, was appointed to the Mission at Huntly.

Five years had now elapsed since Dr. Hay first entered on the preparation of a Work on Miracles. The idea had been originally suggested to him by a Controversy which had arisen between the late Mr. Duguid and Mr. Abernethy, a Nonjuring Episcopalian Minister in Edinburgh, afterwards

the celebrated Bishop Abernethy-Drummond. When Dr. Hay's Manuscript was finished, it was resolved to publish it by Subscription; and, before the end of June, 1775, it was in the Printer's hands. In Autumn, of the same year, it was given to the world, in two small Duodecimo Volumes, price 6s., under the following elaborate Title:—"The Scripture Doctrine of Miracles Displayed, in which their Nature, their Different Kinds, their Possibility, their Ends, Instruments, Authority, Criterion, and Continuation are impartially Examined and Explained, according to the Light of Revelation and the Principles of sound Reason. By G. H."

The second Volume closes with an Appendix, in the form of a Dialogue, between Orthodoxus (Right-Thinker) and Philirates (Virtue-Lover), on the subject of Transubstantiation. It owed its existence to the following incident:—In the Summer of 1775, a Master Baker and a Master Shoemaker, both Episcopalians, and members of Mr. Abernethy's Congregation, were induced to enquire into the Catholic Religion, and made acquaintance with Dr. Hay. As he furnished them with Explanations on the subject of their enquiry, they laid their difficulties before Mr. Abernethy, who drew up Answers, in writing, to be in turn shown to Dr. Hay. The Controversy at last turned very much on Transubstantiation. Mr. Abernethy wrote at great length against it. His absurd objections were carried to Dr. Hay by the honest Citizens, and suitable Rejoinders given by him. At last, the Nonjuror called on Dr. Hay, and challenged him to publish, in print, all that he had to say in defence of the Catholic Doctrine, promising to prepare and publish a Reply. Dr. Hay, in consequence, wrote his Appendix, to Explain the Doctrine itself, and expose the weakness of Mr. Abernethy's Arguments against it. The two Neophytes were decided by it; left the Nonjuring Body, and became "sincere and promising" Converts to the Catholic Church. Their former Pastor was enraged at this termination of the Dispute, and threatened the poor men with ruin and misery before the end of the year. He set to work also on his Reply, in the form of a Dialogue between Philalethes (Truth-lover) and Benevolus (Well-wisher). In a Letter, which he addressed to the Publisher of the "Weekly Magazine"—Vol. 31, page 403—he represented Dr. Hay's Appendix as "perhaps,

the most artful and plausible Defence of Transubstantiation that ever appeared in this Country."

Mr. Abernethy's Answer was first submitted for approval to his own Nonjuring Bishop; an ordeal which it successfully passed. Not so, however, on its examination by another Friend of its Author, better versed in Philosophical Discussions, who pronounced it indefensible, and persuaded Mr. Abernethy entirely to remodel it. It appeared at last, after every necessary emendation, and even then turned out to be by no means unanswerable. Dr. Hay replied to it early in January, 1776, in the form of "Explanatory Remarks on the Dialogue between Philalethes and Benevolus against the Appendix to the Scripture Doctrine of Miracles, in which the Strength of the Reasoning made use of in that Dialogue against the Appendix is Examined and Unfolded, and some of its Defects pointed out. By a Lover of Truth and Merit. Proverbs, xviii. 7; Psalm, l. 20. Sold by C. Elliot, Parliament Square, Edinburgh. 1776. Price One Shilling."

[A Copy is in the Library at Blair's College; 12mo.; pp. 96.]

The Explanatory Remarks drew from the Bishop's opponent an anonymous Reply, consisting in the mere repetition of old and often-refuted stories, without any argument. Dr. Hay, therefore, while acknowledging that he had been rather severe in some Passages of his Remarks, yet justly so, thought it best to allow the Controversy to drop. [Dr. Hay to Mr. J. Geddes, February 21, 1777.]

Meanwhile the Sale of the "Miracles" was successful. Dr. Challoner testified his esteem for the Work by subscribing for thirty Copies. It was highly thought of in Spain, among Mr. Geddes' friends at Valladolid and Madrid. Dr. Hay forwarded several Copies to Rome—one of them better bound than the rest, for the Pope. He also charged Abate Grant to assure his Holiness that he would, with the greatest pleasure, have done himself the honour of Dedicating his Work to his Holiness, had it been possible in this Country, "in testimony of the most profound respect and veneration with which his heart is penetrated to the Holy See." The Discussion to which the Work had given rise seems to have been productive of Conversions. "Among our little trials," as Dr. Hay wrote to Mr. J. Geddes, January 3, 1776, "we have the consolation of

several Converts just now on hand. Our loss is want of time to attend them properly."

The "Scripture Doctrine of Miracles" must be regarded as the Bishop's greatest Work. It may justly be said to exhaust the subject; with a depth and closeness of reasoning, and a familiar acquaintance with the Written Word of God, unsurpassed by any other Catholic Writer in the English language. It may, perhaps, be permitted us to regret that his style is wanting in those attractive graces which recommend even abstruse subjects to the attention of ordinary readers—a want which Dr. Hay, with singular modesty, acknowledges in his Preface. In consequence of this deficiency, his Work on "Miracles" has never attained the popularity of some of his other Writings; its circulation having been for the most part confined to the use of Students in Theology. An Edition, however, appeared in no long time in Dublin, and, so lately as 1851, another has issued from the Catholic Press in America.

A contemporary critic in "The Scots Magazine" * pronounced the following opinion on the merits of this remarkable Work:—

"Our Church is here boldly challenged to the field by no contemptible Adversary. With respect to the general execution of this Work, it must be allowed that the plan is happily conducted, the topics judiciously and artfully disposed, and the Reasoning, though not invincible, specious and dangerous. Truth is so artfully mixed with falsehood, and sophistry with argument, that it requires no small degree of vigilance and perspicacity to disentangle the one from the other. Hence it is that we apprehend so much danger to Protestants who are not properly qualified to give a reason for the Faith that is in them. The style is expressive and clear, yet not uniformly pure, nor entirely free from solecisms. . . ."

The difficulty of finding a Successor to Mr. Alan Maconald, at Valladolid, still gave Dr. Hay much anxiety. All that he could do was to beg for delay, and suggest to Mr. Geddes to do what he could to persuade his Prefect to remain a little longer. He was not singular in having to submit to disappointments. "God help us," the Bishop adds, "we have (among so few) got

* Scots Mag. 1776. p. 43. See also vol. 23, pp. 206 and 158.

our own ado with some amongst us just now; pray much for me, my Dear Friend, for it seems I am set up as the object of contradiction; God's Will be done; if He be pleased to conduct me in that road, I have no objection. I hope His infinite goodness will enable me to act on all occasions in the way most agreeable in His eyes. This is my only wish, to please Him, and to do and suffer whatever He requires of me. . . ."

A protracted Correspondence was at this time in progress between the Scotch Bi-shops and the Administrators of the Scotch College at Donay, with reference to certain Funds belonging to the College in France. The Administrators would only prosecute their recovery for behoof of the College. The Bi-shops insisted on their being appropriated to the general purposes of the Mission. To this the French Government would not consent, and, as both parties maintained their own opinions with obstinacy, the Funds in question were ultimately and hopelessly lost both to the College and the Mission.

Early in the preceding year (Feb. 13, 1775), Mr. Geddes had informed the Bishop that his relative, Joseph Hendrie, a Student at Valladolid, promised well, although naturally "light and rambling, and as yet unsettled, but of a good, kind temper, and obedient." The Bishop (To Mr. J. Geddes, Jan. 8, 1776) sent the following Message to his cousin, Joseph:—"Give my kind compliments to Joseph; tell him his Friends are all well, and that I hope he will continue to be a good Boy, and improve himself in piety and learning; that, though I should be very sorry he should go on our way against his inclinations, yet I would be much more so, if his inclinations for that should change; as I am hopeful he may be an instrument of much good, if he goes on; but I am much afraid he will find little happiness any other way. My blessing and best wishes attend him and all the others. . . ." Dr. Hay also mentioned that he was at that time occupied in preparing two Irish Soldiers for Execution. They were lying under Sentence of Death for a Street-robbery in Edinburgh, and were very penitent and resigned to their fate. The Magistrates had given him every facility in attending them. He expected soon to have to go to Aberdeen on business with Dr. Grant connected with the Scotch College in Rome. On his way Home, about the middle of March, Dr. Hay encountered

a tedious and even dangerous Passage across the Ferry from Kinghorn. At the same Meeting, the Bishops seem to have settled that the Jubilee on the Accession of the Holy Father should begin in the Lowland District on May 25, and terminate on June 8, thus including Pentecost Sunday and Corpus Christi. The Privileges were to be the same as those of the Jubilee in the Holy Year, and on the usual Conditions.

Mr. Geddes again represented his difficulties to the Bishops at Home. Dr. Hay again did his best to reassure his Friend, by reiterating their own difficulties in the management of their complicated affairs.

“April 1, 1776.

“. . . . We are very sensible, you may be assured, of the difficulties you have to struggle with, and we sincerely regret them, and most cordially sympathise with you in them; but I do assure you we do not want ours, and I have my share. I am here, as it were, in the centre; all Correspondences centre in me; all grievances are made to me; and I am often found fault with for what I have no concern in. It requires, upon certain occasions, all my resolution to keep my mind in peace, and sometimes my patience fails me. When this happens to a Friend like you it gives me the less concern, but sometimes it appears to those to whom I would less wish it should appear. . . .”

Owing to his multifarious engagements this summer, and the infirm health of his Assistant, Mr. Thomson, Dr. Hay found it impossible to be present at the Bishops' Meeting at Scaln. Bishop Grant, in replying from Aberdeen (June 10) to this Announcement on the part of his Coadjutor, added, “Without your presence at Scaln I foresee we shall be a little dull, and not unlike a country wedding without a fiddler; but I will not, and cannot, dispute the strength of your reasons.” . . . The Bishops Grant and Macdonald held their Meeting the end of July. A feeling of dissatisfaction with the Proceedings of the Administrators of the Mission Fund, at their Meeting the preceding year, and with their general management of business, had got abroad among the Clergy, and had been especially fostered by Mr. John Reid and Mr. Alexr. Geddes. It was to this opposition that Dr. Hay alluded in his letter to Valladolid, January 8, 1776. An important part of the business transacted by the Bishops at Scaln this summer was the preparation of a Circular Letter, to be addressed to all the Administrators, calling upon them to

support the authority of the Bishops in their control over the Temporalities of the Church, as defined by the Council of Trent.

A young boy had been sent from Spain for his education. There being in Scotland no Catholic Seminary to receive him, and a Protestant Boarding School being considered dangerous to his religion, as well as extravagant in its expenses, Dr. Hay, with his usual readiness to promote the interests of education, took the boy into his own house, where he could keep an eye upon him and superintend his studies. The Bishop's servant attended him to his Classes and brought him home again when they were finished. He was thus kept from any intercourse with his school-fellows. However questionable such an arrangement may be thought, both in point of ultimate utility and of the boy's present comfort, it was Dr. Hay's method. The terms of the best Masters at that time in Edinburgh were half-a-guinea a quarter for English reading; writing and arithmetic cost twelve shillings more; books, pens, ink, and paper, being, of course, over and above. Dr. Hay himself charged £4 a quarter for the boy's board, lodgings, and washing, exclusive of coal and candle.

Before the close of this year Mr. Gordon, who had not long before returned from Rome, exchanged the Mission at Aberdeen for Mr. Alan Macdonald's vacant Prefectship at Valladolid. Mr. Oliver, a valuable young Missionary from Douay, supplied his place at Aberdeen. Mr. Robert Menzies also returned this autumn from Douay and entered on a long course of unobtrusive usefulness in the Capital.

We find Dr. Hay again sustaining the part of Comforter and Counsellor to his friend at Valladolid. Mr. Geddes had informed the Bishop of the failure of several of his Students in their vocation, and had represented it as a source of much trial and humiliation to himself. The Bishop replied in the following manner:—

“August 2, 1776.

“My own Dear Friend,—Yours of the 5th July I received this day, and as what you write me concerning yourself gives me no small concern, I could not refrain from giving you a few lines by the return of the Post. Daily experience will more and more convince us of the solidity of those Sacred maxims we have often spoke and wrote of to one another; and, indeed, they are not only a most efficacious support to the soul

amidst whatever trials we may meet with, but they are the only real source of comfort, strength, and peace, before which all other motives of consolation are but like cob-webs. When we consider that our God is the Sovereign Ruler of all things, that a hair of our head cannot fall to the ground against His will, that all the powers of Hell cannot do us the smallest hurt more than they could to Job, but precisely in as far as they are commissioned by Him, and not a hair-breadth farther, and that His love to us is so great and tender, that He guards us as the pupil of his eye, and will never allow the smallest affliction to come upon us but what He intends for our real good. Nay, that He so orders every circumstance in whatever befalls his servants that diligentibus eum omnia cooperantur in bonum. When, I say, we consider these things, even in the midst of the severest trials, what a source of peace and consolation do they afford us. How do we feel from experience that non contristabit justum quicquid ei succederit? How do we with real joy say with the venerable Eli, Dominus est, quicquid bonum est in oculis suis faciat; or rather with our Divine Redeemer himself, addressing ourselves to our own souls, as he did to St. Peter, anima mea calicem quem dedit mihi Pater meus celestis, non vis ut bibam illum? It is from these Divine truths, my dearest friend, that we are to seek our great consolation, and on them to repose our souls in the midst of afflictions; and happy am I to see that amidst the disappointments you have met with in your young folks you find that solid support from these truths which they alone can afford us. One great point we should endeavour to draw from them is not to lose our courage, but to preserve a magnanimity of soul in the midst of all disappointments flowing from an affectionate and filial confidence in the Divine Providence; for nothing contributes so much as this does to engage Almighty God to turn our very disappointments and crosses into the greatest blessings; and how often does experience itself show us that what we looked upon as real misfortunes have afterwards been found to be the most assured blessings. . . .”

There would be fewer tears, and fewer heavy hearts in the world, if the trials of Life were more frequently met in this noble spirit.

The year 1777 opened with a propitious termination of a long negotiation on the subject of the Mission at Stobhall, in Perthshire. At the Death of the Titular “Duchess of Perth,” it was expected that the Mission there would have to be abandoned, as only one of the Catholic Tenants on the Estate was in a condition to provide a Priest with suitable Lodgings; and he had hastily thrown up his Lease, on the Death of the Duchess, in order that he might settle in the neighbourhood of some Catholic Mission. Dr.

Hay had become acquainted with Lord Kames and his Lady, and had found them agreeable and friendly people. His Lordship was one of the Commissioners on the Forfeited Estates. Dr. Hay, therefore, made application to him for the Farm of John Cruickshanks, the Catholic Tenant who had retired, requesting that the Lease might still remain in John's name, and avowing his object of maintaining a Priest on the place. Both Lord Kames and his Lady, especially the latter, entered warmly into the project; and, through the friendly intervention of Mr. Colquhoun Grant, secured the co-operation of Lord Gardenstone, another of the Commissioners. The Bishop was directed to draw up a Petition in the name of John Cruickshanks, and present it to the Board. Some opposition was at first offered by the Factor, or Land Steward, who had already filled up the vacant Lease, and who managed to bring a strong County influence to bear against a Catholic establishing himself there. Several Memorials and Replies were presented to the Commissioners, and the affair was protracted during a whole year. At last, Kames and his Lady, knowing very well that Government was favourably disposed towards the Catholic Body, entered with greater zeal into the Cause, and pleaded it so well with several of the principal Commissioners, as to secure a decision in favour of the Bishop. Not only was Cruickshank's Lease renewed in Dr. Hay's favour, and under the former Tenant's name, but fifteen acres were added to the Farm from ground that had formerly been under planting, and which was given for Summer grass for the Bishop's horse. A quantity of timber was also allowed him, sufficient to put the Farm offices in proper order. The scene at the Board, when its final decision was announced, must have been a singular one. Dr. Hay must relate it himself. “After the order was given to let us have the place, one of our Friends added, ‘They must also have plenty of wood to build a Mass-House,’ upon which some of the others expressed surprise, &c. To which one replied, ‘They are better subjects than the Presbyterians;’ and another said, ‘As for the best Religion, that won't be known till the Day of Judgment.’ So orders were given to see what wood will be wanted, and let us have it. This, you will say, is a changed world. It is so, blessed be God for it, and may we be grateful for so

great a mercy. It is true, indeed, it will cost me a good deal of money to get the Place put into proper order, but I hope Providence will provide, and when all is to rights, it will be as comfortable a Settlement as any we have. . . . What is above was written last week, but a sudden call to a dying person hindered me from filling this page. I am just returned a little ago, and it is within a few minutes of the hour of Post. . . .”

Great changes were taking place in the distribution of the Catholic population throughout the Country. Those changes were in great measure to be attributed to the Oppression exercised by the Highland Proprietors on their Tenants and their Peasantry. The American War had closed the Avenues to Emigration, and the Landlords had, in consequence, resumed their arbitrary treatment of their poor dependants. Only one means of escape remained for them. They flocked in hundreds to the Lowland Towns, where they became day labourers and street porters. According to a Census of his Congregation, taken by Dr. Hay in February, 1777, it was found that in Edinburgh alone an addition of four hundred had been made to the Catholic Body by the Celtic Emigration. A large proportion of the strangers were ignorant of any language but their own Gaelic. Fortunately, the Bishop was able at once to provide them with a Pastor, thoroughly acquainted with their language; Mr. Robert Menzies, lately returned from Douay, long and efficiently discharged his Pastoral duties among them with singular simplicity and goodwill. This accession to the Catholic Body in Edinburgh made a new and a larger Chapel necessary, especially as Mr. Menzies had to meet his Highlanders by themselves, at those hours of Public Worship, at which he Preached to them in their own language. Another inducement secured the approbation of Bishop Grant for this new Scheme. The confined and impure air of the Priests' Residence in Edinburgh had long been felt as a hardship. If, therefore, their present dwelling could be disposed of, without great sacrifice, and a better obtained in a more healthy situation, the arrangement would be a great and public gain. Dr. Hay, accordingly, entered on the plan with vigour. He seems first to have been in treaty for a site at the foot of Carrubber's Close. This, however, was soon abandoned for a more eligible

one in the immediate neighbourhood of Leith Wynd, consisting of half an acre of ground, enclosed by a good wall, within which grew two dozen barren trees. No other houses overlooked it; the air was free; and ample communication with the neighbouring streets was secured by Chalmer's, Monteith's, and the Trunk Closes. This little enclosure had once belonged to the late Robert Pringle, Lord Edgefield, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, as the Scottish Judges are officially styled. His House remained in a state of ruinous decay. The Purchase-money was £320, including every incidental charge. The expense of taking down the old House, and erecting a new Chapel and Dwelling-House, was estimated at £1,100.

Dr. Hay had little money in hand at the commencement of the undertaking. But, with full trust in Providence, he looked around among his numerous Foreign correspondents for the means of its completion. From England he declined to solicit anything so soon after her late generous contribution to the Highland Emigrants. To Rome and Valladolid he wrote eloquent and pressing appeals for co-operation. If Propaganda was too much embarrassed to render assistance, private friends might, perhaps, be prevailed on; perhaps even "Mr. Pius" might do something. To Abbot Arbutnot at Ratisbon the Bishop wrote in these terms:—" . . . Although your situation and state of life keeps you retired from the pondus et cestas diei under which we labour here, yet we are confident you are often mindful of us in your Prayers and Holy Sacrifices, begging the benediction of Heaven upon our poor endeavours for promoting the great cause in which we are engaged." After stating the case of the New Chapel in Edinburgh, and begging the Abbot to mention it among his friends at Ratisbon, the Bishop adds—" We have been much befriended for some time past by those in power, and have even received some very signal instances of their good will towards us. This has encouraged us to undertake it." The Abbot, in reply, sent £10 as his own Contribution, but disclaimed any influence among his friends.

Before midsummer, a Master Builder engaged to complete the New House by the following May. According to the specified Plan, the lowest Storey of the House was to consist of five light Cellars and a dark one; two of the light Cellars was to

be furnished with Fire-places for Dwellings. The next Storey was to contain the Chapel, 34 feet long, 29 broad, and 14 high. Above the Chapel, the Dwelling House was to consist of three Rooms and two light Bed Closets, together with a good, airy Kitchen. A similar number of Rooms was to be provided in the Attic Storey, and over all a large Lumber Garret. The staircase was to be built outside the House and a private communication made in the inside from the Dwelling House Storey down to the Chapel.

Amidst these practical cares of life, Dr. Hay never intermitted his studious habits. We find him in the Spring of this year applying to Abate Grant for a number of Works—the Functions of a Bishop and on Canon Law. He had just finished Benedict XIV.'s Treatise, *De Synodo Diocesana*. The Works for which he now applied also enquires for some Standard Author on Episcopal Visitations, especially on their practical part. "Alas! my Dear Sir," he adds, "I always knew myself lame and unfit for the weighty charge laid upon me, but never did I see that more than when perusing the Diocesan Synod. Much need have I of a store of Standard Books, for Study on these Subjects, and of a little more time to peruse them."

Dispensation from hearing Mass and abstaining from servile work on certain Holidays having been granted to the Catholics in England, Abate Grant obtained a similar Indulgence for Scotland. The double Obligation was declared binding only on all Sundays in the year, on Easter Monday, and Pentecost Monday; on the Festivals of Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension, and Corpus Christi; on the Annunciation and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; on the Festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul, of All Saints, and of the Patron of the place where that Festival was observed. The Fast enjoined on the Vigils of certain Festivals was transferred to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent. Power was also granted to dispense farther with the Obligations on the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul if it fell in the Hay Harvest, and on the Assumption if in the Corn Harvest. This Indulgence, however, was productive of little satisfaction.

The Bishops of the Lowland District met at Scalae in August; the Bishop of the Highlands was detained in the Isles till the Meeting was

over. Besides their usual Correspondence with Rome, Bishop Grant and his Coadjutor addressed special Appeals on behalf of their new undertakings at Stobhall and in Edinburgh; one to Cardinal Caraffa, and the other to Cardinal Castelli, Prefect of Propaganda. Castelli, in Reply, assured the Bishops of the approbation of the Congregation, but declined to send them any money. Abate Grant was again importuned to take an active interest in the same Cause. Money came in slowly; yet they hoped to have the new Building roofed in before Winter.

Early in September, Dr. Hay wrote at great length from Edinburgh to Valladolid in his usual confidential tone. His health had been very infirm all Summer; his headaches, indeed, had much abated, but his weak digestion had defied long remedy, and he was reduced to a vegetable diet. "Thus, my Dear Friend," he continues, in strain more nearly approaching despondency than was usual to him, "The decline of life is approaching, and its signs and forerunners appearing; may our good Master enable me often and properly to think of the great Change, and to fit me in time for it." After a stay of a fortnight at Scalae he had taken Stobhall on his way home to see the progress of the new House and Chapel in course of erection there.

"This, you see, will run into more changes; but, as you justly observe, it were a pity not to improve the favourable circumstances which the Divine Providence gives us; who knows what His blessed designs may be? And I trust in His Almighty goodness that He will also provide the necessary means for executing His own work. We must expect, indeed, to meet with rubs and impediments, several of which have come already; every work carried on for the glory of God meets with these; it is too galling an eyesore to the Enemy of all good to see anything of that kind going forward; and, therefore, as far as he is allowed, he always endeavours to hinder them; but our comfort is that he has no more power than our good Lord allows him; and that though His Divine Wisdom sees proper to permit the Enemy to go a certain length for the trial of His servants, yet He says to him, at the same time, *Huc usque pervenies et non amplius*, and gives then to His servants the wished-for success. This we have already experienced in the affair of Stobhall, where we had to fight every inch of our ground before we got brought to a conclusion; and I trust in His Infinite Goodness we shall always experience the same Divine protection in all our undertakings for His Glory. At the same time, if He should in anything judge otherwise, we must

endeavour to say with David, *Quod si dixerit, Non places, presto sum; fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum; quod placitum est coram se faciat, and to say it with the heart and all the affection of the soul. . . .*"

The last words of the Bishop's Letter are very remarkable when taken in connexion with all that followed. They show how fully he had before his mind the possible and alternative issue of the increasing publicity which was forced on the Catholics of Scotland by their increasing numbers in the Lowlands, and their consequently greater exposure to Protestant observation.

The thoughts of Mr. Geddes were much in his native land; his frequent Letters to his Friend at this time evince the strength of his sympathy and co-operation. Whatever he most valued became more valuable to him if he could send it as a gift to Scotland. Among other excellent Books which he sent Home this Autumn, he mentions four Volumes, in 4to., of the Works of the Ven. F. Lewis de la Puente, or da Ponte. They had been his own private Copy, and were enriched by his Autograph Notes and Amendments. Mr. Geddes thought he "could not do better than send this treasure to our own Scotland." These Volumes are preserved in the Library of St. Mary's, in Edinburgh.

In November, Dr. Hay was able to send his Friend in Spain a better account of his health. He assured him that it gave him no anxiety, though he felt it his duty to take particular care of it. He was now able to take a little beer, or a glass of spirits; and, as for diet, the plainest suited him best. He had had recent intelligence from Montreal; the Glengarry Emigrants were all well; they had accepted Commissions in the Government Service, and were in great hopes of soon obtaining good lands and plentiful provision.

The Scotch College in Paris, this year, sustained the loss of her Principal, Mr. Gordon. He left the Seminary much impoverished by his excessive liberality to the partizans of the Exiled "Stuarts." Mr. Alexander Gordon, sometimes called Coffarrach, from the Farm in the Enzie on which he was born, exchanged the Mission of Drummond for the vacant Principalship at Paris.

The commencement of this eventful year (1778) found the new Chapel far advanced. The weather was favourable to building operations. Every-

thing promised well, except the slow arrival of money. The Nuncio at Brussels was at this time appealed to for assistance. Dr. Hay writes to B. Grant, Jan. 23, 1778—"Blessed be God, we still continue to have several new Customers [Converts] upon our hands, which is a great consolation to us. The new Chapel had begun to excite some curiosity, and even some opposition. The Bishop, however, had secured the approbation of one or two leading Members of Government ('powerful Friends'), but, notwithstanding, his only hope was "in Him whose work it was." Mr. Constable had given him £100 for the Chapel; while in Edinburgh, shortly before Christmas, he had criticised the proportions of the Chapel, although expressing himself as highly pleased with the Building in general. Dr. Hay's health was not good; he was then trying a milk diet, with a slice of lean meat and a poached egg. He had some intention of keeping a cow on the ground surrounding the new Chapel.

An unhappy misunderstanding at this time arose between Bishop Grant and his Coadjutor. Dr. Hay's account to B. Grant of its origin is the following:—

"January 28, 1778.

" The Letter I lately sent you along with Remarks on Mr. Johnson's Letter to you, has given me since no small uneasiness. My mind was a good deal distressed, on that occasion, to see myself so grossly misrepresented to you, and the credit you seemed to give to the accusation. I was, at the same time, straitened for time, being just upon the hour of Post, and I unwilling to lose that occasion; and I wrote that Letter without almost knowing what I said. I therefore beg pardon for anything I said in it that might be disagreeable to you, and hope you will excuse it. It was scarce gone when I was sorry for it, and every time since that I reflected on it, have regretted it. I am very sensible that whatever way things may appear to my foolish imagination, I certainly ought not to trouble you with them, but take everything in silence and patience. I endeavour all I can to do so, and I do not want occasions of doing so from different quarters; but sometimes a concurrence of circumstances happen where I forget myself, and my displeasure escapes me, to my greater humiliation; but I confide in your wonted goodness towards me, and hope for pardon. . . . "

The irritation in Dr. Hay's mind was not allayed two months later, when he very fully discussed with Bishop Grant the proposed appointment of a very young Priest to assist him

in Edinburgh. He had now been ten years in the Capital; besides the charge of the Congregation, he had undertaken the whole management of the temporal affairs of the Scottish Mission, and had conducted a large Correspondence with many Foreign Countries on public business. He had never derived much assistance from any one who had been associated with him in the Mission, except from Mr. Thomson alone, and he was soon removed. Dr. Hay had all along stifled his complaints, but now he candidly informed Bishop Grant that he had often suffered severely from depression of mind, when he had felt himself overwhelmed with business, without any expectation of relief. His foolish imagination, indeed, had on those occasions tempted him to suppose that less care was taken to provide him with substantial assistance than he had a right to expect in the circumstances of his position. But he had taken care that those feelings should not transpire. They were known only to his own conscience and to God, and he had endeavoured to turn them to the best account he could. He had always found his mind most tranquil when his own will had least entered into any arrangement regarding himself; his prevailing wish had been never to originate any proposal affecting himself, but to leave all to the order of Providence, and to the decision of his Superior.

Now, however, the time seemed to have come when he must lay open his mind without any reserve. He, accordingly, animadverted with considerable freedom on the proposed Appointment of a young and inexperienced Priest as his Assistant, and pointed out the disadvantages that must ensue. His Letter concludes in these words:—

“These, most Honoured Sir, and many other such thoughts, were borne in upon my mind, and caused me no small distress. I saw the impropriety of being troubled at them; I wished to be free of them, but I could not for some time get my mind composed, till at length it has pleased God to grant me some calmness, and enabled me to lay open my soul with confession before you. But what is then to be done? Most Honoured Sir, permit me to add one thing more. When at any time I made any proposal relating to myself, and had my heart much set upon it, I seldom failed to be disappointed, and then I felt severely. If, on other occasions, I got my own will, I seldom failed to have cause to repent it; and, in this present case, the first thing that brought light and

peace to my soul was the throwing myself into the Arms of Divine Providence, resolved to acquiesce, with cheerfulness, to whatever you shall appoint, be it what it will. I therefore beg you will permit me to follow this resolution. You know what is needed here; you know the weakly state my health has been in for some time, and still is; you are best judge if there be any amongst us who would be fit for this Place, or if none, what young man would be most likely; it belongs solely to you to determine what is to be done. Do then, most Honoured Sir, for the love of our good Master, do with me what you think proper; send me whom you please, or send me none at all; I shall do my best, with God's assistance, only I beg that my own opinion or will may have no hand in it. . . .”

Five days later [B. Hay to B. Grant, March 21] Dr. Hay expressed regret if his last Communication had been so unlucky as to displease the Bishop. If it had been so, he very frankly asked pardon, and begged that it might be attributed to the distress of mind he had been suffering, under the daily pressure of his heavy burden, and the poor prospect of relief that lay open to him. That was not the first time that he had suffered from the same cause, but it was the first time that his suffering had quite overcome him.

“I am sorry for it, especially if it shall give you uneasiness, and, with God's assistance, I shall do my best to prevent the like in time coming, though the experience of my past weakness gives me no room to presume. I am very sensible there must be a very great difference between your ideas and mine with regard to the necessity of supplying this Place, both as there is a very great difference betwixt seeing and hearing, and also as I make no doubt but my own situation here and the desire my self-love may have for some relief, will naturally influence my judgment in the matter. I shall therefore endeavour to rest contented, and submit to the orders of Providence. . . .”

Notwithstanding the fulness of these apologies, several subsequent Letters of Dr. Hay's at this time betray evidence of keen vexation, resulting from arrangements proposed by Bishop Grant for supplying an Assistant in Edinburgh. Dr. Hay perceived an unsuitableness to his wants and purposes in every object of the Bishop's choice. These disappointments, together with the irritation consequent on his feeble health and ailing stomach, brought to the surface some of the infirmities of temper common to poor humanity.

Dr. Hay having incidentally mentioned to Bishop Grant that he had not yet been able to overtake a particular piece of business, although

he rose at half-past four in the morning, the Bishop, who had a high esteem for his Coadjutor, and really seems to have done his best to serve him, replied:—" . . . Let me, on my bended knees, beg of you, my Honour'd Dear Sir, to moderate this way of rising till your health take a better turn. I'm sure you would not, nay, could not, be pleas'd with one of your Clergy in your situation that should rise at that hour, and would seriously advise him to the contrary. I ever am, with all affectionate regard, &c."

Dr. Hay's Answer, dated only three days later, furnishes us with a vivid picture of his busy Life.

"April 7, 1778.

" . . . I shall now beg leave to explain to you what I said about the hour of my rising in the morning. We are so situated here that we can never depend upon ourselves for a single hour through the day for calls of one kind or other coming upon us, so that the only time that we can get of quietness is either after supper or in the morning. For some time I was accustomed to sit up at night and dispatch what I had to do, but I found that would not answer, and was very hard upon the head. I therefore for some time past, have altered my method. I dispatch all my little affairs before supper the best way I can; sup exactly at nine; say Evening Prayers at a quarter before ten; retire to our rooms at ten; and I go to bed immediately after saying a few Prayers. By this means I am six hours and a-half in bed before my hour of rising, which I find agrees well enough with my constitution, and I find my head free and easy in the morning to apply to anything I please, and I have some little time of quietness for application as well as for morning duties. Now, though you'll say, perhaps, that this is rather little time for sleep, yet I assure you I have for the most part enough ado to get things overtaken, do what I can, and this Winter, besides all the constant ordinary employments of this Place, I have had several very troublesome and afflicting affairs to do which very often deprived me of sleep a good part of the time I was in bed. I did not choose to trouble you with them at the time, as I really had not time to write an account of them, and was unwilling to trouble you with what could do no good, but shall here give you a general view of them:—

"In our new Building I had to form all the Plans myself, and do all that Mr. Young did to yours, which, from my being little acquainted with these matters, cost me much labour. Besides usual Letters, I had numbers of Letters to write and answer, in different parts of the world, to see and get assistance to it. The person who borders with my property is in Holland; his Agent is Mr. James Stewart, the same who was Agent for Kinnaird's creditors against us, and was so hard upon us. He has been exceeding

troublesome. He took it into his head that our mason had encroached upon his client's Property an inch or two, and upon this he applied to the Lords for a warrant to stop the Building, and stopped it effectually, two different times, for eight days each time; and, though it was at last given against him, yet, since it was finished, he has raised a Process before the Lords for damages. In all this, you will see I beloved to have a great deal of trouble, and in this last case, as Mr. Andrew Stewart, my Friend, was in the Enzie about his brother's death, I had myself to draw Plans of the Place, and a long Memorial, to be laid before the Lords in our favours. It is still depending, but we have reason to believe our antagonist will drop it, as he sees his Cause is not sustainable, and likely to get him much odium.

"Two different complaints were sent from two Presbyteries in the Highlands, Kintail and Lagan, against Mr. Tiberiop [Bishop Macdonald] and the other gentleman there; the one to the Lord Advocate, and the other to the Solicitor. I was sent for by this last, and was twice with him at his Country-house; gave him such satisfaction as I could, and promised to procure more from Mr. Tiberiop, which I did in time, to his full satisfaction, and which was received and preferred to the information of the Presbytery, but it cost me some additional pains and Letters.

"The two sets of Boys that went Abroad for Paris and Spain, cost also some pains, as I had to see every thing done about them myself, for Mr. Menzies has more than enough to do besides; and Mr. Ceff. [Alex. Gordon] has no turn that way.

"Our affairs at Glasgow have not hitherto turned out so well as could be wished, and I was obliged to advance more money, and even to borrow, to save the rest, and it cost me some journeys there to see to get things in a proper footing. They are now fairly set a-going, but what will be the success I cannot say, though I hope for the best.

"A Miss Macleod, from the Highlands, came to Town this Winter, strongly recommended to me by Mr. Macnab of Inchewan, and Mr. Gordon at Drummond. Her brother in Jamaica gives her her education, but put her under the very improper tuition of Mr. Rory Macleod, writer here. His drift soon appeared to ruin her Religion entirely, and as she had not a soul in Town to consult with but me, I had to take her in hand, and write several Letters about her, and for her, to her brother and others, and all is not yet ended, though I hope all will soon end to our wish.

"A daughter of the late John Cook at Stobhall was married to a violent Protestant there, brother to our Adversary in our Farm, who treats her in such a manner, on account of her Religion, that the poor girl, just eighteen years of age, was forced to fly from him, and came in here about Candlemas to me for a separation and alimant before the Commissioners. As she had no one

to take her by the hand but me, nor any money, though she had near £100 of portion, I was obliged to take her into my House, and maintain her, as a Confessor for Religion, and make all necessary application to get her Process set on foot, to write Memorials and Letters on her affairs, &c., which has cost me both pains, thought, and time, and is not yet near end d. About two months ago, application was made to Lord Linton, Mr. Gordon at Drummond, and to me, by one of the Barons of the Exchequer, about a Plan of getting something done in favour of us in all the three Kingdoms, which cost me also a good deal of pains and thought, and brought Mr. Gordon into Town, but of this I can add no more in writing, only recommend it earnestly to your Prayers. These, most Honour'd Sir, are some extraordinary employments which I have had to transact this Winter, besides all other duties, by all which, I daresay, you will see I would need all the time I could spare from necessary sleep and refection. Now, it is easy for people at a distance to say I take too much upon me, &c., but point out what I can lay aside, or leave undone. I daresay, there is no one concerned that would be pleased if I should neglect their affairs, and say I had not time; for, as honest Mr. Reid often told me, when in the North, your people will often make a great phrase, and say, 'Oh, you have too much to do, &c., but then, let my affair, however, be done.' It will, perhaps, be said, 'Why so earnest about answering Letters? Let them be till you get leisure, &c.' But if I did not answer them in time, others crowd in upon me, and oppress me entirely.

"Then you see some stretch of my situation, which cannot fail in time to bear hard upon my constitution; for, except sitting a little after meals with the other gentlemen, I never know what it is to take any recreation or any walks; indeed, it is impossible for me to do so without letting things go into confusion or neglecting them entirely. However, in obedience to your orders, I have this day retarded my alarm half-an-hour, and shall [get] that more time in bed; but till a really fit Hand be got to be here with me can expect little relief to my purpose, and till God send that, shall endeavour to rest content."

This critical period in Dr. Hay's Correspondence with Bishop Grant ended in the following Letter:—[B. Hay to B. Grant]—

"April 16, 1778.

". . . . Sorry am I indeed to find by yours, that my last Letter has appeared to you in the light in which it seems to have done, and given you so much displeasure. Far, very far, was it from my thought that it would so. God forbid that I should ever say or do a thing that should tend to break our peace; although I am much afraid that there has been a very dangerous train for that purpose, laid by the Enemy of all good, and that I have been the unhappy dupe of his

malice. The thought of it fills me with horror; and, upon my bended knees, I conjure you, by the Sacred Mysteries we commemorate at this time, to pardon me whatever I may have written of late that may have offended you. God pity me: I know not what has been the case with me; but, with God's assistance, you shall never have cause of such displeasure again; and I am willing to make whatever atonement for what is past, that you please to demand. I beg to be particularly remembered in your prayers at this time; and, praying God to grant you a holy and happy Easter, I remain, with the most profound respect, most honour'd and dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant to command."

So this little squall blew over.

A few days earlier (April 3), the Bishop had again addressed his Friend at Valladolid, on the subject of Seminary Training.

". . . . As you know from your own experience the great advantage which it is of, to people in our way, to have a considerable knowledge in A-sectical Matters, and how assiduously you and others, at our Alma Mater, applied to that Study, I make no doubt but that you pay a particular attention to that in your Pupils. Yet, as I see daily the great loss some are at, who have not done so, and what an advantage others have, who have applied themselves diligently to these matters, I cannot help recommending it you in a particular manner; indeed, I think it is a kind of solecism in the method of Studying, and commonly for people in our business, that so much time and labour is spent in things of which they will seldom or never have occasion, when they apply to business, and so little attention is paid to some others, of which there is the greatest need. However, I need not insist on this, as I know your sentiments on this head entirely coincide with mine. . . ."

CHAPTER IX.

1778.

Penal Laws—Cases of Hardship—Government consults B. Hay as to the Relaxation of Penal Laws—English Relief Bill Passes—Dispute of B. Hay with B. William Abernethy Drummond, who married the Heiress of Hawthornden—Agitation in Scotland against Scotch Relief Bill—Riot at Glasgow—"Friends of the Protestant Interest."

Time, which assuages so many sorrows, had been doing much to ameliorate the condition of the Catholic Body in Scotland. As years went on, and the hopes of the Jacobite party were gradually extinguished, many former adherents of the Exiled Family became reconciled, and

were attached to the existing Government. The Catholics of Scotland, after a probation of more than thirty years, had shown themselves to be peaceable and loyal subjects to the State; Government was therefore willing to allow the Penal Statutes to sink into oblivion. Their private virtues also had endeared them to a wide circle of their Protestant fellow-countrymen, who had learnt to disregard the old calumnies that used to circulate to their discredit, and who had either forgotten the Civil Penalties still attached in theory to the profession of the Catholic Religion, or endeavoured to render their burden as light as possible. With the exception, therefore, of a bigoted party, whom nothing but the extinction of the Catholic power could ever satisfy,—a party which has unhappily never wanted representatives in Scotland, from the days of the Reformation till our own,—religion had ceased to be a barrier to friendship and good fellowship; and, in practice, the Catholic body in Scotland had little to complain of, by comparison, at least, with the grinding oppression which had succeeded the fatal year 1746.*

But whatever private friendship, or a politic Government might be inclined to do, to ameliorate their condition, and secure their services to the State, there still remained on the Statute Book of the Kingdom every one of the iniquitous enactments which fear and hatred of their Faith had incited former Legislators to make against them. It was still a Capital offence to say Mass, and even to hear it, or conceal it; the only legal permission even to reside in Scotland, which any Catholic could claim, was still dependant on his signing the "Confession of Faith," as his own; if a Catholic ventured to purchase so much as a house or a field, the Deed of sale was absolutely null and void, and the late Proprietor of either might retain the Property sold, and at the same time retain its purchase money. It was still Law in Scotland, that no Catholic could succeed to an Estate, nor, if a Convert, could he retain the Estate which he had possessed before his Conversion.†

Neither were these Laws always permitted to remain a dead letter. It was at all times in

the power of private malice to awake the dormant force of the Law, as malignity, or revenge, or cupidity prompted; and much as the Administrators of the Law desired to protect the Scottish Catholics from its severity, they were sometimes unable to render any service, when execution of an existing, though half-forgotten, Statute was demanded in regular course of Law. [B. Hay to Sir J. Dalrymple, February 18, 1778.] Of such casual hardships, several examples had occurred within a very few years before the present date.

Thus, in 1768, a Gentleman of landed Property became Insolvent. He had borrowed from the Capital Fund of the Scotch Mission a considerable sum of money, for which the Administrators of that Fund held a Mortgage or Heritable Security over his Estate. When their claim was made, the other creditors opposed it, on the ground that such a Security could not be legally vested on a Catholic Clergyman. The opinion of four eminent Lawyers was taken on the point, and it was in favour of the Catholic claim; yet it was thought more prudent, in order to avoid publicity and its consequent dangers, to waive Legal Proceedings and compromise the matter in private, even at a sacrifice of nearly £300!

So recently as 1777 a Catholic Gentleman in a Northern County of Scotland died; his son, a young married man with two children, on attempting to enter into possession of the Estate with the usual formalities of the Law, was resisted by a remote Heir, a Protestant, who carried the case into the Court of Session and insisted on the young Heir's renouncing "Popery" as the only legal qualification entitling him to succeed to his father. It was pleaded, on the other side, that the Statute gave power only to the nearest Protestant Heir. In the first instance, to interpose this Bar to the succession; the plea, however was overruled, and the poor young man, to use Bishop Hay's words, "Was reduced to the dreadful necessity of openly perjurying himself in the face of the world, or of losing an Estate of a thousand a year, and of seeing his wife and his two infant children reduced to beggary, as he had not a single farthing to depend upon besides the Estate, nor any means of acquiring a subsistence."

Hardships like these were not confined to any class of Society. A respectable Tenant-farmer in Kintail, residing on the Estate of Lord

* "State of Catholics in Scotland." M.S. at Preshome, in B. Hay's hand—dated 1778. (December?)

† Scots Magazine, October, 1778, p. 513.—From internal evidence, I suspect this Paper to be due to B. Hay.

Fortrose, was much harassed at this very time on account of his Religion, by the Presbyterian Ministers in his neighbourhood. He happened to be the only Catholic in that wide District who possessed a House in which a Missionary Priest could find a night's lodging, when he came twice or thrice a year to visit his scattered Flock. Several mixed marriages, also, in Kintail, had resulted in Conversions; a combination of circumstances which had excited the ill-will of the Reverend Presbytery against this Catholic Farmer. Not content with strenuous efforts to turn him out of his Farm, they lodged frequent accusations against him with the Law Officers of the Crown in Edinburgh, and nothing but Bishop Hay's prudent interposition could have saved him from a Criminal Prosecution.

Here is an instance of private and domestic injustice, probably not of real occurrence at that time. A wealthy Farmer in Perthshire, a Catholic, had died some years before, bequeathing a sum of money to one of his daughters, and nominating two Protestant Farmers of his acquaintance as her guardians. One of them, in the course of time, married his ward, and from the day of their wedding, began a system of coercion against the poor girl on account of her Religion; sometimes carried so far, as even beating her to make her turn Protestant. The young woman sought refuge among her own Friends, who succeeded in arranging a reconciliation, but it lasted only a short time. The violence of her husband enervated to such a degree, that she was at last driven from her House a second time, when she found an Asylum in Edinburgh, under the charitable care of Bishop Hay himself, who received her as a Confessor for her Religion.

The natural antipathy of the Presbyterian Ministers to the Catholic Body sometimes selected its victims among so poor and so deserving a class as the Chelsea Pensioners. During the War, in which the French were driven out of Canada, two Highland Battalions of British Troops were, in great part, composed of Catholics, both Officers and Privates. At the close of the War, many of the men retired to their native hills, with a Pension, which enabled them to live in comfort. As a general rule, their being Catholics was considered as no obstacle to their receiving regular payment of their Pension; but, in some of the remotest parts of the Highlands, the Ministers

had raised it as an objection, and had threatened them with the loss of their hardy-earned Pension, unless they would abstain from any public profession of their Faith. Many of those poor men were entirely dependent on what they received from Government; the threat of the Ministers, therefore, implied their losing the very means of their livelihood.*

It may assist us in forming some notion of what the Penal Laws must have been in their original vigour, to observe how much misery they could yet inflict in their decline; and to remember that the state of things, which these examples represent, was considered as an amelioration of their condition, which the Catholic Body could not have hoped for thirty years before.

Since the abortive attempt of Lord Stanhope, in 1718,† the earliest mention of formally repealing any part of the Penal Code, in favour of British Catholics, occurred in a Motion made in the House of Commons, by General Burgoyne, and seconded by General Conway, December 11, 1770. The Motion had in view to provide Soldiers for the British Army, at the beginning of the American War; and it proposed to relax the Penal Statutes which prevented Catholics from moving under the British Flag, without doing violence to their consciences. Burgoyne spoke his mind very freely. During the late War, he had had the honour of commanding five hundred Roman Catholics: it was true that they had come to him as Protestants, but it was also very well known that the poor fellows went, when they were able, to their own Place of Worship; and, as they went, out of Uniform, he had not opposed it. He declared that they were as brave Soldiers as any in the British Army; and that Foreign Nations were astonished that so many fine Soldiers should be forced into Foreign Service by the imposition of Oaths at Home, which they could not take, without violating Truth and Religion. [J. Coghlan to B. Hay, December 18, 1770.]

The time, however, had not then come for the Emancipation of British Catholics. It was reserved for a later day, when Government was reduced by the disasters in America and by a threatened War with France to court the favour

* "Reflections on the Conduct of R. Catholics in Scotland," etc. MSS. at Freshome, in B. Hay's hand—1778.

† See Lord Mohun's History of England—1 vol., c. 9.

of the Catholic body, by Repealing some of the most offensive of the Penal Statutes; and even before anything was done for them in Parliament, we may gather that the importance of Conciliating them have begun to be publicly appreciated from the private History of the Recruiting in Scotland in the early part of 1778. It seems that the Highlanders were Enlisting in great numbers, and that Bishop Hay, ever alive to the value of opportunity, had seized the occasion to obtain some kind of guarantee that the poor Chelsea Pensioners should not thenceforth be disturbed on account of their Religion. Both the Lord Justice-Clerk and the Lord-Advocate pledged their word that although they could give no public assurance in favour of the Pensioners no complaint as to Religion made against them should be listened to by the Law Officers of the Crown. The poor men were therefore directed to profess their Religion without fear; and when the time for receiving their Pension came, to go boldly and ask for it. If the Ministers or their Agents should attempt to get their Pension stopped they were at once to declare their intention of Appealing; and were, if necessary, to send up their names, with every particular, to Bishop Hay, who would undertake to see that justice was done to them.

The Bishop, encouraged by the favourable disposition of public men towards himself and his Friends, next addressed himself to remedy another grievance which affected the Catholic Recruit. The first thing the Recruit was called upon to do, was to take the Attestation Oath; that is, to swear that he was a Protestant. The Bishop publicly directed all Catholics who wished to Enlist, to say openly at the time of their Attestation that they were Catholics, and would never take the Oath in its existing form. They followed his directions, were applauded for their honesty, and allowed to omit the odious Clause, merely swearing to be obedient and faithful. This was an important concession, gained with no noise or turbulent declamation, but by carefully watching the favourable juncture of affairs, and by seizing the advantage with equal boldness and prudence. Many Catholics Enlisted, and gave their services to their Country, and many young gentlemen got Commissions.

Lord North's Government now thought that the time had come for doing something to soften rigour of the Penal Code on behalf of the Catholic

Body, and they thought it more prudent to begin their negotiations in Scotland. Their confidential Agent was Sir John Dalrymple, one of the Scottish Barons of Exchequer, a man already favourably known as the Author of a Plan for raising Catholic Regiments in Ireland, and whose Scheme for the restoration of the Forfeited Estates to the Families of their ancient Proprietors had made great progress, before the critical state of affairs in America put a stop to it. Sir John was acquainted with Lord Linton, eldest son of the Earl of Traquair, a Scotch Catholic Peer, and, in order to procure an introduction to Bishop Hay, he employed the good offices of Mr. Alexander Gordon, the new Principal of the Scots College in Paris, whom Sir John had formerly known intimately in the French Capital. Negotiations were thus commenced. Sir John waited on the Bishop, and expressed his wish to know the sentiments of the Catholic Body on three points. (1), How were they generally disposed to regard the War with America? (2), What grounds were there to expect that they would enter freely into his Majesty's service if invited? and (3), What ameliorations, in their social condition, would they look for as an equivalent for their services?—[B. Hay to B. Grant, April 22, 1778.]

To these Queries the Bishop returned categorical Answers in writing, February 16, 1778. He assured the Government Agent of the loyal sentiments of the Catholic Body, and that, although they were incapacitated by Law for serving their Country, either as Military men or as Civilians, their honest endeavour was directed to the discharge of their private duties to their Country as good citizens. With regard to the question of the War with America, Bishop Hay took it upon himself to say that the conduct of the Americans was generally disapproved of by the Scottish Catholics of his acquaintance. As a proof of this, as well as of the readiness with which Catholics would enter into his Majesty's Service, the Bishop reminded Sir John that nearly all the Emigrants who had left the Highlands for America, a few years before, were now wearing his Majesty's Uniform. He also referred to the great number of Catholics who had Enlisted, in spite of every discouragement, during the last War, and to the popularity of the Recruiting Sergeant in Catholic Districts of the Country at the present time.

February 16, 1778.

"As to the conditions which might be requisite to engage the Scottish Catholics to enter in a body into his Majesty's Service." Bishop Hay continues, "it is not easy to determine. Were the whole Penal Laws against them to be Repealed, and they restored to all the rights and privileges of their fellow-subjects, this would, doubtless, attach them wholly to his Majesty's Person and Government for ever, and it is natural to suppose that the more indulgence they receive, the more cordial they will be in his Service. But as a total Repeal is not to be thought of, in the present situation of affairs, and perhaps not even to be wished for, in my humble opinion, the removal of three impediments would suffice to effectuate what you propose, and would be necessary for that purpose. 'First, A Repeal of the old, sanguinary Laws against all Hearers and Sayers of Mass.' While these Laws are in force, which make it death or banishment to assist at the Catholic Worship, it is not to be supposed that they would enter cordially into the affair, or that they would consider themselves as looked upon in a friendly light by Government. Nay, I doubt much, if they would enter into the Service at all as a body, unless they were allowed Clergymen of their own Communion to attend them. 'Secondly, A Repeal of those Statutes which enable the Protestant Seller of an Estate to take it back from the Catholic Purchaser, without allowing this last even action for repetition of the price, and of those which enable the Protestant Heir to take the Estate from the Popish Proprietor.' While a man is hindered by Law from realising the fruits of his industry, to make a settled provision for his Family, or from enjoying what may fall to him by succession, unless he prostitutes his conscience by a most horrid perjury, it seems scarce possible for the human heart to unite in a cordial and stable manner with those who, however lenient they may be for the present, have it always in their power, while such Laws stand in force, to put them in execution, and render those miserable who are obnoxious to them.' 'Thirdly, That that part of the Attestation Oath which regards Religion, be taken away, and those who enter the Service be required only to swear Fidelity to the King, and Obedience to the Laws of War.'

"These, Sir, are my sentiments of this affair which I have candidly given you, in compliance with your desire, though rather with reluctance, as I would not wish to have the appearance of prescribing terms to Government. Sensible of the lenity with which we are treated, we receive with thankfulness every, the smallest mark of indulgence, and are ready to give proof of our gratitude as far as the dictates of our conscience will allow. What, therefore, I have proposed above, is only what seems to be precisely necessary for obtaining the end you propose. How far Government may be willing to go in removing the restraints we lie under, which hinder the accom-

plishment of that end, or, how far, in the present circumstances, they could with propriety go, I cannot say; but I am very willing that you make use of what is above in whatever manner your own prudence shall see proper. I am, with all regard, etc."

A day or two later, the Bishop furnished Sir John, at his request, with several examples of the hardships to which Catholics were every day exposed, independently of the pressure of the Penal Statutes upon them.

Lord Linton's opinion, which Sir John had obtained independently, agreed with Bishop Hay's in every particular; and it was decided to make their opinion the basis of further negotiations with the Ministry. Sir John went up to London early in March, enjoining the strictest secrecy on his then friends in Scotland. Indeed, at this Period, the negotiations in which he was engaged were known only to three Members of the Cabinet—to Lord North, Lord George Germain, and Lord Suffolk. Bishop Hay had represented to Sir John the importance of securing the Corporation of the English Catholic Body, in the future stages of the business. Accordingly, Sir John's first step, after showing the Bishop's written opinion to Ministers, who expressed themselves highly pleased with it, was to write to Edinburgh for Letters of introduction to Bishop Challoner and some others of the leading Catholics in England. The very day after the date of Sir John's Letter, the French Ambassador was recalled from London, and a week later, the British Ambassador returned from Paris. The two Nations were again at War. At the same time, Sir John assured Lord Linton that he found "The zeal of the Roman Catholics in England and Scotland in the first National Cause then at issue hearty and steady." Bishop Hay, in reply, March 24, 1778, to the Application for Letters of introduction, enclosed one to his old and venerable Friend Bishop Challoner and another to Bishop Talbot, his Coadjutor. More than these, Bishop Hay declined to send, "Both that I might not appear too assuming in an affair of this kind, which might perhaps disgust; and I thought it more likely to promote the matter in a cordial manner, if we, in this Country, rather seem to follow, than to lead; and also, because I know the above two gentlemen have great weight among our Friends over all England, and can give the best advice of any others who are the

proper persons to be applied to on this affair. The former is a venerable old gentleman revered by all that know him on account of his great merit; the other, besides his own personal merit, is brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury." . . . "As it may not be convenient for the old gentleman to receive a visit at all times," Bishop Hay recommended Sir John to send the enclosed Letters of Introduction with his card, and fix an hour for his visit to Dr. Challoner, at the same time requesting that Bishop Talbot might be present at the interview. As the enclosed Letter was the first Communication made to Bishop Challoner on the subject, it was the more necessary that he should have a little time to consider the matter before the interview with Sir John."

Bishop Challoner received Sir John Dalrymple alone, as his Coadjutor was absent in the country. He does not seem to have entered with much warmth or courage into the plan of a partial Repeal of the Penal Statutes, although he assured Sir John that the sentiments of English Catholics were in favour of Government in the present crisis. The aged man had suffered too much and too long from the oppression of the Penal Laws easily to reconcile himself to a course of more public action now proposed to the Catholic Body. He feared that if they were to come forward in open support of Government, it would give such umbrage to the Opposition as probably to awake the scarcely slumbering embers of Persecution. In fact Sir John found him "Old and timid, and using twenty difficulties." A similar reception awaited the Government agent from Mr. Duane, an eminent Catholic Lawyer. Sir John, however, was not discouraged. He waited on the Duke of Norfolk, on Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Petre, and many other Catholic noblemen and gentlemen in London; he persuaded them to have several Meetings to discuss the subject; and at last it was resolved, with the concurrence of the Ministry, that a Loyal Address should be prepared and presented to the King, in the common name of the English and Scottish Catholics. His Majesty would receive it graciously and reply in terms of encouragement; and soon after a Petition should be presented, in the same common name, praying for a relaxation of the Penal Laws. This Petition would be referred to the Legislature and supported with all the Court interest. By the adoption of this course, it was wisely thought

that less opposition would be made to the measure than if it had been first introduced merely as a Government measure and unsupported by the voice of the Catholic Body itself. It seems to have been first arranged that the Irish Catholics were to act in conjunction with their Brethren in Great Britain, but they ultimately presented a Loyal Address of their own.

Circular Letters were now sent to the Catholic Nobility and Gentry throughout England, inviting them to come up to Town, and sign the proposed Address, or to authorise some one to sign it for them by proxy. Sir John Dalrymple wrote to Lord Linton, urging him to come up, without a moment's delay, to represent the Scottish Catholics, in the absence of Lord Traquair, who was then residing in France with his daughters. His Lordship consented, but only on condition that Bishop Hay would accompany him. To this the Bishop made no objection; and, the last week in April, we find him in London with Lord Linton, deeply engaged in those important negotiations. The very day of their arrival (April 27), Lord Linton attended a Meeting of the Catholic Body, at which the Address to his Majesty was adopted and signed, personally, or by proxy, by ten Peers and nearly two hundred Commoners, gentlemen of property and family in England. Lord Linton and Mr. George Maxwell (Kirkconnell) signed for the Scottish Catholics. The Address expresses the attachment of his Majesty's R. Catholic subjects to his Person and Government, notwithstanding the Political Disabilities under which they still laboured.

" . . . We have patiently submitted to such restrictions or discouragements as the Legislature thought expedient; we have thankfully received such relaxations of the rigour of the Laws as the mildness of an enlightened age and the benignity of your Majesty's Government have gradually produced; and we submissively wait, without presuming to suggest either time or measure, or such other indulgences as those happy causes cannot fail in their own season to effect. . . ."

The Address further disclaims any sympathy with the designs and views of any Foreign Power against his Majesty's Crown, and the safety and tranquility of his subjects, and it appeals, for proof, to the irreproachable conduct of the R. Catholics for many years past, "under circumstances of public discountenance and displeasure."*

* Scots Magazine. 1778 P. 261. From London Gazette, May 2.

This loyal Address was presented to the King, May 1, at a Public Levee, by Lord (Arundel and) Surrey, Lord Linton, and Lord Petre, and was very graciously received. When first consulted on the subject, his Majesty had declared that such an Address from the Catholic Body would be most agreeable to him; and, after the Levee, he had expressed himself as highly gratified with it. The Irish Catholics also presented an Address, dated Dublin, April 13, and signed by about three hundred persons.*

Some days before the Presentation of these Addresses, a Message was sent by Lord G. Germain to the Catholic Representatives of the three Nations, then in London, requesting them to prepare for him a Note of what their Constituents would respectively wish to be done for them by Parliament, as the Penal Laws were not the same in the three Kingdoms. A hint was also conveyed, that if their first demands were moderate, and if the Nation seemed to approve, everything that they could possibly wish would be done for them in the course of time.

A principal cause of anxiety as to the ultimate fate of the proposed Measure was the light in which the Members of the Opposition in the House of Commons might view it. If it came before the House only as a Ministerial Plan, it might fail on that very account. A concurrence of circumstances, however, soon dispelled every anxiety on this point, and exhibited the Members of the Opposition as the warmest supporters of the Measure. Many of them were connected with Ireland by Property and Family, and motives of humanity prompted them to relieve the political and social burdens of the poor Irish, but this could be done only after Britain had set an example. The humanity of their motives may be sufficiently vouched for by the name of Edmund Burke, at that time the Leader of the Opposition. State policy also concurred in securing a unanimous support for the Catholic Relief Bill. The American Congress had invited all Catholics to Emigrate to the West, promising them entire liberty of conscience: the general fear of a French Invasion, aggravating the pressure of the War with America, suggested the great importance of uniting all parties in the State against the common enemy. In addition to these convenient circumstances, the Dissenting Bodies in England,

who had long been labouring to obtain more Civil Liberty for themselves, were strongly inclined to favour this movement in behalf of the Catholics, as an important step in the right direction, and as probably securing the grateful support of the Catholic Body in return, when the Dissenters should afterwards prefer their own claims to an extension of indulgence.

Thus far, the Deliberations of the Committee in London had been unanimous; Lord Linton and Sir John Dalrymple had met with nothing but the most cordial regard and co-operation. The success, however, of the Address to the King was the beginning of a coldness and an estrangement which it is difficult to account for. With the utmost reluctance, the English Members of the Committee informed the Scottish Representative of the Nature and Extent of the Relief which they proposed to ask from the Legislature: namely, the Repeal of an Act of Parliament passed in the 11th and 12th year of King William III., chiefly affecting the Property of Catholics, and encouraging the Prosecution of their Clergy by holding out a reward to the common informer. As just such another Act had been passed in the same year (1709) in the Scottish Parliament, it was proposed that the Catholic Body in Scotland should make the same demand, and the Repeal of the Oppressive Acts might be passed in one Common Bill. The Committee positively refused to accede to such a proposal, alleging that as the Acts in question had been passed in two different Parliaments, it would require a separate Bill for the Repeal of each of them. As it was afterwards discovered, when too late, this turned out to be only a frivolous pretext for getting rid of the Scottish Relief Bill altogether. Lord Linton immediately waited on the Lord-Advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, who cheerfully undertook to introduce a Bill of Relief for his Catholic fellow-countrymen, but observed, that it would be better to watch the progress of the English Bill in the first instance, and to see how it succeeded; and if there should not be time in this Session of Parliament to bring in the Relief Bill for Scotland, his Lordship pledged his word to obtain for the Scottish Catholics in the next Session, all that their English Brethren should obtain in this.

Nothing could be more promising or more satisfactory than the reception which awaited the

* Scots Magazine, 1778, p. 206.

English Relief Bill in the House of Commons. The Motion for leave to bring it into the House was made by Sir George Savile and seconded by Mr. Dunning, both leading Members of the Opposition, in terms which must have been highly pleasing to the Catholic Body. Mr. Attorney-General Thurlow followed on the same side, and leave was given to bring in the Bill without a Dissident voice. The Lord-Advocate then, seeing the disposition of the House, rose and asked leave to bring in a similar Bill for Scotland, which was granted with the same unanimity. It was found, however, to be too late in the Session to introduce the Bill, but the Lord-Advocate renewed his pledge to Lord Linton that the Provisions of the English Bill should be extended to Scotland during the next Sitting of Parliament.

Meanwhile, the English Relief Bill passed through both Houses without a Division. It was read a first time, May 15, and received the Royal Assent, June 3. After setting forth the expediency of Repealing certain Provisions in an Act, 11 and 12 William III., "for the further Preventing of the Growth of Popery," by which certain Penalties and Disabilities were imposed on persons professing the Popish Religion, the new Bill Repealed so much of the former Act as relates to the Apprehension and Prosecution of Popish Bishops, Priests, and Jesuits, so much of it as subjects to perpetual Imprisonment such person, or any persons professing the Popish Religion, and keeping a School, or educating or boarding youth within this Kingdom, or any part of his Majesty's dominions. The new Bill also Repealed so much of the former Act as disables persons educated in the Popish Religion, or professing it, from inheriting, or taking by descent, possession of lands, &c., in England and Wales; so much as gives their next of kin, being Protestants, a right to enjoy such lands, &c.; and so much as disqualifies Papists from purchasing land in England and Wales. The only condition of Relief from those Disabilities was declared to be the taking, and subscribing in a Register, the new Oath of Allegiance, appended to the Bill.* The English Catholics came readily forward to take and subscribe the Oath. The day after the passing of the Bill, a Form of Prayer was promulgated throughout the Catholic Chapels in England for "our most Gracious Sovereign, King

George III., his Royal Consort, and all the Royal Family.*

During the progress of these negotiations, Bishop Hay had found time to see a great deal of his old friend, Dr. Challoner, who was well, and cheerful, at the advanced age of eighty-seven. Bishop Hay seems also to have gone a good deal into society, "paying and receiving many visits, some of business, and others of courtesy. I thank God, I find my health much better for this jaunt." [B. Hay to B. Grant, May 2, 1778.] He returned to Edinburgh, in company with Lord Linton, May 21. The tone of his Correspondence at this time is full of gratitude to Almighty God, for having so far promoted the object of his late journey, and given the poor Scottish Catholics a near prospect of obtaining relief from the most galling of the Penal Statutes. He also expresses his anxious wish that they should be cautioned to behave with moderation on the occasion, not assuming an air of superiority, but conducting themselves in their usual, quiet, and inoffensive way. [B. Hay to B. Grant, May 16, 1778.] In a previous letter to Bishop Grant, he designates the Relief Bill "an amazing affair."

Clouds, however, were beginning to gather in the stormy atmosphere of the North. The Relief Bill was made the subject of serious and protracted debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, only a day or two after the Bishop's return to Edinburgh.† In the formal Reply to the King's Letter, a member of Assembly proposed to make allusion to the Bill then passing through Parliament in favour of Catholics. The Motion was over-ruled for that day, on the ground that the Provisions of the Bill were not sufficiently known. A few days later, the Lord-Advocate was requested by the same Member to give the Assembly some account of the Bill. His Lordship did so, maintaining that its object was only to repeal a Penal Law, which from the beginning had been considered so cruel, as to have been seldom executed. The Bill did not extend to Scotland; but he had no doubt that, in some future Session of Parliament, a similar Bill would be passed for that country. This information was quite sufficient to rouse the bigoted party in the Assembly; and the very next day, a Dr. Gillies, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, moved that, as such a Bill for the Relief of the

* Scots Magazine, 1778, p. 393.

* Scots Magazine, p. 323. † Ibid, 1778, pp. 267, ut seq.

Roman Catholics in England had lately passed in the House of Commons, the Commission, or Permanent Committee of the Assembly, be instructed to watch its future progress, and especially if it should be extended to Scotland; and even if necessary, to call an extraordinary meeting of the Commission to consider the subject. This Reverend gentleman's son, the Minister of Greenock, seconded the Motion; and a very long Debate ensued. Principal Robertson, the leader of the Moderate Party in the Assembly, denied that the Bill in question threatened the Protestant Religion with any danger; he could see no signs of alarm in the country on the subject. He then entered at length into the history of the Penal Law, now the subject of repeal, showing that it was a cruel and sanguinary law, which nothing but the critical circumstances of the Period when it was first enacted, could ever justify. He proposed to reject the Motion. Other eminent speakers followed on the side of the Principal; Professor Gerard, of Aberdeen, Mr. John Home, and Mr. Solicitor-General Murray, who spoke for two hours in favour of the Bill, in an able and masterly manner. [Lord Linton to Lord Petre, June, 1778.] On a Division, the Motion of Dr. Gillies was rejected by a majority of 118 to 24. Some of the minority next day presented a Protest against the vote of the Assembly, which was recorded. With some inconsistency, they professed the utmost detestation of persecution for conscience's sake; yet they deprecated the repeal of a law which self-preservation had once made necessary, as a defence against the acts and the violence of persons whose intolerant principles obliged them to persecute all who differed from them. "The present state of the Protestant interest" (which, by the way, seems never, according to the cant phraseology on the subject, to be out of imminent danger,) called loudly for greater vigilance, and more vigorous efforts in its support; there was too good reason to believe that Popish emissaries had of late been unusually active and successful. It was notorious that, in several parts of Scotland, and even in the Metropolis, Popery had been on the increase for several years past.* Dr. Gillies' defeat in the Assembly was compensated for, by the public approbation of the "General Session" of Glasgow, where his views of religious tolerance found congenial sympathy †

* Scots Magazine, 1778, page 270.

† Ibid, p. 331.

Bishop Hay now turned his steps towards the North, to meet the other Bishops at Sealan. He seems to have spent the greater part of the month of July there. After the turmoil of London and the agitation of all his late negotiations, the repose of that secluded spot must have refreshed and invigorated his spirits. Bishop Grant and Bishop Macdonald were with him: it was the close of his intercourse with Bishop Grant in this world. In several Letters he mentions the rapid failure of the aged Bishop. ". . . Mr. Sinit is much failed this year; I am afraid I shall soon be deprived of him, which, I do assure you, will be a very sensible loss to me and to all the Mission. . . ."—[B. Hay to Abate Grant, July 24, 1778.] The health of Bishop Macdonald was also very delicate. The Bishops had the agreeable duty, at this Meeting, of informing Cardinal Caraffa, at Propaganda, of the English Relief Bill, and of their own expectations of a similar benefit in a few months. In conjunction with the Administrators of the Mission Fund, they addressed a Circular Letter to the Clergy, with the revised Constitution of the Administrative Body. Bishop Hay also took advantage of his present retirement to write long private Letters to his Foreign Correspondents, with full particulars of his recent engagements in the promotion of the Relief Bill. In one of his Letters he expresses his opinion regarding the new Oath which the English Catholics were taking, as containing "in it nothing against conscience, although it is conceived in very indelicate and harsh terms."—[B. Hay to Abate Grant, July 24, 1778. He subsequently expressed his pleasure at hearing that Mr. Cant had been so well pleased with the English Act and Oath—To the same, November 16, 1778.] He added that there was a most unanimous concurrence in all the Clergy and Gentry, throughout the Nation, to embrace that opportunity of being restored to the privileges of good subjects, and to the protection of the Laws of their Country, afforded them by kind Providence.

A Pastoral Letter was also at this time addressed to the Clergy in the Lowland District, by Bishop Grant and his Coadjutor, congratulating them on the prospect of soon obtaining a Repeal of the Penal Laws, and directing them to inculcate on their people respect and deference to the Laws; gratitude and attachment to his Majesty's

Person and Government; and moderation and propriety in their conduct towards persons of other Denominations of Religion; that their joy should not be permitted to carry them beyond the limits of decorum. This Pastoral Letter also orders "Testificates" of character to be given by the Clergy to any of their people who were going to another part of the Country; and enjoins the Proclamation of Banns before Marriage, as the state of the Country no longer excused its omission, and it had, for some time, been successfully practised in Edinburgh.

Before the successful termination of the negotiations in London we find evidence of Bishop Hay's anxious desire that Loyalty to the Reigning Family should be impressed on the Catholic Body in one of his Confidential Letters to his Friend at Valladolid: "It would be the height of folly to pretend to support the ideas of former times, which are no longer tenable. I, therefore, hope you will instil proper sentiments into the young folks under your care, and let them know that their great view ought to be to promote virtue and piety among their People, and submission and obedience to Higher Powers whom God in his Providence has placed over us."

By the middle of August Bishop Hay was again at his post in Edinburgh. His New Chapel was rapidly approaching completion. Before the end of September he took possession of his New Residence in Trunk Close, although the Chapel was not then ready for use. As usual, the expense of Building had far exceeded the Estimates—£500 still remained unpaid. The Bishop had then residing with him Mr. James Cameron, a young man who had lately returned from Douay in Sub-Deacon's Orders, and had been Ordained Priest at Edinburgh.

Although the recent Debate in the General Assembly on the Catholic Relief Bill had ended in a decided victory for the Moderate Party, it had excited an agitation throughout Scotland which a very few months brought to an alarming height. Resolutions to oppose to the last the Extension of the Relief Bill to Scotland were formally taken by nine Presbyterian Synods throughout the Country. So early as July 3, the Synod of Glenelg, a remote District in the North, seems to have led the way. Its example was followed by the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, a District of the Country where the influence of the bigoted

Party was probably greater than in any other. A Fast-Day was appointed to be kept within the Bounds of the Synod to avert the Divine displeasure which they had no doubt had been excited by the recent encouragement given by the British Legislature to the Catholic Body. The Catholic Religion was denounced in no unusual terms, the Study and the discussion of the Popish Controversy were recommended to the attention of all Ministers, who were exhorted to use every lawful means to check the growth of Popery. It was also resolved to present an Address to the King and to Parliament, and to write a Letter of Remonstrance to the Lord-Advocate. Thus Glasgow maintained her traditional adherence to the vigour of the Covenant. Other Synodical Bodies followed in the same course, competing with one another in the bitterness of their language in regard to the Catholic Religion, and in the force of their denunciations against the proposed Relief Bill for Scotland. Not even the liberal influence of Principal Robertson could prevent the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale (Edinburgh) from passing a resolution in accordance with the popular clamour, only its terms were more measured, and its objects less offensively defined. After expressing the fears of certain persons, on the one hand, that the late Relief Bill in England would inflict serious injury on the Protestant interests in Britain, and after expressing, on the other hand, the conviction of many, that the ultimate effect of that Bill would be no more than the removal of a few severe Penalties and Disabilities from inoffensive Catholics, the Resolution concludes in these words, which evidently reveal the nature of the Compromise effected:—"Amidst these various sentiments, the Synod, while they declare their firm adherence to the principles of liberty and the rights of private judgment, that they have no intention to interfere with the Legislature in matters of civil right, and do by no means wish that any person should be deprived of his inheritance or subjected to Civil Penalties for Conscience's sake; they, at the same time, express their hopes, that if such Repeal shall be extended to this part of the United Kingdom the wisdom and attention of the Legislature will make effectual provision, under proper sanctions, to prevent all the dangers that are apprehended from that Repeal."*

* Scots Magazine. 1778, p. 566.

The influence of Principal Campbell was thrown into the scale of moderation with more effect, and in the Synod of Aberdeen, that Reverend Body enjoyed the honourable distinction of being one of five Synods which pronounced no opinion at all in the Controversy,* although, indeed, it is hard to say for which side the Synod of Edinburgh declared.

As if the thunders of two-thirds of the Pulpits in the Country were not enough for the Scottish Catholic to endure at that most harassing time, another Adversary, of a totally different character, entered the field against them, in the person of Dr. Abernethy Drummond, a Nonjuring Clergyman in Edinburgh. The party which he represented was, at this time, especially exasperated against the Catholic Body for having, as it was alleged, deserted its Political principles of adherence to the almost extinct Jacobite Cause, and by this sacrifice outbid the Nonjurors in the favour and protection of Government. A feeling of personal rancour against Bishop Hay himself, as a member of an old Jacobite Family, and a Deserter from the Cause, in Religion as well as Politics, seems to have added bitterness to Drummond's resentment. Nor had he forgotten the severe castigation administered to him by Bishop Hay, a year or two before, on the subject of Miracles.

The ostensible provocation which he pleaded was the language employed by Bishop Hay in his Pamphlet against Dr. Campbell, "A Detection, &c." The Catholic Prelate had accused the Reverend Principal of "diabolical calumny and damnable detraction" ["Detection," p. 31], for having asserted that, from the Rescripts of Popes, the opinions of approved Divines, and even the practice of Converts, it were easy to prove that it is not contrary to the Will of Heaven to lie, betray, or even murder, when the supposed interest of the Church requires it." Bishop Hay had further challenged his Opponent to produce any one approved Divine of the R. Catholic Communion that holds, or approves, or even insinuates such a Doctrine. Seven years had elapsed since the Bishop had published this Challenge, but it was not till the month of August, in this year, that Dr. A. Drummond thought it worth his while to take up the Challenge, on behalf of the Cause which Dr. Campbell had advocated. Now, however, he sent a private

Letter to Bishop Hay inviting him to an interview in the Advocates' Library, in presence of three or four learned men, to be chosen by both sides, "to inquire, by looking at a few printed Books," whether the assertion of Dr. Campbell could be proved or not. The Bishop was then much engaged in removing to his new House, and his request for delay was at once acceded to by Drummond, who, however, by-and-bye, began to grow impatient, and twice renewed his solicitation for a Discussion. Bishop Hay, unwilling to go, quite unprepared, into a contest of this kind, requested Dr. Drummond to furnish him with the names of the Authors whom he meant to cite, and with references to the places in their Works by which he meant to prove his position. This request drew a long Letter from Drummond early in September, containing a short abstract of his proofs. Bishop Hay perceived from this that the Debate would turn, not on the authenticity of the passages referred to, which must be admitted, but in their meaning and their application, and on the character of their Authors—a line of Controversy which at first sight appeared to him, in all the circumstances, not advisable. Before he could determine what was best to be done, he received a second Letter from Drummond, five days later in date than the former. After adding other testimonies to the earlier list, and sketching his proposed line of argument, the Nonjuror added that the Bishop would shortly see the whole printed, in the form of a Letter addressed to Bishop Hay, and published by the Presbyterian Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The whole face of the Controversy at once appeared to the Bishop to be changed. From a Private Discussion, it had assumed the character of a Public Debate. He, therefore, declined the proposed Meeting, and preferred to admit the appearance of the printed Letter.—[Preface to B. Hay's Answer.] Thus, Presbytery did not disdain to form a League with Prelacy, if it could only inlet a wound on Catholicity. Thus the Nonjuring party, of all Prelatists the most bigoted, could avail itself of popular clamour to combine with a body of men the most foreign to its principles, for the purpose of Political retaliation, and the gratification of what was little better than a personal pique.

In due time, Drummond's Pamphlet made its appearance. It was entitled, "The Lawfulness

* Scots Magazine, 1779, p. 45.

of Breaking Faith with Heretics Proved to be an Established Doctrine of the Church of Rome, in a Letter to Mr. G. H., by W. A. D.* Nothing could have been more unfortunate than the publication of such a Work at this critical time. It derived all the more weight from the very circumstance of its origin. When a Nonjuror took the trouble to arraign a Papist, there must be a very bad cause indeed; so augured hundreds of Presbyterian readers of Drummond's Malicious Tract, in which he perverted the private Correspondence which had passed between Bishop Hay and himself, so as to make it appear that the Bishop had from the first to decline the proposed interview and discussion, doubtless from his consciousness of how weak a Cause he had to defend.

The Bishop was not long in retorting upon his opponent. His irritation may be detected in the very Title of his Reply:—"An Answer to Mr. W. A. D.'s Letter to G. H.; in which the conduct of the Government in Instigating the Penal Laws against Papists is Justified; the Seditious tendency of W. A. D.'s Letter is discovered; the Roman Catholics fully Vindicated from the slanderous accusation of thinking it Lawful to break Faith with Heretics, which W. A. D. attempts to fix upon them; and W. A. D.'s Letter proved to be a Gross Imposition on the Public, composed of Misrepresentations and False Reasoning from beginning to end.—Eph. iv. 25."† This Answer is arranged in seven Sections. After a short Introduction, devoted to the all-engrossing subject of the Repeal of the Penal Laws, the Bishop exposes the false reasoning in the Nonjuror's Pamphlet; he discusses the Authorities cited in it, and exhibits their true meaning. A Section is devoted to an examination of the Decretals of Gregory IX., and another to the story of Huss and his safe conduct to Constance: finally, showing that "the Roman Catholic Church holds it impious and unlawful to break Faith with any person whatever, or on any account." In a brief conclusion, Bishop Hay deprecates the bitter spirit which seemed to animate his adversary against the Roman Catholics.

It was the misfortune of all Controversies at

* Scots Magazine, 1778, p. 504.

† A small 8vo., pp. 117. Signed G. H., and dated November 1778. Yet it is advertised in the "Scots Magazine," in October of that year. A Copy exists at Blairs College.

that time, to degenerate into something too nearly akin to personal invective—men of education and of taste wrote of one another, and to one another, as they would have shrunk from speaking. The judicious criticism of the late Abbe Macpherson, on this unfortunate Controversy, is worth quoting:—"Perhaps, posterity may think that Bishop Hay defended his cause with a warmth that could do it no service."*

However that might be, he certainly had found his match in the Nonjuror, as far as bitterness was admitted into the Dispute. In a second Letter to Bishop Hay, which appeared almost immediately, Drummond condescended to coarse vituperation; and, what is remarkable, he, for the first time, threw off the transparent veil of Initials, and gave his name in full. He now felt thoroughly sure of his ground. If the Catholic Bishop carried the Government with him, the Nonjuror had secured the populace, and he felt his advantage. His Reply is entitled:—

A second Letter to Mr. G. H. concerning Breach of Faith with Heretics, wherein that gentleman's objections to the evidence produced in the former Letter are refuted, the sophistry of his answer is displayed, and additional evidence produced which is alone decisive in the cause. By the Rev. William Abernethy-Drummond, M. D., a sentence will give you a sufficient sample of the tenure of the pamphlet. "So particularly disgraceful as well as malignant is the part you have acted that all men of honour and humanity must equally despise both, especially when they are told that you grew up to man's estate a member of that very Church upon which you have now endeavoured to call down vengeance. But, Sir, you come too late for that wicked purpose. This is not the age, at least, thanks to God, this is not the Country of Persecution for Conscience, sake." It was evident from these remarks where the Nonjuror winced. The Bishop, in his reply to Drummond's first Letter, had clearly and very forcibly exposed the political origin of this Opposition on the part of the Nonjurors with reasoning from which there was no escape, and in the sternest language.

There can be no question that nothing contributed to the general excitement of men's minds on the subject of Catholic Relief more directly or more extensively than these Pamphlets of Drum-

* "Hist. of Sect. Mission"—sub. anno 1778.

mond. The Presbyterian Body very generally took up the cry. Pulpits rang with denunciations of Catholicity, the Press teemed with Pamphlets, and the leading Journals with bitter Articles on the engrossing subject. We are assured by a contemporary that no State measure had for a long time given such an alarm as the Bill for Repealing the Scottish Penal Laws against Papists.* It must be mentioned, to the honour of Dr. Campbell, that he, almost alone, had the courage to Protest against the popular panic. In an Address which he published to the people of Scotland on the alarm that had been raised in regard to Popery, he boldly disclaimed all attempts to repress the growth of Popery by compulsion, demonstrating that the only consistent course for a Protestant Nation to adopt in such an enterprise, was the milder method of persuasion.

The Scottish Catholics did not yet despair of obtaining their Relief Bill in the next Session of Parliament. The Irish Bill had received the Royal assent in the National Parliament, at Dublin, August 11, and with the exception of the murmurs of the Whig party out of doors, and a few incendiary Riots in the Counties of Down and Antrim, the measure had been welcomed by the nation in general. At Loughrea, the town had been illuminated, and the Protestant inhabitants, with Lord Clanricarde at their head, had spent an evening in festivity, with their Catholic fellow-townsmen.† Why should Scotland be the only exception to the cordiality exhibited by the United Kingdom, in the performance of an act of clemency and of justice towards the Catholic body? A Meeting of the principal Catholic proprietors was held in Edinburgh, September 12, to consider what Measures they should adopt in order to secure the passing of the Bill for their relief. Bishop Macdonald attended it, in company with several of the leading Highland Catholics; the Lowland interest was also fairly represented. With some little difficulty, Bishop Hay persuaded them to adopt a series of Resolutions to the following effect: that Lord Linton, Mr. Maxwell of Munches, and Mr. Glendonwyn, should wait on the Lord-Advocate, at Melville Castle, and thank his Lordship in the name of the Catholic body,

for his past favours, and his promise of future services; they were also to inform him that the heads of the proposed Relief Bill were then under the consideration of a Meeting of the Catholic body in Edinburgh. It was resolved that Mr. Crosbie, Advocate,* should be appointed to prepare the Bill, in terms similar to the English Relief Bill; and a rough Draft of it was sent to him by the Meeting. The Bill, when approved, was to be shown to Lord North, before the Meeting of Parliament. A voluntary Sub-cription was agreed upon, for defrayment of expenses; and it was resolved to make an offer of raising a Catholic Regiment 1000 strong, for the public service.

This last resolution seems to have been adopted with less unanimity than any of the others. The Highland Proprietors, already familiar with Recruiting, entered without difficulty into the proposal, but it met with a stormy Opposition from the Lowland gentlemen. One of them, in particular, expressed his adverse opinion with great warmth and bitterness, inveighing against the innovations on the principles and practice of the Catholic Body, and of their Fathers before them, introduced by Bi-hop Hay. The late Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodds, who was present at the Meeting, used to say, that his first impression of admiration for the Bi-hop, was excited at that time by observing the meekness with which he received this severe and abusive criticism. St. Francis of Sales could not have taken it better. He made no Reply.

The Principal of the Scotch College in Paris, who happened to be in Edinburgh at the time, on his way to Paris, has left us a sarcastic description of this celebrated Meeting of the Catholic Gentry. Little had been done, as it seemed to him; and there was not a man of sense among them but one. "I am a good deal fretted at the folly of some, the trifling of others, and the stupid indifference of almost the whole."— Mr. A. Gordon to Mr. J. Reid, September 26, 1778.]

It was not to be expected that the agitation into which the Country had been thrown, on the subject of the Catholic Relief Bill, should end as it had begun, in a mere War of words. The populace is more familiar with a shorter and

* Scots Magazine, 1778, p. 6-1

† Scots Magazine, 1778, p. 453.

sharper method of deciding its quarrels, and those who, with premeditation, excite its passions, must be held responsible for the violence which commonly ensues. The Synod of Glasgow passed its Resolutions against Popery on the 13th of October; on the following Sunday the Mob of Glasgow took upon itself the congenial task of executing them, as far as lay in its power. Among the numerous strangers who had, for several years past, been attracted from the Highlands to Glasgow in search of an honest livelihood, there were a few Catholics, and they, having no regular Place of Worship there, had been in the habit of Meeting on Sundays in the House of one of their Body, Donald Maedonald, a Combmaker, an honest, industrious, and inoffensive man, residing in Blackstock's Land, near the foot of the Saltmarket. A Priest occasionally visited them from Edinburgh, but when he did not come, they contented themselves with saying their Prayers together, and hearing a pious Book read to them. Such was the origin of the Glasgow Mission.

On Sunday, the 18th October, Mr. Robert Menzies, one of the Edinburgh Priests, was at Glasgow, and said Mass for this little handful of Catholics. The Service was hardly over, when a Mob of idle persons assembled around the House, exclaiming against the impudence of those poor people in daring to bring Popery into that Presbyterian City, after the determined Protest of the Synod against it, only a few days ago. Before the terrified Catholics could steal quietly home, the Mob burst into the House, threatening them with savage cries and imprecations. Maedonald showed the Rioters over the house, which they searched in vain for any signs of Popish Worship. Their disappointment made them only more violent. They smashed the windows, tore the doors off their hinges, and rifled the House of everything that they could carry away. Mr. Menzies, after securing the Altar Furniture, mingled in the crowd, and, in self-preservation, joined in the cry, 'Where's the Priest?' Maedonald's wife, who was a Protestant, attempted to steal out, to give notice to a Magistrate, but the Mob discovered her, and so maltreated her that she was glad to take refuge in the house of a Friend. Many persons were wounded by stones, others, even of respectability, were stopped in the street and assaulted, merely on suspicion of being

Catholics. A French Gentleman, who had resided for some time in Glasgow as a Thread Manufacturer, under the protection of the Board of Trustees, was an especial object of vengeance to the Mob; also, an Englishman, of the name of Bagnall, who had introduced the manufacture of Staffordshire Ware into Glasgow. The Rioters met with no opposition, and their outrage ended only with daylight. When application was made for redress, the Law Officers of the Crown, although friendly to the Catholics, advised them to waive their right and make no resistance, but, as soon as possible, to publish a good refutation of Drummond's Tract.

Government still maintained a friendly attitude towards the Catholic Body. In reply to a request made to the Lord Advocate, by the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, that he would present their Addresses against Repeal of the Penal Laws, to the King and to Parliament, he declined to do so, and gave them his reasons at length; reminding them that the last General Assembly had determined to do nothing in the matter, denying that Popery was on the increase, and severely animadverting on the terms of the Addresses.

A Body of Catholic Soldiers had expressed a wish to attend Mass at a Public Chapel; but the Major of the Regiment had forbidden them to do so, as a measure of precaution. Bishop Hay waited on the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Adolphus Oughton, at Caroline Park, to appeal against the Major's order. Not finding him at home, the Bishop sent him a Memorial on the subject; to which the General returned a courteous answer, through the medium of Sir John Dalrymple. He begged Sir John to present his compliments to Mr. Hay, and to express his regret at having been from home when Mr. Hay had done him the honour of calling on him the day before. "I have seriously considered the Narrative and Note he left for me, which appears thoroughly candid, and fraught with that spirit of moderation which becomes his character, and which the circumstances of the times seem strongly to require. Happy is it for the Roman Catholics that your worthy Friend is now at their head, from whose gentleness of temper, as well as solidity of judgment, I trust such Measures will be taken as may most effectually dissipate these threatening clouds. . . ." The General granted permission to the men to "drop into

Chapel, a few at a time;" but he added that they must not go in a body, for fear of disturbance.

The moderate tone adopted by the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, did not suit the inflammatory disposition of the common people in Edinburgh. They, therefore, adopted Measures of their own. Under the direction of a Mr. Richard Lake, a Writer, or Solicitor, in Edinburgh, and a violent Methodist, a number of persons, calling themselves "Friends to the Protestant Interest," held a meeting, to consider the proposed Repeal of the Penal Laws. This Meeting decided that the Repeal was as inexpedient as it was unconstitutional; it was resolved publicly to recommend that Addresses to the Throne and to Parliament, against the Bill, should be sent from every part of Scotland, and, more especially, by the Royal Boroughs, the Corporations, and the Universities. The Meeting also appointed a Committee to Correspond with the Friends of Protestantism all over the Country; and ordered the Publication of the Resolutions in the Newspapers.* This self-constituted Body entered, without delay, on a system of unscrupulous agitation; Pamphlets issued under the sanction of their name, misrepresenting the nature of the Relief Bill, and, in allusion to the criminal apathy of the last General Assembly, presuming to dictate to the Country that none but "Friends to Protestantism and to Presbytery" should be elected as Members of the next General Assembly.† They held Public Meetings, at which it did not escape the notice of the Newspapers, that sometimes no Minister was present; so that the Lay President had to open and conclude the business with Prayer. In fact, those Friends to the Protestant Interest belonged to the very lowest of the people, and received, at least, no public countenance from the better educated, and from men of station and character.‡ Yet, the mischief that they were able to effect was incalculable. They ventured to apply to the Town Council of Edinburgh for its concurrence in opposing the Relief Bill. A Meeting of the several Incorporated Trades accordingly took place, each of which agreed to oppose the Catholic Bill, with the honourable exceptions of the Sur-

geons, the Merchant Company, and the Candle-makers. A Committee of the Town Council was appointed to examine the question; their Report was unfavourable to the Bill; the Council, therefore, resolved to oppose the Repeal of the Penal Laws, and sent a Copy of its Resolution to Sir Lawrence Dundas, the Member for the City, and to the Lord Advocate, who represented the County, requesting those gentlemen to use their best endeavours to prevent the Bill from passing into Law.

The Friends of the Protestant interest organised similar Associations in Glasgow, and in many other Provincial Towns in Scotland. Resolutions were taken against the Bill; Petitions to the Legislature, in accordance with those Resolutions, were passed, and numerous signed; and, of course, Subscriptions were opened to defray expenses. Yet, it was a matter of observation at the time, that, with the exception of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the most violent opposition to the Bill was offered in those places where Catholicity was least known: it was nowhere so violent as in parts of the Country where they had never seen a Catholic. The Country gentlemen also kept aloof from the agitation; and so did the higher class of tradesmen in the Towns. The body of the Association was composed of the lowest and most ignorant classes, under the directions of a few designing men.†

Some of the reasons by which those Friends of the Protestant Interest sought to justify their opposition to the Relief Bill, were sufficiently absurd and inconsistent with facts. In all such agitations, the loudest cry is always one of Danger to Civil and Religious Liberties. As if the persons who had the greatest stake in the country were not at liberty to perceive the recurrence of any real danger to those liberties as a body of men without position and without competent education. It was difficult to see how permission to Catholics to exercise their Religion in private, to possess their property unmolested, and to educate their own children, should affect the liberties of any one. The Legislature of England and Ireland had come to a different conclusion; and in those parts of the United Kingdom, the Catholic Body was then computed to be a

* December 1. Scots Magazine, 1778; p. 684.

† Scots Magazine—1779; p. 44.

‡ "Observations on the Opposition to the R. Catholic Bill for Scotland."—MS., in B. Hay's handwriting, at Preshome. No date.

* Scots Magazine—1779; p. 106.

† "Observations, etc.," *at supra*.

hundred and fifty times more numerous than in Scotland.

Of course, the great increase of Popery of late years, was another forcible argument against the Bill. This apparent increase was, in reality, due to a new distribution of the Catholic population. It was greater than it used to be in some of the large towns; but there were fewer Catholics in the Rural Districts. Not many years before, there had been several Catholic Noblemen of distinguished rank and influence, such as the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Perth, the Earl of Winton, and of Seaforth; Highland Chieftains like Clanranald and Glengarry, had once belonged to the Catholic Body. But at the time of this Agitation, there remained only one Catholic Noble Family in the whole of Scotland. It was also worthy of notice, that although this Family had resided for some generations on its Estate, and had always kept a Chaplain, most of its dependants were Protestants, and some even among its domestic servants. The Catholics on the Estates of the Perth Family were only a third part as numerous as they had once been. Thirty years before, there had been a pretty considerable body of Catholics in Forfarshire; but they had by this time dwindled down to about thirty grown persons. This same diminution might be observed in the District of Buchan, in Aberdeenshire. Before the American War, there had been a large Emigration of Catholics to the West; and many hundreds of them had lately Enlisted in the Foreign Service of their Country. All of these facts ought to have shown how false was the ery of the great increase of Popery.

But it was said, allow Catholics to open Schools, and we shall soon see an increase of Popery. Whereas, all that was asked from Parliament was only permission to educate their own children, and to employ persons of their own Religion for that purpose. Again, the Priests were so bold in going about among the people, and trying to make Converts, what would they not do if they were to obtain more liberty? On the contrary, the Clergy had the most express directions how to go among the people on purpose to make Converts, and they had always adhered to this injunction most carefully.

The last reason assigned by the Enemies of the Bill was, if possible, the most absurd of all. Multitudes of Jesuits, they said, would pour into

the Country and pervert the people. At that time there was not, strictly speaking, one Priest in the whole of Western Europe; of those who had once belonged to that Order, the number was diminishing every day; of the natives of Scotland who had belonged to them, there were not more than a dozen in existence. To suppose that crowds of French, Spanish, or Italian Jesuits would pour into the Country in consequence of the Bill, one should have thought too absurd, even for popular credence.*

It was while the storm was gathering, and before it had reached the height of its fury, that God called the venerable Bishop Grant to himself. He had already passed through a wilder storm thirty years before; he had proved his constancy, and had earned his rest. His journey to Sealan last Summer had much fatigued him, and since his return to Aberdeen he had been nearly laid aside from duty. His Friends were for some time in hopes that, as his feeble health had often before rallied, he might be permitted to remain with them, at least over this Winter. But it was otherwise decreed, this excellent man expired at Aberdeen, December 3, in the forty-fifth year of his Priesthood, and the twenty-fourth of his Episcopate, and was interred in the Snow [Sta Maria ad Nives] Churchyard. Many of his Letters remain to indicate a mind of no common cultivation and even refinement. On receipt of the news of his death, Principal Gordon replied to Bishop Hay that he had been expecting it by every Post. The last thing the good Bishop had said to him at parting in Autumn, was to desire Mr. Gordon's Prayers when he should hear of his death. Bishop Macdonald has left us his Panegyric in a few forcible words:—"He was one of the few who, in their whole life, escaped all censure, because censure could find no access to one who entered on the stage of the world with the maturity of old age, and whose conduct from the beginning was regulated by the most solid maxims of prudence and Religion. [B. Macdonald to B. Hay, January 4, 1779.]

By the death of Bishop Grant, Dr. Hay now became Vicar Apostolic in the Lowland District of Scotland. While communicating the fact to Cardinal Albani (December), he congratulated his

* "Observations," etc., *ut supra*.

Eminence on the Protectorship of the Scotch College having been recently restored to him. By the same Post the Bishop informed Cardinal Castelli, also at Propaganda, of the death of the late Vicar Apostolic.

It could not have been without emotion that his successor received the congratulations of Mr. Geddes, at Valladolid, on receiving news of this event. . . . "Though your last letter had prepared us for it, you will believe, when it has now come, it affects me sensibly. . . . Although you have already had long the principal burden of that Vicariate, yet this alteration will at first be felt by you; but you will know in whom you confide, to whom you should have recourse. He will direct, he will support you. I hope I scarcely need tell you my disposition with regard to him whom I have now immediately and principally, under God, to obey. . . . But how critical are the circumstances in which you come to that office." [Mr. J. Geddes to B. Hay, January 11, 1779.]

CHAPTER X.

1778—1779.

B. Hay goes to London on Business of the Scotch Catholic Relief Bill—Riots in Scotland—Chapels Destroyed—B. Hay's Pastoral—Obtains Compensation—Debate in the House of Commons—Mr. Burke and the Committee of the Protestant Interest—Dr. William Robertson.

It was now thought necessary that Lord Linton and Bishop Hay should return to London, to watch the progress of the Relief Bill through Parliament. Sir John Dalrymple furnished Lord Linton with Letters of Introduction to some of his Friends there, in one of which he says, "Lord Linton will tell you how insignificant I moved these Kingdoms in this matter, and yet was never heard of, even in a Newspaper." One hardly knows whether to call this modesty, or the subtilist and most refined vanity.

Bishop Hay, before leaving Scotland, executed a Formal Document, appointing Mr. Alexander Gordon his "Vicar-General" in Spiritual and Temporal matters; delegating to him all the Faculties that the Holy See had given to himself, excepting only such as especially belonged to the Episcopal character. The Document is in Latin, signed in due form, and sealed with the Bishop's Armorial Seal—a Star of five points, be-

tween three blank Shields, for Hay. By the middle of December, he seems to have resumed his Negotiations with Government in good earnest. The proposal to raise a Catholic Regiment in Scotland was very agreeable to Ministers; but, Lord George Germain, on reading the Memorial on the subject, remarked that the Laws forbade the acceptance of such an offer, as it stood; but that it might very well be couched in some other form, the substance of the proposal remaining the same. When that was done, both his Lordship and Lord North wished that it should be presented to the King. This was done by Lord Linton, at the Levee, on the last day of this year; when the King, who had been prepared for it by Lord North, instead of handing it to the Lord in waiting, put it in his pocket. The practical difficulty attending the offer of raising a Regiment arose from the necessity of permitting the men the free exercise of their Religion, and of appointing a Catholic Chaplain to attend them: on such terms, but hardly on any other, a Catholic Regiment might easily be raised. But how, in the state of the Law at that time, could such terms be thought of for a moment?—[B. Hay to Sir J. Dalrymple, January 1, 1779.] The Proposal was, in fact, designed as a practical demonstration of the mischief arising from the Penal Laws, and as an illustration of the practical and immediate benefit which would accrue to the State from their Repeal, or even from their partial mitigation.

The knowledge that Measures were seriously in progress for passing the Relief Bill, added fuel to the flame of Agitation that raged in Scotland. The "Friends of Protestantism" put themselves in communication with Lord George Gordon, who was at the head of a similar fanatical party in England, and who, a few months later, distinguished himself by the violence and illegality of his proceedings. The business of Petitioning went on briskly; School Boys were hired for money to add their names to the Catalogue of good Protestants. Counsel were engaged to oppose the passing of the Bill, at the Bar of both Houses of Parliament. Fly-sheets and Hand-bills of the most inflammatory kind were circulated among the people. At Presbume, there is a large Fly-sheet, entitled, "The Brave and Spirited Resolution of the Minister, Members, and Congregation of the Gaelic Church in Edinburgh,

against the intended Popish Bill; with Popery Dissected, and the Price of each Sin, Pardon, Purgatory Opened." In the same Collection, there is another of a more elaborate character—an Impression on copper, representing pictorially the Opposition to the Relief Bill. It is entitled—"Sawney's Defence against the Beast, Whore, Pope, and Devil." On the left hand of the Picture and the right of the spectator, is depicted John Bull, fettered and prostrate on the ground; "the Beast," with seven heads and ten horns, standing over him; upon the Beast is mounted the "Scarlet Whore of Babylon," with the Cup of her Sorceries in her hand. Close by, is the Pope—the "Man of sin,"—with his Tiara, Keys, Rosary, &c., giving King George III. Absolution for the Breach of his Oath: the King's Foot is trampling on the torn Standard of the Union. On the other side of the Tweed, which divides the Picture, is represented the Lord Advocate, holding in his right hand the "Popish Bill," while Bishop Hay, who stands, Mitred, close behind him, is slipping into his left hand a bag of money, containing £40,000. The Devil himself is flying over the groupe, with a Coronet in his hand, destined for the Lord Advocate, as an additional reward for his services. Advancing to meet and repel these enemies of his Country, we see "Sawney," in Highland Costume—a Scots Thistle in his Cap (or Bonnet), and a stout Claymore in his hand, bearing a Shield and a Standard. Over his head is the "Woman clothed with the Sun, and the Moon under her feet;" representing the "Church," as in Rev. xii. The most inflammatory Scrolls issue from the mouths of all the Figures.

An Agitation of such a kind, appealing to the worst passions of a fanatical populace, could end only in one way. Incendiarism and the destruction of the Property of Catholics were every day more openly threatened. As early as the beginning of December, rumours of extreme Measures began to circulate; but, with the New Year, and as the time approached for bringing the odious Relief Bill under the consideration of Parliament, these threats grew louder and more distinct. During the latter half of the month of January, Incendiary Letters were dropped about the streets of Edinburgh and sent through the Post to some of the principal Catholic tradesmen, and others conveying open threats that, unless they "Re-

formed," their Property, their Chapels, and even their persons were devoted to destruction. When a Catholic was recognised in the street it was a signal for outrageous cries—There's a Papist; knock him down; shoot him! The poor Catholics found it no longer safe to keep in their own houses; some of them, during the last week in January, actually abandoned their homes, and sought refuge with their Friends.

On Friday, January 29, copies of the following laconic Hand-bill were dropt about the streets:—"Men and Brethren—Whoever shall find this Letter will take it as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd on Wednesday next in the evening, to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there.—A Protestant. Edinburgh, January 29, 1779. P.S.—Please to read this carefully, keep it clean, and drop it somewhere else. For King and Country—Unity." [A copy at Preshome.] Prefixed to this infamous Document is a list of the "Committee of the Protestant interest," in which the name of William Dixon, Dyer, occurs as "Preses." Although they afterwards attempted to repudiate it, it was clearly proved that this Incendiary Proposal was made and Circulated under their direct auspices, "for the Protestant interest."

The New Building in Chalmer's Close, in the immediate neighbourhood of Leith Wynd, had been used as a Dwelling-House for about four months; the Chapel, however, had not been opened for Public Service, although Bishop Hay had said Mass in it privately. During the whole of Saturday, January 30, a Mob of idle persons hung about the House, breaking the windows, and insulting the Bishop's servants, and any one who went in or out. Next day an alarming Report spread through the City that an early day in that week had been fixed on for burning the new Chapel, and for the destruction of the Chapel and the Priest's House in Blackfriars' Wynd, together with the Shops and Dwelling Houses of the principal Catholics in the town. On Monday morning, the Lord Provost (Hamilton) was applied to by the threatened victims of popular fury, who besought him to adopt vigorous Measures for their protection. The Provost and the Magistrates in general, if they were not actually in collusion with the Mob, manifested the greatest apathy and indifference, contenting themselves with vague assurances that no real cause for apprehension

existed, and making no preparation to meet a crisis, which was becoming every hour more imminent, beyond issuing an Order to the Heads (Deacons) of the Incorporated Trades to do their best to keep the young men under their charge from riotous and disorderly conduct.

About noon on Tuesday, February 2, the Mob again assembled around the new Chapel-house in Chalmers' Close, and began to pelt the inmates with stones. Mr. James Cameron and Mr. Mathison, a young Priest, just arrived from Spain, sat down to dinner about two o'clock, but the shower of stones soon became so sharp that they could no longer remain with safety in the house. They managed, with great difficulty, to force their way through the crowd to the older Chapel-house in Blackfriars' Wynd, taking with them the servants and as much of the Altar Furniture as they could collect in a few hurried moments and conceal about their persons. Their departure was the signal for the Mob to force the doors of the house; it was instantly filled with wild men, armed with hatchets and stones, under the vigorous strokes of which the interior of the house soon became an utter wreck. The space of open ground around it, and all the avenues leading to it, were now filled with a dense mass of the rabble, and a general roar—"Set fire to it, set fire to it, immediately!" soon decided the fate of the building. Straw and barrels of tar were distributed over its several floors, and the whole was speedily in a flame, which did not exhaust itself till ten o'clock that night.

It is difficult to decide, so conflicting is the evidence, how far the Magistrates can justly be accused of wilfully neglecting the ordinary means of quelling the Riot. A large body of the Regiment of Fencibles was under Arms, under the command of the Duke of Buccleuch, who behaved with conspicuous courage, frequently risking his life for the protection of Catholic life and property. The Military, with some justice, complained that they were made to act without plan, and were indeed kept inactive; the Magistrates reeriminated, alleging that their orders were not obeyed. It was not disputed, however, that a number of the rabble whom the Military, and in some instances the Duke with his own hand, had seized in the act of rioting, were no sooner lodged in the Castle, than they were set at liberty,

as it afterwards turned out, by orders of the Lord-Advocate.

By the first appearance of the Mob around the Chapel-house, in Chalmers' Close, on the fatal day, the Clergy then gave notice to the Magistrates personally, of the threatened danger; and received for answer that a body of the Town-guard would be sent down as soon as the conduct of the rabble seemed to justify the use of force. At last, the Provost went down, with a few of the Magistrates, attended by some of the Town-guard, a body of men proverbial for their incapacity. His Lordship harangued the rioters from a window of the house, telling them that the odious Bill was abandoned, as he had private information. He was answered by a volley of abusive language, enforced by a shower of stones. The Town-guard then cleared the house, and mounted guard around it. The rioters a little baffled, moved off to Blackfriars' Wynd, from which they were by-and-by driven by a party of Fencibles. Preferring to meet the Town-guard, the Mob again returned to Chalmers' Close, overpowered the miserable guard, and once more were masters of the house. More of the Town-guard arrived, together with Fencibles from the Castle; but during the rest of the tragedy, Magistrates and Military were spectators of the scene, and nothing more. The Riot Act was read, but no entreaty used by the Duke, or the Lieutenant-Colonel, could prevail on the Magistrates to use the Military force at their command. Simultaneous attacks were also made on the shop of Macdonald, a Catholic tradesman in the Canon-gate, and an old servant at Traquair; his wife was recognised, and assaulted by the rabble, as she fled to the Castle with an infant child in her arms. The shop of Loekhart, another Catholic tradesman, at the head of the Cowgate, was similarly plundered; and he was glad to escape in woman's clothes, to the Castle. The house of Smith, a baker, in the Potter-row, was saved by the active interference of his Protestant friends. Loekhart and Smith were the Converts whose secession from Bishop Abernethy Drummond's Congregation had been the occasion of the Appendix to Bishop Hay's Work on Miracles.

Intelligence of the increasing danger which threatened public peace in Scotland, had considerably diminished the zeal of Government in behalf of Repeal. The Scotch Members were

paralysed by the popular clamour, and withdrew their support from the Bill altogether. With concurrence therefore of all concerned, it was formally withdrawn, with the hope of averting further mischief. The step, however, came too late. Bishop Hay hastened down to Scotland to give his poor Flock all the encouragement and support in his power; and oddly enough arrived in Edinburgh, at the very time that the flames were devouring his new Chapel. He walked from the Inn, with his saddle-bags on his arm, towards his own house, utterly unconscious of the catastrophe that had befallen it. He observed, however, an unusual crowd in the streets, which excited his surprise; it seemed to increase, as he went on. At last he stopped an old woman near the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, and asked her what it all meant. "O sir," she replied, "we are burning the Popish Chapel; and we only wish we had the Bishop to throw into the fire." [Ab. Macpherson's Hist. of Scott. Missions, p. 453.] He turned aside from the public thoroughfare, and ultimately found a safe asylum, for a few days, in the Castle.

Next day, the rabble entered and plundered the Chapel-house, in Blackfriars' Wynd; but a more vigorous and successful resistance was made against Incendiarism; prompted by the imminent danger which threatened the whole city, if a house in so densely crowded a neighbourhood should be given to the flames. The afternoon the populace prepared to devote to the destruction of Principal Robertson's residence in the College precincts. The courageous stand which this excellent man had made in favour of humanity and justice, had procured him this distinguished mark of popular disapprobation. He also had taken refuge in the Castle; and a strong body of Fencibles, supported by Dragoons, effectually repulsed the Mob from his residence, after many repeated efforts to attack it.

It was feared that Lord Linton's Town Residence at Ramsay Lodge, might become an object of attack to the rabble. His infant daughter was, therefore, at once removed by her Friends to a place of safety; and Mr. Cruikshanks, the Chaplain, retired, for a few days, to Traquair House.

Notice had been sent to Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Crosbie, that they might expect a visit from the mob on Wednesday evening. The

popular Pleader was also an excellent Artilleryman: he covered the roof of his House with hand-grenades and loaded blunderbusses; and awaited the arrival of his friends. Sir John, by his own account, not being such an adept in the art of War, sent a Requisition, as one of the King's Judges, to the Magistrates, demanding a guard of Soldiers, and a person to read the Riot Act; and that all the party should consider themselves as under his orders, as a Justice of Peace for the County, if his House was attacked. The Magistrates replied that, as Sir John's house was beyond the bounds of the Royalty, they could not assist him; but they sent his application to the Sheriff, who at once waited on him, and offered him a hundred Soldiers, the Riot Act, and as much powder and ball as he wished, for immediate service. The mob, hearing of the warm reception that awaited them at the house of Sir John, and Mr. Crosbie, contented themselves with passing and repassing their gates several times, without offering any molestation.—[Sir J. Dalrymple to Lord Linton, February 5, 1779.] An incident which clearly shows what a little firmness and decision might have done elsewhere.

The same evening (February 3), the Provost and Magistrates issued a Proclamation, formally assuring the Citizens that the Relief Bill had been laid aside; and, that for this reason "the fears and apprehensions of many well-meaning people, with regard to the Penal Laws against Papists," might now be set at rest; concluding by informing the public that the Magistrates were now resolved to take vigorous measures for repressing riotous and tumultuous meetings of the populace; for now the Magistrates were satisfied "that any future disorders could proceed only from the wicked views of bad and designing men.*" It was surely establishing a most dangerous precedent, even indirectly, and by implication only, to sanction a Riot like this, provided its object was an opposition to the Catholic Relief Bill; yet the language of the Proclamation can bear no other construction. Well-meaning persons had mobbed and rioted, and plundered and burned, to obstruct the Repeal of the Penal Laws. But now there was no further alarm on that head; therefore, future Rioters and Incendiarists would not be allowed the benefit of the mild treatment befitting

* Scots Magazine, 1779, p. 108.

well-meaning persons. Unfortunately this dangerous precedent was afforded, not only by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, from whom, perhaps, nothing better could have been expected. A similar Proclamation was issued a few days later (February 12), by Sir Thomas Miller, the Lord Justice-Clerk, at that time the highest Criminal Judge in Scotland. Nay, he expressed himself as if authorised in what he had done by Lord Weymouth, one of the Secretaries of State, who desired, through the medium of the Lord Justice-Clerk, to assure the people of Scotland that no Bill for the Repeal of the Laws against Papists was intended to be brought into Parliament by any Member of the Government, or by any other person known to Lord Weymouth, and by this assurance he hoped "To quiet the minds of all ranks of people on this subject."* The Edinburgh Mob, and especially the "Friends of the Protestant Interest," having obtained all that they had set their hearts on, for that time, at least, were considerate enough to take the hint and abstain from further tumult. But, not many months later, a London Mob went to work on much the same principle, and with not quite so nice a perception of the exact moment when the wishes of reasonable persons ought to have been gratified, and the consequences were terrible.

Sir John Dalrymple was not afraid to write a Letter of encouragement to Bishop Hay almost before the roar of the Mob had died away. The first half was in French in case of being intercepted. "Have no fear at all, everything will turn out to your advantage. It is reported that the City will willingly pay your damages. Let me know where you are; I will come and see you. If you want money I will send you some. The City and the Advocate will let the Prisoners escape for want of proof; take care, then, to have proofs in the Precognition which will soon be taken. You ought to write with a thousand thanks to the Duke of Buccleuch; he ventured his life over and over again to save your house and your people, and had the Magistrates done their duty as he did, your House would not have been standing and Mrs. Macdonald living. . . . Some think this is the time to get your Bill, that Government may show the populace are not to prescribe to

them. I have advised Lord Linton to be governed by Lord Mansfield." [Sir T. Dalrymple to B. Hay. No date.] The same high-minded man communicated the news of the Riot to Lord Linton, who still remained in London. He indignantly condemned the conduct of the Magistrates throughout the affair, adding that the few Prisoners who still remained in custody would probably be discharged, "As there is party in the case, and, thus to gain a Borough, the affections of 25,000 of the most zealous Subjects will be lost to the King. . . . If the Corporation be not obliged to pay the damage done, and the Prisoners be not punished, then I think there is no Government in Scotland; and if the King's servants leave this Country to itself they may chance to hear of it. I did not expect to see the day when the Nonjurors and enthusiastical part of this Country were to prescribe Acts of Parliament for the rest of us. Their fury was the more ungenerous, that the news had come down the day before, of your Lordships' dropping the Bill for the sake of public quiet." [Sir J. Dalrymple to Lord Linton, February 5.]

Thus, after materially assisting in procuring relief for their Catholic Brethren in England and Ireland, and after almost securing the same boon for themselves, the poor Catholics in Scotland found themselves in a worse position than they had been in for thirty years previously. In Edinburgh, instead of two Chapels, and two Chapel-houses, they had now not even one; the Clergy were living in concealment in the houses of their friends. Bishop Hay's Papers had by good fortune, been saved from the fire; but his furniture, and a valuable Library, the accumulation of three of his predecessors, had partly fallen a prey to the flames, and partly been distributed by public auction, among the riotous populace. Yet, a day or two after the event, he sent the following message to his sister:—"Give my kind compliments to my sister, and tell her I am well and safe; and I beg her and all our friends not to be dismayed nor discouraged at what has happened; the storm will soon blow over, and all will be calm again." [B. Hay to Mr. J. Reid, February 8.]

Similar sentiments are expressed in a Pastoral Letter issued by the Bishop, February 8. After briefly detailing the causes and the circumstances of the recent tumults in Edinburgh, he expressed

* Scots Magazine, 1779, p. 109.

his sympathy with the sufferings of his "dear people," and his grief at the interruption of the exercises of their holy Religion; but besought them not to be discouraged, but to trust that when God's good time should come, "He will make light to rise out of darkness, and order out of confusion." To earnest Prayer for the fulfilment of God's blessed Will, the Bishop exhorted his faithful people to add a sincere repentance for all their sins, which may have provoked the Divine displeasure; and to remember that the time of suffering is the time for showing fidelity to God, and sincerity in His service; the time for putting in practice, and for increasing in the soul, the heroic virtues of Christian patience, meekness, humility, resignation to the Will of God, and unshaken confidence in Him. "Let us therefore arm ourselves, dearly beloved in Christ," he concludes, "with these holy virtues, and thank our Heavenly Father, for giving us this opportunity of acquiring so great a treasure for our souls, and of suffering for His Name's sake; being well assured, that, if we be not wanting in our duty, His infinite goodness will turn all to our greater good—"For we know that all things work together for good to them that love God;" and "through many tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." It was by persecutions and trials that the greatest Saints arrived at their crowns; and who knows what the Divine Goodness may have in store for us? Let us only imitate the sacred example they have left us, amidst their fiery trials; and this Persecution, like theirs, will undoubtedly, through the mercies of our God, turn out to His greater glory and our greater good.

"Above all things, we enjoin you by the bowels of mercy of our God, not to allow the smallest resentment to enter your hearts against those who injure us. Remember they are only the instruments in the hands of God, who, like a tender father, chastises us, his children, by their means; but who could not touch a hair of our head, except in as far as they are permitted by Him. In this view, let us have all compassion towards them, and pity their mistaken zeal, which makes them think that, by persecuting us, 'they do God a service.' Let us imitate the example which our Lord gives us on the Cross, and pray for them in His words—'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.' Let us earnestly

beg of Him 'not to lay their sins to their charge;' but, by granting them a sincere repentance, bring them to eternal happiness. It is thus that we shall show ourselves 'children of our Heavenly Father;' and draw down a larger benediction on our own souls, according to the comforting words of our Lord—'Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you, and revile you, and say all manner of evil against you, falsely, for my Name's sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad in that day; for great is your reward in Heaven.' May the God of Heaven bless you all, and preserve you for ever in the practice of all good, and in the Faith and Love of our Lord Jesus. Amen."* Sentiments like these might weather a wilder storm than this.

The Riot in Edinburgh was not the conclusion of the anxieties and alarms which then afflicted the Catholic Body in Scotland. During the first week of February, the inhabitants of Aberdeen were almost daily looking for an outbreak similar to that which had taken place in Edinburgh. Mr. William Reid, the Senior Priest, was urged to remove to a place of safety, any valuable Property that he might have, as a preparation for the worst. He declined the advice; partly, because such a step might look like an invitation to the rabble to come and destroy what they could find, and, partly, because the late Bishop's Property remained sealed up in his Room awaiting the arrival of his Successor. Dr. Campbell and Dr. Gerard exerted themselves with such good effect in behalf of order and peace, that the alarm soon subsided without assuming a more formidable shape. The Catholics in Glasgow were not so fortunate. February 9 had been appointed, by Royal Proclamation, as a day of Fasting and Humiliation in Scotland, on occasion of the War with France and with America. The Glasgow "Friends to the Protestant Interest" turned the day to a double account by a Riotous attack on the Property of several Catholics in the town. In the face of the Magistrates and of the Military, the Mob completely destroyed the stock in Mr. Bagnall's Staffordshire Warehouse, together with his Private Residence, and, on the apprehension of some of the Ringleaders, demanded their release with

* Scots Magazine—1779; p. 62. The Pastoral was reprinted in London, by Coghlan, on a Fly Sheet.

such fury that the Authorities were compelled to set them at liberty. The Riot, however, ended with the day; more vigorous Measures were adopted by the Magistrates; the streets were patrolled by Military and by a large body of special Constables furnished by the Incorporate Trades. The principal Merchants, and even the Ministers, were ashamed of the violence of the Mob and opened their hearts to receive the victims of its lawlessness, and there never was any difficulty in obtaining full Compensation for their losses.

It seems that absurd Reports had been industriously circulated to the prejudice of Mr. Bagnall; that he had been busily engaged, since before Christmas, in bribing Proselytes, at the rate of seven or eight shillings a week, and that he had in his possession upwards of £60 belonging to Bishop Hay for a similar purpose.

At Dundee, the Mob began to exhibit symptoms of a Riotous disposition, which, however, were promptly and effectually checked by the Commandant, who swore that on the first appearance of any disorder he would turn out four hundred Soldiers with fixed bayonets.

At Peebles, the Mob had the audacity to threaten the Ancient House at Traquair, which is said to be the oldest Dwelling House in Scotland, still used as such. The Rioters, however, contented themselves with pelting the little Congregation of Catholics with stones as they came out of Chapel.

At Perth, the Catholic Body was too small and too obscure to apprehend danger; but the attention of the "Friends to Protestantism" had been for some time attracted to the Chapel and Farm at Stobhall, eight miles distant; and the present time was regarded as favourable for attacking the Residence of the Priest and of the Catholic Tenant. A day was fixed for the Populace to assemble there, but news of the arrangement roused the justice of the neighbouring Country Gentlemen, who brought all their influence to bear against the intended outrage, and even sent their servants armed, if necessary, to repel force with force. A body of Journey-men and Apprentices "in the Protestant Interest" marched from Perth towards Stobhall on the day appointed, but rumours of the resistance that they might expect, reached them on the way, confirmed, as they approached the place by the report of fire-

arms. So the Mob retired as they had come, and left the Farmhouse and the Chapel undisturbed. [Macpherson's Continuation, sub anno.]

Before the storm had subsided, Bishop Hay sent an account of the trials he was passing through to his friend at Valladolid, concluding thus:—" . . . You see, my dear Friend, how the Divine Providence has been pleased to give me some occasion of practising those Sacred Maxims which you and I have so often endeavoured to plant in our souls, and I thank my good God that I have found the greatest benefit from them. To you, my dear Friend, who know the secrets of my soul, I may tell my mind without restraint, because I know it will give you pleasure. I have not had one moment's concern or regret on the occasion, nor a single notion of resentment against our Persecutors. I pity them; I pray for them; and I am as willing to give them my Person as my Property, if God should so please. May His blessed Will be done in me continually. But enough of this to you." [B. Hay to Mr. J. Geddes, February 12.]

It now became necessary to take active Measures to obtain Compensation for the pecuniary losses inflicted on the Catholic Body, and for preventing recurrence of similar outrages for the future. The sympathy and assistance of Foreign Catholics, especially in Rome, was solicited; an authentic Narrative of the late outrages was prepared by Bishop Hay and transmitted to Abate Grant, to be translated into Italian and circulated among the Cardinals and other persons of influence in Rome. But it was to the Government and to Parliament at home that the Bishop chiefly looked for support, and for the restitution of his Property at this crisis. And he did not look in vain. It was a peculiar hardship, in the case of the Catholic sufferers during the recent Riots, that they had no means of redressing their wrongs by the ordinary process of Law; an illustration of the real injustice of Penal Laws, even when they seem to have fallen into desuetude and oblivion. Catholics at that time existed in Scotland only on sufferance and by toleration, unless they conformed to the Established Religion, a plea which would instantly have been urged in Bar of any proceedings in a Court of Justice for recovery of their lost or damaged Property. It was only, therefore, to the Legislature that they could look for redress

of their wrongs. They also asked Protection from the Legislature until a suitable occasion should return for calmly deliberating on a partial Repeal of the Penal Laws. Nor did they solicit this protection from further outrage, without grave reason. The "Friends to the Protestant Interest" were far from satisfied with the success which had attended their Agitation. Success had only added assurance and insolence to injustice, and the Tracts and Pamphlets which were now circulated, either in the name of that Association or with its express connivance, advocated nothing less than the expulsion of Catholics from the Country,* denying the authority of Parliament to Repeal or alter one of the Penal Statutes or any Statute in existence before the Union of the two Kingdoms. The authors of those fanatical Pamphlets boldly threatened the Magistrates with the vengeance of the "Friends of Protestantism" if they failed to execute the Penal Laws to the letter; and, with a savage ingenuity, proposed to organise Associations throughout the Country for the express purpose of putting an end to all intercourse between Protestants and Catholics in the transactions of ordinary trade and commerce, and in the charities and civilities of society; threatening to serve every Protestant who refused to join those inhuman Associations, as if they were professors of the hated Religion.

It was, therefore, arranged that Bishop Hay should rejoin Lord Linton, in London, without delay; and that their united efforts should be directed to obtain Restitution and Protection from the Legislature. Copies of the Bishop's Pastoral were Printed and Circulated in London, among men of influence in both Parties. Indeed, the sympathy manifested in England towards the Scottish Catholic Body must have been most gratifying. When Mr. Cordel, the Priest at Newcastle-on-Tyne, read Bishop Hay's Pastoral to his own people, emotion was visible on every countenance; tears were running down their cheeks, and their hands and eyes were raised to Heaven.—[Mr. Cordel to B. Grant, February 12.] Similar feelings prevailed wherever the news came.

Negotiations were again resumed with Members of the Government. Lord George Germain expressed himself with candour and sympathy on

the subject of the Scottish Catholic Compensation: Lord Weymouth acquiesced in the opinion of Lord Linton, that, if Government had given earlier notice of the abandonment of the late Relief Bill, the Outrages in Scotland would not have happened. Lord North alone held back, with Diplomatic tact, till he had fully observed the signs of public opinion; he was too much engaged to see any one, when Lord Linton waited on him. In his intercourse with the Ministry, Lord Linton made no secret of a project which seems, at that time, to have been seriously entertained by not a few Scottish Catholics—of Emigrating to France or Spain in a Body; a project which was carried so far as Consulting the Spanish Ambassador, who professed the willingness of his Government to promote it; but which the wisest and best informed among the Scottish Catholic Body invariably discountenanced.

Bishop Hay set out for London, February 21. Before leaving Edinburgh, he addressed a long and elaborate Letter to the Provost, formally making his claim for damages incurred by the late Riots, and rebutting the objections which the Town seemed too ready to make to his claim, in order to screen themselves from responsibility. The Bishop told his Lordship that, in spite of personal danger to himself, he had remained in Edinburgh ever since the disasters of the early days of the month, consulting with his Friends, and waiting to see what the Town Council would do for his redress. Seeing no prospect of anything being done, and finding it no longer safe for him to remain, or to appear in public, he was on the point of setting out for England; and now submitted an estimate of his losses in the Riot. Waiving, for the present, his claim for the destruction of his Furniture and of his Library, the House in Chalmers' Close had cost him £1306 6s. 6d.; £400 had been paid for the House in Blackfriars' Wynd. The Bishop then proceeded to resist and to repel certain objections which had been made to his receiving compensation for his losses. It had been said that the new house was not his own Property, but that it had been built at the expense of a Public Fund. This was untrue; for the money that had been paid for it had been partly his own personal Property, and partly the gift of Friends, but for his own personal use; and the rest had been raised on Loan, of which £500 were still due.

* Scots Magazine, 1779, p. 101.

The Interest of this Debt was to have been paid by Rents received from a few Tenants, to whom certain parts of the house had been let. It had been further said that the house was intended for a Chapel; and that, as this distinction was illegal, the Town had no concern in refunding the loss of it. But, in fact, it consisted of a Cellar-floor, three Dwelling-floors, besides Garrets; and four families had lived in it, besides his own. It had the appearance of nothing but a Dwelling-house. One of the apartments, indeed, had been left without partitions, and supports for the upper Storeys might have been seen in it; he would not disguise the fact that in the course of time it might not improbably have been used as a private Meeting-house, if that could have been contrived without giving umbrage. It had been also said that building this house had been an instance of audacity, in prospect of the Repeal of the Penal Laws. But the Bishop appealed to dates to silence this objection. Repeal had not been thought of, till April, 1778; yet the purchase of Lord Edgefield's old house had taken place a year before that; the Contract for the new Building had been executed in July, and the house itself had been roofed in, before the middle of November, 1777. In fact, the Bishop continued, he had been but poorly lodged before; his friends had advised him to make this purchase; another inducement had been the retired situation of the place, and its possessing several entries, so that his friends might come to him without attracting notice. Before the walls had risen higher than the second floor, the Bishop had consulted one of the Law-officers of the Crown, and had assured him of his peaceable intentions, adding, that if any complaints were made, or any representation by the proper authority, he would at once desist from using that part of the house as a Chapel. The Bishop concluded an elaborate defence of his conduct, by informing the Chief Magistrate that he was going to Newcastle, where he should wait for a week, in expectation of an answer, which might be addressed to Charles Cordel, Newgate Street, Newcastle.

No answer was ever returned to this appeal. It was read at a meeting of the Town Council, February 24, and was referred to the legal Assessors of the Magistrates. The Members of the Council pretended to take it highly amiss that a

person of the Bishop's character should presume to write to them; they trembled, lest the "Friends of the Protestant Interest" should come to know of their corresponding with such a person. The Bishop's honest acknowledgment that the houses were his property, was exactly what they wanted to have, as the best of all pretexts for refusing any compensation. The Solicitor-General Murray was very angry at the allusion to himself in the Bishop's Letter; and the Lord-Advocate's opinion of it may be gathered from this, that it was by his advice that the Letter was never answered. Although for a time, Dundas had been willing to concur in the Catholic Relief Bill as a popular Measure, involving no risk, but rather an increase of influence; the moment the tide of public feeling turned in the opposite direction, promises, pledges, honour, were sacrificed to the preservation of Ministerial influence in the country. Even one of his own political partizans could say nothing else but this: "Nothing could be so pitiful, timorous, and cowardly, as the Justice-Clerk's and Advocate's conduct has been. . . . If the Ministry do not take up the affair, they are mad; for this new Scottish phrensy, unless punished, will fly to Ireland, and create a Civil War. This is as certain as there is a God in heaven." [Sir J. Dalrymple to Lord Linton, February 16.]

Great difference of opinion existed among the advisers of the Catholic Body in Edinburgh, as to the best method of urging their claim for Damages. Some of the sufferers were disposed to press their demand in the usual legal forms. Mr. Alexander Drummond, a Protestant Lawyer, in Edinburgh, and a friend of the Bishop, seems to have been much inclined to carry the claim boldly into the Court of Session; and with that view proposed Mr. Abercrombie as Agent or Solicitor, and Messrs. Islay Campbell and Maclaurin, as Counsel for the Catholics. Where Political Interest did not interfere, the feeling of the educated and refined was in favour of the persecuted Body, rather than of their Mob-oppressors, whose late outrages were thought to have disgraced the City, and laid its Magistrates open to serious charges of neglect of duty. Bishop Hay's Pastoral Letter circulated freely among the principal people, and was universally admired. Among other Letters of sympathy which he received at this time, was

one from a Mary Crawford, near Maybole, in Ayrshire, who signed herself, "your Cousin, condoling with you, and hoping to hear from you." The popular feeling, on the other hand, still ran so high, that the Catholic Clergy, some so late as the middle of March, were obliged to maintain the strictest privacy, going out only after dark. Mr. Thomson was concealed in the house of David Downie, a Catholic Goldsmith; Mr. Menzies in the house of a Mr. Bell; and Mr James Cameron was living at Ramsay Lodge with Mr. Cruikshanks, Chaplain to the Traquair Family. Mr. Allan Macdonald (Banaldson), an aged Priest, long retired from duty, had weathered the storm in his own Lodging; first giving out that he was about to leave Town, and shutting up the house; but afterwards returning by a private way. By degrees, however, matters began to return to their ordinary state. As Lent advanced, the Catholics began slowly, and with extreme caution, to resort to the Clergy; and it was hoped that, before Pentecost, the Easter Obligation of all would be fulfilled.

The Assessors of the Town had, by this time, given their opinion, by a majority, in favour of paying the damages claimed by the Catholic sufferers. But the Magistrates and the Council had, long before, come to a contrary conclusion, and had gone through the form of a consultation, merely to gain time; it was, therefore, finally determined to resist every claim for compensation. Even the miserable Townsguard that had been stationed for six weeks in the Chapel-house in Blackfriars Wynd, for its protection, broke open closets, and plundered their contents, and increased the damages so seriously, as to oblige Mr. Menzies to present a written complaint to the Provost and Magistrates.

Bishop Hay had now reached London, and was busily concerting Measures for securing Compensation and Protection. His first care was to Print and Circulate among the Members of the Legislature a "Memorial in behalf of the Roman Catholics of Edinburgh and Glasgow, containing a full account of their sufferings, and of the means taken to excite the Mob against them." A Petition, founded on the facts set forth in the Memorial, praying for Protection and Compensation for Losses, and signed by Lord Linton and Bishop Hay, was soon afterwards, with the concurrence of Ministers, presented to the King by Lord

Linton. A similar Petition, addressed to the House of Commons, was prepared, and the 18th of March was fixed for its Presentation. Three days earlier, however, (March 15), a premature Discussion took place in the House on the subject of the Scottish Riots, in consequence of a question put to the Lord-Advocate by Mr. Wilkes. Referring to what had passed in the House at the time when leave was given to bring in the Relief Bill for England, and when the Lord-Advocate had pledged himself to introduce a similar Bill for Scotland, Mr. Wilkes wished to know when the House might expect that Bill to be laid before them, and expressed some surprise that so much delay had already taken place.

The wily Advocate, in a short speech of great plausibility, endeavoured to reconcile his present inactivity with his former professions in the cause of Toleration. His explanation, however, amounted to this, that within the last few months the popular mind in Scotland had been highly influenced against the Catholic Relief Bill by what he was pleased to call "The arts of designing men," who had misrepresented the nature of the intended Bill, and had excited the Populace to violent tumults, so much so, that to proceed with the Bill at that time would be in the highest degree dangerous. Nay, it was in consequence of a request from some of the leading Scottish Catholics themselves, that he had for the present abandoned all idea of introducing the Bill to the notice of the House.

Mr. Wilkes replied in a tone of invective and sarcasm against the Government, for thus meanly succumbing to the dictates of an irrational Mob. He complained that the honour and the independence of that House had been sacrificed, and a dangerous example furnished by the Scottish Mob to the English Mob, how to obstruct any Measure that might happen to be disagreeable to it. The Honourable Member for Middlesex especially animadverted on the Proclamation issued during the Riot by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, assuring the Populace that the odious Bill should not be brought into the House of Commons, a Proclamation which, he did not hesitate to say, had compromised the dignity of the House and assailed its Legislative prerogatives. The subsequent Proclamation made by the Lord Justice-Clerk in the name of the Government was a virtual Declaration that the proceed-

ings of the British Parliament were under the control of an Edinburgh Mob. While the Attorney-General was about to proceed capitally against the Rioters in London who had broken a few windows (on the acquittal of Admiral Keppel), the Mob of Edinburgh, after demolishing and burning Houses, and inflicting ruinous injury on several worthy Persons, had not only escaped all punishment, but had obtained the very object for which it had set the Laws at defiance. England and Ireland had relaxed their Laws against Catholics, yet Scotland refused a similar boon, although her Laws were more barbarous than those of England and Ireland. Every Government owed protection to its subjects or forfeited their allegiance; and if the Scottish Catholics received no protection for their lives and property, Mr. Wilkes asserted that there was a Dissolution of all Government.

Lord Frederick Campbell followed on the side of the Government, repeating the arguments of the Lord-Advocate derived from the excited state of popular feeling in Scotland, and defending the conduct of the Magistrates of Glasgow, which no one had impugned. Mr. Burke closed the Discussion by giving notice that he had received a Petition from the sufferers in the late Scottish Riots, and that he intended on an early day to bring it under the notice of the House.

On the 18th of March, he redeemed his promise, in an admirable speech, which lasted an hour and a half. The Petition, as Lord North informed the House at the opening of the proceedings, was recommended to their consideration by his Majesty. It was entitled, "The Petition of the Roman Catholics residing in the Cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow."* After reciting the story of the late riotous destruction of their property in those Cities, the Petitioners disclaimed any vindictive feeling in their present application; they expressed their willingness to waive their claim to any relaxation of the Penal Laws in the critical circumstances of the present juncture: but humbly, yet firmly, implored the House to take such Measures as it should think best, in order to secure their lives and property from further outrage, which was even then threatened by turbulent fanatics in Scotland; and such Measures as should be considered advisable for the

compensation of those persons who had suffered pecuniary loss in the late disturbances.

The great Orator who had charged himself with the presentation of this Petition, made it the subject of a Motion that it should be referred to a Committee of the whole House, to receive Petitions, to examine witnesses, and to report upon the whole case to the House. He dilated on the incidents of the Scottish Riots, and severely criticised the conduct of the Magistrates of Edinburgh. In order to confirm the averment in the Petition, that the lives and property of Scottish Catholics were still sought by a fanatical party, Mr. Burke read to the House extracts from a scurrilous Pamphlet then circulating in Scotland, with the connivance of the "Friends to the Protestant Interest;" a Pamphlet which so exactly coincided in its principles with those of other Publications for which that Body had made itself responsible, as to lead him to the conclusion that it also had emanated from the same focus of bigotry. He dwelt with peculiar scorn on an assertion made in this Tract that the British Legislature had no power to repeal any law passed in the Scottish Parliament of Scotland before the Union. If we may judge from the "great swelling words" of some living "Friends to the Protestant Interest" in Scotland, this is a doctrine not yet altogether exploded in that country. Mr. Burke, on the contrary, appealed to daily experience as evidence, that Parliament was constantly in the habit, as occasion required, of repealing laws made in Scotland before the Union. He denounced with burning indignation the project seriously discussed in the same Pamphlet, of compelling Magistrates to put in force the severest Penal Laws against Catholics, and of cutting off the professors of that Religion from the interchange of all the civilities and charities of life; a project which he justly described as a disgrace to every humane feeling of the heart, an insult offered to charity, a proposal nearer akin to the malignity of demons, than some of the most savage races of mankind. Mr. Burke disclaimed any wish at that time to press the Repeal of the Penal Laws, although he hoped in no long time to see them cease to be a disgrace to the Statute-Book. He produced a small Pamphlet containing an Abstract of the Scottish Penal Laws, which he read to the House; and as he read them one by one, he called on any Member

* Scots Magazine, 1779, p. 131.

to stand up and say, that he wished that Law to be retained. In conclusion, he insisted, with his usual force, on the justice of the demands made in the Petition; and implored the House not to refuse the Scottish Catholics Indemnification for their losses, and an assurance of protection for their lives and property, together with the free exercise of their Religion.

While Mr. Burke was reading the Abstract of the Penal Laws, and commenting on them, as he went along, Lord North had fallen asleep. The Orator paused for a moment, then added, "Our brother is not dead, but sleppeth." The peals of laughter which followed this sally, awoke the Minister, who heartily joined in the laugh raised at his expense. Mr. Burke then continued: as the House was in good humour, and the Government awake, which he had long doubted, he hoped it would be the proper time to call them to the exercise of humanity.

The Motion for referring the Petition to a Committee of the whole House was seconded by Lord Beauchamp, who thought the honour of the House committed to maintain the power of the House to alter or Repeal any Law, even although it had been enacted before the Union. He hoped soon to see the day when all Disabilities would be removed from Catholics and from Protestant Dissenters.

Lord George Gordon opposed the Motion. He attempted to turn the Riots into ridicule, and succeeded in raising peals of laughter at the humorous light in which he represented some of the incidents of the tumult. He undertook the defence of his Friends, the "Committee of Correspondence for the Protestant Interest," and argued that the Passing of the Relief Bill for England was no reason why it should be extended to Scotland; the Constitutions of the Churches established in the two Kingdoms were so dissimilar. The Religion of the Church of England was tolerant, while that of her sister in Scotland was intolerant. As may easily be supposed, the sentiments of such an Advocate had little weight in the House.

The Lord-Advocate's speech assumed the character of a Defence of the Edinburgh Magistrates, who, as he alleged, had only the choice of two evils; and, to avert more calamitous events, had adopted Measures which could only in this view be defended. Their best apology, he assured the

House, was their willingness, as he had been informed, to make full compensation to the sufferers for their losses. A similar Declaration was also made to the House in the name of the Magistrates of Glasgow.

Mr. Fox called for a Repeal of the Penal Laws, without further delay. Parliament was not to be deterred, by little insurrections in a corner of the Empire, from the performance of an act of common justice. As long as the question remained open, he saw no prospect of avoiding the recurrence of tumult. It was surely better to free the difficulty at once, and put an end to the cause of this irritation.

Lord Frederick Campbell warmly combated the remarks of Mr. Fox. He deprecated any indulgence being granted to Catholics. As he had been told, they had lately even dared to offer to raise a Regiment for his Majesty's Service. What could this mean but a request to have arms put into their hands for purposes of mischief? His opinion, therefore, was in favour of suppressing, rather than of encouraging; and he even went so far as to wish to compel the Scottish Roman Catholics to have their children educated by Protestant teachers. Their number in Scotland was small, and such a Measure would tend to diminish it with each generation. He thought it would be most for the honour of Scotland, if the authorities, in the Towns where the injuries had been inflicted, were left to indemnify the sufferers without the interference of Parliament.

Mr. Burke protested warmly against the sentiments of the last speaker, as, in fact, more intolerant than the most bigoted schemes of the "Committee for the Protestant Interest." They had proposed, indeed, to dissolve all the ties of charity and humanity between Catholics and Protestants; but his Lordship would go a step further, and break those sacred ties of parent and child, which God and Nature had created in the human heart.

Lord North had been at first disposed to support the motion for a Committee; but, since the House had been assured of the hardness with which the Cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow would indemnify the sufferers for their losses, he had changed his opinion, and should now move the previous question, in order that the Petition might lie on the table till after Easter. If, by that time, compensation had not been made by

the Cities in question, he thought Parliament might very well undertake the duty, and he should not oppose the application of the Public Money for that purpose.

Mr. Burke would not divide the House, although from his Parliamentary experience, he expected no good from any subject of discussion disposed of by moving the previous question. He feared, if nothing were done for the compensation and the protection of the injured persons, that the Protestant Religion would be disgraced in the eyes of Europe. On the previous Question being put, and carried without a Division, he once more addressed the House. The fate of the Petition compelled him to observe that, if the decision on the part of the Authorities in Edinburgh and Glasgow were unfavourable to the sufferers by the late Riots, the House would inevitably become answerable for any evil which might, in consequence, befall Protestants in other parts of the world.

Bishop Hay was in the Lobby of the House of Commons during the whole of this Debate. His efforts to secure the object in view were indefatigable. We find him on one occasion meeting the Attorney-General and the Lord-Advocate in a Coffee-Room, at a consultation; at another time he had an interview with Lord North, in the Speaker's Room. He and his Friends seem to have regarded the issue of the Debate as unfavourable, because the claim for future protection was nominally passed over. Yet, in fact, the recognition of the claim to compensation was a virtual assurance that protection, to this extent at least, would not be refused. It was more than the Catholic Body could expect, to receive any formal assurance of protection from Parliament while the Penal Laws remained un repealed. Such an assurance would, in truth, have amounted to a relaxation of the Law. But, for all purposes of security for life and property, provision was sufficiently made by a public assertion of the principle, that any one inflicting injury on either life or property, would be held liable for the losses incurred by the victims of his violence.

That this was the view taken by the public, may be gathered from what immediately followed the Debate on the Catholic Petition. Sir Lawrence Dundas, the Member for the City of Edinburgh, wrote at once to the Magistrates, urging them to make Compensation. The news of the

Debate threw the Town Council into no small consternation. The Provost expressed his opinion openly at a Meeting of the Council—"Gentlemen, we must either do something for these people, or appear at the Bar of the House of Commons." When it seemed no longer possible to evade the liability to refund the losses of the Catholics, opinion was much divided as to the manner in which the money required, was to be raised. It was proposed to Levy an Assessment, but the Inhabitants loudly protested against the Measure. The Riot was not of their making or of their abetting; "Let the Magistrates pay," it was clamoured on all sides; "Let John Grieve, the Dean of Guild, pay, who permitted the Committee of Correspondence to assemble in the Aisle of St. Giles' Church." Some of the more fanatical, even asserted that the Catholics themselves, at their Bishop's instigation, had set fire to the House. As so constantly happens, Political interests were mixed up with this simple matter of justice. The City Member and his party were willing, nay, anxious, to pay damages for fear of displeasing Government, and in consequence losing influence and power. The Duke of Buccleuch and his party, on the other hand, although in principle favourable to the Catholic Claims for Damages, yet advised the Magistrates not to pay a farthing, in hopes of getting them punished by Parliament for their delinquencies, and perhaps declared incapable of holding office for the future, in which case the Duke and his Friends would obtain the ascendancy in the Government of the City. [Mr. J. Thomson to B. Hay, April 6.]

March 29, a large Meeting of the Citizens took into consideration the best means of raising Money for Compensation. A Committee was appointed to make arrangements; the Wits called it the "Committee for the Catholic Interest." It consisted of the Magistrates, Sir William Forbes, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Miller, Partner in Mansfield's House. The Town rang with angry clamour, and the Newspapers, as usual, teemed with Letters and Communications on all sides of the Question. The Catholic sufferers were called upon to make their claims, which were to be submitted to the examination and the approval of the Lord-Advocate and Mr. Thomas Dundas, Sir Lawrence's son.

Troubled waters like those were peculiarly favourable for the operations of the "Committee

of Correspondence for the Protestant Interest." They resumed an active agitation against the Protection which was sought by the Catholic Body, and affected to resent exceedingly the aspersions which Mr. Burke had thrown upon them in his late speech in Parliament. Richard Leck, the original promoter of the "Committee," ventured to write a Letter to Mr. Burke, in defence of their liberal views, and exulting in the success of their efforts to defeat the Catholic Relief Bill. A Patrick Bowie did the same, with a view to correct the impression of the great Statesman, that the Pamphlet which he had used in his speech was one for which the "Committee" was responsible.* Mr. Burke took the trouble to Reply to Bowie at great length, in a Letter full of benignant wisdom, and the most refined animadversion on the recent proceedings of the "Friends to the Protestant Interest." "This I know for certain," he remarked, "that an unmanaged, licentious style of railing and invective, in which many among us are but too apt to indulge, does very great mischief to the Protestant Cause in the Catholic Countries; for, until men are convinced that they deserve these atrocious reproaches, it is impossible that they should not be somewhat offended at them, and that they should not conceive a bad opinion of the persons who are capable of making charges, which they will not admit to be true. It is not perfectly easy to convince the body of the Clergy and Laity of so many great Countries that they are real villains and reprobates as you describe them, and I assure you, that they do not take the description itself, as a very particular civility. As to those of that Communion in Scotland, I cannot be brought to believe that there is any peculiar malignity in the air of North Britain, which can operate to make them so much worse than they are in this, and in other countries. I have never had the honour of conversing with any of them, but Lord Linton and Mr. Hay; and of them, candour obliges me to say that, from what I have observed in several conversations, as well as what has been the result of some inquiry, if your Committee be composed of more worthy men, and more deserving the protection of Government, than they are, it will give you a very high place in my esteem."†

Bowie defended himself and his friends in a longer letter, which deserves little notice, except for the testimony which it bears to the Bishop's private worth. "As to Mr. Hay and Lord Linton, I believe what you say of them. Mr. Hay, I have never been in company with, though I have known him many years, even as far back as 1745. I never heard his character as a gentleman, blamed. I know he is as zealous a Catholic, as I am a Protestant, and none of us will deny our principles. Lord Linton's rank makes it impossible for me to say anything of him, but that I never heard anything to his disadvantage. The members of the Committee are citizens; they are not vain enough to compare themselves with these gentlemen."‡

The opponents of Catholic protection left no stone unturned to defeat the negotiations of the Bishop and his friends in London in support of it. They began to whisper that he was disaffected to the Government, insidious, and intolerant. A curious Letter remains, written from Edinburgh, by a David Lindsay, and containing a singular tissue of truth and falsehood in regard to many particulars of the Bishop's previous history. The writer volunteers to give them to his Correspondent, who, from internal evidence, seems to have been Mr. Burke. "Your favourite, Bishop Hay, what is he? Such as I shall here tell you; for, though I never saw him, I am well acquainted with his history." Lindsay had known the Bishop's father, James Hay, a Writer in Edinburgh, personally, and had done business with him. He was even in the interests of the Popish Pretender; had borne Arms for him in the Rebellion of August, 1715; and had continued in the same way of thinking till his latest hour, bringing up his son in the same principles. The son, "though, indeed, he did not bear arms, other than lancets, spatulas, and plaisters, in the Rebellion of 1745," had followed the Army of the young Pretender from Edinburgh to Derby, and back again to Scotland; until some little time after the Duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the King's Army, when Mr. Hay and two other young men of his profession, Hastie and Lumsden, were made prisoners, and sent, first to Edinburgh and then to London, under the charge of an Excise Officer, then a Lieutenant in the Edinburgh

* Scots Magazine, 1779, p. 135.

† Scots Magazine, 1779, p. 137.

* Ibid, 1779, p. 149.

Militia, who lodged them with a Messenger in the service of the Secretaries of State. But, when the Lieutenant's back was turned, the young men found means to escape, and got safely abroad, where they remained till the Act of Indemnity enabled them to return to Scotland. Mr. Hay had intended to practice Physic, or Surgery; but, not meeting with encouragement, he had gone abroad, a second time, had turned Roman Catholic, had entered into Orders, and into the service of some Popish Society—Propaganda Fide; by whom he was sent back to Scotland as a Missionary to the Highlands and Islands, to gain the people to Popery, and to the interests of the Popish Pretender. In this Mission, Mr. Hay had served for some years, and with no small success, as it was said, in his double capacity as Physician of the body and of the soul. Lindsay continued this amusing Narrative, by detailing the purchase of Lord Edgefield's House, adding, that Mr. Hay bribed his Converts with Foreign Money; and that, while seven years ago, he had no Shares in the Capital Stock of the Bank of Scotland, the amount of his Shares this year, in the Bank, might have entitled him to be elected as Governor of the Company.

Against insinuations of intrigue and disaffection, such as these, which were daily whispered in the ear of public men, it was considered necessary that Bishop Hay should protect himself, by attestations of some of his principal Protestant Friends, as to his character for loyalty and his peaceable disposition. The necessity was sufficiently humiliating; but the unanimous expression of honest approval which it called forth, must have been peculiarly gratifying to him; and the preservation of many of those Testimonials enables us to know in how great esteem he was held by his contemporaries. Sir John Dalrymple and his brother, David, Lord Westhall, wrote a common Letter to the Bishop, in these terms, as they thought an attestation rather mean:—
 “. . . We are sorry to understand from you, that you are uneasy at a report spread in England that you are a man of a meddling and turbulent disposition. To a person disagreeably situated, as you are, next to the consciousness of innocence, is the testimonial of private friendship. You are welcome to ours, if it can be of any use to you. We know you to be of a modest, gentle nature; giving offence to none, and forgiving it,

when given to yourself. We have, indeed, known you to meddle; but it was only to reconcile the people under your care to the King's Government; and we do, in our consciences, believe he has few more loyal subjects. We cannot help thinking it a proof of this, that the first attack made upon you, and which has ended in the ruin of your fortune, was made by a Nonjuring Clergyman. We are, Sir, with great respect, your most obedient and most humble Servants.”—April 12.

Henry Home, Lord Kames, at Blair-Drummond, bore testimony to Bishop Hay being “a man of sense and prudence. I esteem him to be a good citizen, and of a peaceable temper.” Patrick Miller, (Dalswinton), had known the Bishop for some years. He is a man of gentle and obliging manners; and in business he is distinct and punctual. I know that others have the same good opinion of him.” Mr. John Syme, agent for Lord Traquair, speaks in similar terms of the Bishop, with whom, “since our earliest period of life, I have been acquainted and intimate.” Mr. Colquhoun Grant, another old friend, and a man of eminence in the Legal Profession, attests his knowledge of the Bishop, “as of peaceable disposition: as honest and punctual in business.”

Mr. John Cay, of Charlton Hall, Northumberland, a Barrister of thirty years' standing, a Magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for the County, addressed the Bishop in the most friendly terms. His wife was a Catholic, but he himself was not. During an intercourse of very many years, he had never known the Bishop attempt to converse with him on religious controversy. They had often discussed secular politics. “What, I own, surprised me for some time, you expressed yourself as an ardent enemy to religious persecution, and a hearty friend to universal toleration.”

The honest testimony of his oldest and most intimate friend, Mr. Alexander Wood, must have been peculiarly welcome to Bishop Hay at this crisis in his affairs. He certainly was fortunate in the friendship of truly worthy men, and in possessing the still rarer secret of keeping it. His warm-hearted friend, Mr. Wood, attests—“I knew him from his earliest years with esteem; and afterwards, when he resided in this place, it was heightened and confirmed by a conduct uniformly becoming the honest man, the citizen, and, I think, the Christian; for he always seemed to

possess that extensiveness of charity, and freedom from bigotry so essential to that character."

Mr. Andrew Hay, of Rannes, a relation of the Bishop, willingly added his testimony to the general evidence in favour of his kinsman. He regretted the shameful Persecution lately inflicted on Catholics, and felt keenly for every sufferer, "particularly for you, and those of my intimate acquaintance." He was glad to hear of a proposal for indemnification, and hoped that, by time and patience, a total Repeal of the Penal Laws might be obtained. "I've lived most of my life in this Parish (Rathven, in the Enzie), where many of your Religion reside, and I can affirm, with truth, that I never heard of any disputes or difference, in my neighbourhood, on account of Religious sentiments; and since, my Dear Friend, your moderation and benevolence, whilst among us as a Clergyman, was peculiarly distinguished, your knowledge in Physic you disinterestedly bestowed on every person that asked advice, and you awarded Medicines frequently to the poor, without regard to professions, or any distinction; and often is your absence regretted by people of every rank and denomination. . . . I heartily wish you a speedy deliverance from all persecution. . . . I am, with all possible esteem and regard, V. Rd. and Dear Sir, your most attached Cousin, most obedient and very humble Servant."

The opinion of Bishop John Macdonald, Vicar Apostolic in the Highlands, although not offered for the public purpose contemplated in those other Testimonials, recommends itself by its warmth and generosity, and has this additional interest, that it was expressed only a very few weeks before his death, in a Letter, which is the last of his remaining. He wrote from Scothouse:—
 ". . . . Mr. Dauley's application was a matter of the last necessity, which nothing but madness could find fault with. . . . I trust in God he will come out of this affair with much greater lustre of reputation than he had before. Every one here has such a sense of his merit, and so great an opinion of his goodness, that they are convinced everything will prosper in his hands. The truth is, we are all, in general, under such obligations to him, on this occasion, as ought never to be forgot; and may our merciful Lord amply reward him for it. . . ."
 —'B Macdonald to Mr. J. Thomson, April 20.]

Similar expressions of sympathy and approbation reached the Bishop from Ireland. Archbishop Butler addressed him from Thurles, assuring him that he should have felt much more for the Bishop, had he not been convinced that his real spirit of Religion and Christian fortitude would bear him up against the severest persecutions, and make him deem it a joy to be found worthy to suffer for Christ. The Irish Prelate also highly commended the Treatise on Miracles.

The Bishop, through his Agent, Mr. Colquhoun Grant, now tendered his Claim for Compensation. The New House in Trunk Close he valued at £1306; he asked £400 for the House in Blackfriars' Wynd, or, he would accept £30 to repair the damages done to it by the rioters. £300 worth of furniture had perished in the two houses. His Library had, on a moderate calculation, amounted to nearly 10,000 volumes. Although, from want of space, he had never arranged it, or made a catalogue of it, yet many of the books were very rare; and he valued the whole at £1000. To these claims he added £35, for one year's Rent, making a total demand for £2671. The losses of the Tradesmen, Macdonald and Lockhart, amounted to £192, 10s. more; to which were added £80, the aggregate loss incurred by the Bishop's Tenants in both houses. His kind heart had prompted him to advance nearly £70 to the sufferers, from time to time, not only in Edinburgh, but at Glasgow also, while it was still uncertain whether any public compensation would be made for their losses. At Glasgow the claims against the City were, in like manner, referred to arbiters, Messrs. Islay Campbell and Crosbie, Advocates.

As the time approached for the Annual Meeting of the General Assembly, public feeling in Edinburgh ran pretty high on the exciting subject of Catholic Protection; so much so, indeed, as almost to paralyse the many of the supporters of that measure in Parliament with the fear of another violent outbreak. The behaviour of Government, and, especially, of the Lord-Advocate, in the matter, was weak and irresolute in the extreme. The only man who stood the Friend of the Catholics, in the face of all opposition, was Mr. Burke; with singular kindness, taking their cause to heart as if it had been a private matter of his own.—[B. Hay to Mr. T. Geddes, May 28.] His Mother was a Catholic. A reported threat of

General Oughton, that, in case of another Riot, he would not answer for the forbearance of his men, was said to have done more than anything else to repress the turbulence of the populace. The Election of the New Moderator from Dr. Robertson's Party, in the General Assembly, by a large majority, afforded a hope that moderate Counsel would prevail in their deliberations. But the only subject of Debate regarding the relaxation of the Penal Laws was the manner of expressing the Protest of the Assembly against any attempt to modify those Laws; in the Protest itself the House was unanimous. As usual, the result was the fruit of Compromise; Principal Robertson waived his own Resolutions, as the price of escaping the more offensive form proposed by the Fanatical Party; both sides of the House found common ground in a general Protest against any change in the Laws affecting Catholics; in a common censure of the outrages committed by the Mob; and, in a common pledge, to redouble their efforts "To provide for the better instruction of the people in those corners of the Church where Popery chiefly abounds, by increasing the number of stated Pastors among them."* The Duke of Gordon contributed £800 towards a Fund for this purpose.

This conclusion was not reached till after a long and animated Debate, in which, almost with the single exception of Principal Robertson's speech, the folly of the speakers were surpassed only by their ignorance. They nearly all of them professed an aversion to Intolerance and to Persecution, but all of them excepted the Catholic Religion from the benefit of Toleration. Dr. Robertson's speech, however, is a masterpiece of clever and eloquent pleading. He introduced it by a rapid sketch of the progress of the Relief Bill in England, and of the happy auguries which filled the minds of all liberal men, at the prospect of securing for the Government and the Throne the cordial adherence of a large body of their fellow-subjects. The Principal then traced the use of the Opposition to the Extension of this Relief to Scotland. He confessed that it had been carried to such a height as then to make it dangerous to press that extension, till the minds of the people had become calmer. He described in graphic terms his own share of obloquy in the

recent Agitation. "My character as a man, as a citizen, and as a Minister of the Gospel, has been delineated in the most odious colours. I have been represented as a pensioner of the Pope, as an agent for Rome, as a seducer of my brethren to Popery, as the tool of a King and a Ministry bent on overturning the Protestant Religion. In Pamphlets, in Newspapers, and Hand-bills, I have been held out to an enraged Mob, as the victim who deserved to be next sacrificed, after they had satiated their vengeance on a Popish Bishop. My family has been disquieted; my house has been attacked; I have been threatened with pistols and daggers; I have been warned that I was watched in my going out, and coming home; the time has been set, beyond which I was not to live; and for several weeks, hardly a day passed, on which I did not receive Inflammatory Letters, more criminal than that for which an unhappy person now under sentence of death in the Capital of the Kingdom. . . . My repose, thank God, was not disturbed. I was conscious of no crime, and I dreaded no danger. I continued in my usual habits of life. I went about as usual; and last night was the first time my family heard of the threats which had been denounced against me. One circumstance, however, afflicted me and filled me with horror. Several of the Inflammatory Letters which I received were signed by "Lovers of Truth;" "Friends to the Protestant Religion." It was in the name of Jesus I was warned that my death was resolved, and the instruments for cutting short my days prepared. May God forgive the men who have disseminated among the pious and well-intentioned people of this country, such principles as led them to imagine that assassination could be acceptable to God, and has prompted them to point a dagger to the breast of a fellow-Christian, in the name of our Merciful Saviour!" The Principal undertook to answer the arguments by which this agitation had been defended. The Catholic Body, it had been said, was growing large and powerful. So far from that, the Principal had reason to know that its numbers ranged somewhere between seventeen and twenty thousand, most of whom resided in remote and uncultivated parts of the country. This was a harmless proportion in a population of thirteen hundred thousand. Regarding the wealth of the Body, he had ascertained by careful inquiry, that there

* Scots Magazine, 1779, p. 279.

were not twenty Catholic gentlemen in Scotland worth a hundred pounds a-year in land. In Commere, he had never heard of a wealthy Catholic. But an idea had got abroad, that if Catholics could legally acquire property in land, the wealth of Foreign Catholics, particularly the hoarded treasures of the suppressed and formidable Order of Jesuits, would pour in upon the Kingdom. The Principal reminded his audience that, much as they were all attached to their native Country, there was other Countries which presented stronger attractions to the capital of wealthy Foreigners. The assistance rendered by friends Abroad to the little remnant of the Catholic Church of Scotland, had always been very scanty. The Society of Propaganda, at Rome, allowed each of the Missionaries in Scotland only £15 a year. From various small Funds an addition of £5 was made to some of them, of £7 10s. to others. Such scanty Endowments, the Principal argued, could not allure men very eminent either for learning or abilities, and it might fairly be concluded that the Church of Rome did not expect to reap much from her harvest here, when she sent forth her Labourers with such a slender provision. "But among us," it is said, "the Jesuits will find an Asylum, and employ their wealth to acquire influence. With respect to the suppression and present state of that Order, the course of my Studies has led me to know more than many of my Brethren. The events which occasioned its ruin were casual and unexpected, the blow was as instantaneous as fatal, and the wreck of its power and fortune general. The surviving members linger out their days in indigence, and the Order must, in a few years, be extinct. There is not at this moment, as far as I know, a single Jesuit in Scotland.*

The dignified and benevolent conduct of this excellent man, throughout this critical time, deserves to be for ever remembered by the Catholic Body in Scotland. In Foreign Countries it secured him the approbation and the regard of many. The Royal Academy of History at Madrid, addressed him a Letter of Compliment on his humanity towards the Catholic Body in the late Persecution.—[Mr. J. Geddes to B. Hay, June 28.]

In spite of procrastination and difficulty, Bishop Hay's negotiations in London wore to an end. Protection was absolutely refused, as too much opposed to the temper of the Country. Compensation was granted for all losses in consequence of the Riots, and the half was at once paid by Government, the other half by the City of Edinburgh; but no allowance could be obtained for heavy expenses incurred afterwards by the Bishop and his Clergy, although indirectly occasioned by the disturbances. The storm, however, was now clearing away. The Bishop returned to Scotland about the end of June, yet it was thought more prudent for him to avoid Edinburgh for some time, till the late tumult had been forgotten. Even so late as 1782, we have the best reason to know that, when on a visit to some of his relations in Glasgow, the family of the late Dr. Cleland, Bishop Hay found it necessary to leave the Town "in a clandestine manner" to avoid disturbance.* The Chapel and Priest's residence in Blackfriars' Wynd were again opened before the beginning of August. Mr. Thomson was now residing in Dickson's Close. So elastic are the fortunes of the Catholic Church, even in her separate parts, that, so early as March, we find a shrewd Protestant Lawyer, Mr. Drummond, proposing the purchase of a house for a Chapel; it contained space enough for a room forty feet long and fourteen high. He represented to the Bishop that he must not think of having his Chapel again in "by corners." It must be in an open part of the Town and near protection.

In Autumn, the peace of the Catholics at Aberdeen was threatened by the Regiment of the Duke of Gordon, but on a representation being made to the Officers by Dr. Livingstone, the danger passed off. A little angry feeling was for a short time revived in Edinburgh while the Assessment was collecting for payment of Catholic Compensation. Many paid their proportion quietly, many more refused, and defied the authority of the Magistrates to levy the Rate. The proportion for the house in Blackfriars' Wynd was called for and paid, for the sake of peace.

After consulting the great body of the Clergy, Bishop Hay again put himself in communication with Government, through the medium of Sir G. Cooper, Secretary to Lord North. He had

* Scots Magazine, 1779, pp. 409—415.

* Cleland's Annals of Glasgow, I. 149—1816.

still now deferred the adoption of a Public Prayer for the King, although the Catholic Body in England had been using one for some time past. This delay had been occasioned by an apprehension that the use of such a Prayer might suggest to enemies the notion that some plan for relief was still on foot, and hence the spirit of hostility smouldering in the country might be anew fanned into a flame. A unanimous wish existed among the entire Catholic Body to use such a Prayer, as a profession of their sincere loyalty, the only proof alas! which in present circumstances, they were able to give. It was for Lord North and the Government to say, whether its adoption would be agreeable to his Majesty; if so, the Catholics in Scotland would never forgive the practice, whatever their enemies might say or do.

Mr. Robert Grant, Superior of the Scotch College at Douay, took a just estimate of the course of events, when he thus addressed Bishop Hay: "I look on this storm as too violent to last long, and in a few years' hence, it will be laughed at, as the effect of fanatical madness. . . . What you have already done in this affair, the outrageous behaviour of our enemies, and the submissive behaviour of Labourers (Missionaries) and those committed to their charge, will infallibly some day procure us what we solicit for at present; and, perhaps, in a more ample manner."

Mr. John Geddes, as usual, looks higher. . . . "I know you must have felt much on some occasions, within this twelve months; even I, at this distance, have been much affected. We must have recourse to the goodness of our infinitely good God; in Him we meet with superabundant comfort and strength. You were long since resolved to be a Saint, with the Divine aid; but your present circumstances seem to force you in some measure to it; for, indeed, what else can you do, but throw yourself entirely into the hands of our Divine Master, and to what he requires of you, to the best of your knowledge."

NOTE.—To avoid the inconvenience of too many references and foot-notes in this Chapter and the preceding, the Author now adds that, for every fact not already authenticated, the vouchers will be found in the Correspondence of the Period, preserved at Preshome; in "The Scots Magazine" of that date; and in the two following scarce

Tracts:—"A Narrative of the late Riots at Edinburgh, and a Vindication of its Magistracy against the Charges advanced in the Memorial for the Papists of Scotland;" and "A Summary of the Proceedings in the House of Commons on the Petition of the Roman Catholics." Both of these scarce Tracts are the property of the Rev. G. Griffin.

CHAPTER XI.

1779—1781.

Death of B. John Macdonald—Mr. J. Geddes named Coadjutor to B. Hay—Mr. A. Macdonald, the new Bishop, in the Highlands—B. Hay's Pastoral on Discipline—Statistical Returns of Lowland District—B. Geddes consecrated at Madrid—B. Hay Publishes *Sincere Christiana*—B. Challoner Dies—Arrival of B. Geddes—Dispute with Principal Gordon—Dr. A. Geddes leaves Scotland—His subsequent Career and his Character

The whole of Bishop Hay's time in London was not occupied by the Negotiations pending with Government and with Parliament. The first leisure moment he could command was dedicated to securing a Coadjutor for himself in the charge of the Lowland Vicariate. He communicated his thoughts to his Friend at Valladolid, with an arduous and liveliness exhibited to no other Correspondent, in the following letter:— . . . "You know the great extent of the Eastern District, and the many things that are to be done, and the variety of minds that are to be managed and treated with there. I hope I shall never be wanting in undergoing any labour and toil for the common good which I am able to do; but, at the same time, it would be presumption in me to undertake more than I can do without demanding at least the necessary and usual assistance. At the same time, considering with myself in how dissipating a situation I have been, I may say, since my first entering upon business, and feeling myself really upon the decline, especially in my sight and memory, I hope it will be disapproved by none that I wish to divide my Charge with some other, and I intend, when I meet with Friends in the North, to take their counsel and advice upon it. In the supposition that Padres agree to the proposal, you may easily conjecture upon whom my choice will fall; besides a person properly qualified, it will certainly be of the highest consequence that he be one with whom I may

hope to be upon the most friendly footing, and have an entire confidence in him, and he in me. The one I have in view, I am pretty certain is also the one in whom the wishes of all our Brethren will concur; so that I am persuaded there will be no difficulty in the person. There may be some, with regard to taking him from his present charge, where he is of so much service. I have considered this again and again, and shall do it still more, as also consult with others, but am inclined to think that his place may now be pretty well supplied by the one under him, especially as there must be some time, as yet, to qualify him still more for that Charge, in which I hope your good offices will not be wanting; and I have communicated these things to you, not by way of asking your advice, because in this case I don't think I shall pay much regard to it, but that, knowing my views, you may have your own thoughts about it, and take such steps as prudence shall direct, for making things easy for me, in case my Plan should take place, but without any hint of it to those with you, till you hear more about it. . . .” [B. Hay to Mr. J. Geddes. May 21.]

Two or three days after the despatch of this Letter, news of Bishop Macdonald's Death reached Bishop Hay in London. An epidemic fever, then raging in the Knoidart, a District of the Western Highlands, had carried the good Bishop off in five days' illness. His constitution had been long undermined by the hardships inseparable from his Missionary Life, and he fell an easy prey to infection, caught at the death-bed of a Parishioner. Scotland was thus, at the moment, without a Resident Bishop—a contingency that had not happened since the first appointment of a Vicar Apostolic. On Bishop Hay devolved, for many months, the sole charge of the Highland as well as of the Lowland District. “Alas! my Dear Friend,” he thus writes to Mr. J. Geddes, “I am now all alone: our worthy and most valuable Friend, Mr. Tiberiop, is no more. . . . You will more easily imagine than I can describe the situation we all must be in, on that melancholy event. May Alm. God, in His infinite mercy, look upon us with pity, and direct us what to do. . . .” He reverts to the subject of the Coadjutorship, and disclaims any connection between his proposed plan and the feelings of private friendship, as the unanimous voice of the Clergy would select the same person. “I must

conclude by recommending myself earnestly to your prayers, and hoping for a hearty and cheerful concurrence, on your part, with my views, and in giving me that assistance and relief which I expect from your piety and friendship. . . . I ever am, with the most cordial regard, my Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.”—[B. Hay to Mr. J. Geddes, May 28.]

The Bishop's first step, on the news of the vacancy in the Highland Vicariate, was to communicate with the Senior Clergymen in that District, and desire them to collect the Votes of their Brethren as regarded a Successor to the late Bishop. He also informed the Cardinal of Propaganda, (Castelli) and in doing so, paid a high tribute to the memory of his late fellow-student, friend, and colleague. “Our poor Missions have lost in him a worthy Prelate, a zealous Pastor, a learned and wise Priest; and I, a prudent adviser, a faithful friend, and a support to my weakness.” The Bishop at the same time proposed his request to Propaganda for a Coadjutor for himself. Although not old in years, he was old in constitution, and weak in health; he had now been twenty years in the Missions, and by God's grace he had not spared himself, and had for some time past perceived the effects of his toils in his failing strength, particularly in his stomach; and now felt utterly inadequate to sustain the burden of the Vicariate alone. [B. Hay to C. Castelli, June 1]

To this application, the Cardinal at once gave his consent; it only remained for the Bishop to name the person on whom his choice had fallen. Leave was also given for the Election of a Successor to the Highland Bishop, and a Dispensation for Bishop Hay to Consecrate him alone, without the assistance of another Bishop.—[Abate Grant to B. Hay, June 23.] Mr. J. Geddes made no serious opposition to this Plan of his Friend, except as regarded the appointment of a Successor to himself at Valladolid; and even that he left in the hands of his Superiors. His own words will best express his feelings. “. . . . With God, I can do all that He requires of me. Among the means of rendering things easy to me, I hope one that Providence will make use of will be that of preserving long in life my good Friend B. Hay, so that I may have little to do but to execute his orders, in the doing of which, with the Divine Aid, I do not apprehend much difficulty. . . .”




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